

Presidential Preparation:

***The Influence of Military Service on the Management Styles
and Policy Decisions of U.S. Presidents***

Timothy R. Schulte

Prepared in History 192.02 for Dean Gerald Wilson

May 5, 2012

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	5
<i>The effects of military service</i>	
2. Dwight David Eisenhower	9
<i>Career soldier who rose to the top of the Army's hierarchy</i>	
3. John Fitzgerald Kennedy	47
<i>Naval lieutenant who served valiantly for less than four years</i>	
4. William Jefferson Clinton	101
<i>Academic & career politician who actively avoided military service</i>	
5. Conclusion	149
<i>Trends and tendencies of military veterans who have been elected President</i>	
6. Bibliography	167

Introduction

The effects of military service

In his 1690 piece of literature entitled, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, philosopher John Locke addressed the age-old question concerning the influence of nature versus nurture. Locke clearly articulated his belief that one's environment and experiences are instrumental in shaping a person's character and decisions and stated:

Let us then suppose the mind to be, as we say, white paper void of all characters, without any ideas. How comes it to be furnished? Whence comes it by that vast store which the busy and boundless fancy of man has painted on it with an almost endless variety? Whence has it all the materials of reason and knowledge? To this I answer, in one word, from experience.¹

Locke argues that people are inherently blank slates and are shaped by the world around them. While nature likely also plays an important factor, it is inarguable that one's experiences in life impact the person he later becomes.

People are shaped by their experiences and backgrounds, and military service is arguably one of the most impactful experiences in which one can partake. Thirty-one of America's forty-

¹ Locke, John. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, 1690*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. Book II, Chapter 1, Part 2. Print.

three different Presidents have served in the armed forces (twenty-one having seen combat). Like all other veterans, the service of these men impacted the rest of their lives — the decisions they made; the ways they interacted with others; and their views of America, its allies, and its enemies. Through critical analysis of the Public Papers of the Presidents, memos, letters, and personal reflections, along with the support of secondary sources, the impact of military service on the management styles and policy decisions of United States Presidents becomes evident.

To examine the impact of military service on the Presidents, the following American Presidents are used to frame the analysis:

- *Dwight D. Eisenhower*, a career soldier who rose to the top of the Army's hierarchy
- *John F. Kennedy*, a Naval lieutenant who served valiantly for less than four years
- *William J. Clinton*, an academic and career politician who actively avoided military service

These three men were chosen as the focus because of their diverse backgrounds and political tendencies. They cover the spectrum of military service — ranging in length of service, rank attained, branch of the military, etc. Politically, liberal and conservative Presidents are both represented, and their family upbringings are equally diverse — with great differences in family structure and size, wealth, and education. Nevertheless, despite their unique upbringings, clear trends emerge as a result of their military service.

Many of the decisions made by these men while they presided over the White House can be tied directly to their service (or lack thereof) to the military. Service in the military influences one's outlook on the world and one's character. It impacts a person's priorities and the manner in which he relates to other people. Analysis of the management styles and policies of Dwight Eisenhower, John Kennedy, and Bill Clinton illustrates stark differences between their presidencies which cannot be explained by their upbringings and/or political leanings. Rather,

differences in their service to the military is a key factor which directly shaped their actions as Presidents.

Dwight David Eisenhower

Career soldier who rose to the top of the Army's hierarchy

Prior to being elected President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower had a distinguished career in the U.S. Army. Beginning as a West Point 'plebe' in August of 1911, he went on to dedicate the next forty-one years of his life to the military. This experience serving his country transformed him. It shaped his values; it defined his leadership style; and it catapulted him into the White House where his management style and policy decisions would be a clear reflection of his time in the U.S. Army.

Ike's service in the military would shape both the decisions he made as President as well as the processes that he used to make these decisions. First and foremost, the Army taught Eisenhower how to manage. He entered West Point as a disorderly cadet, but by the time Ike graduated, he understood the importance of setting a structure for his life and his decisions. In his early Army days, Ike became known for his tremendous organizational skills, and because of this, he was assigned to train troops instead of fighting in World War I. Though this was not his first choice, it gave Eisenhower his first meaningful opportunity to formally mentor subordinates. His organizational skills would prove to be invaluable throughout his time in the military —

particularly while working in Washington and during the D-Day invasion — and these skills would also define his hierarchical approach to management as President.

Management Style

Role of the President

Eisenhower's service in the U.S. Army was instrumental in shaping his approach to the presidency. It influenced both the way he did his job once elected to the Oval Office and affected his interpretation of his role as Commander in Chief. Much of his time in the Army was spent planning and orchestrating the execution of American strategy, and Eisenhower saw his role as President to be quite similar.

Ike was not the best student in his class at West Point. In his memoirs, he states, "As I recall, there were about 162 men who finally graduated in my class, and in this list I stood 125th in discipline. My success in compiling a staggering catalogue of demerits was largely due to a lack of motivation in almost everything other than athletics, except for the simple and stark resolve to get a college education."² Athletics would prove to be his saving grace. As a first year 'plebe,' Ike was too small to become a member of the Academy's football team. However, before he graduated, he would become one of the school's best football players and a member of the baseball team. He said that, "In no game or practice session could the coaches claim I lacked pugnacity and combativeness," but his career, unfortunately, would be cut short by a series of knee injuries.³ Initially devastated by his misfortune, Ike's injury proved to be a blessing in disguise. Until this time, he had not pushed himself to assume positions of leadership although

² Eisenhower, Dwight D. *At Ease: Stories I Tell to Friends*. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1967. p. 12. Print.

³ Eisenhower, Dwight D. *At Ease: Stories I Tell to Friends*. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1967. p. 14. Print.

he was, in fact, a natural leader. His post-injury selection as JV football coach was the result of his unparalleled grasp of on-the-field strategy and his drive to out-maneuver and out-work his opponents. This position would be pivotal in Ike's career — both for the skills it taught him and the doors it would open. Going forward, Ike would receive numerous assignments because he was wanted as a football coach first and as a soldier second. West Point athletics first illuminated Eisenhower's gift as a strategist, and this skill would directly relate his role in the Army to his role as President.

While serving in Panama, Eisenhower reported to Fox Conner, a man who taught Ike that one must understand the past in order to make the right decisions for the future. After returning from Panama, Ike was admitted into the Army's highly competitive and prestigious graduate school at the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, KS thanks largely in part to Fox Conner. Just like he had done with Conner in Panama, Ike was pushed to combine historical analysis with strategic planning while working through case studies. Ike disagreed with his classmate, George Patton, that prominent leadership was the key to success and argued that, "You do not lead by hitting people over the head—that's assault, not leadership."⁴ He described the method of instruction by saying, "The school consists essentially of a corps of instructors whose primary duty is to assist you in absorbing the subject matter of the course."⁵ Their role was not to lecture students, but rather to assist and direct them in their quest for knowledge. As a result, while at Fort Leavenworth, Eisenhower whole-heartedly adopted this

⁴ Butt, Jr., Howard E. "Eisenhower on Leadership." *The High Calling*. 28 Sep. 2008. Web. 1 Oct. 2011. <<http://www.thehighcalling.org/audio/leadership/eisenhower-leadership>>.

⁵ Eisenhower, Dwight D. (edited by Daniel D. Holt and James W. Leyerzapf). "NARA, Command and General Staff College Files, 'On the Command and General Staff School.' Aug. 1926." *Eisenhower: The Prewar Diaries and Selected Papers, 1905-1941*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. p. 44. Print.

tactic of subtle (yet strong) guidance and behind-the-scenes leadership, and this approach would be the source of his biggest successes and biggest criticisms during both his military and presidential years.

Ike graduated from Fort Leavenworth a firm believer that the key to success is effective planning, and as a man who would send thousands of men into battle, he would later define leadership as, “the art of getting someone else to do something you want done—because *he* wants to do it.”⁶ This attitude and approach carried over into the White House where he stated, “I think we are doing too much of our thinking, indeed of our operations, in political Washington on the basis of just 'one time'...and this makes no sense whatsoever. We have got to look ahead and we ought to see today, when we pass a law, what's going to be its effect five years from now.”⁷ As President, he believed that it was more important for him to establish an effective plan for America's future and to facilitate the execution of this strategy than anything else. At the top of the Army's hierarchy, Eisenhower made the right decisions on behalf of his men while lower level commanders were responsible for motivating the men and leading them into battle. Eisenhower stated that, “Not only would I need commanders who understood this truth, but I must have those who appreciated the importance of morale and had demonstrated a capacity to develop and maintain it. Morale is the greatest single factor in successful war.”⁸ As President, his interpretation of his duties as leader were no different — he would outline the strategy while his support staff implemented it.

⁶ Butt, Jr., Howard E. “Eisenhower on Leadership.” *The High Calling*. 28 Sep 2008. Web. 1 Oct. 2011. <<http://www.thehighcalling.org/audio/leadership/eisenhower-leadership>>.

⁷ Eisenhower, Dwight D. “The President's News Conference of July 8, 1959.” 8 Jul. 1959. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Eisenhower*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 154. p. 515. Print.

⁸ Eisenhower, Dwight D. *Crusade in Europe*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1948. p. 210. Print.

Ike continued his academic studies in 1931 when he enrolled in a course of study at the Army Industrial College which works to prepare Army officers for mobilization. Here, he studied the importance of finding common ground between competing priorities and personalities, and he learned to work toward nonpartisan consensus in difficult matters. Later, as the leader of the Normandy Invasion, Ike had to balance the expectations of a complex team that was led by men with huge egos such as Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, Charles de Gaulle, Bernard Montgomery, and George Patton. This responsibility taught Ike how to facilitate communication and build consensus amongst his subordinates and bosses. Eisenhower was very in-tune to the political and diplomatic consequences of each decision he was to make, and he was able to strike a balance between pleasing key individuals and acting always in the best interest of the broader group.

After his studies at the Army Industrial College, he became a member of the Army's War Plans Division of the War Department and acted as the chief architect of the Marshall Memorandum — America's entrance plan for World War II. In Europe, he went on to establish the Allied Forces Headquarters, the largest military bureaucracy in history with a staff of more than 4100 and led both *Operations Torch* and *Overlord*. From his days on the football field at West Point to his time as the Supreme Allied Commander on the battlefields of Europe, Eisenhower was a strategy guru. Unlike John F. Kennedy, Eisenhower accomplished all that he did without firing a single shot in combat. Kennedy's responsibility as a soldier was to lead his men into the heat of battle, and as President, Kennedy dedicated himself to leading the nation into a challenging period of Cold War tension. Eisenhower, on the other hand, believed that his primary responsibility as President was not simply to lead the country, but to make the right

choices on its behalf, and this interpretation of the role of a leader is a direct reflection of his military service.

Ike had graduated from the Army's Command and General Staff School a firm believer that a leader's purpose was to develop a strategy for his constituents. As President, he was the architect of America's strategy for managing the Cold War through a policy of containment. Building upon his instruction at the Command and General Staff school and the Army War College, Eisenhower consistently focused on the 'big picture' and outlined what would become America's foreign policy for the next forty years. His pre-presidential training led him to believe that the leaders' top responsibilities were setting strategy and making the correct decisions on behalf of their followers. He took this mantra to the White House and set his agenda accordingly. It appears that while Kennedy sought to be an American icon by way of his charisma and public persona and Clinton sought to be the country's most popular man through his constant glad-handing and campaigning, Eisenhower simply cared about doing his job and driving results. While in the Army, Ike had been responsible for the lives of his fellow comrades, and as President, he viewed his top responsibility as protecting the country — militarily, financially, and culturally — regardless of whether others agreed with his strategies and tactics.

Public Appearance

In June 1941, Eisenhower was transferred back to Fort Sam Houston where he served as the Chief of Staff for the Third Army under General Walter Krueger. In this role, Ike garnered national attention for his success and leadership in the Louisiana Maneuvers of August and September of 1941. As the U.S. prepared for America's entrance into the emerging European conflict, Krueger and Ike's Third Army defeated Lt. General Ben Lear's Second Army in a mock

battle. During this time, Ike was vocal in sharing his concern regarding America's unpreparedness and the Army's void of leadership which resulted from most senior soldiers being recently retired. He acknowledged that, "The lack of practical experience was particularly evident. World War I staff men of all echelons above a regiment had largely passed out of the service...[Furthermore, a] commander also need[s] iron in his soul for one of his chief duties [is] to eliminate unfit officers, some of whom [may be] good friends."⁹ Eisenhower began to see that, no matter how well one drafts a strategy, the right leadership is imperative, and during the Louisiana Maneuvers, Ike proved himself to be one of the Army's top leaders.

Promoted to Brigadier General, Ike, along with George Patton and Mark Clark, was recognized as one of the most promising leaders of the upcoming war. While at Fort Leavenworth, Ike learned that, "two very important characteristics of every good solution are 'simplicity' and 'positiveness,'" and Ike's easy-going, open, and straightforward manner led him to be the star of the show as the Louisiana Maneuvers became the media story of the year in 1941. During the 1930's, Ike's brother Milton worked as the Director of Public Information at the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Later, after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, he was asked by President Roosevelt to conduct a study on wartime public relations, and issued a report that recommended that, "a great deal of the wartime information should come directly from military leaders on the battlefield."¹⁰ Milton's findings influenced not only the government's approach to public relations, but also his brother Dwight's management of the Army's relations with the media. This

⁹ Eisenhower, Dwight D. *At Ease: Stories I Tell to Friends*. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1967. p. 243. Print.

¹⁰ "Eisenhower and the Media." *Dwight D. Eisenhower Memorial Commission, Washington, DC*. 2004. Web. 12 Oct. 2011. <<http://www.eisenhowermemorial.org/stories/Eisenhower-and-Media.htm>>.

proved to be a skill of vital importance for a man who would have to justify his decisions which put men's lives and the country's well-being at risk.

Eisenhower was able to relate to people, of high and low status, through his eloquent speaking ability. He moved quickly yet calmly through conversations with unparalleled honesty and openness. As a result, he could direct everything from personal conversations to formal debates and press conferences in whichever direction best suited his interests; he had the ability to be direct in his orders yet vague in his explanations. Ike excelled in his role as press liaison during the Louisiana Maneuvers and became popular in the media because of his willingness to talk with the press and his straightforward and down-to-earth manner. As Supreme Allied Commander, he once again developed a strong relationship with the press. Ike began offering regular meetings with the media, and years later, once elected President, Eisenhower would become the first President to conduct regularly televised press conferences. The number of American households with televisions jumped from 9.0% in 1950 to 88.8% in 1961, and President Eisenhower used this technology to deliver information directly to the general public.¹¹ "Along with his press conferences, Eisenhower devoted considerable energy to his speeches, even going so far as to periodically seek coaching from Hollywood celebrity Robert Montgomery."¹² His televised press conferences; the "Eisenhower Answers America" campaign; radio announcements; motion picture newsreels; and televised 66th birthday party from the Statler Hotel brought President Eisenhower into the homes of America allowing the public to

¹¹ Genova, Thomas. "Number of TV Households in America." *TV History*. n.d. Web. 23 March 2012. <http://www.tvhistory.tv/Annual_TV_Households_50-78.JPG>.

¹² Lammers, William W. and Michael A. Genovese. *The Presidency and Domestic Policy: Comparing Leadership Styles, FDR to Clinton*. Washington, DC: CQ Press of Congressional Quarterly Inc., 2000. p. 172. Print.

trust their President. Ike's candor earned him the respect of the media, his troops, and the American public.

The entire D-Day invasion lasted eighty days and ended when the Allies reclaimed Paris on August 25, 1944 after four years of occupation. Ike described the celebratory parade down the Champs-Élysées as the, “most moving event of my life,”¹³ but he made sure that Charles de Gaulle was the at the center of all attention. Eisenhower was not one to seek attention; rather, he relentlessly sought success but was quick to defer credit. He knew the importance of making the French people feel as if they had taken back their country opposed to feeling as if another foreign country had just invaded to do what they themselves could not. By deferring credit, Eisenhower determined who, in fact, received credit for the success. Similarly, in his press conferences, Ike was shrewd in his answering of questions and always upheld his position of power. Ike was quick to defer credit to others for the same reason — he wanted to be in control of the information flow. Analysis of Eisenhower's personal papers and the speeches which he, himself wrote portrays a gifted wordsmith. In his press conferences, however, Ike was often indirect and made a deliberate effort to avoid sensitive topics. Once, Eisenhower was advised by the State Department to decline to comment on the Formosan Strait Crisis. The President, however, did not want to be appear dishonest or evasive with the public, and he turned to Press Secretary James Hagerty, smiled, and said, "Don't worry, Jim, if that question comes up, I'll just confuse them."¹⁴ Ike was a firm believer that, “Correspondents have a job in war as essential as the

¹³ D'Este, Carlo. *Eisenhower: A Soldier's Life*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2002. p. 577. Print.

¹⁴ Lammers, William W. and Michael A. Genovese. *The Presidency and Domestic Policy: Comparing Leadership Styles, FDR to Clinton*. Washington, DC: CQ Press of Congressional Quarterly Inc., 2000. p. 172. Print.

military personnel. Fundamentally, public opinion wins wars,"¹⁵ and he tactically distributed information in a manner which stayed true to this belief.

After having sustained a knee injury at West Point that ended his football career, Ike took on the position of head 'yell leader' to support the team. Unable to compete, his new role pushed Ike to develop two skills that would later be fundamental to his success as a military commander and as President: the ability to motivate and strong, articulate public speaking skills. His military education had taught him that, "Failure to couch your decision and plan in positive terms is fatal. The school will unfailingly brand such a solution unsatisfactory."¹⁶ By the time he was appointed to oversee *Overlord*, he was prepared militarily and personally, and his confidence radiated. He inspired a sense of trust and universal purpose by way of his confident, moralist/spiritual language that he used to describe the Cold War as, "a war of light against darkness, freedom against slavery, Godliness against atheism."¹⁷ Eisenhower remarked that, "Unity, co-ordination, and co-operation are the keys to successful operations," and as a master orator, he was able to unite his troops and the American people behind the strategies which he devised.¹⁸ That being said, General Eisenhower had become perturbed by his lack of privacy. It was at this point that he introduced regular press conferences which won him favor with the media and placed him in a position to control the flow of information from his office. This skill

¹⁵ Greeves, Lisa. "Finding the Right Words." *PBS*. 2003. Web. 12 Oct. 2011.

<<http://www.pbs.org/weta/reportingamericaatwar/teachers/rightwords.html>>.

¹⁶ Eisenhower, Dwight D. (edited by Daniel D. Holt and James W. Leyerzapf). "Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Command and General Staff College Files, 'On the Command and General Staff School.' Aug. 1926." *Eisenhower: The Prewar Diaries and Selected Papers, 1905-1941*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. p. 54. Print.

¹⁷ Smith, Gary Scott. *Faith and the presidency: from George Washington to George W. Bush*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. p 235. Print.

¹⁸ Eisenhower, Dwight D. *Crusade in Europe*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1948. p. 210. Print.

helped him to be one of the greatest military commanders in history and to secure one of the highest average Presidential approval ratings in the last sixty years¹⁹.

Team

While in the Army, Ike learned the importance of having a strong team. By the time he reached the White House, Eisenhower had experience presiding over large bureaucracies and had developed a relationship with many top people in Washington. He knew that, to be most effective, he must create an environment in which his cohorts could work to solve the country's problems without forcing them to take a particular approach. During World War II, Ike worked to command *Operation Torch* while simultaneously managing the responsibilities and politics of his role as the Commanding General of the European Theater of Operations. Recognizing that Ike was in over his head, Marshall encouraged him to delegate some of the work to others.

Eisenhower reflected that:

A supreme commander in a situation such as faced us in Europe cannot ordinarily give day-by-day and hour-by-hour supervision to any portion of the field. Nevertheless, he is the one person in the organization with the authority to assign principal objectives to major formations. He is also the only one who has under his hand the power to allot strength to the various major commands in accordance with their missions, to arrange for the distribution of incoming supply, and to direct the operations of the entire air forces in support of any portion of the line.²⁰

Having the trust in his teams to delegate responsibility and authority became a defining characteristic of Ike's management style. As President, Eisenhower often had his committees meet without his presence before joining them as they became closer to reaching a final decision. He would informally consult his advisors who had engrossed themselves in the topics at hand,

¹⁹ "How the Presidents Stack Up." *Wall Street Journal*. 10 Jan 2011. Web. 23 Nov. 2011. <<http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/info-presapp0605-31.html>>

²⁰ Eisenhower, Dwight D. *Crusade in Europe*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1948. p. 285. Print.

then treated Cabinet and National Security Council meetings as debating societies and used such meetings to garner consensus more so than to make decisions.

Be it his demeanor with fellow soldiers or his lax enforcement of the Army's dress code, Ike found that the most productive of relationships were informal and brutally honest. He demanded open discourse in which everyone was free to voice his opinion. John Burke states that, "Eisenhower especially stressed the need for a leader to establish close personal bonds to those who would advise and otherwise serve him as a compensatory mechanism."²¹ While leading a committee at War Plans in Washington, Ike went as far as disallowing dissent unless those in opposition proposed an alternative solution to the matter at hand. To Ike, one's status or title was irrelevant when brainstorming ideas and described himself as having, "no definite leanings toward any political party."²²

That being said, once a final decision was made, Eisenhower expected that he would have the support of his entire team regardless of individuals' personal feelings or party alignments. While in Panama, Maj. Bradford G. Chynoweth criticized Ike for being Conner's 'hatchet man' and a 'yes man' to which Ike responded, "When I go to a new station, I look to see who is the strongest and ablest man on the post. I forget my own ideas and do everything in my power to promote what *he* says is right."²³ Eisenhower took this approach because he was committed to fulfilling his duty. He believed that he was working for a cause that was greater than himself,

²¹ Burke, John F. *The Institutional Presidency: Organizing and Managing the White House from FDR to Clinton, Second Edition*. Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. p. 114. Print.

²² Eisenhower, Dwight D. (edited by Daniel D. Holt and James W. Leyerzapf). "Eisenhower Library, Chief of Staff Diary. 30 Nov. 1932." *Eisenhower: The Prewar Diaries and Selected Papers, 1905-1941*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. p. 247. Print.

²³ D'Este, Carlo. *Eisenhower: A Soldier's Life*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2002. p. 173. Print.

and while he was never shy about arguing his case, he respected the process and precision required of leaders when making decisions. As Stephen E. Ambrose and Günter Bischof explain, "Eisenhower ran the show. Whether the scholars approved of the policies of the Eisenhower administration or disapproved, they agreed that those policies were Eisenhower's."²⁴ Ike valued opinions that came from both sides, but uncertainty has no place when commands are given on the battlefield or when Presidential orders are issued. As a result, Ike believed that partisan politics and public dissension would detract from a given plan's effectiveness and support. He led a political system that was driven by open debate and fair decisions yet strictly hierarchical in its operational structure.

Eisenhower's ability to manage contentious personalities and to give full consideration to all ideas — regardless of where they came from — led to his selection as the Supreme Commander Allied Expeditionary Forces. When discussions began concerning the leadership of *Operation Overlord*, Ike's name was never mentioned; it was assumed that George Marshall would be selected. However, President Franklin Roosevelt decided that he wanted Marshall to remain in his role as Chief of Staff and recognized that Eisenhower would be more pleasing to the other Allied powers than Marshall. In what he described as the most difficult decision of his life, F.D.R. chose Eisenhower as the Supreme Commander Allied Expeditionary Forces because, “[he] is the best politician among the military men. He is a natural leader who can convince other men to follow him, and this is what we need in his position more than any other quality.”²⁵ Eisenhower was effective as the leader of *Overlord* because he was able to assemble a team of arrogant and quarrelsome generals from multiple countries and to bring them together as a

²⁴ Ambrose, Stephen E. and Günter Bischof. *Eisenhower: A Centenary Assessment*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. p. 6. Print.

²⁵ D'Este, Carlo. *Eisenhower: A Soldier's Life*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2002. p. 467. Print.

cohesive unit. Ike was a planner, and he believed that the most important thing for him to plan was personnel. Knowing the importance of having leaders who understand their roles and who will work toward accomplishing a common objective, he hand-picked the commanders and leaders of *Overlord* and worked closely with these men.

Ike was not only adept at forming a cohesive team among his close allies; he was also willing to work with his opposition when he believed that it could help him accomplish his goals. For example, at the instruction of Eisenhower, Mark Clark and Robert Murphy negotiated a cease-fire directly with François Darlan, the Commander & Chief of the French Navy. Eisenhower's team offered Darlan the role of High Commander of North Africa in exchange for ending hostilities. This deal was popular with neither the Allied Powers who did not approve of Eisenhower giving additional power to the French naval officer, nor with the Germans who proceeded to invade the Unoccupied Zone within France. Ike made the controversial decision to partner with the French Admiral for practical, not political reasons and reminded critics that, "The local French military leaders, seeking a legal cover for ordering a cease fire, insisted that only Darlan could be recognized as the official empowered to authorize them to take such action."²⁶ Some charged that Ike's dealings with Darlan were akin to partnering with the Nazis, but Ike believed that it was the only way to stop the killing and to put the Allies in a position from which they could secure Tunisia. To Ike, doing what he believed was right was always much more important than doing what would be popular. Many of Ike's men grew frustrated with him because they believed that he was too eager to compromise. Furthermore, they felt as if he toned down enthusiasm and recognition for American victories. To this, he responded:

²⁶ Eisenhower, Dwight D. *At Ease: Stories I Tell to Friends*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1967. p. 255. Print.

If you sit down at the table with your opposite number and say: 'I've got something to do here and I wonder what that man across the table is going to do to try to prevent me,' you won't get very far. But if you say to yourself: 'That fellow across the table is trying to win this war, and I wonder what I can do to help,' there will never be any difficulty in Allied cooperation and your command has set up itself.²⁷

In 1954, as President, he openly criticized fellow Republican, Senate Majority Leader William Knowland, for requesting a blockade of China, yet he, “got along so well with the Democratic leaders of both the House, Sam Rayburn, and the Senate, Lyndon Johnson, as to be an embarrassment to the Democratic Party.”²⁸ Congress loved Eisenhower because we was a master of consultation and because he understood that, in politics, one must be willing to give if he is looking to take.

As the Army's Commanding General of the European Theater of Operations, Ike approached everything with the same mindset: Allied unity was of the utmost importance. He and Winston Churchill often reminded their men that there would be no American victories, and there would be no British victories; there would only be Allied victories. Later, as President, he would become known for his willingness to work with his political opposition to the extent that some members of the Republican party called him a traitor. Ike, however, never waivered. The conclusion of World War I led many American soldiers to leave the Army. For most, a career in the Army during peacetime would lead to a stagnant and unexciting life marked by few opportunities to advance one's career. Ike, on the other hand, was committed to fulfilling his duty to his country. He always focused on simply doing the best job possible instead of working for a promotion, and he passed this mantra on to his son John in a conversation which he

²⁷ Eisenhower, Dwight D. (edited by Allan Taylor). *What Eisenhower Thinks*. New York: Thomas Y Crowell Company, 1952. p. 42. Print.

²⁸ Spragens, William C. *Popular Images of American Presidents*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1988. p. 415. Print.

described by saying, "I wasn't too concerned about promotion...and when my son John wanted to go to West Point I told him never to think about promotion but to do his job well and make every boss sorry when he leaves."²⁹ Not only did he decline many attractive career opportunities outside of the Army, he told his wife that, "my country will always come first. You come second."³⁰ He understood that to accomplish anything worthwhile, one must stand behind his principles while being willing to compromise on other matters that will allow for an agreement to be reached.

Eisenhower believed that the most effective way to achieve his goals was by practicing 'closed politics.' He thought that it was more important to *be* a leader than it is to *appear* a leader. Ike was an eloquent speaker who excelled in his management of public relations, but he was quick to deflect attention from his own actions (both in terms of his successes and his failures). He chose to share positive attention because, by sharing credit, people would feel more fully invested in his agenda if they felt like they were meaningful contributors to it. In terms of deflecting negative criticism, "The President also was fond of the 'lightning rod' strategy — that is, he would try to avoid taking the 'political heat' for an unpopular policy or blunder by distancing himself from the problem and swinging criticism toward an aide or cabinet member"³¹ in an effort to maintain his popularity and unitive power. When the Allied forces recaptured Paris, France to mark the end of *Operation Overlord*, Eisenhower made a conscious effort to take a back seat to Charles de Gaulle in an attempt to inspire the French with confidence in their country's ability to stand up for itself. Later, during the era of McCarthyism, he was able to

²⁹ D'Este, Carlo. *Eisenhower: A Soldier's Life*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2002. p. 92. Print.

³⁰ Wukovits, John F. *Eisenhower*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. p. 24. Print.

³¹ Lammers, William W. and Michael A. Genovese. *The Presidency and Domestic Policy: Comparing Leadership Styles, FDR to Clinton*. Washington, DC: CQ Press of Congressional Quarterly Inc., 2000. p. 172. Print.

indirectly facilitate an end to Joseph McCarthy's career in the Senate without being viewed as a petty politician seeking to push another from office. That being said, Ike made an attempt to, “undercut McCarthy by ignoring him,”³² yet privately stated, “I’m not going to take this one lying down...He's the last guy in the whole world who'll ever [be elected President], if I have anything to say.”³³ To accomplish such feats, he worked through and with others. Ike cared more about results than rhetoric, and this approach was spelled out by a small plaque on his desk which read 'gently in manner, strong in deed.'³⁴

In the Army, Eisenhower's brand of coordination went forward in a context of command; the colonels were dependent on the generals. An order announced (after however much coordination) was an order to be executed. Not so in politics, where promulgation is just the beginning. In an Army at war, coordination takes place behind the advancing flag; the overriding purposes are not in question. Not so in the political 'order' where the national purpose is continually questioned and redefined.³⁵

Although often frustrated by the pace at which things could be accomplished in Washington and despite the fact that Ike delegated much of the legwork to his staff, there was never any doubt who was in charge. Ike delegated his day-to-day tasks so that he could focus his attention on the most important strategic decisions of which he took full ownership. His frequent delegating of tasks, however, must not be confused with a lack of involvement in the deliberation processes. Rather, Eisenhower, presided over many of these meetings including a record 339 National

³² Ambrose, Stephen E. *Eisenhower: Volume II, The President*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984. p. 160. Print.

³³ Eisenhower, Dwight D. "Entry on 12 Nov. 1955." *Eisenhower, Dwight D.: Papers as President — Ann Whitman Diary Series*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. Print.

³⁴ Eisenhower, Dwight D. "James Hagerty Diary, 25 Feb. 1954 entry." *Eisenhower National Historic Site*. n.d. Web. 29 Sep. 2011.

<<http://www.nps.gov/features/eise/jrranger/5accomp4X.htm>>.

³⁵ Barber, James David. *Politics by Humans: Research on American Leadership*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988. p. 112. Print.

Security Council meetings; he gave his advisors authority to make decisions on behalf of the Eisenhower Administration, but he was sure to make clear his objectives.³⁶ Eisenhower exercised the veto 181 times during his presidency (the fourth most in history) yet had the lowest percentage of vetoes overridden of any President who had exercised his veto power more than one hundred times.³⁷ Ike coordinated a strong support network that allowed him to divvy up much of the work that had to be done while maintaining complete power over the decision-making process, and he expected all of his orders to be followed without question.

Dwight Eisenhower's entire career — in the military and in politics — was dependent upon the successful composition and management of his teams. He was the master of the 'open bureaucracy' in that he organized his teams in a strict, hierarchical structure while simultaneously seeking unbiased opinions, informal discussion, and (sometimes unpopular) partnerships. He trusted his men to act and make decisions on his behalf while allowing no question of his authority. He believed that leaders should not stop at making decisions; they must work to garner consensuses. Eisenhower chose to manage his teams from behind-the-scenes in an effort to put his message and his strategy before all else. Ike used his team and support staff to make decisions and to implement the strategies which he laid out for the country.

Staff/White House Structure

Eisenhower stated his belief that, “success in higher command demanded officers who were orderly and logical without being slow and methodical and who struck an appropriate

³⁶ Spragens, William C. *Popular Images of American Presidents*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1988. p. 415. Print.

³⁷ Harness, Gregory. *Presidential Vetoes, 1789-1988*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992. Web. 30 Oct. 2011.
<<http://www.senate.gov/reference/resources/pdf/presvetoes17891988.pdf>>.

balance between charisma and empty flashiness."³⁸ While in the Army, "Decisions sometimes are suddenly presented and there has not been time for all the cold-blooded analysis, or to go around and see your subordinates and chat it over with them....," Ike reflected.³⁹ In order to create an environment in which decisions could be quickly made yet thoroughly thought-through, Eisenhower institutionalized the staffing system of the White House. His years of experience as an executive in the Army led Ike to enter the White House with a vision of how it should be organized. He stated:

For years, I had been in frequent contact with the executive office of the White House, and I had certain ideas about the system, or lack of system, under which it operated. With my training in problems involving organization, it was inconceivable to me that the work of the White House could not be better systemized than had been the case in the years I observed it.⁴⁰

In an effort to build up a staff more attuned to politics than those of previous Presidents, Eisenhower appointed a great number of people from the Army who understood how to work together to achieve a common goal. He significantly elevated the position of Vice President and added a number of new staff positions to which specific responsibilities were assigned and for which particular members were held accountable. Additionally, he appointed Maxwell Rabb as his cabinet secretary and Paul Carroll as the staff secretary to ensure that his entire team was working together well and efficiently in an effort to advance President Eisenhower's 'big picture' agenda. "The cabinet secretariat system that Eisenhower created in 1954 also contributed to the effective flow of information to the cabinet and to the use of the cabinet as a deliberative forum

³⁸ U.S. Army Center of Military History. *Dwight David Eisenhower*. The Centennial. p. 6. 16 Mar. 1990. Web. 22 Oct. 2011.

<http://usacac.army.mil/CAC2/cgsc/carl/download/csipubs/Ike_Centennial.pdf>.

³⁹ Eisenhower, Dwight D. (edited by Allan Taylor). *What Eisenhower Thinks*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1952. p. 26. Print.

⁴⁰ Pfiffner, James. *The Modern Presidency, 5th Edition*. New York: Thomson Wadsworth, 2008. p. 60. Print.

in the way the President had envisioned it, but now with respect to avoiding the dangers of bureaucratization."⁴¹ Aside from elevating the importance of the National Security Council, the most important organizational change Eisenhower would make was introducing the position of chief of staff. While Eisenhower was responsible for making the decisions, Sherman Adams, Ike's chief of staff, was in charge of managing the execution of the President's orders. According to President Eisenhower, "A man like that is valuable because of the unnecessary detail he keeps away from the President. A President who doesn't know how to decentralize will be weighed down with details and won't have time to deal with the big issues."⁴² After bearing the brunt of the criticism for the failure of *Operation Torch*, Eisenhower understood the importance of having a buffer; he did not want to risk having isolated failures or unpopular decisions influence people's support for his overall policies. Fred Greenstein explains that, "Because [Ike] did not take the credit for his off-the-record politicking, scholars and Washington professionals thought he was inept. They failed to observe that he avoided the blame that comes from taking sides in political controversies."⁴³ Thus, Adams would play this role of a buffer to deflect criticism from political decisions such as firing people and negotiating political patronage. Eisenhower's time in the Army taught him the importance of being organized, and he brought this mindset to Washington where he transformed the structure of the White House, and in many ways, the office of the President.

⁴¹ Burke, John F. *The Institutional Presidency: Organizing and Managing the White House from FDR to Clinton, Second Edition*. Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. p. 115. Print.

⁴² Pfiffner, James. *The Modern Presidency, 5th Edition*. New York: Thomson Wadsworth, 2008. p. 61. Print.

⁴³ Greenstein, Fred. (edited by Stephen E. Ambrose and Günter Bischof) *Eisenhower: A Centenary Assessment*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. p. 57. Print.

Eisenhower affirmed that timely intelligence was the key for any plan to be successful, and he trusted others to provide him with the information necessary to make the best decisions for America. While managing the Council of Economic Advisors, Eisenhower restructured the team so that he would be given more direct and timely information. Furthermore, his creation of the Advisory Board on Economic Growth and Stabilization brought together economic and national security leaders to solve the same problems. In an attempt to strike a balance between the country's need for protection with the need for fiscal responsibility, Eisenhower introduced the 'New Look' campaign which outlined his proposed solution. Many Presidents look at national security and economic policy as separate issues or, at best, they see national security as one of many pieces of the national budget. Eisenhower, however, brought the two groups together and facilitated both the sharing of information and the convergence of goals. In his November 20, 1946 address to the Economic Club of New York, Ike stated, "[One] will find that [perpetuating American ideals] has been characterized by cooperation, and not by fighting among ourselves or refusing to see the other fellow's viewpoint."⁴⁴ Only by bringing everyone together and providing them with the same information could an effective and actionable plan be put into place. Eisenhower's hierarchical staff structure was put in place to drive efficiency; to facilitate information sharing; and to explicitly outline every person's responsibilities. This style of management is a product of his prior career in the military and was a defining characteristic of the Eisenhower White House.

⁴⁴ Eisenhower, Dwight D. (edited by Allan Taylor). *What Eisenhower Thinks*. New York: Thomas Y Crowell Press, 1952. p. 41. Print.

Decision-making

As both a General and as President, what mattered to Ike above all else was doing the right thing. From his agreement with French Naval Commander François Darlan to his actions in Little Rock, Eisenhower always acted without regard to political backlash or his own popularity. When the Suez Crisis of 1956 broke out, Ike commented that, “I will not under any circumstances permit the fact of the forthcoming elections to influence my judgment. If any votes are lost as a result of this attitude, that is a situation which we will have to confront, but any other attitude will not permit us to live with our conscience.”⁴⁵ Ike was a harsh disciplinarian who held both his men and himself to very high standards while in and outside of the office. West Point's honor code left a lasting impression on Ike, and the principle of integrity acted as the cornerstone of his career. He would go as far as forcing a fellow soldier to resign from his position in the military because the man had been dishonest in, of all things, a card game. His methods of punishments ranged from frequent, verbal lashings to making an errant soldier dig and re-fill holes in the ground. When Allied soldiers began looting, raping, and drinking after the completion of *Overlord*, Ike proposed hanging as punishment, and he would be the first officer since Lincoln to have a man executed for desertion.⁴⁶ When it came to making decisions, Ike had a set of principles that he would not compromise under any circumstances.

George Marshall taught Ike that the greatest sin of all was stupidity (be it real or perceived), and Fox Conner showed him the importance of understanding history to make decisions which will impact the future. Eisenhower was an emotional motivator and an analytical decision-maker. At a 1954 press conference, he defined an intellectual as, “a man who

⁴⁵ D'Este, Carlo. *Eisenhower: A Soldier's Life*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2002. p. 353. Print.

⁴⁶ D'Este, Carlo. *Eisenhower: A Soldier's Life*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2002. p. 629. Print.

takes more words than necessary to tell more than he knows,"⁴⁷ but in reality, Eisenhower was one of the most thorough and analytical men to be elected President — the difference was that his detailed analyses would often result in simple 'yes' or 'no' decisions. Ike was a pragmatic, no-nonsense leader who used a plain-spoken rhetoric to provide black and white answers. His goal was not to show how clever of a solution he had devised (as was the case with Clinton), but rather, to show that he had, unarguably, made the correct decision. He worked to, “transform textbook doctrine into action.”⁴⁸ When running against Eisenhower in 1952, Adlai Stevenson's sophisticated, intellectual arguments isolated him from the needs of the common American citizen. On the other hand, in all of his commanding roles while in the Army, Eisenhower made a great effort to connect with the 'Joe Soldiers' of the Allied Forces and, "almost never associated with academicians."⁴⁹ He understood the difference between being analytical and well-educated and being an intellectual academic. He did all that he could to position himself to be the best-educated person in the room but also the person who could most easily relate to the common folk from, perhaps, the plains of Kansas.

Eisenhower did his best to educate himself on all possible solutions for the challenges he faced, and he dedicated himself to doing what was right. Although made within a hierarchical bureaucracy, the decisions Dwight Eisenhower made were the result of informal discussions

⁴⁷ Shogan, Colleen J. "Anti-Intellectualism in the Modern Presidency: A Republican Populism." *Perspectives on Politics*. Vol. 5. No. 2 (2007). p. 297. Web. 23 Nov. 2011. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20446425>>.

⁴⁸ Eisenhower, Dwight D. *At Ease: Stories I Tell to Friends*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1967. p. 243. Print.

⁴⁹ Lammers, William W. and Michael A. Genovese. *The Presidency and Domestic Policy: Comparing Leadership Styles, FDR to Clinton*. Washington DC: CQ Press of Congressional Quarterly Inc., 2000. p. 163. Print.

which forced him to analyze issues from multiple viewpoints. In an essay about his time at Fort Leavenworth, Eisenhower said:

There are three generally recognized systems of study in use at Leavenworth. These are called the single, the committee, and the pair or partner methods...The committee system is rather unwieldy, as there are too many men whose convenience and ideas must be suited...If you work entirely alone, you are more apt to go stale, to go to one extreme or the other in the hours you devote to study, and to consume too much time in working on details whose importance does not justify the effort made...The partner system has most of the advantages of the other systems and none of the disadvantages, provided the partners suit each other...⁵⁰

His military studies had taught him the benefit of conferring with small groups of experts and advisors in order to make well-educated decisions. He worked to put America on a path to peace and prosperity and knew that the only way to ensure American safety was to be active in global affairs as a model for and leader of the rest of the world. The United States could not afford to be an isolationist nation, and he devoted himself to pursuing the best interests of America.

Policy Decisions

The United States Army not only shaped Dwight Eisenhower's management style, but also his decision-making process. His years of service would influence both how he would make decisions while in the White House, and it would influence the conclusions he reached. Ike entered the Oval Office with unparalleled experience in international relations and a tremendous grasp of what would be required to rebuild Europe. Furthermore, he understood what had to be

⁵⁰ Eisenhower, Dwight D. (edited by Daniel D. Holt and James W. Leyerzapf). "Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Command and General Staff College Files, 'On the Command and General Staff School.' Aug. 1926." *Eisenhower: The Prewar Diaries and Selected Papers, 1905-1941*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. p. 51. Print.

done at home in the United States in order to ensure the nation's present and future success and safety.

Korean War

One of Eisenhower's first accomplishments as President was bringing about an end to the Korean War. The first step he took to achieve this was traveling to Korea to see the battlefields and to talk with the soldiers on the ground. Such a trip was unfathomable to most other men from Washington. However, Ike believed it was imperative to see, with his own eyes, exactly what was happening in Korea in order to make the right decision. Eisenhower remarked that, "I hate war as only a soldier who has lived it can, only as one who has seen its brutality, its futility, its stupidity,"⁵¹ and because of this outlook, he was willing to take whatever steps were necessary to end the senseless killing of American soldiers.

In bringing peace to Korea — a peace that has endured for [nearly sixty] years — Eisenhower asserted his personal authority as commander in chief. Perhaps only a five-star general could ignore his party's old guard and overrule the country's national security establishment, almost all of whom believed that military victory in Korea was essential. But Ike was an experienced card player. He could recognize a losing hand when he saw it, and he knew when to fold his cards.⁵²

When visiting Korea, he saw for himself that, "small attacks on small hills would not win this war...we could not stand forever on a static front and continue to accept casualties without any

⁵¹ "Biography: Dwight D. Eisenhower." *PBS*. n.d. Web. 1 Dec. 2011.

<<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/biography/bulge-eisenhower/>>

⁵² Smith, Jean Edward. "How to End a War, Eisenhower's Way." *New York Times*. 11 Apr. 2009. Web. 2 Oct. 2011. <<http://100days.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/04/11/how-to-end-a-war-eisenhowers-way/>>

visible result."⁵³ To a man who knew the intimate cost of war, the choice was clear; the great military general focused himself on ending the war.

Eisenhower's deployment to the Philippines acted as a training ground for his actions related to the Korean war. General MacArthur and Ike led Plan Orange, America's strategic defense mission in the south Pacific, and they worked to help the Philippines develop the ability to defend itself against aggressors. They worked to found the National Army of the Philippines and to create a Philippine defense force to protect a virtually indefensible nation comprised of over 7,100 islands. While serving in the Philippines, Ike was challenged to build and train an army amid political and diplomatic tension. Furthermore he learned to balance difficult logistic and financial constraints as well as difficult personalities. Finding it virtually impossible to secure more funding for their Philippine budget from Washington, Ike discovered the role politics plays in the making of all meaningful decisions. Korea was a military conflict, but President Eisenhower's decisions were inevitably political. He was, again, challenged with aiding in the safety and security of an Asian nation amidst political tension, and he had to do so with finite sources of financial and personnel resources.

As Commander in Chief, Ike continued to view all military decisions from the perspective of a soldier. He understood that nuclear war was unimaginable, and limited war was unwinnable. Just as he had done during *Operation Torch*, he had the courage to recognize when one must cut his losses to protect American lives. After peace was made in Korea, not a single additional American serviceman was killed during Ike's remaining seven and a half years as

⁵³ Smith, Jean Edward. "How to End a War, Eisenhower's Way." *New York Times*. 11 Apr. 2009. Web. 2 Oct. 2011. <<http://100days.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/04/11/how-to-end-a-war-eisenhowers-way/>>

President; no other President since Eisenhower has been able to achieve this. Having been instrumental in the plans to rebuild Europe after World War II, Eisenhower understood that America could not simply pack up and leave Korea. Eisenhower, “wanted [General Maxwell] Taylor to use his men to restore productive facilities such as roads, railways, lines of communications, and in addition to rebuild schools, restore hospitals, train teachers and medical staffs, and engage in countless other activities that would bring into play all of the talents present in this great Army.”⁵⁴ His prior experience in the Army taught Ike how to make the best-educated and most efficacious decisions regarding the war in Korea. Furthermore, it gave him the courage that others lacked to follow through on his plan for peace despite the anti-communist fervor that had engulfed America.

Cold War/Arms Race

Tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union were high throughout Eisenhower's Presidency. He knew the tremendous cost of war, both financially and in terms of American lives, and he sought to avoid it at all costs. Ike managed the Cold War around three core principles. First, America must not lose the fight against communism under any circumstances. After witnessing the horrors which occurred in communist Germany, he was emphatic in his push to spread democracy. Second, he knew well the cost of war and pursued every measure available to avoid it. Having issued countless orders which led to many men's deaths, he advocated deterrence and, as a result, fueled the arms race. He believed that the only way to ensure peace was to make war unthinkable. Lastly, although set on defeating communism, Ike was willing to work with the Soviet Union to reach a settlement that would be

⁵⁴ Ambrose, Stephen E. *Eisenhower: Volume II, The President*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984. p. 108. Print.

beneficial to both sides. His efforts at the Geneva Summit of 1955 and in his, "Atoms for Peace" speech showed that, although he distrusted them, he was not opposed to working with communists if there was an opportunity to advance his agenda. These principles, however, were not limited to his relations with the Soviet Union. Rather, they would act as the foundation for his entire foreign policy.

Eisenhower signed into law the *Eisenhower Doctrine* which authorized the United States to use force in its effort to combat communism in the Middle East. Studying world and military history with Fox Conner in Panama and discussing the failures of the post-World War I reconstruction taught Ike of the interconnectedness of the world's many countries. He understood that no nation could be an isolationist and that each depended upon each other. Eisenhower believed that, "Not even America's prosperity could long survive if other nations did not also prosper."⁵⁵ As a result, facilitating the spread of democracy and the collapse of communism was his main goal. In terms of the Middle East, Ike was alone in believing that Western countries needed the Arabs more so than the Arabs needed the West. He was an avid proponent of offering foreign aid because he understood that underfunded and vulnerable nations would be susceptible to the influx of communism. He argued that foreign aid keeps down American military costs by creating allies and generating consumption power in countries throughout the world. Frustrated by Congress's reluctance to fund more foreign aid, Eisenhower went as far as offering to sacrifice part of his salary to fund these much needed aid programs. When Congress continued to delay and defeat his foreign aid plans, he resorted to the tactics he employed as the Supreme Allied Commander — personal politics. Ike began hosting stag

⁵⁵ Eisenhower, Dwight D. "Second Inaugural Address." 21 Jan. 1957. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States —Eisenhower*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 15. p. 60. Print.

dinners to which he would invite the most influential people in business and politics. These events allowed Eisenhower to exert his leadership in the manner he liked best — subtly through the persuasion of other leaders. Additionally, he invited Arab and Asian leaders to the White House where he would discuss with them ways that the United States could help them and their countries. Just as they had been in the Army, personal relationships would prove invaluable in building America's image internationally and, in turn, pushing democracy ahead of communism.

The shortcomings of *Operation Sledgehammer* and ever-changing circumstances of *Operation Overlord* led him to believe that few things were worse than rigid plans from which one was unwilling to adapt. Ike described his approach to planning by saying that, "In preparing for battle, I have always found that plans are useless, but planning is indispensable."⁵⁶ In terms of relations with the Soviet Union, Eisenhower outlined his containment approach and worked toward its fulfillment. However, events such as the U.S.S.R.'s testing of hydrogen bombs; the Vietminh's siege of Dien Bien Phu; the creation of the Warsaw Pact; revolts in Eastern Europe; the launch of Sputnik; and the formal, stark separation of East and West Germany would force Eisenhower to adapt his plans while staying true to his mission — the advancement of democratic principles. Few men would have been better prepared to manage America's foreign relations and domestic challenges in such a rapidly-changing environment. Eisenhower's military success garnered him the respect of international leaders and placed him in a position to act as the architect for global international relations for the foreseeable future.

⁵⁶ Czerwinski, Thomas J. "Command and Control at the Crossroads." *Parameters*. p. 121-132. Autumn 1996. Web. 12 Dec 2011.
<<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/USAWC/parameters/Articles/96autumn/czerwins.htm>>.

Middle East Relations & Tension

The two biggest foreign policy challenges of Eisenhower's presidency were the 1953 CIA-sponsored coup in Iran and the 1956 Suez Crisis. In both cases, the United States took a leading role in managing politics and tension in the Middle East. Recognizing the importance of the developing world to the West, Ike authorized the CIA to facilitate the overthrow of Iranian Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh. The idea was originally devised by the British who were angered that Mossadegh had nationalized the oil fields and refineries of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. Thoroughly impressed by the role of the British Secret Intelligence Service, the American Office of Strategic Services, and the French Resistance in World War II, Ike had become very interested in building up America's covert intelligence capabilities. Beginning with the overthrow of Mossadegh in 1953, the size and scope of the CIA grew dramatically throughout the 1950s under the supervision of Allen Dulles. Ike believed that the CIA would be America's key to emerging victoriously from the Cold War.

The Suez Crisis was an important event because it greatly affected the reputation of the United States amongst Middle Eastern and developing countries. Ike was adamant that the United States must uphold the Tripartite Declaration because he feared that, "If we do not now fulfill our word, Russia is likely to enter the situation."⁵⁷ Eisenhower was able to help negotiate a cease-fire between Egypt, Israel, France, and Britain that would be strong and meaningful without condemning other Western countries which would have made the Soviets appear more noble. To Ike, America's primary responsibility in the Middle East was to thwart communism, and just like he did for years in the Philippines and would do again during his dealings with

⁵⁷ Nichols, David Allen. *Eisenhower 1956: The President's year of Crisis: Suez and the Brink of War*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012. p. 204. Print.

Governor Faubus during the Little Rock Crisis, Ike understood the importance of allowing both sides to save face. In his personal diary, he reminded himself that the United States must be, "promptly ready to take any kind of action that will minimize the effects of the recent difficulties and will exclude from the area Soviet influence."⁵⁸ He sought solutions that would solve problems by easing tension and holding off a Soviet influence, rather than assigning blame.

In his October 31, 1956 *Report to the American People on the Developments in Eastern Europe and the Middle East*, he stated that, "There can be no peace without law. And there can be no law if we were to invoke one code of international conduct for those who oppose us and another for our friends."⁵⁹ His, "insistence on the primacy of the UN, of treaty obligations, and of the rights of all nations gave the United States a standing in world opinion it had never before achieved."⁶⁰ Eisenhower viewed his main responsibility as a leader in the military as finding solutions, not achieving victories. Specifically in his role in the Philippines, Ike saw that tact and finesse can be more powerful than brute force. During Ike's youth and his time in the Army, both Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, men with no military training, oversaw the United States' involvement in international wars. As Presidents, these two men oversaw American policy decisions from Washington, but they never saw, firsthand, how wars are won on the battlefield. In contrast, Eisenhower knew the importance of balancing political finesse

⁵⁸ Eisenhower, Dwight D. "Diary entry on 8 Nov. 1956." *Waging Peace*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1965. p. 96. Print.

⁵⁹ Eisenhower, Dwight D. "October 31, 1956 Report to the American People on the Developments in Eastern Europe and the Middle East." 31 Oct. 1956. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Eisenhower*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 282. p. 1066. Print.

⁶⁰ Taranto, James and Leonard Leo. *Presidential Leadership: Rating the Best and the Worst in the White House*. New York: Free Press, 2005. p. 167. Print.

with military force. His time in the military clearly illuminated both the keys of effective military success as well as alternative methods of dealing with such conflicts.

National Budget/Economy

To President Eisenhower, the national budget was a matter of accountability. As America's top leader, he held himself accountable for the nation's financial decisions and its ability to repay everything that it owed. Ike described his budget proposal to Congress on January 17, 1955 by stating that, "A liberal attitude toward the welfare of people and a conservative approach to the use of their money have shaped this budget. Our determination to keep working toward a balanced budget provides the discipline essential for wise and efficient management of the public business."⁶¹ A significant portion of the country's expenses came from the national security budget which he proceeded to slash by 20.5%.⁶² Only someone with Ike's military background could be successful in his attempts to cut military spending, and he justified his actions by explaining that, "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. We pay for a single fighter plane with a half-million bushels of wheat."⁶³ He stressed the importance of economic strength and believed that this could only be achieved through defense cuts. He reminded advisors that public funds were scarce and that they must establish clear priorities to be effective. He argued that the United States could fight off

⁶¹ Eisenhower, Dwight D. "Annual Budget Message to the Congress: Fiscal Year 1956." 17 Jan. 1955. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Eisenhower*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 16. p. 89. Print.

⁶² Warshaw, Shirley Anne. *Reexamining the Eisenhower Presidency*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993. p. 126. Print.

⁶³ Eisenhower, Dwight D. "The Chance for Peace." 16 Apr. 1953. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Eisenhower*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 50. p. 179. Print.

communism only if it had a strong economy. Ike directed American military spending toward the buildup of atomic weapons because showcasing the country's strength through an enlarged arsenal would be much less expensive than engaging in another war (cost was one of the main reasons he had been so adamant that the United States withdraw from Korea). As he had done many other times, he made decisions based on where the money would be best spent, not based on public opinion, and he struggled to balance the need to meet and beat the advancing Soviet Union while staying within his self-imposed budgetary constraints. Dwight's, "Experience as a supply officer left a lasting impression of the inherent perils of being accountable to the U.S. Army for its equipment. Whenever — and it was often — equipment was missing or a request went unfilled, it became Eisenhower's problem to solve."⁶⁴ Similarly, as President, he held himself accountable for the finances of the country and for balancing what he called the 'Great Equation.' Eisenhower helped America achieve a remarkably balanced budget over his eight years as President, and he kept inflation below two percent per annum which fostered economic growth and high employment.

Interstate Highway Act

After the conclusion of World War I, Ike was named the fulltime Tank Corps Leader at Fort Meade in Fort Meade, MD, but it was not long before he eagerly volunteered for the Army's transcontinental motor expedition of 1919 to evaluate America's infrastructure. This cross-country journey from Washington, D.C. to San Francisco, CA would reach an estimated 33 million Americans and was intended to spur state legislatures to enact bills to build new roads. Ike never forgot how poor (and in many places, nonexistent) America's highway system was at

⁶⁴ D'Este, Carlo. *Eisenhower: A Soldier's Life*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2002. p. 120. Print.

this time, and comparatively, his service in Germany during World War II opened his eyes to the Autobahn which starkly contrasted the American roads. Eisenhower was impressed by the extensive coverage and high quality of German roads, and he found it embarrassing that the United States was so far behind. In his February 22, 1955 *Special Message to the Congress Regarding a National Highway Program*, he described the need for an improved system by stating:

Our unity as a nation is sustained by free communication of thought and by easy transportation of people and goods. The ceaseless flow of information throughout the Republic is matched by individual and commercial movement over a vast system of interconnected highways criss-crossing the Country and joining at our national borders with friendly neighbors to the north and south.⁶⁵

Furthermore, once President, 'soldier Ike' saw the construction of a vast interstate highway system as a crucial piece of his Cold War plan. Interstate highways were imperative to facilitate the movement of military traffic in the event of a war, and they would act as an escape route from Washington, D.C. and other major cities in the event of a nuclear attack. Not only was the inadequacy of American infrastructure made apparent to him during his time in the Army, but the reason such infrastructure was important was influenced by his military background as well.

His experience in the military led President Eisenhower to make the Interstate Highway Act of 1956 (also known as the National Interstate and Defense Highways Act of 1956) a top priority after he became President. To push the project forward, Ike had to make it appealing to members of Congress. "Eisenhower preferred a partnership between the [executive and legislative] branches. He was quick to criticize FDR's assertive efforts to provide congressional

⁶⁵ Eisenhower, Dwight D. "Special Message to the Congress Regarding a National Highway Program." 22 Feb. 1955. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Eisenhower*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 39. p. 275. Print.

leadership and...was unusually reluctant to assume a strong role."⁶⁶ He presented it to Congress as the largest public works program in history which would bring millions of people back to work by creating meaningful work; in turn, it would lift the country out of its short-lived post-Korean War recession. On June 29, 1956, President Eisenhower signed the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 into law and was able to accomplish one of the goals he had first set as a lieutenant colonel back in 1919.

Civil Rights

Many historians view Eisenhower's approach to the Civil Rights Movement as one of his greatest failures. Unarguably, he could and should have done more. However, it cannot be overlooked that Eisenhower signed into law the first piece of Civil Rights legislation since the Reconstruction period, the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which was soon followed by Eisenhower's Civil Rights Act of 1960. Additionally, he appointed Earl Warren to the Supreme Court and intervened in Little Rock, AK by sending federal troops to escort African-American school children to Little Rock Central High. A military man, Ike understood magnitude of his decision to send federal troops to Little Rock, and he understood how to do it as tactfully and with as few problems possible. His dealings with Governor Faubus sought to preserve rights while cooling passions and allowing both sides to save face. Ike emphasized that he was not sending federal troops to Little Rock to integrate the schools, but rather to uphold the country's laws. He appealed to Americans' patriotism by encouraging them to respect the law even if they did not agree with it, and he convinced the people that they could not win by force. Ike's ability to deal

⁶⁶ Lammers, William W. and Michael A. Genovese. *The Presidency and Domestic Policy: Comparing Leadership Styles, FDR to Clinton*. Washington, DC: CQ Press of Congressional Quarterly Inc., 2000. p. 166. Print.

with adversaries was developed during his military career, but his concern for the issue and the injustices which were taking place was not strong enough to motivate him to take strong action.

Eisenhower had numerous accomplishments in the realm of Civil Rights, but his failures must not be overlooked. He cared about Civil Rights issues largely because of how it portrayed the United States abroad; it was difficult for America to continue portraying itself as the democratic savior of the world given the injustices that were occurring against its own people back home. Eisenhower's entire career in the military was spent fighting to maintain the status quo of America as the world's preeminent power. He pitted the Allies against the Axis Powers and the United States against the Soviet Union in stark, moralist terms. On February 1, 1953, he reminded Americans that:

When we think about the matter very deeply, we know that the blessings that we are really thankful for are a different type [than material blessings]. They are what our forefathers called our rights — our human rights — the right to worship as we please, to speak and think and to earn, and to save. Those are the rights that we must strive so mightily to merit.⁶⁷

He adamantly believed that the United States was the best country in the world, and he fought to maintain its standing as a global superpower. By dedicating his life to this view of America, he overlooked the country's faults. He believed that, as a nation, the United States was infallible. He sought to convince Americans and people of the world that the United States acted as a single, united entity which represented all that is good in the world, and he stated that, "We cannot possibly imagine a successful form of government in which every individual citizen would have the right to interpret the Constitution according to his own convictions, beliefs, and

⁶⁷ Eisenhower, Dwight D. "Remarks Recorded for the American Legion 'Back to God Program.'" 1 Feb. 1953. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Eisenhower*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 5. p. 11. Print.

prejudices."⁶⁸ Eisenhower always preferred to lead from behind-the-scenes, and more often than not, this technique was very effective for him. However, in the case of Civil Rights, the country needed him to act as a figurehead around whom they could rally. In his closed view of American supremacy, he failed to take responsibility for fighting against the injustices which were taking place within America. As an Army General, he administered and followed orders without question in the pursuit of American victory and went as far as describing West Point as a place where, "independent thinking was not only discouraged but punished."⁶⁹ Ike would never have thought to acknowledge (let alone draw attention to) America's faults, and this mindset led to his failure in appropriately addressing the Civil Rights Movement.

Conclusion

Eisenhower's thirty-seven years of active military service shaped him as an individual, as a leader, and as a President. His experience influenced the decisions he would make as well as the processes he would use to reach these decisions. He learned how to manage people, expectations, responsibilities, and results, and he applied these skills to his time as President.

[Eisenhower] knew the gravity of combat; the importance of vision; the necessity of conceiving and executing a good plan. He understood the requirements of diplomacy; the importance of communicating with the press; and the need to inspire ordinary men and women to extraordinary feats. All these qualities served Eisenhower well during World War II, when he was Supreme Allied Commander. They prepared him eight years later to be the commander in chief of the United States and the leader of the free world.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Ambrose, Stephen E. *Eisenhower: Volume II, The President*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984. p. 409. Print.

⁶⁹ D'Este, Carlo. *Eisenhower: A Soldier's Life*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2002. p. 63. Print.

⁷⁰ "Eisenhower and D-Day." The Hauenstein Center for Presidential Studies at Grand Valley State University. 15 Sep. 2011. Web. 29 Sep. 2011. <<http://www.gvsu.edu/hauenstein/ask-leave-eisenhower-and-d-day-490.htm>>.

His service to his country, which started at West Point and culminated in the victory of the world's largest international war, provided him with a foundation unlike any other President.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy

Naval lieutenant who served valiantly for less than four years

The thirty-fifth President of the United States of America, John F. Kennedy, first rose to political prominence largely thanks to the widely-shared story of his heroics aboard the Navy ship PT-109. On the night of August 2, 1943, Kennedy's boat collided with the Japanese destroyer *The Amagiri*, and the American ship sank. As the captain of the ship, Kennedy took full responsibility for the lives of his fellow crewmembers and overcame insurmountable odds to save them. First elected to political office in 1946 as the Democratic Representative of Massachusetts's 11th Congressional district, Kennedy was portrayed as a heroic patriot who had risked his life in defense of his country. To this day, his military service is arguably better remembered by Americans than that of any other President who did not spend his entire career, prior to the Presidency, in the armed forces. In his book *Profiles in Courage*, Kennedy portrayed courage, particularly political courage, as the most admirable of all personal qualities and stated his belief that, "Great crises produce great men and great deeds of courage."⁷¹ Kennedy's

⁷¹ Kennedy, John F. *Profiles in Courage*. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2006. p. 51. Print.

courage was tested and strengthened during his service in to Navy. It was legendary before he even entered politics, and it was this principle by which he tried to live his life.

Management Style

The Role of the President

In a November 5, 1960 campaign speech, John Kennedy declared that, “the next President must be more than a mere bookkeeper, getting the numbers on the balance sheet to come out even — he must be commander in chief of the grand alliance for freedom.”⁷² Unlike his predecessor Dwight Eisenhower, JFK believed that one of the President's greatest responsibilities was to be the face of America and of democracy. In his senior thesis at Harvard, JFK stated that, “the Englishman had to be taught the need for armaments”⁷³ and concluded that England had 'slept' because the country's leaders failed to look beyond their day-to-day concerns to confront the growing international threat of Nazism. Kennedy was a vehement anticommunist, but he worried that democracies tended to become too comfortable and set in their ways. As a result, he saw the role of President to be not unlike the role of a PT captain — he would be in charge of rallying his followers, be they his Navy comrades or his fellow Americans, to unite behind a common cause.

To Kennedy, the President was an image first and a person second. He obsessed over his public image. Much to the dismay of his wife Jackie (who became an American icon in her own right), Jack loved to provide the press with updated pictures of him and his family. As the First

⁷² Kennedy, John F. "Excerpts of Remarks by Senator John F. Kennedy, New York Coliseum, New York, NY, November 5, 1960." *JFK Link*. n.d. Web. 23 Nov. 2011.

<http://www.jfklink.com/speeches/jfk/nov60/jfk051160_ny04.html>.

⁷³ Kennedy, John F. *Why England Slept*. New York: W. Funk, Inc., 1940. p. 4. Print.

Family, the Kennedys refurbished and redecorated the White House as they transformed their house into America's home. State dinners became spectacular affairs that included not just the typical politicos, business leaders, and political donors, but also Nobel Prize winners, artists, authors, playwrights, and more. The White House was no longer a building in which the American President lived; it had become the hub of American politics, culture, and awe. Kennedy even worked to maintain this new presidential image when he was away from Washington. He hired renowned designer Raymond Loewy to renovate Air Force One in an effort to create an atmosphere such that, "Kennedy would...emerge from the interior [of Air Force One] as a god descending from Mt. Olympus to dwell among the mortals."⁷⁴ JFK believed that, as a leader, he was not only responsible for making decisions; he was responsible for uniting the people behind his policies, and his public image was an important part of this.

As a PT captain in World War II, JFK learned to respect hierarchy. He expected those who were his subordinates to follow his every instruction, and he was certain to carry out the orders that he had been given. As the leader of the free world, Kennedy saw the presidency as an imperial role and believed that it was his responsibility to guide the nation. John had supreme confidence in himself, but for all of his life, he had been driven by fear, not hope. When the Amagiri split PT-109 in half, Kennedy became a hero by necessity. When asked how he became a hero, Kennedy responded, "It was involuntary. They sank my boat."⁷⁵ His career in politics came about mostly because Jack's older brother Joe Jr. (for whom a political career had been planned) was killed during World War II; bringing the Kennedy family pride and fame through

⁷⁴ Barnes, John A. *John F. Kennedy on Leadership*. New York: Amacom, 2005. p. 60. Print.

⁷⁵ "John F. Kennedy and PT109." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. n.d. Web. 18 Oct. 2011. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/JFK/JFK-in-History/John-F-Kennedy-and-PT109.aspx>>.

politics was a responsibility that fell into JFK's lap, not a choice he made. Even as President, the decisions he made, both foreign and domestic, were driven by Jack's fear of letting the United States fall behind the Soviet Union in the Cold War. This sense of fear, however, fueled JFK and instilled in him a commitment to fulfill his duties at any cost.

The Importance of the President's Public Appearance

Jack's service in the U.S. Navy taught him that he had a responsibility to protect his country, and he believed that all Americans shared this call to serve their country. In his inaugural address, President Kennedy challenged the nation:

My fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you — ask what you can do for your country. My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man. Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us the same high standards of strength and sacrifice we ask of you.⁷⁶

Kennedy sought to appeal to Americans' sense of pride and love for their country; as someone who had repeatedly risked his life for his country, he believed that no calling was greater. While many Presidents preach prosperity and American dominance, JFK called Americans to, “bear the burden of a long twilight struggle.”⁷⁷ Most people would rather not be asked to make significant sacrifices, and a politician who asked so much from his constituents would be unlikely to be elected. JFK, however, was successful because he was masterful in his ability to relate to people on a personal level while illustrating a vision to which few would be opposed.

⁷⁶ Kennedy, John F. "Inaugural Address." 20 Jan. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 1. p. 1. Print.

⁷⁷ Kennedy, John F. "Inaugural Address." 20 Jan. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 1. p. 1. Print.

At the beginning of his 1946 campaign for 11th Congressional District, Jack was a significant underdog. Not only were his ties to the communities of Somerville, Cambridge, and Boston minimal, but Jack was seen as the polar-opposite of his would-be constituents — it was highly unlikely that a tremendously wealthy 'outsider' who had never worked a day in his life would be elected to represent one of Massachusetts' poorest districts. Kennedy, however, garnered twice as many votes as his nearest competitor, Michael Neville, in the Democratic primary, and he went on to win the general election with 69,093 votes (66.5%).⁷⁸

As a young politician, Kennedy was successful because he understood and related to the issues which were of the greatest importance to his audience. Massachusetts' 11th District had sent more men to war than any other district in the country. Meanwhile, stories of JFK's war-time heroics had been widely covered by *Reader's Digest*, the Boston Globe, and many others. Largely fueled by Joe Kennedy Sr., the legendary tale of JFK's heroics immediately won him the respect and admiration of the 11th District's residents. Jack, however, was never comfortable talking about his efforts to rescue the crew members of PT-109. After all, some officers, including Douglas MacArthur, thought that Kennedy should be court-martialed after he allowed his boat, on which two men died, to be sunk. Likely feeling a bit guilty, Jack did not hesitate to portray his fallen crew members as heroes, and this selflessness won him even more admiration from the people of the 11th District. Jack appeared a bit awkward and uncertain in one of his first public speeches to hundreds of Gold Star Mothers (mothers whose children had been killed during the war) in Charlestown, MA. Everything changed, however, when he commented that,

⁷⁸ "The Election of 1946." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. n.d. Web. 22 Oct. 2011. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/Ready-Reference/JFK-Miscellaneous-Information/Election-1946.aspx>>.

“I think I know how you feel because my mother is a gold-star mother too,”⁷⁹ and on one of the few occasions, he referenced the deaths of his older brother Joe Jr. and close friends and crewmembers from his Naval service. Friend and advisor Dave Powers remembered the occasion saying, “I could hear them — where I was sitting on the fringe — saying, ‘He reminds me of my own’...When he finished his little ten-minute talk, he was surrounded...In all my years in politics, I’ve never seen such a reaction.”⁸⁰ Jack’s service in the Navy was instrumental in his formation as a leader, but the role it played in building his popularity and electability cannot be overlooked; without the legend of PT-109, it is much less likely that Jack would have been elected to political office.

Tales of Jack’s Naval heroics were what initially caught the attention of voters, but it was his ability to connect to his audience through shared values and shared experiences (most of which were based upon his military experience) that opened the door for him to win the election. Furthermore, the issues on which he focused were the ones that paralleled these shared values — primarily jobs and services for returning veterans. Kennedy was elected because his constituents felt that, despite his privileged upbringing, he understood them. This relationship led them not just to vote for Jack but to be willing to work together alongside him to achieve their goals. Despite his bad back, Jack and his team traversed the city going door-to-door meeting with and getting to know the residents of the 11th District. This personal touch, combined with neighborhood house parties; tea parties hosted by his mother and sister; and personalized, handwritten thank-you notes allowed him to establish a bond with those in the community.

⁷⁹ O’Brien, Michael. *John F. Kennedy: A Biography*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books of St. Martin’s Press, 2005. p. 200. Print.

⁸⁰ O’Brien, Michael. *John F. Kennedy: A Biography*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books of St. Martin’s Press, 2005. p. 200. Print.

Although effective in the 1946 Congressional election, these techniques would, of course, be less effective during Jack's Presidential run in 1960 due to the scope of the election. Nevertheless, Jack brought with him the same mindset which he had in the 1946 election and applied it using a different set of tools.

Very few Americans are ever able to directly interact with their President. Rather, they get to know him through television and the press. JFK was America's first television President. FDR was the first President to regularly come into the homes of America through his 'fireside chats,' but it was Kennedy's use of television that cemented the President as focal point of American public life. In 1952, he enrolled in training seminars at CBS's television school because, to President Kennedy, television was the most important method of communication which he had at his disposal. Television was unique in that it allowed him to connect with the American people directly; he would not have his message channeled through members of the media and Congressional establishments before reaching his audience. In a conversation with *Washington Post* reporter Benjamin Bradlee, JFK made the comment that, "I always said that when we don't have to go through you bastards, we can really get our story over to the American people."⁸¹ In his 1960 televised debates with Richard Nixon, JFK recognized his audience as the millions of television-viewers across the country while his opponent focused only on those within the room. Jack deflected questions from Nixon and even from the panel while Nixon felt compelled to respond to JFK's points. Thus, Kennedy was able to set the agenda for the debates and was seen as the clear winner by those who had watched on TV. Jack was a pioneer who used previously untapped resources to directly reach the American people.

⁸¹ Bradlee, Benjamin C. *Conversations with Kennedy*. New York: Pocket Book, 1976. p. 123. Print.

Television, however, was not the only medium through which Kennedy would reach America. He also took advantage of the opportunity to be an author. Jack had unusually soft cartilage in his back and suffered from fibrocartilage with degeneration, and the collision between PT-109 and the Amagiri left his back in more pain than ever before. Jack did not want to shortchange his Naval duties, but he was left with no choice but to undergo back surgery. Naval doctors pushed Kennedy into retirement on March 1, 1945, and Jack began the long road to recovery. During his extended recovery, he wrote the Pulitzer Prize winning book *Profiles in Courage*. JFK begins by stating that, “This is a book about the most admirable of human virtues — courage”⁸² and that his purpose is to present, “men whose abiding loyalty to their nation triumphed over all personal and political considerations, men who showed the real meaning of courage and a real faith in democracy.”⁸³ While his education from Harvard gave Jack the skills and historical knowledge to write the piece, it was his time in the military that made the themes about which he wrote come alive. Military service is unique in its ability to draw men of different beliefs and from different backgrounds and to unite them to fight for a common cause — the greater good of their nation. *Profiles in Courage* is, in many ways, Kennedy's description of the man he wants to become. It pairs military values with intellectual understanding as the key to success in politics, and in the eyes of his Congressional peers, the success of *Profiles in Courage* catapulted Kennedy from the status of a junior senator to that of a celebrity.

As Kennedy's career progressed, he did not let his passion for writing fall to the wayside. He continued to frequently write articles for important magazines and periodicals. JFK wrote

⁸² Kennedy, John F. *Profiles in Courage*. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2006. p. 1. Print.

⁸³ Kennedy, John F. *Profiles in Courage*. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2006. p. 18. Print.

such articles because it allowed him to reach the American people directly. He could present his thoughts and the reasoning behind his decisions in their entirety — unlike in the stories of news reporters, he would not be reduced to sound bites. Also, writing articles and opinion pieces was different from making formal speeches and announcements as President for two main reasons. First, he was able to present his own voice opposed to the voice of his Administration. Additionally, in his personal pieces, he was able to tactically target particular audiences. This gave him the opportunity to reach a discrete audience of potential opinion leaders without preaching to all of America. Furthermore, he recognized that by writing substantive pieces of his own, not only could he win over opinion leaders of the time, but he could portray himself as an opinion leader in his own right.

Kennedy knew how to effectively utilize the various channels at his disposal to reach the American people. That being said, he understood that charisma was not nearly as important as the quality of his content. Important speeches would be written and re-written by a team as large as twenty, and JFK solicited both formal and informal advice from his family, friends, and advisors — particularly Theodore Sorensen who Kennedy called his "intellectual blood bank" and who acted as Kennedy's special counsel, adviser and legendary speechwriter.⁸⁴ However, he knew that as the person delivering the speech, the message had to come from him, not from his team of speechwriters. Kennedy was his own best speechwriter and aimed to make his speeches feel more like conversations than soliloquies. As a PT boat captain, Kennedy learned the importance of presenting a unified message which would appeal to one's peers and followers. He had to understand the opinions and sentiments of his men in order to bring them together in

⁸⁴ James, Susan Donaldson. "Passing the Torch: Kennedy's Touch on Obama's Words." *ABC News*. 8 Feb. 2008. Web. 2 Nov. 2011.
<<http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/Vote2008/story?id=4259093&page=1#.T6GYbZ9YvbQ>>.

an effort to fulfill their missions. Decisions and orders in the military are to be followed, not questioned or debated, and Kennedy learned how to deliver a strong message which his followers (be they fellow Naval sailors or all American citizens) would receive openly and with enthusiasm.

JFK'S Team

As President, it was John F. Kennedy's responsibility to unite the American people in pursuit of their best interests, but before he could bring the country together, he had to establish a top caliber team to help him achieve these goals. Unlike President Clinton who accomplished his achievements through his own hard work and determination, Kennedy knew well that he could not be successful without the help of a strong support staff. While the commander of PT-109, Jack learned to rely on others while still acting as the team's core.

Unlike President Eisenhower who delegated work to his staff so that he could focus his attention elsewhere, Kennedy utilized his team of advisors as his foundation and as his partners. This is a reflection of their different experiences in the military. Eisenhower attained the rank of five-star general without firing a gun or leading troops into battle. Instead, he made his career by being a skilled strategic planner. From a career on the 'management side' of the military, Eisenhower became a firm believer in the importance of a hierarchical structure of operations. As a military leader, he focused his attention on high-level planning and military strategy, while others handled the details and led the troops — his time in the White House was no different. Kennedy, on the other hand, regularly relied on his counterparts in the Navy in life-or-death scenarios. When PT-109 was struck by the Amagiri, one's rank did not matter — surviving did. Each patrol mission on which his team embarked was accomplished as a collective unit. Each

member of PT-109 relied on each other to fulfill different roles, and they operated as a collective unit, not as a hierarchy. This experience showed JFK the importance of having a strong, reliable, and capable team. As a result, the formation of an effective team would be of utmost importance to him as he prepared to enter the White House in January of 1961.

President Kennedy is remembered for assembling a group of advisors who were the 'best and the brightest' of the time. His staff had a distinctly large number of serious academic scholars and included fifteen Rhodes Scholars. In his recruitment of advisors, JFK approached a brilliant economist from Yale, James Tobin, who was hesitant to accept the position out of fear that he was too much of an, "ivory tower economist." President-elect Kennedy quickly replied, "That's alright — I'm something of an ivory tower President."⁸⁵ While Jack was partially poking fun at his own upbringing, this comment accurately illustrates the team of advisors which Kennedy brought to the White House. Kennedy valued intelligence more than anything and sought smart advisors regardless of their tenure in politics. David Gergen noted that, in an effort to be presented with a balanced and fair view of national and international affairs, "President Kennedy asked — and received — the support of Republicans to serve as secretary of the treasury, secretary of defense, CIA director, and national security advisor."⁸⁶ Even when choosing military advisors, JFK called upon retired Army General Maxwell D. Taylor to be his a personal military advisor. He did this not because of Taylor's military accomplishments, but because Taylor had emphasized the importance of academics before all else while he was the superintendent of West Point. Kennedy personally interviewed many potential advisors and was

⁸⁵ Sorensen, Ted. *Kennedy: The Classic Biography*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2009. p. 256. Print.

⁸⁶ Gergen, David. *Eyewitness to Power: The Essence of Leadership Nixon to Clinton*. New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2000. p. 269. Print.

so impressed by Robert McNamara, one of the 'whiz kids' and first non-family President of the Ford Motor Co., that he let McNamara choose between the positions of Secretary of Defense and Secretary of the Treasury. Kennedy went as far as negotiating a very attractive severance package from the Rockefeller Foundation on behalf of Dean Rusk in an effort to lure him to Washington.⁸⁷ JFK understood that the challenges he would face could not be predicted and would be, in many cases, unlike anything America had previously faced. Because of this, he chose brainpower over expertise and experience, and he repeated his mantra that, "you can't beat brains."⁸⁸

Kennedy did recruit the 'best and the brightest,' but he remained focused on bringing together a team that was not just smart — he wanted one that would work well together. As a PT boat captain in World War II, Kennedy worked directly alongside his men, and believed that no task was 'beneath' him. Despite his bad back, Jack would wade into the water to scrape barnacles off the boat's hull even though, as the boat's captain, he did not have to do such work. Although it quickly became common knowledge, Jack did not advertise his father's position or his family upbringing, and instead, he was focused on the tasks which were assigned to his team. When he entered the White House, Jack brought with him many people whom he had known for years — through the military, prior public service, and personal connections. Unlike Eisenhower who sat atop the military hierarchy, Kennedy's perspective as a serviceman, left him with the belief that bureaucracies stifle flexibility and effectiveness. By bringing with him advisors with whom he already had close relationships, his team would be better able to work together as partners.

⁸⁷ Barnes, John A. *John F. Kennedy on Leadership*. New York: Amacom, 2005. p. 133. Print.

⁸⁸ Bradlee, Benjamin C. *Conversations with Kennedy*. New York: Pocket Book, 1976. p. 134. Print.

President Kennedy created an informal environment within the White House. Staff members were welcome to stop by the President's office whenever his door was ajar, and appointments and formal meetings were typically seen as unnecessary. Kennedy fostered this informal environment in an effort to encourage independent thinking. Attorney General Robert Kennedy described the Cuban Missile Crisis deliberations by saying that, "none was consistent in his opinion from the very beginning to the very end. That kind of open, unfettered mind was essential."⁸⁹ President Kennedy even chose not to attend many of these meetings because he did not want his staff to feel compelled to voice only the opinions which they believed the President wanted to hear. Robert Kennedy believed that his brother saw the Executive Committee of the National Security Council (ExComm) as, "more useful for consensus-building than for decision-making."⁹⁰ Kennedy positioned himself as the final decision-maker on all issues, but he reached his final decisions through open debate with his closest advisors.

Kennedy's team was loyal to him, and he to them. While serving in the Navy, Jack begged, borrowed, and stole food and supplies for his men aboard PT-109 on numerous occasions.⁹¹ He knew that only by keeping the best interests of his men at heart would they follow him and subscribe to his vision. As President, Kennedy formed a close team; he relied just as much on his White House advisors as he did on his fellow crewmembers during his tour in the Solomon Islands. In issues ranging from the Cuban Missile Crisis to Civil Rights and the Bay of Pigs invasion, Kennedy chose to surround himself with his most trusted advisors; he did

⁸⁹ Kennedy, Robert F. *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1999. p. 25. Print.

⁹⁰ Kennedy, Robert F. *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1999. p. 13. Print.

⁹¹ Donovan, Robert J. *PT109: John F. Kennedy in World War II*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961. p. 92. Print.

not simply bring together the advisors with the most relevant experience. He selected people, such as his brother Bobby Kennedy who was elevated to the highest legal position in America without ever having served in a courtroom, who were smart, trustworthy, and who would act always in America's best interest. JFK believed that 'people are policy' and that the only way to broker meaningful policies is by pooling the ideas and resources of his 'Brain Trust' in an effort to do what is right for America.

Kennedy preferred to bring together a team of close, trusted advisors rather than to select a team based on their resumes and prior experience; he could seek the advice of experts on an as-needed basis. Similar to President Andrew Jackson's famous 'Kitchen Cabinet' of advisors, Kennedy did not want to be 'boxed in' by a team of specialists. If he were to form a team of experts on a given matter, it would be difficult for the President to make his own decision; he would likely feel compelled to accept the experts' decisions. As a result, Jack surrounded himself by people whose opinions he valued — regardless of their expertise. He consulted experts as needed but did not let them drive the decision-making process. That being said, Jack was not blinded by nepotism and was not afraid to make the decisions that he saw fit — whether it was in line with the advice of his advisors or not. For example, Bobby Kennedy was JFK's closest advisor, but President Kennedy never hesitated to reject Bobby's advice (as he did during debates regarding the Dominican Republic's attempt to install a pro-Castro regime) and excluded him from some important decisions. Kennedy picked his advisors well, and a very low number were dismissed or chose to leave during his presidency. While Kennedy's group of the 'Best and the Brightest' was not infallible, these advisors allowed him to make informed decisions about the issues that he faced.

Staff/White House structure

As President, one of the first things Kennedy did was to dismantle the hierarchy of the Eisenhower administration. Given Kennedy's team of advisors and the fact that he viewed them as partners opposed to as subordinates, the existing structure would be ineffective for JFK's management style. As Kennedy described it, he wanted to be not at the top of a hierarchy, but at the center of a wheel in terms of his management structure. He believed that centralized decision-making and policy-brokerage was essential to present a single 'voice' of the Administration. As a member of Kennedy's administration, Larry O'Brien changed the way cabinet departments and federal agencies interacted with Capitol Hill. Until that point, each department/agency was responsible for its own Congressional relations. He ended that practice and required weekly meetings with Congressional liaisons to ensure that the administration was putting forth a unified stance that was in line with the President's wishes. By positioning himself in the center (not at the top) of his administration, JFK was best able to present a single, strong, and unquestionable message to his fellow politicians and fellow Americans.

Eisenhower spent his time in the Army working behind-the-scenes to plan America's military strategy. However, as someone who fought for his life in the Solomon Islands, Kennedy understood the need for a strong figurehead who was connected to his followers. As the captain of PT-109, Jack's most important role was motivating his men and uniting them to fight together for a common purpose. Had he managed by way of behind-the-scenes tactics, there would have likely been a lack of clarity regarding commitment, purpose, and responsibilities of his crew. After PT-109 was sunk, the crewmembers were assumed to be dead, and no rescue attempt was made. Kennedy became infuriated at Lieutenant Commander Thomas Warfield, an Annapolis graduate, who was in charge of coordinating the mission from the Naval base — out of harm's

way. Jack resented Warfield who was entirely detached from his men. JFK carried this lesson into the White House and maintained close relationships with his administration, Congress, and his constituents. He acted as the face of his administration and as an icon throughout America.

Once in the White House, Kennedy dismantled the 'cabinet government' and created the modern White House staff.

JFK created his own organizational structure, one that operated parallel to the existing government structure, much as he had created his own campaign structure, independent of the Massachusetts and national Democratic parties. He wanted something that would be responsive to his needs and no one else's.⁹²

President Kennedy used his White House staff more than his cabinet and for the first time gave aides separate and distinct powers and responsibilities. He acted as his own Chief of Staff and often as his own Secretary of State. Unlike preceding Secretaries of State George Marshall, Dean Acheson, and John Foster Dulles, Kennedy chose Dean Rusk because he did *not* want a strong leader as the Secretary of State; rather, Kennedy wanted to broker foreign policy and manage diplomatic relations himself. He moved the office of National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy into the West Wing and created what is now commonly referred to as the 'Situation Room.' Similarly, he made Lyndon Johnson the first Vice-President to be given an office in the White House. Under Kennedy, Bundy's power as National Security Advisor grew tremendously while VP Johnson was excluded from most meetings (due to personal differences). However, bringing them both to the White House made it much easier for Kennedy to seek their advice when he deemed it necessary. Kennedy transformed the structure of the White House and his staff from Ike's hierarchical system of behind-the-scenes management and delegation to one that better facilitated cooperative teamwork.

⁹² Barnes, John A. *John F. Kennedy on Leadership*. New York: Amacom, 2005. p. 145. Print.

Decision making

JFK *made* decisions unlike President Eisenhower who *approved* them. Eisenhower's staff was structured so that only the most important and pressing issues would ever land on his desk. Ike trusted his advisors to make decisions on his behalf, and he quietly facilitated the implementation of his administration's policy through his management tactics. Kennedy, however, felt that such a structure limits both a President's options and his knowledge regarding the challenges he is facing. He believed that it was of utmost importance for the President and his administration to present a unified message that made clear their priorities. To him, the only way for a President to set his own agenda is by directly choosing the issues which would occupy his time. Of course, this did sometimes result in Kennedy becoming bogged down in small details, but it was essential to the unified image which he worked to establish — both amongst his advisors and across the country.

As mentioned, Kennedy arranged his staff so that informal discussions could easily take place, and it was informal deliberation that drove his major decisions. JFK would learn that, during the Bay of Pigs fiasco, some of the Joint Chiefs of Staff had withheld their true thoughts and feelings because they were afraid of contradicting the President. Kennedy was furious when he heard this and began making them submit written briefs summarizing their opinions and initial thoughts prior to meetings. While this was an exception to his general operational tactics, it drove home Jack's goal of facilitating open discussion, and JFK saw informal conversations as the best way to facilitate these open discussions, not formal meetings. JFK believed that only by understanding the point of view of one's adversaries (be it advisors with different opinions or Khrushchev with his opposing ideologies) could he reach a well-informed decision and would he be able to communicate this decision to all parties. JFK went as far as selecting C. Douglas

Dillon, Republican Dwight Eisenhower's Undersecretary of State, who had contributed more than \$26,000 to Richard Nixon's campaign as his Treasury Secretary.⁹³ Robert Kennedy reflected on the Cuban Missile Crisis by saying, "I believe that our deliberations proved conclusively how important it is that the President have recommendations and opinions of more than one individual, or more than one department, and of more than one point of view."⁹⁴ In his description of Kennedy, James Giglio says that, "no President kept a tighter rein on foreign policy, yet few Presidents learned to listen to as many divergent viewpoints."⁹⁵

John Kennedy was a visionary leader who appealed to a cause greater than himself. Unlike Clinton, Kennedy, along with Eisenhower, focused his attention on 'big picture' strategy that always related back to American foreign policy. In his 1961 inaugural address, he called Americans to examine their consciences and to be active in the betterment of America and the world by stating, "with a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own."⁹⁶ This line captures the primary theme of Kennedy's presidency. Kennedy's message was clear, but he needed Americans to believe in it. He had an insatiable desire for information and saw facts and stats as the key to making his audience understand the importance of his message. The logic-driven decision-making of JFK comes alive in his fact-heavy speeches which he used as a tool to win over the American people

⁹³ Barnes, John A. *John F. Kennedy on Leadership*. New York: Amacom, 2005. p. 138. Print.

⁹⁴ Kennedy, Robert F. *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1999. p. 86. Print.

⁹⁵ Rondinelli, Dennis A. and John M. Heffron. *Leadership for Development: What Globalization Demands of Leaders Fighting for Change*. Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press, 2009. p. 64. Print.

⁹⁶ Kennedy, John F. "Inaugural Address." 20 Jan. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 1. p. 1. Print.

with inarguable evidence. He thought that emotion would wear off in the long-run and worked to present his messages in an inarguable form. Kennedy had a vision for America, and just like in his Navy days, he wanted no one to doubt the captain.

While JFK's speeches were characteristically fact-heavy, their messages were typically built upon morality. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Special Assistant to the President, highlighted the importance of physical and moral courage to JFK, and Robert Kennedy later said that courage was the virtue that his brother valued most.⁹⁷ Schlesinger cites the sinking of PT-109 as the embodiment of JFK's preoccupation with courage — an enduring theme throughout his life. He states that, "In the first instance, this means physical courage — the courage of men under enemy fire, of men silently suffering pain, the courage of the sailor...And when he entered politics, it came to mean moral courage."⁹⁸ Kennedy believed that he and his administration would be judged by whether or not they were men of courage, judgment, integrity, and dedication. Although he lacked integrity in his personal life, public integrity, as it related to the broader nation, was of utmost importance to JFK. He was compelled to act always in the best interest of the United States. After the Bay of Pigs fiasco, Kennedy took full responsibility for his mistakes and remarked that, "Victory has a hundred fathers, but defeat is an orphan. And I wouldn't be surprised if information is poured into you in regard to all of the recent activities...I am the responsible officer of the government."⁹⁹ JFK was not without faults, but the cornerstone of his presidential decision-making was the same as it had been as a Naval officer: he had a personal

⁹⁷ Kennedy, John F. *Profiles in Courage*. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2006. p. XV. Print.

⁹⁸ Schlesinger, Arthur M. *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965. p. 86. Print.

⁹⁹ Kennedy, John F. "The President's News Conference of April 21, 1961." 21 Apr. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 139. p. 312-313. Print.

responsibility to do what was right and what was in the best interest of the United States — whether that be by defending his country in the Solomon Islands or brokering policy and legislation in Washington.

The author of *Profiles in Courage*, which portrays political courage as the greatest of all virtues, JFK acted in the best interest of his country, not merely in the best interest of the Democratic party. As a Navy sailor, Kennedy risked his life alongside Democrats and Republicans, blacks and whites, wealthy and poor to fight for the United States of America — not for various factions of the country. Winning the war against the Axis powers and later against communism was not a political matter; it was a moral matter. He went out of his way to join the military not because of his political beliefs, but because he felt that it was his moral duty to serve his country. In the White House, Kennedy viewed every challenge and issue through the eyes of an American opposed to the eyes of a Democrat. Kennedy was not afraid to push conservative proposals which he thought would benefit the American people. In his December 14, 1962 address to the Economics Club of New York, Kennedy spoke of his plan to:

Reduce the burden on private income and the deterrents to private initiative which are imposed by our present tax system [which] exerts too heavy a drag on growth in peace time; that siphons out of the private economy too large a share of personal and business purchasing power; [and] that reduces the financial incentives for personal effort, investment, and risk-taking.¹⁰⁰

About this speech, Kennedy's economic advisor John Kenneth Galbraith remarked that it was, “the most Republican speech since McKinley.”¹⁰¹ JFK established the pre-cursor to supply-side economics which would later become a principle of the Republican party. Just like the subjects

¹⁰⁰ Kennedy, John F. "Address and Question and Answer Period at the Economic Club of New York." 14 Dec. 1962. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 549. p. 875. Print.

¹⁰¹ Sorensen, Theodore C. *Kennedy*. New York: Harper and Row, 1965. p. 430. Print.

of *Profiles in Courage* and his fellow Naval comrades, Kennedy was sure to place country above all else.

Kennedy put the country's best interests first, and unlike so many other politicians, he was unafraid to adjust his course when necessary. One of JFK's campaign promises was that he would close the perceived 'missile gap' between the United States and the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, he opposed large investments in America's space program because he saw space travel as unrelated to America's safety and prosperity. However, unlike some politicians who view changing one's opinion or agenda as a sign of weakness, Kennedy was always open to examining new evidence. In the case of the 'missile gap,' Kennedy shifted his attention from fueling the arms race to passing the nuclear test ban treaty which sought to limit the world's capacity for nuclear war. With respect to the 'space race,' Kennedy's sentiment changed after the Soviet launch of Sputnik, and on May 25, 1961, President Kennedy addressed Congress and said:

Recognizing the head start obtained by the Soviets with their large rocket engines, which gives them many months of lead time, and recognizing the likelihood that they will exploit this lead for some time to come in still more impressive successes, we nevertheless are required to make new efforts of our own. For while we cannot guarantee that we shall one day be first, we can guarantee that any failure to make this effort will make us last. We take an additional risk by making it in full view of the world, but as shown by the feat of astronaut Shepard, this very risk enhances our stature when we are successful. But this is not merely a race. Space is open to us now; and our eagerness to share its meaning is not governed by the efforts of others. We must go into space because whatever mankind must undertake, free men must fully share.¹⁰²

Service in the Navy taught Jack that obstinacy can be deadly and that one must not be afraid to adjust his plan as additional information becomes available. Doing the right thing must always

¹⁰² Kennedy, John F. "Special Message to the Congress on Urgent National Needs." 25 May 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 205. p. 396. Print.

take precedence over politics. While this principle was the foundation of all of his decisions, he understood that flexibility and compromise would be important to getting anything accomplished.

Kennedy realized that a 'perfect' solution would be ineffective unless others bought into it. Not only was he unafraid to support conservative pieces of legislation, he was willing to work with members outside of his staff and who had opposing views in order to reach a mutual agreement. Kennedy's Ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, remarked that, "peace is non-partisan," but it was Kennedy himself who most clearly illustrated his willingness to work with adversaries to reach agreement. In an October 8, 1962 letter from President Kennedy to Chairman Khrushchev, JFK says:

Surely, considering the great value for international relations and the general security and tranquility of the world which the comprehensive agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests would entail, we can agree on the number of such inspections which would be necessary to identify the nature or cause of these explosions. Once that is done...we can conclude a treaty which will enable all peoples of the world to rest easier.¹⁰³

Kennedy shows his willingness to a compromise in regards to the number of nuclear inspections and illustrates global safety and security as a goal which can be achieved only through mutual partnership. While managing the Cuban Missile Crisis, Kennedy established a back-channel of communication which connected his brother Robert Kennedy with Georgi Bolshakov of the Soviet Union. Through this relationship and the exchange of personal letters, Kennedy worked to establish a personal bond with Khrushchev because he thought it would be harder to kill a man whom he knew well. Similarly, President Kennedy would attempt to broker a back-channel

¹⁰³ Fensch, Thomas (editor). "Message from President Kennedy to Chairman Khrushchev: Washington, 8 Oct. 1962." *The Kennedy-Khrushchev Letters*. The Woodlands, TX: New Century Books, 2001. #59. p. 296. Print.

peace agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbors. JFK went out of his way not only to seek a variety of viewpoints to inform his approach to policy, but to work directly with the opposition to reach a solution of which both sides would approve.

Eisenhower's experience as a military general led him to lead his staff through delegation and behind-the-scenes management while Clinton's academic training made him feel as if he could solve every problem independently. Kennedy's combat and mid-rank leadership experience in the Navy and education from Harvard (and briefly Stanford) formed a President with a leadership style that falls between those of Ike and Bill. Kennedy used his logic and brilliant team of advisors to reach decisions which he would broadcast to the country with the flair of his unparalleled public appeal. Kennedy is still remembered for assembling the highest caliber staff of any President, and what is most noteworthy about Kennedy's team of advisors (especially compared to the staffs of Eisenhower or Clinton) is that JFK viewed his staff as partners while most other Presidents typically see their staffs as subordinates. However, in his ironically-titled book *The Best and the Brightest*, David Halberstam analyzes the decisions made by Kennedy and his team which put America on a path into Vietnam. JFK's management style was essential to the success of many of his programs and decisions which proceeded to better the nation, but the failures of Kennedy's administration remain. For better or for worse, it is undeniable that John F. Kennedy's approach to management affected both his agenda and his effectiveness as President and that this style of leading others is largely the result of his service in the U.S. Navy.

Policy Decisions

On August 2, 1943, Katsumori Yamashiro and his crew aboard the Amagiri, a Japanese destroyer, rammed into Jack Kennedy's PT-109, leaving the American soldiers for dead. Years later, once Kennedy emerged as an important American political figure, Captain Yamashiro wrote to JFK on numerous occasions. Yamashiro remarked that he was, “deeply moved to know better than hitherto what enormous sufferings and difficulties [Kennedy] and [his] crew faced up to and surmounted.”¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, in a letter to Robert Donovan, the author of the book *PT-109*, Yamashiro refutes Donovan's claim that the Amagiri's collision with PT-109 was intentional by saying that, "I gave out the command 'Port Helm' with the intention of averting a collision with the PT boat then fast closing in, right ahead of the racing Amagiri. I declare this by God."¹⁰⁵ However, despite Yamashiro's numerous attempts to flatter and make amends with Kennedy, he typically received nothing more than a standard acknowledgement from JFK's secretary that he had received the letter. While serving in the Navy, Kennedy came to view the Japanese, Germans, and all communists as his personal enemies — they had, after all, killed his brother, his friends, and his comrades, and they had nearly killed him.

As President, nothing mattered more to Kennedy than foreign policy, and on numerous occasions, he stated his belief that, “Domestic policy can only defeat us; foreign policy can kill

¹⁰⁴ Yamashiro, Katsumori. "Letter from Katsumori Yamashiro to John F. Kennedy. 1 Aug. 1962. Digital Identifier: JFKPOF-132-009." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. n.d. Web. 24 Oct 2011. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKPOF-132-009.aspx>>.

¹⁰⁵ Yamashiro, Katsumori. "Letter from Katsumori Yamashiro to Robert J. Donovan. August 1, 1962. Digital Identifier: JFKPOF-132-009." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. n.d. Web. 24 Oct 2011. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKPOF-132-009.aspx>>.

us."¹⁰⁶ He saw domestic policy simply as a tool which he could use to shape America into the beacon of democracy which would be projected to the rest of the world. He identified himself and his constituents as the, "new generation of Americans — born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage — and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this Nation has always been committed." His inaugural address was the first of many speeches which would make clear that, as a combat veteran, Kennedy still saw himself and his administration as cold warriors.

Kennedy's, "First Congressional campaign boasted of taking on the anti-Cold War faction of the Democratic party led by Henry Wallace, and as a congressman he aligned himself with those who said the Truman Administration wasn't being tough enough, when he willingly attached his name to the chorus demanding 'Who Lost China?'"¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, at a dinner commemorating the 100th Anniversary of the Harvard Spree Club, JFK made clear his anti-communist fervor by referring to Senator Joseph McCarthy as, "a great American patriot."¹⁰⁸ In every election in which JFK ran, he portrayed himself as the loyal patriot who would be tough on communism — he campaigned on veterans affairs in 1946; touted his defeat of a communist union official while working on a Congressional Labor Committee; and campaigned against Eisenhower under the false claim that a 'missile gap' had emerged between the U.S. and Soviet Union. In his first speech as President, he put forth a hawkish declaration: "Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we will pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any

¹⁰⁶ Kennedy, John F. (edited by Bill Adler and Tom Folsom. *The Uncommon Wisdom of JFK*. New York: Rugged Land, 2003. p. 57. Print.

¹⁰⁷ McAdams, John. "Kennedy and the Cold War." *Marquette University*. n.d. Web. 12 Dec. 2011. <<http://mcadams.posc.mu.edu/progjfk5.htm>>.

¹⁰⁸ McAdams, John. "The Kennedys and McCarthyism." *Marquette University*. n.d. Web. 12 Dec. 2011. <<http://mcadams.posc.mu.edu/progjfk2.htm>>.

friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty."¹⁰⁹ Kennedy believed that his purpose, both in the military and in Washington, was to defeat America's communist enemies.

Cold War

Kennedy's Naval service, combined with his academic studies at Harvard, led him to believe that war is the result of miscalculation which stems from a lack of understanding between adversaries. He knew the destruction of traditional warfare and understood that nuclear war would be unwinnable for either side; therefore, it was to be avoided at all costs. Robert McNamara was put in charge of Kennedy's policy of 'flexible response' which was designed to avoid misjudgments and miscalculations. They sought to build up conventional forces and to improve the management and deployment of U.S. resources so that America could appropriately respond to any bouts of Soviet aggression in a manner that would not escalate the conflict. Eisenhower's military strategy was based solely upon nuclear weapons; by making war so devastating and costly, neither side would ever be willing to strike the first blow. Kennedy, however, was nervous about a defense strategy that was solely dependent upon nuclear weapons so he introduced a system which would make America ready, "to deter all wars, general or limited, nuclear or conventional, large or small."¹¹⁰ Eisenhower's New Look and strategy of massive retaliation was effective at deterring the Soviets from attacking America, but it left President Eisenhower with his hands tied in regards to any foreign policy issues that did not

¹⁰⁹ Kennedy, John F. "Inaugural Address." 20 Jan. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 1. p. 1. Print.

¹¹⁰ Kennedy, John F. "Special Message to the Congress on the Defense Budget." 28 Mar. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 99. p. 229. Print.

warrant a nuclear response. Kennedy's flexible response doctrine, however, allowed the President to make strategic interventions that he would not have been able to do with an all-or-nothing approach.

Shortly after his conference with Nikita Khrushchev in Vienna, Austria in June of 1961 and prior to the construction of the Berlin Wall that August, Kennedy addressed the American people, saying:

So long as the communists insist that they are preparing to end by themselves unilaterally our rights in West Berlin and our commitments to its people, we must be prepared to defend those rights and those commitments. We will at times be ready to talk, if talk will help. But we must also be ready to resist with force, if force is used upon us. Either alone would fail. Together, they can serve the cause of freedom and peace.

Kennedy substantially increased the military's power, personnel, and budget and sought to take a hard line against communism without seeming like a war-hawk to the rest of the world. In public, Kennedy made comments such as, "And there are some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the Communists. Let them come to Berlin,"¹¹¹ implying that the Communists could not be reasoned with. However, although he was a vehement anti-communist, JFK quietly began to adapt his strategy. Large, public failures in Cuba and a realization that the perceived 'missile gap' did not actually exist led Kennedy to shift his method of dealing with the Soviet Union to a less hawkish approach.

¹¹¹ Kennedy, John F. "Remarks in the Rudolph Wilde Platz, Berlin." 26 Jun. 1963. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 269. p. 524. Print.

Cuba

Under President Eisenhower, the United States devised a plan to train Cuban exiles to invade their homeland and overthrow the communist dictator Fidel Castro in an effort to facilitate the establishment of a new government that was friendly to the United States. Eisenhower approved the plan in March of 1960, and the rebel soldiers began training in Guatemala for an amphibious assault and guerrilla warfare. The secrecy of the mission was compromised, however, and word spread through Cuban immigrants in Miami to Castro. Nevertheless, newly elected President, John F. Kennedy, had run on a platform that pushed for America's dominance over communism. As a result, Kennedy felt that he would be seen as politically weak if, in his first major test, he backed away from a communist dictator; JFK authorized the invasion plan shortly after his inauguration. In April of 1961, the 1,500 member Cuban militia would invade the remote, swampy Bay of Pigs under the cover of darkness and attack Castro's regime while another faction landed on the eastern coast to create a diversion. From there, the attack's success would be determined by the readiness of the Cuban people to join the revolution.

Castro's prior knowledge of the invasion, combined with America's refusal to send American troops to assist in the invasion; bad weather; and strategic blunders caused the invasion at Cuba's Bay of Pigs to be a disaster.

The complete defeat of the volunteer Cuban liberation force which had been encouraged by the United States and covertly assisted with training, equipment, and transportation strengthened Castro internally, weakened the morale of anti-

Castro forces in Cuba and elsewhere and gravely damaged United States prestige.¹¹²

During the Bay of Pigs, Kennedy found himself in unfamiliar territory. Unlike his role in the Navy in which he fought alongside his men, JFK now found himself planning the invasion but avoiding any American (let alone personal) involvement on the ground. Kennedy was under such great political pressure that he abandoned one of the driving principles of his management style: partnering with one's allies instead of giving them orders. Kennedy trusted the experts from Eisenhower's administration who had outlined the plan, and the inexperienced President allowed the plan to go forth.

In the Bay of Pigs Fiasco, JFK strayed from the characteristics which he learned from the Navy and which would go on to define his management style. This led to the biggest failure and humiliation of his presidency, and it was instrumental in shaping Kennedy's subsequent approach to foreign policy. The Bay of Pigs Fiasco was a costly lesson for the Kennedy Administration. The event reinforced Kennedy's belief in the need for improved counterinsurgency, nonconventional military, and intelligence capabilities if the U.S. was to halt the spread of communism. He learned the importance of having firm operational control over international crises, and this approach served him well during the Cuban Missile Crisis. However, JFK missed the most important lesson which U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson outlined in his April 23, 1961 letter to the President:

Direct Western intervention against a "creeping revolution" is perilous because we are still, "neo-colonialists" in local eyes...and our interference is likely to rally popular opinion to the regime...We can, perhaps, change this mood over a period of years, and the doctrinaire Communists with their brutal techniques will help us.

¹¹² "Top Secret: Plan for Cuba. Cuba: Security, 1961. Digital Identifier: JFKPOF-115-003." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library Archives*. n.d. Web. 13 Dec. 2011. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKPOF-115-003.aspx>>.

But we cannot do so at once. The Cuban fiasco has probably retarded the process.¹¹³

Rather than heed the advice of Stevenson, Kennedy's failure at the Bay of Pigs fueled him to recompense for the failed invasion. As a result, he initiated Operation Mongoose which would be led by his brother and most-trusted advisor, Bobby Kennedy. Between 1960-1965, the United States helped to facilitate coups, revolts, and sabotage in Cuba and worked to coordinate at least eight separate attempts on Castro's life.¹¹⁴ Kennedy's fear of communism spreading to America's neighbors could not be subsided. On December 29, 1962, President Kennedy met Brigade 2506 at the Orange Bowl in Florida to welcome the men back to America from their post-Bay of Pigs Invasion imprisonment. At the ceremony, the Cuban rebels gave the President their brigade's flag, and President Kennedy received it and promised that, "I can assure you that this flag will be returned to this brigade in a free Havana."¹¹⁵ However, Kennedy would be unable to fulfill this promise, and tension between democratic America and communist Cuba would continue to mount.

After the Bay of Pigs Invasion, the Organization of American States enacted the Charter of Punta del Este which sought "to accelerate the economic and social development of the participating countries of Latin America, so that they may achieve maximum levels of well-being, with equal opportunities for all, in democratic societies adapted to their own needs and

¹¹³ Stevenson, Adlai E. "Letter from Adlai E. Stevenson to President John F. Kennedy. Some Lessons from Cuba. April 23, 1961. Digital Identifier: JFKPOF-114-025." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library Archives*. n.d. Web. 19 Dec. 2011. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKPOF-114-025.aspx>>.

¹¹⁴ "People & Events: Operation Mongoose: The Covert Operation to Remove Castro From Power. *American Experience: R.F.K, PBS*. 1 Jul. 2004. Web. 23 Jan. 2012. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/rfk/peopleevents/e_mongoose.html>.

¹¹⁵ Kennedy, John F. "Remarks in Miami at the Presentation of the Flag of the Cuban Invasion Brigade." 29 Dec. 1962. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 556. p. 911. Print.

desires."¹¹⁶ Disapproving of his communist regime, the Kennedy Administration went on to make numerous attempts to overthrow Castro — thus, strengthening his ties with Nikita Khrushchev of the Soviet Union. In October of 1962, an American U-2 spy plane spotted Soviet-sponsored nuclear missile sites being built in Cuba, and this resulted in the climax of the Cold War. The next day, Kennedy met with his closest advisors, not a group of Cuban or military experts, to discuss the problem, and on October 23, 1962 President Kennedy declared to Congress that:

The United States is determined to prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms, the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba from extending, by force or the threat of force, its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of this hemisphere, and to prevent in Cuba the creation or use of an externally supported military capability endangering the security of the United States...¹¹⁷

Although America's failure in the Bay of Pigs Invasion was not enough to convince Kennedy to back away from Cuba, it did push him to revert to the style of management which he employed while in the Navy. Kennedy studied British military analyst Basil Liddell Hart's *Deterrent or Defense* which encouraged leaders to, "Keep strong, if possible. In any case, keep cool. Have unlimited patience. Never corner an opponent and always assist him to save his face. Put yourself in his shoes — so as to see things through his eyes. Avoid self-righteousness like the devil — nothing is so self-blinding" as the foundation for his negotiations during the crisis.¹¹⁸ Despite his 'flexible response' doctrine, Kennedy's hands were tied. His advisors were split;

¹¹⁶ *The Charter of Punta del Este, Establishing an Alliance for Progress within the Framework of Operation Pan America*. 17 Aug. 1961. Web. 11 Dec. 2011.

<http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/intam16.asp>.

¹¹⁷ Kennedy, John F. "Proclamation 3504: Interdiction of the Delivery of Offensive Weapons to Cuba." 23 Oct. 1962. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 486. p. 809. Print.

¹¹⁸ Kennedy, John F. "Review of 'Deterrent or Defense' by B. H. Liddell Hart in the *Saturday Review*." *The American Presidency Project: University of California Santa Barbara*. 3 Sep. 1960. Web. 13 Jan. 2012. <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25937>>.

some advocated that America immediately and forcefully attack Cuba while others saw American aggression as the catalyst of nuclear war. President Kennedy could not allow America's enemies to construct nuclear launch pads which could strike America's major cities along the eastern seaboard without reacting. That being said, the provocation of either side would have likely resulted in a nuclear holocaust. Having already faced tremendous stress and the life-or-death challenges of war, JFK responded just as he did in August of 1942 — with courage and a level head.

JFK had seen that even the winners of war suffer tremendous pain, suffering, and loss. John Lewis Gaddis writes that, "Far from neglecting the dangers of nuclear war, [Kennedy] had a keen sense of what they were. Far from opposing compromise, he pushed for one more strongly than anyone else in his administration."¹¹⁹ Kennedy opposed communism, but he wanted to compete against the communists peacefully, not militarily. After a U-2 spy plane was shot down while flying over Cuba during a reconnaissance mission, Kennedy's advisors were ready to attack, but the President, once again, pulled them back. Robert Kennedy reflected that, "The President was deciding for the U.S., the Soviet Union, Turkey, NATO, and really for all of mankind...Kennedy and ExComm had a responsibility to every person on the earth."¹²⁰ For that reason, the Kennedy Administration, "spent more time on this moral question during the first five days than on any other single matter."¹²¹ American history and the recent battles of World

¹¹⁹ Gaddis, John Lewis. *We Know Nothing: Rethinking Cold War History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. p. 272. Print.

¹²⁰ Kennedy, Robert F. *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1999. p. 75-76. Print.

¹²¹ Kennedy, Robert F. *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1999. p. 30. Print.

War II left Kennedy unwilling to position America as an aggressor against a smaller, less powerful nation, yet he could not allow the missiles to stay in Cuba.

Feeling as though America could neither aggressively remove the missiles from Cuba nor allow them to stay, Kennedy pushed for a peaceful solution. The missiles were a direct threat to American safety. Thus, "every opportunity was to be given to the Russians to find a peaceful settlement which would not diminish their national security or be a public humiliation."¹²² He refused to push the Soviets or Cubans beyond what was absolutely necessary and decided to enact a 'quarantine' which blockaded Soviet supplies and resources from the island. Through a 'hotline' of communication, Kennedy and Khrushchev were able to reach an agreement: the United States would secretly remove its missiles from Turkey and put an end to its Cuban blockade, and the Soviet Union would remove their missiles from Cuba. In war, fighting never ends until a peaceful agreement is reached, and Kennedy was adamant about reaching an agreement before fighting broke out. Some politicians view military strength and war as an opportunity to display their countries' power, but JFK knew the intimate cost of war and chose to avoid it at all costs. For a man who had fought in war, he viewed peace as the country's only viable option.

Both sides working toward peace

Since his days fighting in World War II, it would be fair to describe John F. Kennedy as an anticommunist hawk. As previously mentioned, his entire political career had been built upon his legendary heroics in combat and his commitment to suppressing communism. However, the Cuban Missile Crisis showed President Kennedy that it would be impossible for him to wipe out

¹²² Kennedy, Robert F. *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1999. p. 81. Print.

communism, and attempting to do so would surely lead to unprecedented global destruction. Even though Kennedy opposed communism wholeheartedly, he was always willing to and adept at working with others from different backgrounds and who had different beliefs. The Navy united men of different geographic, political, religious, and racial backgrounds to dedicate their lives to a common cause. Kennedy learned that success could only be achieved by partnering with his fellow sailors — regardless of their background or rank. The Cuban Missile Crisis was a turning point for Kennedy in which he realized that America would have to work *with* the Soviet Union to assure the world's safety. As a PT boat captain, it was Kennedy's responsibility to follow orders, not to make decisions. However, as President, Kennedy was now responsible for making decisions that would determine the fates of countless people. As a man whose friends and family had died because of their commanding officers' decisions, JFK would settle for nothing except peace. His tactics can be compared to those of Eisenhower, a man who had never fought in battle, and who sought to avoid conflict by facilitating the arms race and making war unimaginable. After the Cuban Missile Crisis, however, Kennedy would work not just toward avoiding conflict, but toward building peace. A clear shift can be seen from Kennedy's hawkish inaugural address in January 1961 to his 1963 Commencement Address at American University in which he states that, "For, in the final analysis, our most basic common link is that we all inhabit this small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children's future. And we are all mortal."¹²³ After his PT boat was sunk by the *Amagiri*, nothing mattered except saving the lives of his crew. Similarly, once he recognized that he, once again, held the lives of

¹²³ Kennedy, John F. "Commencement Address at American University in Washington." 10 Jun. 1963. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 232. p. 459. Print.

the world's people in his hands, nothing mattered more than the preservation of life and the creation of lasting peace.

After eight years of negotiations, Kennedy and the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom signed the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty on August 5, 1963. The treaty was described by Kennedy as, “an important first step — a step towards peace — step towards reason — a step away from war”¹²⁴ and sought to prohibit nuclear weapons tests or other nuclear explosions under water, in the atmosphere, or in outer space and to closely monitor underground nuclear tests. Kennedy had supported a ban on nuclear weapons testing since 1956, and he campaigned on the principle in 1960. The treaty states that, “[the] principal aim [of the treaty is] the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control in accordance with the objectives of the United Nations which would put an end to the armaments race and eliminate the incentive to the production and testing of all kinds of weapons, including nuclear weapons.”¹²⁵ JFK was optimistic that this goal could be achieved. Khrushchev, however, did not take the young and inexperienced American President seriously at first. Between August and October of 1961, the Soviet Union had conducted thirty-one nuclear tests and exploded the largest bomb in history which, at fifty-eight megatons, was four thousand times more powerful than the bomb dropped by America on Hiroshima.¹²⁶

Kennedy challenged Khrushchev, “not to an arms race but to a peace race — to advance together

¹²⁴ Kennedy, John F. “Radio and Television Address to the American People on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.” 26 Jul. 1963. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 316. p. 601. Print.

¹²⁵ “Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water. Signed August 5, 1963. Moscow, Russia.” *United States Department of States*. n.d. Web. 23 Jan. 2012. <<http://www.state.gov/www/global/arms/treaties/ltbt1.html>>.

¹²⁶ “Pressure to Resume Testing.” *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. n.d. Web. 24 Feb. 2012. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/JFK/JFK-in-History/Nuclear-Test-Ban-Treaty.aspx?p=2>>.

step by step, stage by stage, until general and complete disarmament has been achieved."¹²⁷ It would not be until a full year later, as a result of the Cuban Missile Crisis, that both sides became willing to work together in an effort to restrain the arms race.

Kennedy knew well the costs of war. The topic of war had consumed the majority of his life — intellectually, through his Harvard thesis; militarily, while in the Navy; and politically, while serving in Congress and as President. He remarked that:

Since the beginning of history, war has been mankind's constant companion. It has been the rule, not the exception. Even a nation as young and as peace-loving as our own has fought through eight wars. And three times in the last two years and a half I have been required to report to you as President that this Nation and the Soviet Union stood on the verge of direct military confrontation — in Laos, in Berlin, and in Cuba.¹²⁸

Of the nine wars in which the greatest number of American lives were lost, only once was America led into battle by a President who had seen combat during military service.¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ It is evident that those who have seen combat firsthand are less likely to lead the country into a large-scale war. What is equally important to note, however, is that, with the exclusion of Woodrow Wilson, the six remaining Presidents who lacked combat experience yet led America into a

¹²⁷ Kennedy, John F. "Address in New York City Before the General Assembly of the United Nations." 25 Sep. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 387. p. 618. Print.

¹²⁸ Kennedy, John F. "Radio and Television Address to the American People on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty." 26 Jul. 1963. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 316. p. 601. Print.

¹²⁹ Note: Revolutionary War; War of 1812 (James Madison); Mexican-American War (James Polk); American Civil War (Abraham Lincoln); World War I (Woodrow Wilson); World War II (Franklin Roosevelt); Korean War (Harry Truman); Vietnam War (Lyndon Johnson); War on Terror (George W. Bush).

¹³⁰ Note: Here, Lyndon Johnson, not John F. Kennedy, is credited with leading America into the Vietnam War because Johnson sent approximately thirty-five times more American soldiers to Vietnam than Kennedy did and because Kennedy is seen as sending support troops while Johnson is seen as invading the country. Furthermore, despite being awarded the Army's Silver Star medal, the evidence illustrates that LBJ did not, in fact, see combat.

<<http://archives.cnn.com/2001/US/07/09/lbj.silverstar/index.html>>.

major war did serve in the military in various capacities.¹³¹ History shows that Presidents who served *and fought* in the military are less likely to lead America into war while those who served *but did not fight* in the military are most likely to lead the country into war. Neither Eisenhower nor Kennedy is an exception to this historical trend. Both men understood the power a strong military presence could bring the country, but as JFK recalled, peace (through the Limited Test Ban Treaty) was his, “proudest accomplishment.”¹³²

Not only did President Kennedy pursue peace through the Limited Test Ban Treaty, but also through the establishment of the Peace Corps. In a speech to ten thousand students at the University of Michigan on October 14, 1960, John F. Kennedy extemporaneously asked the crowd, "How many of you, who are going to be doctors, are willing to spend your days in Ghana? Technicians or engineers, how many of you are willing to work in the Foreign Service and spend your lives traveling around the world?"¹³³ In response to his speech, over one thousand students pledged their willingness to serve abroad in an effort to spread peace and development, and Kennedy would go on to reiterate this idea three weeks later in a speech at the Cow Palace in San Francisco. JFK received more than twenty-five thousand letters supporting his proposed, "Peace Corps," and shortly after assuming Office, he turned this idea into a reality. While stranded on Plum Pudding Island, Kennedy and his men were saved by Biuku Gasa and

¹³¹James Madison (Colonel, Virginia Militia); James Polk (Colonel, Tennessee State Militia); Abraham Lincoln (Captain, Illinois State Militia); Franklin Roosevelt (Assistant Secretary to the Navy); Lyndon Johnson (Lieutenant Commander, U.S. Naval Reserve); George W. Bush (1st Lieutenant, Texas Air National Guard)

¹³² Kennedy Schlossberg, John. "From J.F.K.'s Grandson, Letter to the Editor." *New York Times: The Opinion Pages*. 2 Dec. 2011. Web. 29 Feb. 2012.
<<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/03/opinion/jfks-legacy-as-seen-by-his-grandson.html>>.

¹³³ Kennedy, John F. "Remarks of Senator John F. Kennedy at the University of Michigan on October 14, 1960." *United States Peace Corps*. 30 Sep. 2008. Web. 12 Jan. 2012.
<<http://www.peacecorps.gov/index.cfm?shell=about.history.speech>>.

Eroni Kumana, two men indigenous of the Solomon Islands. JFK had carved a message which read, "NAURO ISL...COMMANDER ...NATIVE KNOWS POS'IT...HE CAN PILOT...11 ALIVE...NEED SMALL BOAT... KENNEDY" and asked the men to bring it to the PT base at Rendova.¹³⁴ This experience taught Kennedy that foreign relations depend upon more than just military forces. It was these foreigners, untrained in military fighting, who determined Kennedy's fate. Kennedy knew the profound impact foreign, non-military personnel could have and realized that, by the time he became President, "Hundreds of men and women, scientists, physicists, teachers, engineers, doctors, nurses...[had] prepared to spend their lives abroad in the service of world communism."¹³⁵ In an effort to help the people of developing countries to meet their needs for trained workers; to help promote a better understanding of Americans by foreigners; and to help promote a better understanding of foreigners by Americans, Kennedy signed Executive Order 10924 on March 1, 1961 which formally established the Peace Corps. Ironically, one of the great achievements of a man whose career was built upon combat heroics was the establishment of the Peace Corps — an attempt to spread global democracy, peace, development, and freedom through non-military channels.

(Non-Soviet) Foreign Relations

Kennedy and his crewmembers aboard PT-109 played an important role in America's World War II efforts. Stationed in the Solomon Islands, they patrolled the waters in an effort to fend off the 'Tokyo Express' which used the islands as a staging grounds. The most noteworthy

¹³⁴ Kennedy, John F. "Message on a Coconut Shell. August 1942." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. n.d. Web. 11 Nov. 2011. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Ey516Vagyk2dwA6BTctDZg.aspx>>.

¹³⁵ Kennedy, John F. "Speech of Senator John F. Kennedy, Cow Palace, San Francisco, CA." *The American Presidency Project: University of California Santa Barbara*. 2 Nov. 1960. Web. 29 Jan. 2012. <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25928>>.

and widely-known battlegrounds of World War II are located in Europe and Japan; the role of the one thousand small islands which comprise the Solomons would be remembered by few if it was not for the legendary tale of PT-109. That being said, Kennedy's service as a PT boat captain illustrated for him the importance of these ancillary islands. The islands of the South Pacific were of utmost importance in the Allies' efforts to contain Japan's aggressive efforts. As President, Kennedy made sure that he did not become so focused on the Soviet Union that he would lose sight of the rest of the world. Rather, he recognized the important role of small and developing countries in the establishment of global peace and democracy.

President Kennedy worked to improve America's relations with its neighbors. From the day he took Office, he reached out to the people of Latin America saying:

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge — to convert our good words into good deeds — in a new alliance for progress — to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.¹³⁶

The President made clear that America wanted to form a mutual partnership with the countries of Latin America; America would assist in the further development of these countries in an effort to improve the lives of their citizens if they, in turn, joined America in its steadfast rejection of communism in the hemisphere. Kennedy, “called on all the people of the hemisphere to join in a new Alliance for Progress — Alianza para Progreso — a vast cooperative effort, unparalleled in magnitude and nobility of purpose, to satisfy the basic needs of the American people for homes,

¹³⁶ Kennedy, John F. "Inaugural Address." 20 Jan. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 1. p. 1. Print.

work and land, health and schools - techo, trabajo y tierra, salud y escuela."¹³⁷ Kennedy understood that having strong neighbors who were committed to the same principles as America was imperative to the United States' efforts to keep communism from the western hemisphere. That being said, in an undated memorandum to the President, Arthur Schlesinger acknowledged that, "We can't start off on an anti-dictatorship crusade...We should encourage the OAS to concern itself with the ways and means of guaranteeing regular free elections in all countries of the hemisphere."¹³⁸

Unlike President Clinton who ratified NAFTA and saw strong relations with one's neighbors as a tool for trade, Kennedy saw the main purpose of such relationships as tools for defeating communism. This view of foreign countries as pawns to be used in the fight against communism led the Kennedy Administration to expand America's presence abroad beyond economic and developmental support. For example, from 1959 to 1965, the United States actively developed counter-guerilla training, civic action programs, intelligence structures, and communications networks in Colombia. However, unlike President James Monroe and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams who sought to keep foreign influence out of the western hemisphere by way of the Monroe Doctrine, Kennedy's scope extended far beyond Latin America — primarily to Southeast Asia. While the Alliance for Progress program did not extend to Southeast Asia, President Kennedy's mindset did not change. He remarked that, "As you know, I desire the appropriate agencies of this Government to give utmost attention and emphasis to

¹³⁷ Kennedy, John F. "Address at a White House Reception for Members of Congress and for the Diplomatic Corps of the Latin American Republics." 13 Mar. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 78. p. 170. Print.

¹³⁸ Schlesinger, Arthur. "Part I. The Current Crisis in Latin America. Digital Identifier: JFKPOF-121-033." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library Archives*. n.d. Web. 1 Feb 2012. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKPOF-121-033.aspx>>.

programs designed to counter Communist indirect aggression...I have already written the Secretary of Defense 'to move to a new level of increased activity across the board.'"¹³⁹

Much of President Kennedy's foreign policy was the result of his belief in the 'Domino Theory.' Kennedy believed that if one country fell to communism, so would its neighbors. Thus, he took such a hard stance against Cuba because it was America's neighbor, but even more so, because he feared that, if left unchecked, other western countries would follow. For this reason, Kennedy and his Administration took the initial step to involve the United States in Southeast Asia. The United States had an existing commitment to Vietnam and the anti-communist government of Ngo Dinh Diem when Kennedy took Office. The 1954 Geneva Accord had left the country split between communism and democracy, and the restriction of free elections led to rebellion. As the insurrection in Vietnam grew, the Geneva Accord began to collapse and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, which had been championed by President Eisenhower in an effort to control the spread of communism, was failing. Kennedy increased American aid and sent sixteen-thousand American troops to help train Diem's men. The United States supported Diem's anti-communism crusade, but the President of South Vietnam's approach did not mesh well with that of the United States. On August 24, 1963, President Kennedy sent South Vietnam ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. a cable which read, "If, in spite of all of your efforts, Diem remains obdurate and refuses, then we must face the possibility that Diem himself cannot be preserved."¹⁴⁰ America's assistance in the assassination of Diem

¹³⁹ Kennedy, John F. "National Security Action memorandum No. 132: Support of Local Police Forces for Internal Security and Counter-Insurgency Purposes.' To: The Honorable Fowler Hamilton and The Administrator, Agency for International Development." 19 Feb. 1962. *JFK Wants to Know*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1991. p. 148. Print.

¹⁴⁰ Kennedy, John F. "Cable 243: AmEmbassy Saigon - Operational Immediate. August 24, 1963." *John F. Kennedy Library Archives*. n.d. Web. 23 Jan. 2012.

and the subsequent coup d'etat was described by North Vietnamese President and prime minister Ho Chi Minh who said, "I can scarcely believe the Americans would be so stupid."

As previously indicated, it would be fair to describe Kennedy as an anti-communist hawk who entered the Oval Office focused on halting the spread of communism. That being said, while he maintained a consistently hard stance against communism, he dealt with his adversaries quite differently. With Khrushchev, Kennedy understood the importance of reaching a peaceful agreement because war with the Soviets would result in unthinkable death and destruction. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, he showed great strength not to react with force to Soviet measures in Cuba. In Latin America, he focused on offering financial assistance to help the region strengthen itself while simultaneously becoming loyal to America. In Southeast Asia, however, Kennedy was reluctant to engage directly in the conflict because the fighting threatened neither American lives nor American soil. As a Naval sailor, Kennedy placed the good of his country before all else, and it nearly cost him his life. As President, JFK's willingness to do anything for his country remained, but his understanding of the cost of war made him much more judicious about the risks he would take. The Navy strengthened his belief in American supremacy, but Kennedy recognized the power of politics over force. As one who knew well the costs of war, he resisted the temptation to engage America's military.

The New Frontier

In his July 15, 1960 acceptance of the Democratic Party Nomination, John Kennedy outlined his idea of America's New Frontier. He told the people that, "The New Frontier of which I speak is not a set of promises, it is a set of challenges. It sums up not what I intend to

<<http://www.jfklibrary.org/JFK/JFK-in-History/~media/EE2438DA4C064164ACABA420F64630D9.pdf>>.

offer the American people, but what I intend to ask of them. It appeals to their pride, not to their pocketbook — it holds out the promise of more sacrifice instead of more security."¹⁴¹ Kennedy's intent was to strengthen America both at home and abroad in an effort to strengthen global democracy, and his New Frontier program was meant to address, "The uncharted areas of science and space, unsolved problems of peace and war, unconquered pockets of ignorance and prejudice, unanswered questions of poverty and surplus."¹⁴² By bettering America at home, he hoped to unite all Americans in their love of the country (and thus, hatred of communism), and he worked to project an image of America which portrayed democracy as much preferable to communism.

Civil Rights

In the 1960 election, Kennedy was able to win the support of seventy percent of African Americans which was a deciding factor in his election. On August 2, 1960, Kennedy announced his formation of a civil rights division within his Presidential campaign that would be, "focused on the issue of civil rights — and working on all the problems involved in that field will be a representative group of people of all races and creeds from all sections of the country."¹⁴³ As a

¹⁴¹ Kennedy, John F. "Address of Senator John F. Kennedy Accepting the Democratic Party Nomination for the Presidency of the United States in Los Angeles, CA, July 15, 1960." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. n.d. Web. 10 Jan. 2012.

<<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/Ready-Reference/JFK-Speeches/Address-of-Senator-John-F-Kennedy-Accepting-the-Democratic-Party-Nomination-for-the-Presidency-of-th.aspx>>.

¹⁴² Kennedy, John F. "Address of Senator John F. Kennedy Accepting the Democratic Party Nomination for the Presidency of the United States in Los Angeles, CA, July 15, 1960." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. n.d. Web. 10 Jan. 2012.

<<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/Ready-Reference/JFK-Speeches/Address-of-Senator-John-F-Kennedy-Accepting-the-Democratic-Party-Nomination-for-the-Presidency-of-th.aspx>>.

¹⁴³ Kennedy, John F. "Statement of Senator John F. Kennedy on Civil Rights Section in Hyannis, MA, August 2, 1960." *JFK Link*. n.d. Web. 3 Jan. 2012.

<http://www.jfklink.com/speeches/jfk/aug60/jfk020860_civil.html>.

Presidential-hopeful, Kennedy was sympathetic and supportive of the movement. However, he beat Nixon by a mere 113,000 votes¹⁴⁴ and became hesitant to fully commit himself to such controversial legislation. Kennedy understood that segregation was immoral, but he was pragmatic and sought racial equality at a gradual pace. He was perturbed by the overt activism of the movement — particularly the Freedom Riders who embarked on interstate protests in 1961. As the events turned violent, he was more concerned with how the issue would portray America abroad given the upcoming summit with Nikita Khrushchev in Vienna. To Harris Wofford, a Department of Justice official who was a civil rights activist, he remarked, "Can't you get your friends off those goddamned buses? Stop them!"¹⁴⁵ Kennedy was worried that the civil rights struggle would make America look like a land of oppression in the eyes of the rest of the world.

In an effort to suppress the insurrection caused by the Freedom Rides, Kennedy sent four hundred federal marshals to protect the riders and urged the Interstate Commerce Commission to order the desegregation of interstate travel. President Kennedy took a similar route in 1962 when he used federal forces to facilitate the integration of the University of Mississippi. Governor Ross Barnett had taken an active stance to block the University's admission of James Meredith, and once again, President Kennedy sent federal marshals to the scene. When a riot broke out, leading to two deaths, Kennedy mobilized the National Guard, sending federal troops to restore order. Like Eisenhower, Kennedy believed that the purpose of the United States' government (and, in turn, federal troops) was to enact and uphold the county's laws. They each called upon

¹⁴⁴ "1960 Presidential Election." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. n.d. Web. 22 Jan. 2012. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/Ready-Reference/JFK-Miscellaneous-Information/1960-Presidential-Election.aspx>>.

¹⁴⁵ "Biography: John F. Kennedy." *Freedom Riders, PBS*. n.d. Web. 3 Feb. 2012. <<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/freedomriders/people/john-f-kennedy>>.

federal forces not because their alternatives were inadequate. Rather, they did so in an effort to show that no one was above the federal government because it is the federal government that upholds the nation's laws and ideals. As the captain of PT-109, Kennedy was in charge of uniting his men to fulfill their missions, and he expected none of his orders to go un-followed. As a result, as President, he saw the usage of federal troops as the ultimate manifestation of his orders which were not to be ignored under any circumstance.

President Kennedy took strong and meaningful action in the Civil Rights Movement when it was needed, but for much of his presidency, he had avoided committing himself fully. He feared that being an aggressive supporter of the movement would cause him to lose support from southern Democrats. At this time:

In the Senate, two-thirds of the standing committees were in the hands of southerners including the Judiciary Committee which was firmly under the control of James Eastland of Mississippi. The position was similar in the House where the South had eleven of the nineteen chairmanships...[Kennedy's] first assumption was that a civil rights bill would not be passed by the 87th Congress and the second assumption was that a civil rights initiative by the President would adversely affect other items of legislation in the New Frontier program — items that may have been of more direct benefit to the blacks than simply the legal end to discrimination.¹⁴⁶

Given his narrow election over Nixon and the composition of Congress, Kennedy feared that taking a strong stand against civil rights would leave him unable to get anything passed by Congress. As a result, he chose a more tactful path which largely excluded Congress. First, Kennedy appointed an unprecedented number of blacks — including Thurgood Marshall to the U.S. District Court, Robert Weaver as the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and ambassadors Clifton Wharton and Carl Rowan — to important positions in his

¹⁴⁶ Hart, John. "Kennedy, Congress, and Civil Rights." *Journal of American Studies*. Vol. 13, No. 2. (Aug. 1979). p. 171. Web. 22 Jan. 2012. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/27553692>>.

Administration. Furthermore, given his belief from his military days that orders would always be followed, Kennedy worked to facilitate racial equality directly from the Executive Office. Rather than sending a bill to Congress, President Kennedy signed Executive Order 11063 on November 20, 1962 which banned discrimination in federal housing. Fred Dutton's February 9, 1961 memorandum to the President set forth specific proposals to be carried out by the President, not by Congress.¹⁴⁷ Kennedy understood his obligation to work toward progress in the fight for racial equality, but he feared the political repercussions of such actions.

In his June 11, 1963 address to the nation, President Kennedy stated that, "This Nation was founded by men of many nations and backgrounds. It was founded on the principle that all men are created equal, and that the rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened."¹⁴⁸ As time progressed and tensions rose, JFK began to realize that the issues surrounding civil rights would not gradually work themselves out as he had hoped. He had always seen American civil rights from a global viewpoint. The issue was of great symbolic importance because it presented the imperfections of America to the rest of the world. Given his hard-lined stance against communism, solving the civil rights problems was important to his Cold War strategy, but he simultaneously mistrusted the movement because of its supposed communist ties. However, on June 22 of that year, President Kennedy proposed the most inclusive piece of Civil Rights legislation in American history in an effort to give blacks equality in education, employment, housing, voting, and access to federal programs. Tying to both his top priority of fighting communism abroad and to his personal experience in the military,

¹⁴⁷ Hart, John. "Kennedy, Congress, and Civil Rights." *Journal of American Studies*. Vol. 13, No. 2. (Aug. 1979). p. 171. Web. 22 Jan. 2012. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/27553692>>.

¹⁴⁸ Kennedy, John F. "Radio and Television Report to the American People on Civil Rights." 11 Jun. 1963. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 237. p. 468. Print.

Kennedy stated, "Today we are committed to a worldwide struggle to promote and protect the rights of all who wish to be free. And when Americans are sent to Viet-Nam or West Berlin, we do not ask for whites only."¹⁴⁹ Although it was not passed until after Kennedy's death, it was the late President's efforts that drove the bill and resulted in one of the most impactful pieces of civil rights legislation since the Emancipation Proclamation.

Social Assistance Programs

Civil rights were important to JFK due to the issue's moral implications and its role in portraying America to the rest of the world, and he viewed social assistance programs through this same lens. Kennedy did not want the poor within America to question democracy and to yearn for a socialized system of government. Comparatively, he did not want citizens from other countries to favor communism over democracy if they were to hear and see the poor within America. A 2007 study led by JFK's brother Senator Edward Kennedy, the Massachusetts Senator, a member of the Senate's Armed Services Committee and chairman of the Senate Health, Labor, and Pensions Committee estimated that, "10 percent of military spouses have minimum-wage jobs" and argued that, "military families are among those who would be helped by the bill [to increase minimum wage]."¹⁵⁰ Compared to statistics from the *Bureau of Labor Statistics* which estimated that 1.8 million of the 308 million Americans in 2010 earned minimum wage, this puts the likelihood of military families being minimum-wage earners at

¹⁴⁹ Kennedy, John F. "Radio and Television Report to the American People on Civil Rights." 11 Jun. 1963. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 237. p. 468. Print.

¹⁵⁰ Maze, Rick. "Kennedy: Troop Spouses Need Minimum Wage Hike." *Navy Times*. 31 Jan. 2007. Web. 27 Jan. 2012.

<<http://www.navytimes.com/news/2007/01/TNSminimumwage070131/>>.

more than seventeen times the national average.¹⁵¹ While JFK was in the Navy, he never had to worry about the well-being of his family back home. However, he was not the norm, and he understood that for many of his comrades, military service took a severe financial toll on their families. On September 3, 1961, President Kennedy enacted the Fair Labor Standards Amendment which, “represents the most significant advance in the Federal Wage and Hour law since it was first passed 23 years ago”¹⁵² which he described as, “one of our great pieces of social legislation...[and] one of the most important domestic accomplishments so far of this Administration.”¹⁵³

In addition to President Kennedy's Fair Labor Standards Amendment, the Agricultural Act of 1961 sought to, “improve farm income, expand the markets for agricultural products, reduce our stocks of grains and wheat, and relieve our taxpayers of carrying some of the cost of carrying these stocks.”¹⁵⁴ These acts were targeted at raising the incomes of low-wage American citizens. Additionally, he sponsored programs which sought to provide aid to the poorest Americans. Within a week of his inauguration, Kennedy signed Executive Orders which increased the quantity and quality of food that would be distributed to those in need — both in America and abroad through Food for Peace program. Kennedy reflected that, “American

¹⁵¹ "Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population Survey: Characteristics of Minimum Wage Workers, 2010." *Bureau of Labor Statistics*. 25 Feb. 2011. Web. 27 Jan. 2012. <<http://www.bls.gov/cps/minwage2010.htm>>.

¹⁵² Kennedy, John F. "Statement by the President on the Increase in the Minimum Wage." 3 Sep. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 344. p. 587. Print.

¹⁵³ Kennedy, John F. "Statement by the President on the Increase in the Minimum Wage." 3 Sep. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 344. p. 587. Print.

¹⁵⁴ Kennedy, John F. "Remarks Upon Signing the Agricultural Act of 1961." 8 Aug. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 316. p. 552. Print.

agricultural abundance offers a great opportunity for the United States to promote the interest of peace in a significant way and to play an important role in helping to provide a more adequate diet for peoples around the world. We must make most vigorous and constructive use possible of this opportunity."¹⁵⁵ In 1962, the President signed the first federal bill to retrain victims of joblessness as well as the Public Welfare Amendments Bill which, “[embodied] a new approach — stressing services in addition to support, rehabilitation instead of relief, and training for useful work instead of prolonged dependency...[his] objective [was] to prevent or reduce dependency and to encourage self-care and self-support.”¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, his expansion of the Social Security program and change of the 'retirement age' to sixty-two increased the program's benefits in both scope and substance. The culmination of JFK's efforts to fight poverty was his proposal for a 'war on poverty' which would be carried out by Lyndon Johnson with the help of Robert Kennedy. In many ways, this 'war' would be just like the one he fought twenty years before in the Solomon Islands — it was a war that required him to risk his political viability in an effort to fight for what he believed to be morally right and in the best interest of his beloved country.

Americans' Physical Fitness

All branches of the United States' armed forces have strict physical standards. So strict, in fact, that Kennedy failed physical exams for both the Army and the Navy. His long history of ailments and bad back looked as if they would keep Jack from serving his country. However, Joe Kennedy, Sr. had befriended Alan Kirk, now a Naval captain, during his days at the

¹⁵⁵ Kennedy, John F. "Memorandum to Federal Agencies on the Duties of the Director of the Food-for-Peace Program." 24 Jan. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 6. p. 6. Print.

¹⁵⁶ Kennedy, John F. "Statement by the President Upon Approving the Public Welfare Amendments Bill." 26 Jul. 1962. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 306. p. 580. Print.

American embassy. Captain Kirk was able to secure a spot for Jack — just as he had done for Joe Jr. a few months before. Physical fitness had always been important to the Kennedy family; Joe Sr. lettered in baseball while at Harvard, and all four of his sons played football during their time there (with Jack competing in swimming, sailing, and golf as well). Growing up, physical fitness had been a recreational hobby of the Kennedys, but in the Navy, it could be the difference between life and death.

Kennedy's intense Naval training had prepared him, both physically and mentally, to do his job, and his physical fitness was vital to his ability to survive the Amagiri's collision with PT-109. Few men would have been able to endure such a devastating crash and proceed to rescue his men by pulling them to shore. Kennedy relied on his physical fitness in life-or-death scenarios while in the Navy, and as President, he sought to prepare Americans for the challenges that they would face in their lives. In the December 26, 1960 edition of *Sports Illustrated*, President-elect John F. Kennedy published an article entitled, "The Soft American" in which he claimed that, "The physical well-being of the citizen is an important foundation for the vigor and vitality of all the activities of the nation."¹⁵⁷ Kennedy stressed the importance of physical fitness of both America's armed forces and of its citizens. In 1962, JFK discovered an Executive Order that Theodore Roosevelt had issued in 1908 in which, "President Roosevelt prescribed fitness standards for marine officers"¹⁵⁸ and challenged members of the U.S. Marine Corp to finish a fifty mile hike in twenty hours. General David M. Shoup organized the test which would be

¹⁵⁷ Kennedy, John F. "The Soft American." *Sports Illustrated*. 26 Dec. 1960. Web. 12 Jan. 2012. <<http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/vault/article/magazine/MAG1134750/index.htm>>.

¹⁵⁸ "Marines Get 1908 Marching Orders: 50-Mile Trek for Officers Prompted by 2 Presidents." *The Toledo Blade Newspaper*. 5 Feb. 1963. Web. 4 Jan. 2012. <<http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1350&dat=19630205&id=CLFOAAAIAIAJ&sjid=PAEEAAAIAIAJ&pg=1612,3835858>>.

conducted at Camp Lejeune, N.C.. Kennedy was curious to see if the report would, "indicate that the strength and stamina of the modern Marine is at least equivalent to that of his antecedents."¹⁵⁹ While Kennedy took an active interest into the fitness of the armed forces, he was equally attuned to the physical fitness of the broader country. World War II was over, and American jobs were moving from fields and factories to desks. There was a growing uneasiness about the health, well-being, and physical preparedness of Americans. As a result, President Kennedy encouraged fitness amongst his advisors — Attorney General Robert Kennedy completed the fifty mile hike later that year. Many Americans personally responded to the President's challenge and completed the fifty mile hike themselves.

Taking advantage of the spark of national publicity and enthusiasm, Kennedy launched a major campaign to promote physical fitness. He transformed Eisenhower's President's Council on Youth Fitness into the more effective Council on Physical Fitness (and later, to the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports), and his Administration created a fitness curriculum which was widely distributed. In a message to Congress on February 14, 1963, Kennedy stated his belief that, "If our young men and women are to attain the social, scientific, and economic goals of which they are capable, they must all possess the strength, the energy and the good health to pursue them vigorously."¹⁶⁰ Seemingly all of Kennedy's New Frontier Programs were tied to the President's global outlook and foreign affairs, and his fitness program was no different. The program was valuable because it presented the world with an American President

¹⁵⁹ "Marines Get 1908 Marching Orders: 50-Mile Trek for Officers Prompted by 2 Presidents." *The Toledo Blade Newspaper*. 5 Feb. 1963. Web. 4 Jan. 2012.

<<http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1350&dat=19630205&id=CLFOAAAIBAJ&sjid=PAEEAAAIBAJ&pg=1612,3835858>>.

¹⁶⁰ Kennedy, John F. "Special Message to Congress on the Nation's Youth." 14 Feb. 1963. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 64. p. 172. Print.

and citizens who were vigorous, prepared, strong, and capable of tackling the biggest challenges with which they would be presented — not the least of which was communism.

Conclusion

John F. Kennedy's service to the Navy in the 1940s had a lasting impact on him which would influence many of the decisions he made as President. Most notably, it made him, as President, focus primarily on foreign policy. His service in World War II fueled in him a stark disapproval of communism, and as a result, he and his Administration were dedicated to halting the spread of communism. His domestic policies were efforts to improve the standing of the United States in the eyes of the world and to create an American society that was strong, united, and well-prepared to tackle the challenges of an uncertain world. Naval service shaped his view on war — its limits, its costs, and its effects — and influenced his relations with both friends and foes throughout the world and within America.

JFK acquired many of the skills which he used to succeed as President as a student at America's top schools, and his family's vast political connections opened doors for him that would have been closed to any other Naval sailor who chose to embark upon a political career. That being said, it was Kennedy's service in the Navy that defined his image, allowing him to be both a man of the people and a heroic leader. His position as the captain of a PT boat engrained in him a responsibility for his men, and as President, he felt responsible for leading America's citizens — not simply representing them as Clinton sought to do. As a result, he strove to become more than a politician; Kennedy was the face of a generation and the face of America. His understanding of the importance of having a decisive leader at the helm pushed him to use his charisma, his intellect, and his experience to reach Americans, their allies, and their enemies.

Meanwhile, the sinking and rescue of PT-109 taught a young Jack that the strengths and skills of all team members are vitally important. As a result, he instituted a remarkably open and informal White House structure that facilitated partnership and communication, yet allowed him to retain oversight and control. Feeling as though he had been abandoned by Lt. Commander Thomas Warfield when PT-109 sunk, Kennedy made sure to engage himself in all aspects of decision-making and to take responsibility for the actions of his Administration. His Naval service shaped his outlook on the world and the policy decisions he would make as America's thirty-fifth President.

William Jefferson Clinton

Academic & career politician who actively avoided military service

Bill Clinton, as required by law, registered for the draft in 1964 and was granted a student deferment by the Garland, Arkansas County Draft Board No. 26. Clinton was later selected as a Rhodes Scholar, but in his senior year at Georgetown, graduate student draft deferments were eliminated. Henry Britt, a member of the local Navy League, was a friend of Bill's uncle, Raymond Clinton. Britt and Raymond Clinton worked, "to keep Clinton out of the draft so he could attend Oxford,"¹⁶¹ and they were able to convince William Armstrong, draft board chairman, to, "put Bill Clinton's draft notice in a drawer some place and leave it for a while."¹⁶² At this point, Clinton had only expressed mild disapproval of the Vietnam War, but upon joining the other Rhodes Scholars at Oxford, his sentiment began to change. Many Europeans and a good number of the Rhodes Scholars were critical of America's foreign policy at that time, and Clinton began to take a more active role in protesting the War.

¹⁶¹ Rempel, William. "Induction of Clinton Seen Delayed by Lobbying Effort Draft: Interviews Indicate Uncle Led Drive. Candidate Says He has 'Told the Truth About My Draft Status.'" *Los Angeles Times*. 2 Sep. 1992. Web. 4 Feb. 2012.
<<http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.duke.edu/docview/281723950/13596F580EB11A49A9/1?accountid=10598>>.

¹⁶² Morris, Roger. *Partners in Power: The Clintons and Their America*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1996. p. 81. Print.

Bill received an induction notice in the first half of 1969 while at Oxford. However, the notice was late in arriving, and the date on which he was supposed to report for duty had already passed. As a result, he was allowed to finish the current semester of school before returning home. Clinton, however, continued searching for other options. Because the local Army National Guard and Reserve units were full, Clinton decided to enroll in the University of Arkansas's Reserve Officer Training Corps program which was open to graduate students. Clinton would enroll in the university as a law student and hoped that the war would resolve itself sufficiently before he would ever be called for active duty. Since Clinton had already received an induction notice, he first had to get the approval of the Selective Service director, Willard Hawkins. Connections from his days as an aid to Senator Fulbright and at Oxford helped to convince Colonel Eugene Holmes, the University's ROTC director, to accept Clinton into the program on July 17, 1969. Thus, Clinton's draft notice was nullified, and he was reclassified as a 1-D reservist deferment on August 7, 1969.

The election of Richard Nixon as President resulted in numerous changes to policies regarding the draft (and the overall war in Vietnam). Nixon announced his plans to slowly begin withdrawing troops from Vietnam and the implementation of a draft lottery system that would focus on 19-year-olds and volunteers. This policy change led Clinton to alter his plans. He withdrew his plans to attend the University of Arkansas's and entered his name into the draft lottery, knowing that his likelihood of being drafted was now quite small. Upon receiving a lottery number of 311, Clinton wrote to Colonel Holmes and thanked him for, "saving me from

the draft."¹⁶³ Clinton's political maneuvering and lack of patriotism proved to be a point of great discussion during the 1992 Presidential election. However, sufficient time had passed that enough Americans overlooked his efforts to avoid service to his country, and on January 21, 1993, he was sworn in as the forty-second President of the United States.

Management Style

The Role of the President

In a letter congratulating Governor-elect Bill Clinton, President Jimmy Carter wrote, "You and I will succeed in meeting the goals for our country by working closely together to serve those whom we represent."¹⁶⁴ Carter, a veteran of the United States Navy, along with Dwight Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy believed that it was the responsibility of the U.S. President to serve the American people who he represented. In the case of Eisenhower, this was interpreted as making decisions that were best for the country while Kennedy believed that his role was to lead Americans so, together, they could create a great nation. While all three of these veterans-turned-Presidents believed that it was their responsibility to 'serve those whom we represent,' Bill Clinton, a non-veteran, interpreted his role as President differently. Clinton believed that he had been elected not to 'serve those whom he represents,' but to 'represent those whom he serves.'

In the case of the military veterans, they believed that they had been elected President and that it was their responsibility to serve their country. As President, they represented the entire

¹⁶³ Clinton, Bill. "Letter to Colonel Eugene Holmes, Director of the Reserve Officer Training Corps program at the University of Arkansas." *PBS*. 3 Dec. 1969. Web. 7 Feb. 2012. <<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/clinton/etc/draftletter.html>>.

¹⁶⁴ Marannis, David. *First in Class: A Biography of Bill Clinton*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995. p. 357. Print.

nation — every citizen, regardless of political affiliation. It was their responsibility to serve the nation as a whole which required them to pledge allegiance to their country before their party or constituents. Clinton, however, believed that he had been elected to represent those whom he served, and the ones for whom he was to serve were the people who had elected him into the Oval Office. Eisenhower and Kennedy saw themselves as American Presidents who had been elected to serve while Clinton viewed himself as a Democratic President who had been elected to represent those who had put him into office.

In his book *Back to Work: Why We Need Smart Government for a Strong Economy*, Bill Clinton states his belief that, “the role of government is to give people the tools and to create the conditions to make the most of [their] lives” through the following eight channels¹⁶⁵:

1. National security
2. Assistance to those otherwise unable to fully support themselves and to provide a decent retirement for seniors
3. Equal access to opportunity
4. Economic development
5. Oversight of financial markets and institutions
6. Protection and advancement of public interests the market can't fix
7. Providing investments
8. Revenue collection system

Clinton identifies these eight areas as the responsibility of government, but he sees the responsibility of the President even more narrowly. In 1974, Dale Bumpers unseated Clinton's mentor, Senator J. William Fulbright by a 2-to-1 margin that surprised both parties.¹⁶⁶ Fulbright lost because, after thirty years in the Senate, the people of Arkansas had begun to see him more

¹⁶⁵ Clinton, Bill. *Back to Work: Why We Need Smart Government for a Strong Economy*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf of Random House Inc, 2011. p. 48-50. Print.

¹⁶⁶ McLeod, Don. "Bumpers Sweeps Election: Fulbright Bumped Out of Influential Senate Seat." *The Fort Scott Tribune*. 29 May 1974. Web. 18 Feb. 2012. <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1906&dat=19740529&id=084fAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=_tgEAAAAIIBAJ&pg=6512,1658958>.

as a man of Washington than as a man of Arkansas. They no longer felt that Fulbright's leadership in foreign policy compensated for his apathy toward local affairs. This race convinced Clinton that, as an elected official, his primary responsibility was to his constituents who had elected him into office. He was led to believe that it is more important to please one's constituents than to put the country before all else.

Eisenhower believed it was his responsibility to make decisions on behalf of the American people and Kennedy saw his responsibility as leading Americans to the right decisions, but Fulbright's defeat ingrained in Clinton a feeling that he simply was responsible for doing whatever the people wanted. Clinton saw the role of the President as a representative while Eisenhower and Kennedy saw the President as a leader. Clinton, educated at Georgetown, at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar, and at Yale Law School, listened to the needs of the people and acted accordingly. However, while he listened to the needs and desires of Americans, he did not believe that they knew how to fix the problems which they had identified; this, in his mind, was his responsibility. Recognizing Americans' major demands of government, he stated that, "the surest way to create jobs, cut costs, enhance national security, cut the trade deficit by up to 50 percent, and fight global warming is to change the way we produce and consume energy,"¹⁶⁷ but he followed up by saying that, "few people understand the economics of energy."¹⁶⁸ Clinton understood what issues were most important and pressing then took it upon himself to devise solutions — usually driven by an academic-minded task force appointed and overseen by the President.

¹⁶⁷ Clinton, Bill. *Back to Work: Why We Need Smart Government for a Strong Economy*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf of Random House Inc, 2011. p. 142. Print.

¹⁶⁸ Clinton, Bill. *Back to Work: Why We Need Smart Government for a Strong Economy*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf of Random House Inc, 2011. p. 147. Print.

Also, in the realm of foreign policy, Clinton was a reactor, not a leader. In Somalia, Rwanda, Haiti, Bosnia, the Middle East, and beyond, Clinton's foreign policies reacted to external factors; they did not drive international relations. Eisenhower and Kennedy saw foreign policy as the most important responsibility of a President. To a large extent, their domestic policies were tools for furthering their foreign policies, and they dedicated themselves to spreading the ideals and ideas of America abroad. Clinton, on the other hand, saw foreign policy as a tool to further his domestic policies which were largely founded upon economics. Two of his primary concerns were creating jobs and cutting the national debt at home while his 'Doctrine of Enlargement' complemented his domestic policies by bringing economic prosperity back home to America. To Clinton, the President is in charge of finding solutions to whatever problems (typically domestic issues) the American people see as most pressing — an interpretation of his role that is rare amongst military veterans.

The Importance of the President's Public Appearance

Clinton believed that it was imperative that he maintain strong ties with his constituents, and as a result, he quickly developed a reputation of being a 'constant campaigner.' Prior to being elected President, Clinton had been involved in more campaigns than any other modern President.¹⁶⁹ By the 1992 Presidential race, he had run eight successful campaigns and worked on countless other local and national campaigns everywhere from Arkansas to Connecticut and Texas. As mentioned, he believed that he had been elected to represent the American people, and to do this, he had to stay connected to them. He often, but not always, succeeded, and upon

¹⁶⁹ Lammers, William W. and Michael A. Genovese. *The Presidency and Domestic Policy: Comparing Leadership Styles, FDR to Clinton*. Washington, DC: CQ Press of Congressional Quarterly Inc., 2000. p. 300. Print.

returning to Arkansas after nine years away (Georgetown, Oxford, and Yale), Clinton had to prove that he was still a simple man who still understood the needs of the people in Arkansas.

Bill had driven all over the state of Arkansas while helping on Judge Holt's and Senator Fulbright's campaigns, and upon being elected Governor, he chose to focus his attention on improving the infrastructure of the state. This, he believed, would prove that he understood the most basic needs of his constituents and that he was not merely a privileged academic who had studied at elite, foreign institutions. This tactic, however, backfired when Clinton eventually implemented a vehicle tax that was proportionate to a car's weight. This tax resulted in poorer citizens who drove old, heavy cars and pick-up trucks having to pay a higher tax than people who had, for example, recently purchased a new sports car. Clinton delivered a solution that, economically and academically, may have made the most sense, but he failed to understand the sentiments and priorities of his constituents. As a result, the people of Arkansas did not reelect him that year. As an academic, however, Bill Clinton had devoted his life to learning, and this time was no different. He learned from his mistake, and after being reelected in the following election, Clinton focused on education reform for the rest of his tenure as Governor. He learned that, even as Governor, failure was inevitable if he set an agenda for what he believed was most important; he had to do what the people wanted. Focusing on education allowed him to connect to his constituents, and he said, "Legislation alone cannot change the minds and hearts of men. Education is the primary tool which we must employ..."¹⁷⁰ He understood the necessity of education for obtaining a good job and a good life, and described his view of employment by saying, "Work is about more than making a living, as vital as that is. It's fundamental to human

¹⁷⁰ Marannis, David. *First in Class: A Biography of Bill Clinton*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995. p. 17. Print.

dignity, to our sense of self-worth as useful, independent, free people."¹⁷¹ By focusing on what the people wanted (opposed to what he thought they needed — as had been his initial focus), Clinton would go on to become tremendously successful in his role as Governor.

As President, Clinton would repeat this mistake but would, once again, recover by refocusing on the needs of the American public. After a campaign that focused on the fact that, “it's the economy, stupid,”¹⁷² Clinton quickly became bogged down with questionable Cabinet appointments and the issue of gays in the military. The 1994 mid-term election was seen as a rejection of Clinton and his Administration as the Republicans took over both the House of Representatives and Senate for the first time in forty years. Clinton had taken his election as Governor to be a mandate from the people to enact his vision for the state, and Congress made this same mistake in 1994. Republicans got carried away and worked to push a drastically more conservative agenda, leaving Clinton defending his position by embarrassingly having to affirm that, in fact, “the President is still relevant here.” By opposing Republicans' cuts to education and the environment and by defending Medicare, Clinton positioned himself as the defender of Americans' favorite programs. Once again, by acting as a representative, not a leader, of the American people, Clinton was able win back his popularity.

In order to act as a representative of his constituents, Clinton had to connect with them. He was known for his ability to 'move between worlds' and for his willingness to speak with everyone; these characteristics both helped and hurt him. By 'moving between worlds,' Clinton

¹⁷¹ Clinton, Bill. *Back to Work: Why We Need Smart Government for a Strong Economy*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf of Random House Inc, 2011. p. ix. Print.

¹⁷² Kelly, Michael. "The 1992 Campaign: The Democrats — Clinton and Bush Compete to be Champion of Change Democrat Fights Perceptions of Bush Gain." *New York Times*. 31 Oct. 1992. Web. 29 Feb. 2012. <<http://www.nytimes.com/1992/10/31/us/1992-campaign-democrats-clinton-bush-compete-be-champion-change-democrat-fights.html>>.

was able to gain a broad perspective on the issues at hand — in terms of their severity, their implications, and their possible solutions. However, it left people unsure where his allegiances laid and what he valued most. Similarly, his willingness to meet with his constituents made him very popular with some and built up his reputation as a man of the people, but it also angered many of the same people. Clinton would agree to meet with anyone (regardless of the importance of the topic at hand) but would often become so engulfed with other tasks that he would forget about his meetings, keeping the person waiting for hours. When speaking with someone, Bill Clinton had a gift of being able to make that person feel as if he was the only person in the room. He was a master of the 'soft sell' and would always take the time to listen to and take into account the perspectives of those with whom he met. Clinton struggled balancing the line between listening to his constituents and filtering and prioritizing the information he received.

While Eisenhower did his best to stay behind-the-scenes and Kennedy crafted himself into an American icon, Clinton had an insatiable need to be well-liked and did his best to come across as a person first and a politician second. While teaching at the University of Arkansas, Clinton was described as a, "student's law professor, not a law professor's professor,"¹⁷³ and he lectured without notes and in a conversational manner. He gave particular attention to African American students who were struggling and invited them to work together in the law school lounge and even at his house. Known for being an easy grader, Clinton valued learning for learning's sake, not for the sake of getting a good grade, and connected class material to real

¹⁷³ Marannis, David. *First in Class: A Biography of Bill Clinton*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995. p. 291. Print.

world events.¹⁷⁴ Clinton himself would later connect his time as a professor to his future plans in politics by tapping into his expansive network of former students who spanned the entire state of Arkansas.

Clinton sought to establish a personal connection with the American people opposed to Eisenhower and Kennedy who acted more as figureheads. After losing a second term as Governor of Arkansas, Bill's subsequent campaign was built upon a theme of redemption. By admitting his previous failures and asking for absolution, he was able to dismiss all criticism as issues which had already been resolved. More personally, during his 1992 Presidential campaign, Bill and his wife Hillary went on *60 Minutes* together to address the nation. Here, they related to the American people in the most intimate way possible — through their marriage. He believed that it was more important to connect to individuals on a personal basis than to act as a figurehead. This strategy would also, however, prove to be both an asset to Clinton and a liability.

Such a strategy for connecting to the American people allowed him to relate to his constituents on a personal level, but it did not make up for the fact that it was impossible for him to form a relationship with all Americans. Clinton was so focused on relating to individuals that he did not take full advantage of his position to act as the voice of America. From April 1998 to March 1999, he held zero full, formal press conferences.¹⁷⁵ As Governor, he gave more attention to national news sources than local sources because he valued them more in terms of his long-

¹⁷⁴ Marannis, David. *First in Class: A Biography of Bill Clinton*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995. p. 291. Print.

¹⁷⁵ Burke, John F. *The Institutional Presidency: Organizing and Managing the White House from FDR to Clinton, Second Edition*. Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. p. 202. Print.

term career. As President, he took the opposite approach and often bypassed the Washington Press Corps to go straight to local outlets and alternative channels (i.e., radio, cable, etc.) in an effort to reach the public directly. His Administration was obsessed with 'spin control' and created a cycle of animosity between the White House and the press. As a result, "[Bill Clinton] had the shortest honeymoon with the press since William Henry Harrison caught cold on inauguration day and died. Bill Clinton didn't even have a wedding night."¹⁷⁶ In his first three months as President, twenty-one percent of comments about Clinton that were made by television reports were favorable compared to seventy-four percent of the comments made about his predecessor, George H.W. Bush, during his first three months.¹⁷⁷ Clinton felt that the media overlooked his accomplishments and dwelled on his faults. A full ten years after his tenure as President, Clinton commented that, "I've made some mistakes too, although not the ones for which I've been most widely criticized" before bitterly explaining why the criticisms he received were not justified.¹⁷⁸ Clinton explained his personal mantra as two-fold. First, when in doubt, turn to idealism, and the second was to never rely on the press.¹⁷⁹ Known for being the, "good news President,"¹⁸⁰ Clinton saw public relations as paramount to his success as a politician, and he sought to push his agenda by intimately relating to his constituents opposed to reaching them via the press.

¹⁷⁶ Snyder, Alvin. "The White House and Media Relations Scripps-Howard News Service." *Alvin Snyder*. 19 Aug. 1994. Web. 2 Mar. 2012.

<http://www.alvinsnyder.com/the_white_house_and_media_relations_36286.htm>.

¹⁷⁷ Lammers, William W. and Michael A. Genovese. *The Presidency and Domestic Policy: Comparing Leadership Styles, FDR to Clinton*. Washington, DC: CQ Press of Congressional Quarterly Inc., 2000. p. 312. Print.

¹⁷⁸ Clinton, Bill. *Back to Work: Why We Need Smart Government for a Strong Economy*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf of Random House Inc, 2011. p. 39. Print.

¹⁷⁹ Marannis, David. *First in Class: A Biography of Bill Clinton*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995. p. 410-413. Print.

¹⁸⁰ Woodward, Bob. *Shadow: Five Presidents and the Legacy of Watergate*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999. p. 279. Print.

Clinton's Team

In his 1992 campaign, Bill Clinton promised to appoint a Cabinet that, “looked like America,”¹⁸¹ and in many ways, he accomplished this. Upon entering the Oval Office, Clinton had appointed more women and people of color to Cabinet positions than any previous President. Of the nineteen members, five were African America and two were Hispanic compared to twelve who were white. He would appoint four women to his Cabinet (and five others to top positions) and succeeded in having the most diverse Cabinet in history. However, when looked at more closely, he appears to have done this more as a campaign strategy than because he valued diverse viewpoints. Clinton was always more concerned with winning votes than anything else. Throughout his book *Not All Black and White: Affirmative Action and American Values*, Christopher Edley, Jr., a Harvard Law Professor who had been asked to head President Clinton's formal review of affirmative action policies, argues that Clinton's Cabinet did not, in fact, look like America.¹⁸² By giving five of his nineteen appointments to African Americas, blacks were statistically overrepresented by one hundred percent.

Edley raises the question of whether Ron Brown was appointed to the position of Secretary of Commerce for his perspective on export promotion and Hazel O'Leary to the position of Secretary of Energy for her perspective on nuclear waste or simply because he wanted to please voters by appointing minorities to his Cabinet.¹⁸³ The result of Clinton's

¹⁸¹ Keeney, Lester E. "A Cabinet That Looks Like America." *Orlando Sentinel*. 3 Dec. 1992. Web. 7 Mar. 2012. <http://articles.orlandosentinel.com/1992-12-03/news/9212020380_1_cabinet-trade-policies-secretary>.

¹⁸² Edley, Christopher, Jr. *Not All Black and White: Affirmative Action and American Values*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1996. p. 180. Print.

¹⁸³ Edley, Christopher, Jr. *Not All Black and White: Affirmative Action and American Values*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1996. p. 124. Print.

selections was a Cabinet that was diverse in appearance but homogenous in thought. His Cabinet saw a severe lack of Republicans, a great bend toward academics with university backgrounds, and an abundance of law degrees (which were held by two-thirds of his Cabinet). W. Anthony Lake was selected because of his academic credentials, and Les Aspin was chosen for his reputation as a "defense intellectual."¹⁸⁴ Even Clinton's selection of Al Gore as his vice Presidential candidate — a position that is typically used to balance the ticket in terms of age, geography, ideology, etc. — contributed to the homogeneity. Gore was a young, Democratic Senator from the South who, like Clinton, was a policy wonk. Clinton promised that, "If I become President, I will have a cabinet that looks like America,"¹⁸⁵ but what resulted was a Cabinet that looked like America and thought like Bill Clinton.

After much effort (and publicity), Clinton had finalized his Cabinet, but as President, he met with the group very infrequently. During his first hundred days, the most important time of anyone's presidency, Clinton met with his entire Cabinet only three times, and this trend did not change later in his presidency. During the first three months of 1999, for example, he attended thirteen fundraisers and hosted seven foreign heads of state, but his Cabinet convened as a group only once. Clinton chose a staff with whom he would feel comfortable. Mack McLarty, an Arkansas businessman and personal friend of Clinton's, was chosen as his chief of staff. While Clinton felt comfortable with McLarty, the chief of staff was ineffective in his job because he never felt comfortable with cracking the whip on his friend Bill Clinton to keep him in line — be that in his personal life, his tardiness to meetings, or in other areas. Overall, his appointments

¹⁸⁴ George, Alexander L. and Juliette L. George. *Presidential Personality & Performance*. Westview Oxford: Press, Harper Collins Publishers, 1998. p. 243. Print.

¹⁸⁵ Wolf, Richard. "Most Diverse Cabinet in History Still Incomplete." *USA Today*. n.d. Web. 17 Mar. 2012. <<http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/story?id=7376992&page=1#.T4dcNppWprE>>

had longer than average tenures, and as a result, they built up substantial influence. However, while individuals garnered great influence, the Cabinet as a single entity never did. He tried to understand the ideas of everyone and to devise a 'master solution' which met everyone's needs. In reality, however, by trying to accommodate each person's opinions, he left everyone feeling unfulfilled.

Clinton sought to incorporate the ideas and suggestions of his trusted advisors, but this does not mean he listened to all suggestions that were offered to him. In his book *The Institutional Presidency: Organizing and Managing the White House from FDR to Clinton*, John P. Burke described the Clinton White House by saying, "Decision making was fluid and ad hoc, but it also was bounded informally by what came to be regarded as a 'closed loop.'"¹⁸⁶ In his June 6, 1994 diary entry, Labor Secretary Robert Reich noted:

Federico Pena, the secretary of transportation, phones me to ask me how I discover what's going on at the White House. I have no clear answer for him. The place is so disorganized that information is hard to come by. The decision making, "loop" depends on physical proximity to B[ill] — who's whispering into his ear most regularly, whose office is closest to the Oval, who's standing or sitting next to him when a key issue arises...In this administration you're either in the loop or you're out of the loop, but more likely you don't know where the loop is, or you don't even know there is a loop.¹⁸⁷

In an effort to be productive and efficient, Bill filled his, "loop" with the sharpest minds. While this strategy was logical, it left many influential forces — such as Congress and the media — feeling left out.

¹⁸⁶ Burke, John F. *The Institutional Presidency: Organizing and Managing the White House from FDR to Clinton, Second Edition*. Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. p. 188. Print.

¹⁸⁷ Reich, Robert. *Locked in the Cabinet*. New York: Knopf of Random House Inc, 1997. p. 179. Print.

Staff/White House structure

Clinton, an early member of the Baby Boomer generation, rejected hierarchical organizational structures in most cases. He had a laissez-faire approach to managing his staff and advisors and thrived on an atmosphere of, “creative chaos.”¹⁸⁸ He selected the brightest young minds to join him in the White House and tackled the most difficult policy issues head-on. Clinton, however, was a 'brainstormer.' He focused on devising solutions and was less concerned with the organization and functionality of the problem-solving process.

Within the Clinton Administration, many advisors were given elevated titles which increased their statuses but not their responsibilities. President Clinton gave 'Cabinet status' to the heads of the Small Business Administration, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Federal Emergency Management Agency among others. He expanded the National Economic Council to eighteen members, the Domestic Policy Council to twenty-three, and he added nine official participants to the National Security Council. In the case of his health care proposal, a five-hundred person task force was established to draft the legislation. As Clinton added more and more people to his team of advisors, his Cabinet became too large to function as an intimate working group and decision-making body. His policies were fueled by the many viewpoints with which he was presented by his myriad advisors, but as John Burke describes:

Clinton's propensity to reach out to a wide range of voices might have served as a useful antidote to some of the negative consequences when institutional forces were at work — as Kennedy had done during his presidency — but Clinton was

¹⁸⁸ George, Alexander L. and Juliette L. George. *Presidential Personality & Performance*. Oxford: Westview Press/Harper Collins Publishers, 1998. p. 249. Print.

unable to apply this trait to the task of making the institutional presidency work to his advantage.¹⁸⁹

Clinton's staff was organized into factions that were too large to be effective for making decisions, and for a President who wanted to have his hand in everything, it more often than not led to brainstorming but not decision-making.

Rather than meet with his entire Cabinet, Clinton preferred small workshops and discussions. He approached every issue as a separate and distinct challenge. Instead of utilizing his Cabinet to work through such issues, he created ad hoc task forces. Unlike Kennedy who created ad hoc groups of his closest advisors and consulted experts when necessary, Clinton created ad hoc groups that were comprised of experts. From an efficiency standpoint, this made sense, but it presented two major problems for the Administration. First, Clinton himself stated in a November 17, 1971 letter to Cliff Jackson that, "there is no such thing as a non-partisan, objective selection process," and by selectively choosing his own teams, key stakeholders and a diverse spectrum of other viewpoints were inevitably left out of the policy-making process.¹⁹⁰ The second issue was that it led to discontinuity and disorganization. In Fred Greenstein's book, *The Presidential Difference: Leadership Style from FDR to George W. Bush*, Clinton's aids are compared to young children in a soccer game — they move freely from issue to issue without clear roles, and participation in meetings is often a matter of who shows up.¹⁹¹ By having many

¹⁸⁹ Burke, John F. *The Institutional Presidency: Organizing and Managing the White House from FDR to Clinton, Second Edition*. Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. p. 203. Print.

¹⁹⁰ Toobin, Jeffery. *A Vast Conspiracy: The Real Story of the Sex Scandal that Nearly Brought Down a President*. New York: Random House, 1999. p. 15. Print.

¹⁹¹ Drew, Elizabeth. *On the Edge: The Clinton Presidency*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994. p. 348. Print.

different people cordoned off from each other in various task forces, it was difficult to present the public with a unified face of the Administration.

The ad hoc meetings and committees which characterized the Clinton Administration were overseen by a unique, three-pronged power structure. The first prong, of course, was the President. Clinton had his hand in everything and was described by Treasury Secretary Larry Summers who said, "The probability that there is compensation for the fact that your meeting will begin late, it is virtually certain to end late. Bill Clinton has a 30% chance of having read your memo before the meeting. Bill Clinton will, however, with near certainty, have some set of quite detailed and thoughtful perspectives to offer on your topic."¹⁹² The second ring of power was presided over by the President's wife, Hillary. A Yale Law graduate and accomplished lawyer in her own right, Hillary quickly became the most powerful first lady in the history of the White House. Just as he had done in Arkansas with education reform, Bill appointed his wife to lead the committee which was working to redesign American health care. Health care was one of the most important issues to President Clinton who chose his wife to head the committee with Ira Magaziner because Hillary would allow him to be constantly in touch with the matters at hand. He did not, however, plan for the criticisms that would accompany such an appointment. While Hillary's appointment did open the door for Bill to be constantly engaged in the health care debates, many doubted the President's ability to question his stern wife's authority over the matter. As would later be the case when Hillary convinced Bill not to release their personal papers regarding their investments in the Whitewater real estate venture, Hillary appeared to have power over Bill. Despite the value she added to the White House, a power structure which

¹⁹² Summers, Larry. "Inside the Oval Office: The Management Styles of Clinton and Obama." *CNN Money*. 25 Jul. 2011. Web. 29 Mar. 2012. <<http://tech.fortune.cnn.com/2011/07/25/inside-the-oval-office-the-management-styles-of-clinton-and-obama/>>.

left the authority of the President in doubt caused more problems than for which Hillary's intellect could compensate. Lastly, Vice President Al Gore served as one of the most influential Vice-Presidents in history. In 1993-94, Gore led an effort to make the federal government leaner and more efficient. Gore was given power over science and technology, foreign policy, environmental policy, and administrative reform, and was given a say in personnel decisions. The three rings of power within the Clinton Administration did more to create confusion regarding leadership than it did to strengthen it.

Decision-making

Bill Clinton was one of the most academically-gifted men to serve in the White House, but he often displayed his extensive knowledge of policy issues more because he enjoyed debate and wanted to impress listeners than in an effort to lead effective policy-making. His ad hoc structuring of White House staff was coupled with equally fluid decision-making. Clinton was directly involved with domestic policy throughout his tenure but initially delegated most foreign policy issues to Secretary of State Warren Christopher and National Security Advisor Anthony Lake. Clinton dove fully into the areas which most interested him (typically, domestic policy) but did not bother to attend top-level interagency meetings on foreign affairs to discuss issues such as Somalia, Bosnia, and Haiti; for these, he relied on Lake and Christopher. Instruction at Yale Law is known for focusing on the 'big picture' over details, and when making decisions, meetings typically resembled academic seminars or, "bull sessions"¹⁹³ in which debates were not focused on making decisions. Even before entering office, "they got so sucked into personnel stuff that they didn't spend enough time as they should have looking at how decisions should be

¹⁹³ Powell, Colin. *An American Journey*. New York: Random House, 1995. p. 576. Print.

made, what structure they wanted to retain, and how to mold it to their own purposes."¹⁹⁴ While a full-time student at Yale, Clinton worked on Senator George McGovern's 1972 Presidential campaign. He passed his classes by studying borrowed notes and reading articles that were relevant but alternative to the ones assigned in class. An omnivorous reader with an incredible ability for retaining facts, Clinton, however, lacked Eisenhower's ability to cut to the core of problems and to then make a balanced assessment and informed decision. Clinton thrived on intellectual challenges, and to him, analysis and debate were more personally exciting and rewarding than solutions. He understood his responsibility to his constituents for devising solutions to America's problems, but the processes through which these solutions were reached were often indirect and inefficient

The processes which Bill Clinton used to make decisions were the result of his academic and political training and were directly shaped by the people who came into his life.

Georgetown professor Carroll Quigley taught Clinton and his classmates the idea of 'future preference' which argues that people are willing to work in the present to make the future better.

In his acceptance speech at the 1992 Democratic National Convention, Clinton said:

"As a teenager, I heard John Kennedy's summons to citizenship. And then, as a student at Georgetown, I heard that call clarified by a professor named Carroll Quigley, who said to us that America was the greatest Nation in history because our people had always believed in two things — that tomorrow can be better than today and that every one of us has a personal moral responsibility to make it so."¹⁹⁵

This idea is encapsulated in Clinton's definition of America: "America at its core is an idea - the idea that no matter who you are or where you're from, if you work hard and play by the rules,

¹⁹⁴ Burke, John P. *The Institutional Presidency: Organizing and Managing the White House from FDR to Clinton*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. p. 180. Print.

¹⁹⁵ Clinton, Bill. "Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Democratic National Convention in New York." *American Presidency Project: University of California Santa Barbara*. 16 Jul. 1992. Web. 3 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25958>>.

you'll have the freedom and opportunity to pursue your own dreams and leave your kids a country where they can chase theirs,"¹⁹⁶ and the theme ran deeply throughout his political career. Joseph Sebes, S.J. first pushed Clinton to immerse himself in foreign cultures and to take into consideration alternative points of view while Senator Fulbright preached the limitations of power in his opposition to the Vietnam War. As a young boy, Clinton's famous introduction to and picture with President John F. Kennedy was a very meaningful experience for Clinton who idolized Kennedy for his charisma and persona. As President, Clinton combined the lessons and skills taught to him by these men as he positioned himself as a charismatic leader who dedicated himself to creating a better future for Americans.

In an earlier section, the importance of public opinion to President Clinton and his administration was discussed from multiple angles. His connection to his constituents both shaped his interpretation of his role as President and influenced his agenda. That being said, public opinion influenced his decision-making process to an unparalleled extent as well. While Eisenhower was known for being apolitical and choosing what he believed to be 'right,' regardless of its popularity, Clinton's top priority was choosing what was popular. Clinton always sought affirmation and worked to please everyone. As a Rhodes Scholar, he was initially unsettled by the denunciation of America and its foreign policy which he saw abroad, but he gradually fell in line with the other Scholars as an antiwar activist. The opinions of those around him mattered a great deal, and he studied public opinion pools incessantly and used consultants more than any other President. Clinton moved away from his middle class tax cuts and investment-focused agenda of job creation and transferred his effort into reducing the national

¹⁹⁶ Clinton, Bill. *Back to Work: Why We Need Smart Government for a Strong Economy*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf of Random House Inc, 2011. p. ix. Print.

deficit and debt because that's where public and Congressional support was strongest. In this case, he changed his policy from what he initially believed to be right to what he saw as popular. The 'constant campaigner,' Clinton's top priority was always selling himself and his Administration, and he would do whatever it took to please his constituents — regardless of whether or not it was the best decision for the country. A poll conducted by political consultant and advisor, Dick Morris concluded that the American public was not ready to hear the truth about President Clinton's relationship with White House intern Monica Lewinsky that led the President to lie.¹⁹⁷ To many, Clinton appeared calculative and manipulative, and, in this case, his strategy of always aligning his actions and decisions to the sentiments of the public nearly led to his demise.

Not only did Clinton make decisions that would bring the greatest satisfaction to the greatest number of people, he aimed to leave no one unhappy. His desire to be liked made him reluctant to say 'no,' and thus, he made promises he could not keep while taking on more responsibility than he could handle. He believed that compromise was greater than either side winning, but in truth, it typically left both sides unfulfilled. His time working as an aid to Senator Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee, showed Bill that politics turns on both substance and relationships.¹⁹⁸ As a student at Georgetown, Clinton was known by his friends for his remarkable ability to anticipate test questions, and he put as much time into studying his professors, their teaching styles, and what was important to them as he did studying the course

¹⁹⁷ Burke, John F. *The Institutional Presidency: Organizing and Managing the White House from FDR to Clinton, Second Edition*. Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. p. 191. Print.

¹⁹⁸ Marannis, David. *First in Class: A Biography of Bill Clinton*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995. p. 124. Print.

material.¹⁹⁹ As President, Clinton was more concerned with how his policies would be received than with whether or not they were, in fact, the right policies.

As President, Bill Clinton was willing to compromise on substance and to pass out favors if it meant his policies would pass. President George H.W. Bush criticized Clinton during the 1992 Presidential race by saying that Clinton had, "an incredible desire to say anything on all sides of every issue, depending on who you are trying to please."²⁰⁰ Overall, however, this approach was effective for him. As a result, he achieved a legislative score of 86.4% in each of his first two years in the Oval Office — the highest score since Lyndon Johnson.²⁰¹ This score, however, was inflated because Clinton structured many of his proposals so that if they were unlikely to pass, they would not even be voted on (i.e., health care reform). Although willing to compromise, Clinton began to lose favor with fellow legislators because he was seen as manipulative and aggressively defensive. While he was willing to incorporate the ideas of others into his proposals, he could not bear to have others criticize him. In his newest book, Clinton remarks that, "conflict may work better in politics,"²⁰² and this mantra would define the remaining time of his presidency — years characterized by multiple shutdowns of the federal

¹⁹⁹ Marannis, David. *First in Class: A Biography of Bill Clinton*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995. p. 70. Print.

²⁰⁰ Hoffman, Matthew. "The Bill Clinton we Knew at Oxford: Apart from Smoking Dope (and not Inhaling), What Else did he Learn Over Here? College Friends Share Their Memories with Matthew Hoffman. *The Independent*. 11 Oct. 1992. Web. 4 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/the-bill-clinton-we-knew-at-oxford-apart-from-smoking-dope-and-not-inhaling-what-else-did-he-learn-over-here-college-friends-share-their-memories-with-matthew-hoffman-1556769.html>>.

²⁰¹ Pfiffner, James P. *The Modern Presidency, 5th Edition*. New York: Wadsworth Publishing, 2008. p. 185. Print.

²⁰² Clinton, Bill. *Back to Work: Why We Need Smart Government for a Strong Economy*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf of Random House Inc, 2011. p. 160. Print.

government and vicious mudslinging between the President and Republicans in Congress.

Nicknamed, "Slick Willy," President Clinton's decision-making strategy proved inadequate.

Policy Decisions

Upon entering the Oval Office, Bill Clinton was the first Democrat to be elected President in sixteen years and was the first President in twelve years to benefit from his party controlling both houses of Congress. Shortly thereafter, the Republicans won a major victory and reclaimed control of Congress in the 1994 mid-term elections. Clinton, however, would come back to be the first Democratic President since Franklin Roosevelt to be elected to a second term in office. Clinton's comeback was built upon his agenda for America which Stephen Skowronek described by saying, "He was not, like Reagan, the great repudiator of a governing regime in collapse; nor was he, like [H.W.] Bush, the faithful son of an unfinished revolution. A Democrat seeking the presidency in the post-Reagan era, he spoke of change as finding a 'third way.'"²⁰³ Clinton's 'third way' was an effort to shift Americans' anti-government sentiment which was built up during Ronald Reagan's tenure to a new course that would, "put people first."²⁰⁴ Clinton and his 'New' Democratic party blamed America's problems on the Republican party about which he said, "From 1981 to 2009, the greatest accomplishment of the anti-government Republicans was not to reduce the size of the federal government but to stop paying for it."²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Skowronek, Stephen. *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000. p. 448. Print.

²⁰⁴ Clinton, Bill. "1992 Presidential Campaign Brochure." *4President.org*. 1992. Web. 16 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.4President.org/brochures/billclinton1992brochure.htm>>.

²⁰⁵ Clinton, Bill. *Back to Work: Why We Need Smart Government for a Strong Economy*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf of Random House Inc., 2011. p. 35. Print.

Clinton's 'third way,' however, forced him to strike a difficult balance between defending his clearly defined principles and compromising with Republicans.

As veterans of the armed forces, Presidents Dwight Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy based their policies around building America as a beacon of democracy for the rest of the world. They believed that their greatest responsibility as President was uniting the country behind America's ideals of democracy, capitalism, and freedom. Clinton, on the other hand, had a less global perspective. His attention was focused on serving the American people at home and believed that foreign affairs were important primarily because of their impact on domestic issues.

Alexander George described Clinton by saying:

Thus in contrast to Kennedy, who set up a collegial system in order to be more closely and personally involved in the policymaking process, Clinton apparently intended to set up a collegial system geared toward a relatively low level of Presidential engagement. According to one early report, Clinton has essentially delegated foreign policy formulation to Sec. of State Warren Christopher, Defense Sec. Les Aspin, the national security adviser, W. Anthony Lake, and Mr. Lake's deputy, Samuel R. Berger. On domestic policy issues, Mr. Clinton is personally absorbed in the give and take. But on foreign policy he has basically asked these aides to work out solutions and submit them to him to be approved or rejected.²⁰⁶

As President, Clinton's foreign policies can be categorized in one of two categories. His policies were either reactionary or part of his 'Doctrine of Enlargement' approach to foreign affairs. In the domestic realm, Clinton focused on fulfilling the desires of his constituents and worked to deliver clear-cut results to the American people. At heart, Bill Clinton was a sweet-talking southerner who had an insatiable desire to be accepted and well-liked, and his policies reflected just that.

²⁰⁶ George, Alexander L. and Juliette L. George. *Presidential Personality & Performance*. Oxford: Westview Press of Harper Collins Publishers, 1998. p. 244. Print.

Foreign Policy

Reactionary

When Bill Clinton reached the White House, the United States already had its military deployed to more foreign nations than at any time since the immediate reconstruction period after World War II. Most notably, U.S. Marines were stationed in Somalia while the Navy and Coast Guard had conducted a quarantine of Haiti, and the Air Force had recently bombed Iraqi radar stations and was preparing for an airlift to Bosnia. President Clinton was ill-prepared for his foreign policy responsibilities.

Bill Clinton described America's role in international conflicts by stating, "Well, of course we cannot be the world's policeman, but we are, and we must continue to be, the world's leader."²⁰⁷ That being said, in matters of international conflict, Bill Clinton's foreign policy was reactionary. He took on the responsibility of managing crises when they arose opposed to articulating a strategic doctrine which would set the tone for America's presence abroad.

American troops had been sent to Somalia in December of 1992 by President George H.W. Bush to assist the famine relief efforts of the United Nations. President Clinton declared Bush's effort a success, and in May of 1993, he began withdrawing the majority of American troops. In a speech on the South Lawn of the White House, he welcomed home the soldiers and declared, "mission accomplished."²⁰⁸ The departure of America and the United Nations created a vacuum of power, and Somalia's warlords began fighting shortly thereafter. On numerous occasions,

²⁰⁷ Clinton, Bill. "Remarks on Welcoming Military Personnel Returning from Somalia." 5 May 1993. *Public Papers of the Presidents — Clinton*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. p. 566. Print.

²⁰⁸ Clinton, Bill. "Remarks on Welcoming Military Personnel Returning from Somalia." 5 May 1993. *Public Papers of the Presidents — Clinton*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. p. 565. Print.

U.N. peacekeeping forces were attacked, and in August of 1993, Clinton sent U.S. Rangers and Special Forces into Mogadishu to capture Mohammad Farrah Aidid. It was reported that the, "Force asked for heavy armor — in the form of Abrams tanks and Bradley armored vehicles — as well as the AC-130 gunship, but the Clinton Administration denied those requests."²⁰⁹ The mission proved to be a disaster during which eighteen Americans were killed and seventy-three injured while two Black Hawk helicopters were shot from the sky. International news sources shared images of an American soldier being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu, and the tide quickly began to turn against Clinton.

The mission to capture the Somalian warlord was seen as a mismanaged failure. The foreign policy novice appeared to have miscalculated the risks involved with such an attack, and America's standing in international affairs was questioned. Shortly after the Somalia fiasco, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin resigned after acknowledging that his decisions directly led to the deaths of American soldiers. The mission had failed to achieve its objective, but it was not entirely fruitless. The American soldiers were able to severely weaken Aidid, yet Clinton chose not to follow through on what had been started. Under Clinton's directive, the United States aborted its mission in Somalia and left behind a lawless nation of poverty and insurrection that was now open to al-Qaeda for the strengthening of its forces.

As became typical of his presidency, President Clinton found himself thrown into an international crisis to which he would unsuccessfully react. He had no experience planning or executing military missions, and as a result, America's lack of preparedness had disastrous consequences. Once the President realized the inadequacies of his plan, he aborted the entire

²⁰⁹ "Clinton's Black Hawk History." *Wall Street Journal*. 6 Aug. 2002. Web. 18 Apr. 2012. <<http://online.wsj.com/article/0,,SB1028593490788851400,00.html>>.

mission and withdrew the troops. This left Americans angered that the loss of American life had been in vain and the international community questioning America's capabilities and dedication. A man whose policies were consistently shaped by public opinion, Clinton's failures in Somalia influenced his future policies. Despite clear evidence of, "genocide and partition"²¹⁰ in Rwanda, Bill Clinton chose to ignore the killings for fear of repeating what had happened in Somalia. As had been the case in Somalia, the world watched as the United States failed to defeat tyrannical regimes which were active in a much smaller, less powerful country. He later acknowledged to the people of Rwanda:

The international community, together with nations in Africa, must bear its share of responsibility for this tragedy as well. We did not act quickly enough after the killing began. We should not have allowed the refugee camps to become safe havens for the killers. We did not immediately call these crimes by their rightful name: genocide. We cannot change the past, but we can and must do everything in our power to help you build a future without fear and full of hope.²¹¹

Reactionary in his involvement in international events, in this case, Clinton's concern for public opinion trumped his responsibility as the leader of the free world.

Bill Clinton's foreign policy was reactionary. Only once major problems arose in Somalia did the U.S. intervene, and in Rwanda, Clinton did not even make an effort to act. Similarly in the Balkans, Clinton avoided U.S. intervention until the atrocities which were being committed by the Serbs against Bosnian civilians became too great. At that point, he pushed for NATO (not American) forces to respond. In his November 27, 1995 press conference, President Clinton said, "Let me say at the outset: America's role will not be about fighting a war. It will be

²¹⁰ Carroll, Rory. "U.S. Chose to Ignore Rwandan Genocide: Classified Papers Show Clinton was Aware of 'Final Solution' to Eliminate Tutsis." *The Guardian*. 31 Mar. 2004. Web. 13 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2004/mar/31/usa.rwanda>>.

²¹¹ Clinton, Bill. "Remarks to Genocide Survivors in Kigali, Rwanda." 5 May 1993. *Public Papers of the Presidents — Clinton*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. p. 432. Print.

about helping the people of Bosnia to secure their own peace agreement. Our mission will be limited, focused, and under the command of an American general."²¹² Still troubled by his failures in Somalia, Clinton did not feel that it was the United States' place to intervene in a foreign country, and thus, he solicited a third party to lead the bombing campaign. As had been previously evidenced, Clinton knew nothing about planning for military strikes. Thus, he left the military intervention largely in the hands of the United Nations and focused the attention of his Administration on post-fighting conflict resolution.

Largely led by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and negotiated by Secretary of State for European Affairs Richard Holbrooke, Clinton and his Administration facilitated the Dayton Peace Conference in November of 1995. Although the formal treaty was signed in Paris, France on December 14, 1995, the deliberations took place in Dayton, Ohio because Clinton wanted to avoid the media which he thought, through press leaks, could jeopardize the discussions.²¹³ University of Québec scholar Charles-Philippe David is not alone in describing the Dayton Accords as, "Certainly among the most impressive examples of conflict resolution."²¹⁴ Clinton defended America's role by saying, "In fulfilling this mission, we will have the chance to stop the killing of innocent civilians, especially children, and at the same time, to bring stability to Central Europe, a region of the world that is vital to our national

²¹² Clinton, Bill. "Address to the Nation on Implementation of the Peace Agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina." 27 Nov. 1995. *Public Papers of the Presidents — Clinton*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. p. 1784. Print.

²¹³ Camisar, Adriana et al. "Analysis of the Dayton Negotiations and Peace Accords." *The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University*. p. 20. 2005. Web. 12 Mar. 2012. <<http://ocw.tufts.edu/data/12/244825.pdf>>.

²¹⁴ David, Charles-Philippe. "Alice in Wonderland meets Frankenstein: Constructivism, Realism and Peacebuilding in Bosnia." *Contemporary Security Policy*. Vol. 22 No. 1. (2010) p. 8. 16 Apr. 2010. Web. 20 Mar. 2012. <http://www.politique.uqam.ca/upload/files/PDF/PDF-100-Alice_wonderland.pdf>.

interests."²¹⁵ As the conflict worsened, Clinton was torn; he suffered harsh criticism for his action in Somalia and for his inaction in Rwanda. In this statement, he attempts to indicate to those upset about his inaction in Rwanda that he has learned his lesson and now sees the protection of human life as his top priority while reassuring those still angered by America's losses in Somalia by explaining that such a mission is, in fact, relevant to every-day Americans.

Despite his success in ending the fighting, Clinton's greatest foreign policy achievement was laced with his traditional negligence. As evidenced by his failure to obtain a degree from Oxford, Bill Clinton did not always completely follow through in his endeavors. Rhodes Scholars are expected to remain fulltime students until they complete their degrees, but Bill Clinton saw, "the university where he didn't inhale, didn't get drafted, and didn't get a degree" merely as a stepping stone. Once he was admitted to Yale Law School and the door to the next chapter of his life was opened, Clinton saw no need for completing his degree. In 1994, "The President...planned to visit Oxford before the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of D-Day in Normandy. But the White House changed the stop to the end of the President's European trip, presumably to avoid having embarrassing stories about Mr. Clinton's activities as a Vietnam protester..."²¹⁶ On this visit, President Clinton received an honorary law degree from Oxford after which described himself as, "another Yank half a step behind."²¹⁷ Jonathan Eyal describes

²¹⁵ Clinton, Bill. "Address to the Nation on Implementation of the Peace Agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina." 27 Nov. 1995. *Public Papers of the Presidents — Clinton*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. p. 1784. Print.

²¹⁶ Dowd, Maureen. "Oxford Journal; Whereas, He Is an Old Boy, If a Young Chief, Honor Him." *New York Times*. 9 Jun. 1994. Web. 17 Feb. 2012. <<http://www.nytimes.com/1994/06/09/world/oxford-journal-whereas-he-is-an-old-boy-if-a-young-chief-honor-him.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>>.

²¹⁷ Schoettler, Carl. "Clinton Returns for Honorary Diploma An Oxford Degree." *The Baltimore Sun*. 9 Jun. 1994. Web. 25 Feb. 2012. <http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1994-06-09/news/1994160032_1_honorary-degree-oxford-university-college>.

the President by saying, "Credibility continues to be a serious problem for the President who smoked pot without inhaling and who promoted women to prominent positions in his administration only to find himself dogged by allegations of sexual harassment. But nowhere is his credibility problem more apparent than in the conduct of U.S. foreign policy."²¹⁸ Clinton has been largely criticized for his 'Band-Aid diplomacy.' As was explained previously in regards to Clinton's formation of foreign policy, the President's need for approval led him to incorporate all sides' wishes into a final solution typically that left all parties feeling unfulfilled. As a result, The Bosniaks felt that the atrocities and attempts at ethnic cleansing by the Serbs against them had been entirely overlooked in an effort to move forward. The Croats were angered that they had not been granted Entity Status while the Serb elites complained about the city of Brcko's placement under the control of the Bosnian Federation (and later to the Muslim-Croat Bosnian Federation).²¹⁹ Initially, Clinton's achievement garnered him much praise and respect in foreign policy. He had peacefully stopped ethnic cleansing attempts and established peace without the loss of American life.

Clinton's second failure in conflict resolution, however, was uncharacteristic of him. David Chandler explains that, "The framework created at Dayton was an extremely flexible one, which has enabled international actors, unaccountable to the people of [Bosnia and

²¹⁸ Eyal, Jonathan. "Doctor without a Thesis: Bill Clinton gets an Oxford Degree Today, but Jonathan Eyal's Verdict on his Term's Work is: A Disaster." *The Independent*. 8 Jun. 1994. Web. 7 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/doctor-without-a-thesis-bill-clinton-gets-an-oxford-degree-today-but-jonathan-eyals-verdict-on-his-terms-work-is-a-disaster-1421189.html>>.

²¹⁹ David, Charles-Philippe. "Alice in Wonderland meets Frankenstein: Constructivism, Realism and Peacebuilding in Bosnia." *Contemporary Security Policy*. Vol. 22 No. 1. (2010). p. 8. 16 Apr. 2010. Web. 20 Mar. 2012. <http://www.politique.uqam.ca/upload/files/PDF/PDF-100-Alice_wonderland.pdf>.

Herzegovina], to shape and reshape the agenda of post-war transition."²²⁰ Clinton's entire political career had been built upon the establishment of personal connections to the people of Arkansas and America. He worked incredibly hard to position himself as a man from Arkansas, not from Washington, Oxford, or New Haven in his 1982 run for Arkansas Governor. Being a 'man of the people' was of utmost importance to him, but in the Dayton Accords, too much of the reconstruction power and process was left in the hands of foreigners. In the crisis in the Balkans, President Clinton facilitated the formation of a solution for a current problem, but he failed to set a new path to be followed going forth. In 1999 the United States and N.A.T.O. would once again be forced to launch an attack against the Serbian government which had made efforts to exterminate the Albanian people from the Kosovo region. Although successful for a time, Clinton would again prove his foreign policy to be reactionary and based around crisis management opposed to setting a forward-looking strategy for international affairs.

Doctrine of Enlargement

In his September 27, 1993 address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, President Clinton cited the two forces which lie at the heart of the challenges which international institutions face. He said:

From beyond nations, economic and technological forces all over the globe are compelling the world toward integration. These forces are fueling a welcome explosion of entrepreneurship and political liberalization. But they also threaten to destroy the insularity and independence of national economies, quickening the pace of change and making many of our people feel more insecure. At the same time, from within nations, the resurgent aspirations of ethnic and religious groups

²²⁰ Chandler, David. "From Dayton to Europe." *International Peacekeeping*. Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster. Vol. 12. No. 3. (2008) p. 336. 28 May 2008. Web. 6 Mar. 2012. <http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/IPK%20-%2012.3%20Dayton%20to%20Europe.pdf>.

challenge governments on terms that traditional nation states cannot easily accommodate.²²¹

While campaigning in 1992, Clinton outlined the following as his primary focuses in foreign policy: updating and restructuring American military and security capabilities, elevating the role of economics in international affairs, and promoting democracy abroad.²²² President Clinton viewed national security in a much different light than Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy. The latter two saw national security as their foremost concern and a matter which took priority over all else. Clinton understood the importance of protecting the American people, but he viewed national security simply as something he had to do. So long as Americans were safe, he could focus his attention elsewhere.

President Clinton's focus on economics within the context of foreign affairs and his reactionary approach to foreign conflicts left many doubting Clinton's viability as a global leader. He seemed to hope strong economic and trade policies could take precedence over national security and led Leslie Gelb, Council on Foreign Relations President, to lament that, "A foreign economic policy is not a foreign policy and it is not a national security strategy."²²³ Prior to becoming President, Bill Clinton had no foreign policy experience and having seen Senator Fulbright fail to be reelected to Congress because he had focused too much on foreign opposed to domestic policy led Clinton to think of foreign affairs in the context of homeland America. He was responsible for keeping Americans safe, and he also believed that he was responsible for

²²¹ Clinton, Bill. "Address to the Nation on Implementation of the Peace Agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina." 27 Sep. 1993. *Public Papers of the Presidents — Clinton*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. p. 1613. Print.

²²² Brinkley, Douglas. "Democratic Enlargement: The Clinton Doctrine." *Foreign Policy*. No. 106. (1997) p. 112. Web. 29 Mar. 2012. <<http://jstor.org/stable/1149177>>.

²²³ Heale, M.J. *Contemporary America: Power, Dependency, and Globalization Since 1980*. West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. p. 211. Print.

establishing foreign policies that would directly and measurably benefit the American people. Eisenhower's and Kennedy's policies were geared at defeating communism for the betterment of the world. Eisenhower and Kennedy saw foreign policy by looking at how America can affect the rest of the world while Clinton looked at how the rest of the world affected America.

On December 8, 1993, Bill Clinton signed the North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) which eliminated virtually all trade barriers between the United States, Mexico, and Canada. Originally devised by President George H.W. Bush, NAFTA carried forth a conservative approach to foreign policy. It was a surprising start for the democratic candidate to oppose labor leaders and environmental activists in favor of promoting a free market, but after deeper analysis, it is perfectly in line with Clinton's strategy for foreign policy. During his time at Georgetown's School of Foreign Service, Clinton studied the interconnectedness of the world's many nations, and he believed that the success of America was directly tied to the success of its allies and neighbors. He saw NAFTA as a catalyst which would increase American production to meet growing export demands and would thus create jobs and value for America. Notably, it involved economics, not military force. The foreign policies of Eisenhower and Kennedy were largely concerned with maintaining the world's strongest and most dominant military in an effort to spread American ideals. Clinton's passage of NAFTA, on the other hand, marked a major foreign policy achievement that was irrespective of military forces. An academic, Clinton saw economics as the strongest of foreign policy tools while Eisenhower and Kennedy saw military force as the most important. Additionally, Eisenhower and Kennedy viewed foreign policy in the context of America's enemies. They were concerned with positioning America to prevail over communism as the leader of the world. Clinton, however, focused much of his foreign policy around relations with America's allies. He believed that partnering with America's allies

had much greater potential to add value to the lives of the American people than policies which protected America against unlikely events that the country wished to avoid.

W. Anthony Lake stated that America's post-Cold War strategy, "must be a strategy of enlargement...of the world's free community of market democracies" and outlined the following four points as the foundation for such a program:²²⁴

1. "To strengthen the community of market democracies"
2. "To foster and consolidate new democracies and market economies where possible"
3. "To counter the aggression and support the liberalization of states hostile to democracy"
4. "To help democracy and market economies take root in regions of greatest humanitarian concern"

These goals clearly illustrate the Clinton Administration's placement of benefit to average Americans at home before the promotion of constitutional democracy and human rights abroad. Clinton made clear his priorities by telling Congress in 1994 that, "We have put our economic competitiveness at the heart of our foreign policy."²²⁵ Only when American security was threatened or humanitarian crises erupted would Clinton's view of foreign policy expand beyond trade partnerships and economic alliances. During the fourth year of Clinton's presidency, economist Thomas Friedman published a noteworthy piece in the New York Times' Opinion Pages which encapsulates Clinton's foreign policy strategy. The article, entitled, "Foreign Affairs Big Mac I," explores Friedman's, "Golden Arches Theory of Conflict Prevention — which stipulates that when a country reaches a certain level of economic development, when it has a middle class big enough to support a McDonald's, it becomes a McDonald's country, and

²²⁴ Lake, Anthony. "From Containment to Enlargement' Speech at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C." *The Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management*. 21 Sep. 1993. Web. 4 Apr. 2012. <http://www.disam.dsca.mil/pubs/Vol%2016_2/Lake.pdf>.

²²⁵ Hamilton, Neil. *Presidents: A Biographical Dictionary*. New York: Checkmark Books, 2001. p. 366. Print.

people in McDonald's countries don't like to fight wars; they like to wait in line for burgers." ²²⁶

Clinton did not simply choose to focus on economic policy before military policy; he believed that the two were inherently related. He articulated this belief, saying, "The line between our domestic and foreign policies has increasingly disappeared — that we must revitalize our economy if we are to sustain our military forces, foreign initiatives and global influence, and that we must engage actively abroad if we are to open foreign markets and create jobs for our people." ²²⁷

Clinton presented the world with a new approach to foreign relations, and much to his dismay, his strategy was poorly received by critics and fellow legislators. Douglas Brinkley summed up its reception by saying:

Unfortunately for the administration, 'enlargement' proved to be a public relations dud; few liked it or even took a passing interest. The foreign policy community greeted the Clinton and Lake speeches with indifference and even derision. Critics called enlargement uninspired, the predictable byproduct of Lake — a former professor — perusing arcane geopolitical textbooks. While some allowed that enlargement could make for an interesting white paper, most of the priests of geopolitics complained that this policy had no connection to reality and that it was an aspiration rather than a strategy. ²²⁸

Just as had been the case with the automobile tax he levied during his first term as Arkansas' Governor and with his health care proposal, Clinton's policy of enlargement seemed too academic and out of touch with the basic, traditional needs of America. Lucky for President Clinton though, he understood that Americans cared much more about the American economy

²²⁶ Friedman, Thomas. "Foreign Affairs Big Max I." *New York Times, Opinion*. 8 Dec. 1996. Web. 1 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.nytimes.com/1996/12/08/opinion/foreign-affairs-big-mac-i.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>>.

²²⁷ "A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement." *The White House*. p. i. Feb. 1995. Web. 2 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/nss/nss-95.pdf>>.

²²⁸ Brinkley, Douglas. "Democratic Enlargement: The Clinton Doctrine." *Foreign Policy*. No. 106. (1997) p. 119. Web. 29 Mar. 2012. <<http://jstor.org/stable/1149177>>.

than foreign affairs — as long as they were safe. Although heavily criticized, Clinton's doctrine of enlargement achieved exactly what the President aimed to do. He crafted foreign policies which he tied to his domestic agenda and used to directly benefit Americans at home. This approach was very different than those of military veterans Eisenhower and Kennedy but fit perfectly with Clinton's understanding of his role as President and the policy areas which mattered most to him (and to the American people).

Domestic Policy

William Jefferson Clinton was sworn in as the forty-second President of the United States of America on Wednesday, January 20, 1993, and on the following Monday, January 25, he named his wife as the head of a task force to reform American health care. Clinton campaigned on a promise to fix the problems of American health care which he described:

Millions of Americans are just a pink slip away from losing their health insurance, and one serious illness away from losing their savings. Millions more are locked into the jobs they have now just because they or someone in their family has once been sick and they have what is called the preexisting condition. And on any given day, over 37 million Americans — most of them working people and their little children — have no health insurance at all. And in spite of all this, our medical bills are growing at over twice the rate of inflation and the United States spends over a third more of its income on health care than any other nation on Earth.²²⁹

Bill Clinton believed that his Administration could achieve an accomplishment as great as Franklin Roosevelt's introduction of Social Security as he hoped to offer affordable health care to all Americans. By 'fixing' the health care system, Clinton knew that he would win over the votes of all Americans who previously lacked sufficient coverage. Always shaping his policies around

²²⁹ Clinton, Bill. "Address to a Joint Session of the Congress on Health Care Reform." 22 Sep. 1993. *Public Papers of the Presidents — Clinton*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. p. 1557. Print.

public opinion, Clinton chose health care as his top priority because, "Large majorities of the public rated health care reform among the most urgent problems facing the nation and voiced support for a plan that would provide medical insurance for all Americans."²³⁰ Additionally, he cited ever-rising health care costs as a major drain on the U.S. economy; thus, only by revamping the health care system would he be able to improve the economy. In an August 11, 1965 letter to long-time friend Denise Hyland, Clinton wrote, "[I am] just searching, I guess, for a road ahead. Maybe I am beginning to realize that I am almost grown, and will soon have to choose that one final motive in life which I hope will put a little asterisk by my name in the billion pages of the book of life."²³¹ Clinton believed that health care reform would be his, "asterisk." If he could reform the American health care system as he had envisioned, such an accomplishment would accomplish two of his greatest, thematic goals. After their gradual migration toward conservative politics, health care reform would draw the support of America's middle and working class in strong support of the Democratic party, and more personally, it would solidify his position as a great American leader.

Just as he had done with education reform in Arkansas, President Clinton selected his closest advisor, his wife Hillary, to head the Task Force to Reform Health Care with Ira Magaziner as its director. The task force sought to use managed competition and community-rated insurance pools to lower costs and increase coverage but failed in its efforts. Clinton's preparation for politics was entirely academic. His training was based upon conducting research and solving problems as an individual scholar. While he did understand the importance of

²³⁰ Rodin, Judith. *Public Discourse in America: Conversation and Community in the Twenty-first Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003. p. 96. Print.

²³¹ Marannis, David. *First in Class: A Biography of Bill Clinton*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995. p. 67. Print.

developing strong ties with his constituents, he never had a need to develop strong working relationships with his peers. While in school, his grades were independent from the grades of his peers; he often studied with other students, but at the end of the day, what mattered to Bill were his own grades, not the grades of those with whom he had studied. Similarly, and as governor, he was the decision-maker, and he did not have to work as closely with other legislators as the President must work with Congress. Dan Balz of the *Washington Post* described Clinton's approach by saying, "The Clinton effort to do health care was sort of a classic 'smart people will solve your problems approach' to an enormously complex, messy, political issue."²³² As the 'most powerful man in the world' and 'leader of the free world,' Clinton was unprepared for the teamwork which was inherent in his job, and as a result, his health care reform efforts would fail.

Hillary was an accomplished lawyer who was unafraid to step of people's toes, and Magaziner was a life-long activist, Rhodes Scholar, and management consultant guru. While an undergraduate at Brown, Magaziner drafted:

[A] blueprint for change [that] was an impressive 415-page study of university curricula, written one summer by Ira and another student. They recommended that Brown could make education "relevant" — and become a model for universities everywhere — by virtually eliminating grades and requirements and greatly increasing the attention teachers paid to students. Magaziner's call to "change the system from within" struck a powerful chord of idealism and self-interest in his classmates.²³³

The two leads were brilliant, accomplished, and well-qualified, but they too had the mindset that they were in complete control. In his career as a consultant, Magaziner would be called upon by

²³² "Obama's Deal [Video]." *PBS: Frontline*. 14 Mar. 2012. Web. 15 Mar. 2012. <<http://video.pbs.org/video/1468710007/>>.

²³³ Petre, Peter and Darienne L. Dennis. "A Liberal Gets Rich Yet Keeps the Faith: Ira Magaziner, 39, Made a Name for Himself as a Student Activist at Brown. Now He's One of the World's Leading Experts in Factory Automation — and Eyeing Politics." *CNN Money*. 31 Aug. 1987. Web. 6 Apr. 2012. <http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/fortune_archive/1987/08/31/69480/index.htm>.

the world's biggest, most powerful companies and governments who sought his help in improving their operations. He viewed his role as director of the Task Force on Health Care Reform similarly; he had been 'hired' to solve the problems of the American health care system. Bill was a master campaigner but he, Hillary, and Ira did not understand political decision-making. Political advisor David Gergen reflected that:

The biggest single initiative of the first term was very, very much her — she was driving that. I mean if anything, she was the prime player, and he was not as fully engaged as he was on those other issues. And I think that was one of the reasons that he didn't bring to bear on it his very, very considerable political skills. I mean she's a great policy analyst, but he has perfect pitch in politics. He can hear, he can sense, he knows, he's finely tuned, about the political environment. I don't think that health care bill would ever have looked the way it did had he been fully engaged, had he been in charge of the process.²³⁴

Eisenhower and Kennedy were perturbed by Washington where, unlike in the Army, orders were often questioned and debated, not followed. Similarly, Clinton assumed that the best solution would always be supported. In the cases of Eisenhower and Kennedy, their false assumptions that orders would always be unquestioningly followed led only to their own annoyance. Clinton's false assumption that his plans would receive the support needed to pass (because, he believed, they were the best) led to tremendous animosity and tension to build up between the President and Congress.

In a 1992 campaign speech, President Bush commented that, "You know, Governor Clinton is already talking about pulling together the best and the brightest, all the lobbyists, economists, lawyers, all those guys, liberal guys that were hanging out with him in Oxford when

²³⁴ Gergen, David. "Interview." *PBS*. n.d. Web. 17 Mar. 2012.
<<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/clinton/interviews/gergen.html>>.

some of you were over there fighting, and have them solve all of America's problems."²³⁵ When it came time to tackle America's health care problems, this was exactly what Clinton did. He selected Ira Magaziner, a social activist, as the program's director and recruited field experts to work, in secret, through complex issues such as the setting premiums and forming regional alliances. Not only did key stakeholders feel left out of the policy drafting process, but the Task Force was brought to U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit under claims that:

The Health Care Task Force cannot use the Recommendation Clause to shield itself from the Federal Advisory Committee Act because the history, text, and structure of the Clause reveals that the plenary power that it confers on the President to make recommendations to Congress is predicated on critical constitutional attributes that the Task Force does not possess.²³⁶

Hillary and her team won the initial litigation, but in 1997, Judge Royce C. Lamberth of the Federal District Court declared that, "Mr. Magaziner and the Clinton Administration had been 'dishonest' in describing the secret procedures used to develop the President's health care proposals in 1993."²³⁷ The Health Insurance Association of America (HIAA) launched a widespread advertisement campaign which illustrated, "Harry and Louise," an average American couple for whom Clinton's health care proposal would be a great burden. Clinton never

²³⁵ Hoffman, Matthew. "The Bill Clinton we Knew at Oxford: Apart from Smoking Dope (and not Inhaling), What Else did he Learn Over Here? College Friends Share Their Memories with Matthew Hoffman. *The Independent*. 11 Oct. 1992. Web. 4 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/the-bill-clinton-we-knew-at-oxford-apart-from-smoking-dope-and-not-inhaling-what-else-did-he-learn-over-here-college-friends-share-their-memories-with-matthew-hoffman-1556769.html>>.

²³⁶ United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. "On Appeal from the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, No. 93-399. Brief of Amicus Curiae, J. Gregory Sidak, in Support of Appellees." *No. 93-5086. Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, Inc., et al. v. Hillary Rodham Clinton, et al.* " 5 Apr. 1993. Web. 4 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.aapsonline.org/clinton/AAPS/SIDAK.PDF>>.

²³⁷ Pear, Robert. "Judge Rules Government Covered Up Lies on Panel. *New York Times*. 19 Dec. 1997. Web. 6 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.nytimes.com/1997/12/19/us/judge-rules-government-covered-up-lies-on-panel.html>>.

presented a framework of his plan to Congress nor did he present one to the public because he believed that his success would be judged by the quality of the plan he presented to Congress. He worked to perfect the health care proposal before it went to Congress instead of working with Congress to reach a final draft. Instead of uniting behind the President, fellow Democrats began drawing up their own proposals for health care reform because the Clinton Administration had shared nothing with them or the American people. Although public opinion supported the general principles behind Clinton's plan, support dropped significantly when Clinton's name was attached to it. The proposal was nearly 1,400 pages long and incredibly complex and sophisticated, and given the closed-door nature of its creation, Americans and legislators dropped their support for the program — many refusing to even read it. In the same time frame, allegations that the Clintons had acted immorally and illegally in the Whitewater business deal and the suicide of close friend and White House aid Vince Foster resulted in the Clintons becoming very defensive. They took any challenge as an attack and further shut other stakeholders out of the policy drafting process. As a result, health care reform died in August of 1994 before ever being voted on by Congress.

A turning point of the 1992 Presidential race came in a debate between Bill Clinton and President George H.W. Bush. When an audience member asked the candidates, “How has the national debt affected each of your personal lives, and if it hasn't, how can you honestly find a cure for the economic problems of the common people if you have no experience in what's ailing them?”²³⁸ President Bush responded by analogizing, "I don't think it's fair to say 'you haven't had cancer; therefore, you don't know what it's like.'" People lost faith that the President could help

²³⁸ "Clinton vs. Bush in 1992 Debate [Video]." *YouTube*. 19 Mar. 2007. Web. 3 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7ffbFvKlWqE>>.

them recover from the recession in which America was engulfed, and the door was opened for Bill Clinton. The man from, “a place called Hope,”²³⁹ Bill Clinton, claimed that, “in my state, when people lose their jobs, there is a good chance I'll know them by their names; when a factory closes, I know the people who ran it; when the businesses go bankrupt, I know them.”²⁴⁰ Oxford student Katherine Gieve recalled:

Politics, as taught in Oxford then, was about ideas. It was very distant from actual experience. But Bill was thinking about people. He made a relationship between abstract ideas and the meaning of people's experiences. That was true for all of the Americans at Oxford then. Because of the Vietnam war, demands were being made by the state that were crucial to the way they lived their own ideas.²⁴¹

Getting America out of its recession was a campaign topic of utmost importance in 1992, and as was typical of Clinton, he won over the support of the American people because of his ability to connect directly to them.

As President, Clinton succeeded in eliminating the national deficit. His policy of tax increases, spending cuts, and low interest rates facilitated deficit reduction. The annual deficit was cut from \$290 billion to \$203 billion in less than two years,²⁴² and upon leaving the White House, the Office of Management and Budget was projecting a net surplus of \$5 trillion over the

²³⁹ Clinton, Bill. "Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Democratic national Convention in New York." *American Presidency Project: University of California Santa Barbara*. 16 Jul. 1992. Web. 3 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25958>>.

²⁴⁰ "Clinton vs. Bush in 1992 Debate [Video]." *YouTube*. 19 Mar. 2007. Web. 3 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7ffbFvKIWqE>>.

²⁴¹ Hoffman, Matthew. "The Bill Clinton we Knew at Oxford: Apart from Smoking Dope (and not Inhaling), What Else did he Learn Over Here? College Friends Share Their Memories with Matthew Hoffman." *The Independent*. 11 Oct. 1992. Web. 4 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/the-bill-clinton-we-knew-at-oxford-apart-from-smoking-dope-and-not-inhaling-what-else-did-he-learn-over-here-college-friends-share-their-memories-with-matthew-hoffman-1556769.html>>.

²⁴² "American President: A Reference Resource. Domestic Affairs." *Miller Center: University of Virginia*. n.d. Web. 2 Feb. 2012. <<http://millercenter.org/President/clinton/essays/biography/4>>.

first decade of the twenty-first century.²⁴³ With Clinton as President, the United States sustained its longest economic boom in history during which the American economy expanded by 50% over the course of Clinton's eight years in office. By the end of his second term, U.S. gross national product exceeded \$10 trillion which amounted to 1/4 of the entire world's economic output. The booming economy resulted in the creation of fifteen million jobs which led America's unemployment rate to be halved and to reach the lowest level since World War II. Much to the chagrin of the Republican party (and even some members of the Democratic party), Clinton's economic policies corresponded with tremendous success.

President Clinton and his Administration defined their two primary goals as efforts to, "restore fiscal discipline" and to, "invest in the American people."²⁴⁴ They worked to slash the deficit and lower interest rates which, "almost immediately led to a drop in interest rates, which spurred investment and led to an increase in the rate of job creation, wage growth and productivity."²⁴⁵ Furthermore, tax cuts and investment incentives were offered to small business owners in an effort to spark investment in American business and the American people.

President Clinton was able to pair his economic policy with social welfare efforts in attempt to appeal to upper, middle, and working class Americans. The expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit gave assistance to more than 15 million families and was described in an October 16,

²⁴³ "Bill Clinton's Economic Legacy." *BBC News*. 15 Jan. 2001. Web. 26 Mar. 2012.

<<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/1110165.stm>>.

²⁴⁴ Clinton, Bill and Al Gore. "President Clinton and Vice President Gore's Economic Plan: Building the Path to Prosperity for America's Families." *2000 White House Education Press Releases and Statements*. 5 Aug. 2000. Web. 29 Mar. 2012.

<<http://www2.ed.gov/PressReleases/08-2000/wh-0805.html>>.

²⁴⁵ Clinton, Bill and Al Gore. "President Clinton and Vice President Gore's Economic Plan: Building the Path to Prosperity for America's Families." *2000 White House Education Press Releases and Statements*. 5 Aug. 2000. Web. 29 Mar. 2012.

<<http://www2.ed.gov/PressReleases/08-2000/wh-0805.html>>.

1994 article in the *Minneapolis Star-Tribune* as having a, "more beneficial impact on some of the neediest American families than anything the government has done in decades."²⁴⁶ In addition to reforming student loans, investing in American research and development, and focusing on the development of rural America, President Clinton framed even his health care proposal in the context of economic policy. He cited growing health care costs as a major drain on the economy, and put in place a plan which increased the projected solvency of Medicare by twenty-six years.²⁴⁷ These policies fueled growth while financing social programs, and they directly resulted in Clinton's high approval ratings.

Dwight Eisenhower's effort to balance the budget and to stimulate the economy in the 1950's was not unlike Clinton's plans in the 1990's. That being said, the two men focused on different aspects of the economy and budget to achieve their goals. Naturally, Eisenhower focused his attention on military spending while Clinton looked primarily to entitlement and tax programs. Given the recent destruction which occurred during World War II and the emergence of the Cold War, it is likely that Americans would not have accepted defense cuts from anyone other than General Eisenhower. That being said, Ike did not focus his attention on defense cuts because he thought they would be popular; he focused on them because he believed they were the best option. Eisenhower followed the plan which he believed to be best and most effective in his efforts to balance the budget. While Ike did what was 'right,' Clinton based his economic policy around what was popular. He understood the need for economic improvement but largely

²⁴⁶ "Fact Sheet on the Clinton and Gore Economic Plan." *The White House*. 7 Aug. 2000. Web. 22 Mar. 2012. <<http://clinton6.nara.gov/2000/08/2000-08-05-fact-sheet-on-the-clinton-and-gore-economic-plan.html>>.

²⁴⁷ Clinton, Bill and Al Gore. "President Clinton and Vice President Gore's Economic Plan: Building the Path to Prosperity for America's Families." *2000 White House Education Press Releases and Statements*. 5 Aug. 2000. Web. 29 Mar. 2012. <<http://www2.ed.gov/PressReleases/08-2000/wh-0805.html>>.

let the American people influence the way his plan would unfold. He identified the particular programs which were most popular with the American people, namely Social Security and Medicare, and defended them at all cost. Although every Republican in Congress (and some Democrats) voted against the bill, the House of Representatives passed it on August 5, 1993 with a vote of 218 to 216, and the Senate passed it the following day with Al Gore casting the deciding vote to pass the legislation 51 votes to 50.

Conclusion

Bill Clinton's pre-presidential preparation was very different from that of Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy. By avoiding military service, Clinton developed a different belief of his role as President; the manner in which business was conducted and the priorities of his Administration were much different than the administrations of Eisenhower and Kennedy. His training as an academic made him a 'brainstormer' more than a 'decision-maker.' This mindset resulted in a lack of clear authority, as the White House was structured around three rings of power: the President, the First Lady, and the Vice President. Furthermore, he surrounded himself with likeminded people with whom he drafted policy — as a result, key stakeholders were left out of the process, and partisan sentiments grew.

Yale Law taught Clinton that policies and laws are only important given their application to the real world. He emphasized this theme in the courses he taught at the University of Arkansas and as President. He dedicated his full effort to relating to the American people on a personal basis and used public opinion to set his policy agenda. He looked at the American people as voters before he saw them as citizens, and as their elected representative, he believed that his top responsibility was to represent them — not necessarily to lead them. He listened to

the desires of Americans and believed that his academic and political training made him the most qualified person to solve their problems. Fully dedicated to pleasing his constituents, Clinton went to great lengths not necessarily to do what was right, but to do what was popular. His tremendous efforts to incorporate everyone's individual desires left all stakeholders feeling unsatisfied and disappointed by his, "third way" of making decisions. People quickly began to see him as a chameleon who would change himself and his principles on a whim as he moved between different worlds. Clinton had an insatiable desire for approval, yet his own actions drew scrutiny from both the Republican party and the media. This, combined with his loose morals, forced the President to always be on the defensive, thus exacerbating the problems further.

Clinton's lack of military service and foreign policy experience left him unprepared for the challenges of international affairs. His foreign policies were often reactionary and motivated by efforts of humanitarianism. In events in which he was not responsible for managing crises, he substituted trade policy for the strategic positioning of America in the world. His entire life prior to entering the White House had been built upon individual work and accomplishments, and he lacked the ability to work with people who had different beliefs. In his January 12, 2012 speech at Duke University, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Martin Dempsey said of students partaking in ROTC programs across the country, "What they have done is they have sworn an allegiance, even as cadets — not to a political party, not to a monarch — they have sworn an allegiance to a set of ideals in our Constitution."²⁴⁸ Clinton, on the other hand, was bred to be a politician and had sworn his allegiance to his supporters and to the ideals of the Democratic party. The military unites Americans of different backgrounds behind a common cause.

²⁴⁸ Dempsey, Martin. "General Martin E. Dempsey Speaks at Duke University [Video]." *Duke University*. 12 Jan 2012. Web. 12 Jan. 2012. <<http://www.dvidshub.net/video/134841/gen-martin-e-dempsey-speaks-duke-university#.T2nzOWJWpZU>>.

Clinton, however, never experienced this, and as a lifelong student of politics, he often focused on political games more so than achieving results.

Bill Clinton was arguably the most politically and intellectually gifted man to be elected President. His faults, however, have scarred his legacy. Be it the manner in which the health care bill was written or his countless charges of sexual misconduct, Clinton failed on many levels. The son of an alcoholic and abusive father, Clinton bore the responsibility of bringing pride to his family. Throughout his entire life, everyone from his mother to his second grade teacher, fellow Rhodes Scholars, wife, and many more nonchalantly referred to him as a future President.²⁴⁹ Unlike Eisenhower and Kennedy, Clinton never worked his way up a hierarchy, and never was responsible for anyone except himself. The military would have provided structure to his life and thought process and taught Clinton his place and responsibility as a leader. Clinton was a gifted politician, and although he was often more of a deliberator and not a decision-maker, he achieved significant political success in areas such as the economy and welfare reform. That being said, he lacked the policy insight, management structure, and sense of accountability which are characteristic of military veterans.

²⁴⁹ Marannis, David. *First in Class: A Biography of Bill Clinton*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995. p. 15, 464, 313. Print.

Conclusion

Trends and tendencies of military veterans who have been elected President

Military service has a tremendous effect on most veterans. It, almost inevitably, shapes their views of the world; their values; and the ways they conduct themselves. Arguably, there is no greater expression of patriotism than fighting for one's country, and such an experience can either 'make' or 'break' a man. Thirty-one men who served in the military have gone on to become President of the United States of America, and their tenures as President were undoubtedly shaped by their time in the military. As is true in anything, different people can partake in the same thing and have very different experiences. That being said, distinct commonalities can be seen in Presidents who served in the military when compared to those who did not. Such trends can be traced across the following areas:

1. Views of America and of the World
2. Management Styles
3. Policy Decisions

Analyses of and comparisons between Dwight Eisenhower, John Kennedy, and Bill Clinton have illustrated the causes and effects of such findings. The trends are analyzed through this narrow

lens to give readers an in-depth understanding of how the presidencies of the three men whose service varied greatly — in branch, time, and rank — were impacted by their military service. However, the conclusions apply not just to them. Rather, the findings and trends can be seen across Presidents with similar military backgrounds. Thus, the research does not simply illustrate how military service affected three men but highlights them as specific examples of the common effects military service has had on all U.S. Presidents.

Views of America and of the World

View of America

Military service affects not only the decisions one makes, but also one's point of view. In Governor John Winthrop's 1630 speech entitled *A Model of Christian Charity*, Winthrop told the people of the Massachusetts Bay Colony that, “we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us.”²⁵⁰ Military veterans Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy both subscribed to this metaphor for America that Winthrop offered. They believed that America was, far and away, the supreme nation in the world. They believed America's ideals were infallible and that it was their responsibility to uphold the country's prestige, power, and prominence in the world. Clinton loved his country as much as Eisenhower or Kennedy, but he did not view it as unerring as the other men did. The military taught Eisenhower and Kennedy to unquestioningly fight in defense of America's ideals and policies. Clinton, on the other hand, made a name for himself by disapproving of and protesting American policy. Ike and JFK had been taught that orders given were orders to be followed, and they likely would have viewed Clinton's protesting and avoiding of the draft as the antithesis of a patriotism. As a

²⁵⁰ Winthrop, John. *A Model of Christian Charity: Speech aboard the Arbella*. 1630. Web. 5 Apr. 2012. <<http://religiousfreedom.lib.virginia.edu/sacred/charity.html>>.

result, Eisenhower and Kennedy entered the White House ready to maintain America's position as a, "city upon a hill" in the world while Clinton came in ready to fix America's problems.

Military service — or avoidance of — directly shaped these Presidents' views of America.

Role of the President

Just as military service influences one's view of America, it also influences a President's interpretation of his responsibilities as the nation's Commander in Chief. During his time in the Army's War Plans Division of the War Department, Eisenhower was responsible for crafting America's plan for entering World War II, and as Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, his biggest task was planning the Allies' invasion of Normandy. It was his responsibility to gather all of the intelligence and to make the right choices on behalf of his men. Eisenhower was a master strategist, but he was responsible not just for drafting the most efficient plans; he was responsible for the lives of each and every man who would follow the orders which Ike issued. As a result, Eisenhower believed that his most important role as President was to make the right decisions on behalf of the American people. In the Army, it would have been terribly ineffective to poll his men and to incorporate their opinions into his decisions and strategies. Similarly, as President, he believed that he had been elected to make decisions on behalf of Americans — just as he had done as a General in the Army.

Kennedy, however, never attained the high level of authority in the military that Eisenhower did, and he never was in a position to make key strategic decisions. As a PT-boat captain, his primary responsibility was motivating and uniting his men to work together. When PT-109 was sunk, the only two things that could (and did) save the crew were leadership and teamwork. Kennedy acted as a motivator and a unifying force for his crew, and he assumed a

very similar role as President. Kennedy believed, as President, his role was to lead the American people. He assembled the 'best and the brightest' to help him formulate policies, but it was Kennedy who, as President, positioned himself into a national icon and the face of America. He did his best to unite the country and to lead them in a time of great uncertainty.

Bill Clinton's entire training outside of politics was academic. As mentioned earlier, his view of America was that it was a great nation, but it was a nation with problems that needed fixing. As a student, he spent much of his life solving problems, and he believed his responsibility as President to be quite similar. In the case of health care reform, Clinton listened to the American people and identified health care as the most important area on which he would focus. He believed that his time at Georgetown, Oxford, and Yale had qualified him to solve the most complex of problems, and upon being elected President, he thought that he had been chosen by the American people not necessarily to lead them, but to solve their problems. Eisenhower saw his role as making the right decisions on behalf of the American people from a viewpoint of high-level moral leadership. Clinton, on the other hand, saw his responsibility as figuring out the most complex aspects of America's problems. While both Eisenhower and Clinton believed that it was their role to make decisions on behalf of their constituents, Eisenhower focused on America's grand strategy while Clinton focused on figuring out the complex details of individual problems.

Country versus Party

Upon joining the military, one makes a firm commitment that he will put the United States of America before all else. In life-or-death scenarios, servicemen are expected to defend the ideals, the Constitution, and the citizens of America at all costs. Together, members of the

military fight alongside other men and women who, although Americans, come from different walks of life, religions, races, and political beliefs. Nevertheless, they are forced to put their differences aside and to unite in an effort to defend their beloved country. As a result, military servicemen and veterans are more likely to think of America as a united country before they think of the many factions which comprise it. Veterans who become President of the United States are more apt to place national allegiance before political allegiances, and are typically more willing to bring an open mind to the Oval Office opposed to merely acting as a puppet of their political party.

Presidents who served in the military are more likely to act in the best interest of the country opposed to the best interests of their political parties. The Suez Crisis occurred in the weeks immediately leading up to the 1956 Presidential election. Eisenhower's advisors warned the President that he could not simply neglect his campaign effort to solve a foreign problem about which he wrote to John Foster Dulles on October 15, 1956, "I will not under any circumstances permit the fact of the forthcoming elections to influence my judgment. If any votes are lost as a result of this attitude, that is a situation which we will have to confront, but any other attitude will not permit us to live with our conscience."²⁵¹ As a military general, Eisenhower risked his life to defend the United States under any and all circumstances; he was responsible for doing what was right and could not be swayed by other factors such as politics. Upon entering the White House, he held himself to this same principle — under no circumstance would he allow himself to act without putting the good of America before all else. He was

²⁵¹ Ambrose, Stephen E. *Eisenhower: Volume II, The President*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984. p. 353. Print.

willing to risk his own political viability — be it by neglecting the campaign or working with Democrats in Congress — if he believed it would benefit the broader country.

Similarly, John F. Kennedy was not afraid to go against his party's ideals when he saw an alternative that he believed to be better. To Kennedy, the Cold War was a war between good and evil; it was a war of morals. He viewed the role of the President as a position of moral leadership, and he acted always as an American working toward what is right — not as a Democrat pushing an agenda. In 1962, he pushed a conservative economic policy that was very unpopular within his own party because he believed it would encourage investment and benefit Americans. In his book *Profiles in Courage*, Kennedy reflects that, “great crises produce great men and great deeds of courage,”²⁵² and his heroics which he exhibited while saving his men after PT-109 was sunk, prove that he was an incredibly courageous man. Kennedy believed that courage was the most admirable quality a man can possess, but he defined courage not in the sense of physical courage, but in putting one's country first.²⁵³ As President, JFK always lived by this mantra and courageously put his country before all else.

Unlike Eisenhower and Kennedy, Bill Clinton often put the Democratic party before the United States when making decisions and drafting policies. He campaigned as the leader of the 'New' Democratic Party and pushed for health care reform largely because Americans requested it but also because he saw it as the best way to strengthen support for the Democratic party. A decade after his time in the White House, Clinton acknowledged that, "Americans hate all the

²⁵² Kennedy, John F. *Profiles in Courage*. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2006. p. 51. Print.

²⁵³ Kennedy, John F. *Profiles in Courage*. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2006. p. 18. Print.

partisan bickering in Washington."²⁵⁴ However, he proceeded to say of the Republican party, "Someone had to stop them before it was too late"²⁵⁵ and illustrated his view of politics as a battle between Democrats and Republicans as much as it is an opportunity to serve one's country. As can be seen by his oversight of the longest government shutdown in history, Clinton was, at times, subscribed to his party's ideals so scrupulously that on, numerous occasions, he put the broader country at risk. A student who protested the policies of America, Clinton never made a vow to put his country before all else as is done by men and women in the military, and his partisanship as President is a direct reflection of this.

Management Style

Teams

Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Clinton structured and utilized teams of advisors in a manner that directly relates to each of their prior experiences. Eisenhower had attained the highest position of leadership in the U.S. Army without ever firing a shot. His entire life and career was a product of the military, and as President, he recreated the organizational structure that had defined his entire life up to that point: bureaucratic hierarchy. His bureaucratic organizational structure directly translated into the way Eisenhower managed his staff and his decision-making process. It facilitated a formal structure with much delegating of tasks. Ike's hierarchical structure made accountability clear and left no uncertainty regarding the President's efforts and plan.

²⁵⁴ Clinton, Bill. *Back to Work: Why We Need Smart Government for a Strong Economy*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf of Random House Inc., 2011. p. 22. Print.

²⁵⁵ Clinton, Bill. *Back to Work: Why We Need Smart Government for a Strong Economy*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf of Random House Inc., 2011. p. 22. Print.

When PT-109 was sunk, titles did not matter; working together as a cohesive unit was the only thing Kennedy's crew could do to survive. Upon reaching Plum Pudding Island, Kennedy was furious that the PT-boat commander at the American base in Rendova had assumed they all were dead and had not called for a search party to look for the crewmembers of PT-109. The commander managed the mission from a safe distance back at the base. He remained insulated from danger while Kennedy, his crew, and many other squadrons risked their lives. As a result, Kennedy, a junior lieutenant, detested the Navy's hierarchical structure. He treated his crew members as partners and demanded that everyone pull his own weight on the boat. As had been the case while he was in the Navy, Kennedy disliked hierarchy in the White House. Rather, Kennedy utilized his staff and advisors as partners. Just as JFK was fully responsible for his boat while in the Navy, he was also responsible for every decision that came from his office. As a result, he had his hand in everything and avoided delegating decision-making as Ike had done. Rather, he used his advisors to sort through details before he would come in and make a final decision.

Clinton also had his hand in everything. Nevertheless, he utilized his staff differently than Kennedy. Kennedy used his team to work through the details before he would come in and make a decision. This can be seen in his handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis during which his advisors met without his oversight before Kennedy began weighing in on the situation and ultimately making the final decision. Clinton, on the other hand, was deeply engaged — often too engaged — in sorting through the details. His academic and legal success had been largely determined by how well he analyze minute details and use them to develop a perspective and argument of his own. Clinton was gifted in academic debate more so than decision-making, and his teams were terribly unstructured. He granted elevated titles to many of his staff members but

did not necessarily assign clear responsibilities to them. His 'loop' of advisors was, more or less an unstructured group that was divided, as needed, into ad hoc teams and overseen by President Clinton, the First Lady, and/or the Vice President. This led to both a lack of structure, a lack of clear authority, and overall sentiments of uncertainty within the Clinton White House.

Later in his term, Clinton realized that the lack of organization of his Administration was causing problems so he called in David Gergen, a Republican advisor, to help. Gergen said that, when initially discussing the position, "[Vice President Gore] painted a bright picture of how I would join a tight circle of five people: the President, the Vice President, the First Lady, the chief of staff, and me, the counselor. It was important, I said, that if I were to come, I have a direct reporting relationship with the President as well as the chief of staff. Gore seemed to agree."²⁵⁶

However, once he formally joined the Clinton team, Gergen described it by saying:

I am used to a White House where normally the President is in the Oval Office and there is a fairly orderly discussion, it may be three people, may be four people, but not very many and everybody sort of waits for somebody else to speak. And more than once the situation I saw was Bill Clinton was going to go out to the Rose Garden to do an event and the press would be out there. And suddenly, ten minutes before the event, people would pour into the office, to give him advice. And everybody would be milling around as the fellow was trying to get himself ready to go out there. And somebody would be whispering in his ear, somebody would stick a piece of paper in his pocket, somebody would say, "You got to say this," and somebody else would say, "No, no, no, you got to say that." It bordered on chaos.²⁵⁷

David Gergen helped the President better structure his team and to organize the White House more effectively, but Gergen's stay was short seeing that he did not want to be part of a

Democratic Administration during an election against Republicans. Clinton's problems were

²⁵⁶ Gergen, David. *Eyewitness to Power: The Essence of Leadership Nixon to Clinton*. New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2000. p. 266. Print.

²⁵⁷ Gergen, David. "Interview." *PBS*. n.d. Web. 17 Apr. 2012.

<<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/clinton/interviews/gergen.html>>.

improved but not alleviated by Gergen's presence. By not serving in the military, Clinton missed out on a valuable skill — the ability to structure and utilize a team of advisors effectively.

Willingness to Work with the Opposition

Ironically, evidence shows that military service makes one more willing to work alongside others who have different beliefs. The only way wars end is through peace agreements and treaties — not by drawing out the conflict. Servicemen who have seen the horrors of battle are more likely to understand the importance of reaching a resolution instead of continuing to fight. President Eisenhower had worked with men from all walks of life and his primary responsibility as Supreme Allied Commander was to orchestrate an end to World War II. To achieve this, he had to bring Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin together, and Ike was later instrumental in the reconstruction of Europe. As President, Eisenhower once again had to work with counterparts who were stubborn, egotistical, of beliefs different than his own — Congress.

It was described that:

Eisenhower's respect for the institution of Congress, regular consultation with legislators, and use of a variety of strategies for cultivating congressional support fostered greater foreign policy cooperation between the branches on the whole. These strategies included co-opting Congress into shared responsibility for use of force decisions, facilitating compromise by making concessions to Congress on issues of secondary importance, and going public...when necessary.²⁵⁸

By working with Congressional leaders (not against them like Bill Clinton and many other Presidents have done), Ike was able to achieve great success.

²⁵⁸ Tama, Jordan. "More Than Defense: Eisenhower, Congress, and Foreign Policy." *American University*. 19 Feb. 2010. Web. 16 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.american.edu/spa/ccps/upload/Tama-Eisenhower-paper.pdf>>.

Kennedy's experience in the Navy also impacted his willingness to work with his opposition. Suffering from the deaths of his crewmembers, friends, and family, Kennedy quickly saw that war is to be avoided at all costs. President Kennedy and Chairman Khrushchev began exchanging personal letters in November of 1960 — even before Kennedy entered the White House. President Kennedy wrote to Khrushchev:

I think we should recognize, in honesty to each other, that there are problems on which we may not be able to agree. However, I believe that while recognizing that we do not and, in all probability will not, share a common view on all of these problems, I do believe that the manner in which we approach them and, in particular, the manner in which our disagreements are handled can be of great importance...I hope it will be possible, before too long, for us to meet personally for an informal exchange of views.²⁵⁹

The President's efforts to establish a personal connection with Khrushchev allowed the world to escape the Cuban Missile Crisis without disaster and to slowly begin easing tensions between the two countries. Although he portrayed the Cold War to America as a moral battle between good and evil, Kennedy had learned that policies were made by people, and he was willing to bring together conflicting sides to reach a solution.

Clinton was much less willing to work with opposing forces because he had never been required to do so to a great extent before becoming President. He believed that, as Commander in Chief, he had ultimate authority. Clinton did not anticipate the fight which would be put up by the Republican members of Congress in opposition to his policies. Clinton and Speaker of the House of Representatives Newt Gingrich publically became political enemies. The two men became more focused on defeating each other than reaching solutions. President Clinton was partisan and unwilling to work with Republicans in Congress. In the first session of the 104th

²⁵⁹ Fensch, Thomas (editor). "Letter from President Kennedy to Chairman Khrushchev: Washington, 22 Feb. 1961." *The Kennedy-Khrushchev Letters*. The Woodlands, TX: New Century Books, 2001. #7. p. 10-11. Print.

Congress, Clinton had the lowest Presidential success rate, 36.2 percent, of any President in the *Congressional Quarterly's* ratings and the highest party unity (in which the majority of each party voted against the other) scores since 1954 when the *Congressional Quarterly* began tracking such statistics.²⁶⁰ Clinton's unwillingness to work with the opposition was a reflection of his prior preparation and stymied much of his potential success as President.

Accountability

Analysis of these three Presidents shows that the military veterans feel a greater sense of accountability for their actions, and they consider this when making decisions. In the military, one is constantly held accountable for his actions because one man's actions could be the difference between the life and death of his comrades. Accountability and honor were principles of utmost importance to Dwight Eisenhower. The Honor Code of West Point arguably had a more significant impact on Ike than any other part of his time at the Academy.²⁶¹ While serving in Europe, he was the first General to order a deserter executed and believed that all men must be held accountable for their actions. As President, he instituted an organizational structure of delegating work, but he left no question of who was ultimately in charge. Similarly, Kennedy felt so strongly that it was his duty to serve his country in the armed forces that he went out of way to secure a position as a PT-boat captain. As President, he held himself fully accountable for the Bay of Pigs fiasco, going as far as offering a formal, public apology in which he referred to the

²⁶⁰ Pfiffner, James P. *The Modern Presidency, 5th Edition*. New York: Wadsworth Publishing, 2008. p. 187. Print.

²⁶¹ D'Este, Carlo. *Eisenhower: A Soldier's Life*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2002. p. 63. Print.

events as, "a lesson."²⁶² After apologizing for his mistakes, Kennedy made a valiant effort to not make them again and handled the Cuban Missile Crisis much differently.

Throughout his political career, Clinton earned the nickname, "The Comeback Kid." After failing to get reelected as Governor of Arkansas because of the unpopular vehicle tax which he instituted, Clinton apologized to his constituents and promised that he would do better next time. Clinton, however, did this only because he was told that doing so would help him garner more votes. The experience did force him to listen to his constituents more going forward, but this is because he had to listen to them if he wanted their votes, not because he had learned his lesson. As President, Clinton would revert to his old ways by initially refusing to turn over his personal papers which pertained to the Whitewater affair even though, in reality, Clinton had nothing to hide. However, he believed that he was accountable only to himself, and his refusal to release the documents built up suspicion of the President and made him act defensively. Finally, Bill Clinton lied under oath; nothing a President can do demonstrates a greater lack of accountability. Prior to entering politics, Bill Clinton was only ever accountable to himself unlike Eisenhower and Kennedy who had been held accountable by their superiors and to their subordinates in the military. Later, as Presidents, the actions of all parties would be a reflection of their prior experiences.

²⁶² Kennedy, John F. "Address Before the American Society of Newspaper Editors." 20 Apr. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 138. p. 304. Print.

Policy Decisions

Domestic versus Foreign policy

One of the most significant ways which service in the military impacts a President's policy decisions is that it affects his view of the roles of foreign and domestic policy. Military veterans typically place greater importance on foreign policy than domestic policy and view domestic policy as a tool for furthering their foreign policies. Kennedy, for example, gave so much attention to the Civil Rights Movement largely because he was concerned with the negative publicity it brought America abroad. In his book *The Modern Presidency & Civil Rights: Rhetoric on Race from Roosevelt to Nixon*, Garth E. Pauley states, "Perhaps JFK's central aim with regard to civil rights was to prevent international publicity about domestic racism, which would help the Communists exploit America's racial problems for their benefit."²⁶³ Similarly, Eisenhower chose to focus on improving America's roads because the nation needed to improve their channels of moving goods and people should war break out with the Soviet Union. These men put a much greater emphasis on foreign policy than domestic, and they pursued domestic agendas that helped to further push their foreign agendas.

Clinton and Presidents such as Barack Obama and Franklin Roosevelt saw things differently. It appears that these non-military veterans put a larger focus on domestic policy and believed that foreign policy matters in the context of domestic policy. Foreign policy is important because of its relationship to their efforts to keep Americans safe at home; to bring in sufficient oil to run the country; to stimulate the American economy; etc. Clinton was so indifferent to foreign policy that he initially delegated the majority of his foreign affairs

²⁶³ Pauley, Garth E. *The Modern Presidency & Civil Rights: Rhetoric on Race from Roosevelt to Nixon*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2001. p. 111. Print.

responsibilities to Warren Christopher and Anthony Lake to allow himself more time to focus on domestic policy. Similarly, Obama's top three priorities as President have been to stimulate the economy, to extend health care coverage to all citizens, and to withdraw American presence in the Middle East. Presidents who did not serve in the military have exhibited a tendency to focus their attention more on domestic policies than foreign policies.

Presidents who served in the military are more apt to focus their attention on foreign affairs while non-military veterans typically focus their efforts on domestic issues. Military veterans recognize that foreign policy has the potential to determine a country's fate. For example, in the grand scheme of things, they are more concerned with managing foreign wars than taxes. Presidents who did not serve in the military, however, have a different point of view. They believe that their primary responsibility is to the citizens of America; therefore, they must focus on the policies which directly affect their people at home rather than the people of other nations. Meanwhile, military veterans see foreign policy as a tool which will allow the United States to lead and shape the rest of the world while Presidents who did not serve in the military view foreign policy by looking at how America can best fit into the larger, global puzzle.

Who Foreign Policy Concerns

Looking at Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Clinton, the three men viewed foreign policy with respect to two very different groups — America's enemies and its allies. Eisenhower and Kennedy looked at foreign policy in the context of America's enemies. They were concerned with positioning the country to prevail over communism and to act as the premier leader in the world. Clinton, however, focused his foreign policy around relations with America's allies. He believed that partnering with America's allies had much greater potential to

add value to the lives of the American people than policies which protected America against unlikely events that the country wished to avoid. The Presidents who served in the military believed the importance of foreign policy to be avoiding inauspicious events from occurring and from impacting the United States. Conversely, Clinton had a more forward looking vision through which he sought to facilitate positive change through foreign policy, not just to avoid negative events.

Foreign Wars

One's service (or lack there of) to the military affects the likelihood that he will engage America in a foreign war and the reasons for which he would do so. American veterans risk their lives to defend the ideals and values of America. As a result, they often are more willing to go to war in defense of America's ideals. While fighting never broke out, both Eisenhower and Kennedy perpetuated the Cold War in defense of American, democratic, capitalistic, and moralistic ideals. Although the threat of nuclear war hung constantly over the heads of Americans and soviets, the conflict was framed as a battle between democracy and communism — a battle over ideals more so than nuclear power. Those who did not serve in the military, however, typically will engage in foreign armed conflict only if America's safety and security are at risk. Noting that American intervention in Somalia was initiated by George H.W. Bush (a military veteran), this can be seen in Clinton's attempts to avoid direct American intervention in Rwanda and the Balkans — two conflicts which did not threaten American safety and security.

Conclusion

Prior military service is an important tool to use when analyzing the Presidents. As illustrated, military service is not for everyone, and a man's willingness to serve his country is a

key indicator of his values, attitude, outlook, and patriotism in and of itself. Regardless of one's reason for joining — be the person required by a draft or an earnest volunteer — military service has a profound effect on all who engage in this duty. At the most basic level, American Presidents are no different than American citizens, and they too are impacted by their service (or lack of service) to their country. Such an experience is instrumental in shaping their outlooks on life and of the world. For those veterans who would go on to become President later in life, their service to their country would greatly influence their management styles and policy decisions. For all of these Presidents, it would be a significant, typically subconscious, factor which would impact their success and failures as President as well as the legacies they would each leave.

Works Cited

"1960 Presidential Election." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. n.d. Web. 22 Jan. 2012. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/Ready-Reference/JFK-Miscellaneous-Information/1960-Presidential-Election.aspx>>.

Ambrose, Stephen E. and Günter Bischof. *Eisenhower: A Centenary Assessment*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. Print.

Ambrose, Stephen E. *Eisenhower: Volume II, The President*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984. Print.

"American President: A Reference Resource. Domestic Affairs." *Miller Center: University of Virginia*. n.d. Web. 2 Feb. 2012. <<http://millercenter.org/President/clinton/essays/biography/4>>.

Barber, James David. *Politics by Humans: Research on American Leadership*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988. Print.

Barnes, John A. *John F. Kennedy on Leadership*. New York: Amacom, 2005. Print.

"Bill Clinton's Economic Legacy." *BBC News*. 15 Jan. 2001. Web. 26 Mar. 2012. <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/1110165.stm>>.

"Biography: Dwight D. Eisenhower." *PBS*. n.d. Web. 1 Dec. 2011.

<<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/biography/bulge-eisenhower/>>

"Biography: John F. Kennedy." *Freedom Riders*, *PBS*. n.d. Web. 3 Feb. 2012.

<<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/freedomriders/people/john-f-kennedy/>>.

Bradlee, Benjamin C. *Conversations with Kennedy*. New York: Pocket Book, 1976. Print.

Brinkley, Douglas. "Democratic Enlargement: The Clinton Doctrine." *Foreign Policy*. No. 106.

(1997) Web. 29 Mar. 2012. <<http://jstor.org/stable/1149177>>.

Burke, John F. *The Institutional Presidency: Organizing and Managing the White House from FDR to Clinton, Second Edition*. Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. Print.

Butt, Jr., Howard E. "Eisenhower on Leadership." *The High Calling*. 28 Sep 2008. Web. 1 Oct.

2011. <<http://www.thehighcalling.org/audio/leadership/eisenhower-leadership>>.

Camisar, Adriana et al. "Analysis of the Dayton Negotiations and Peace Accords." *The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University*. 2005. Web. 12 Mar. 2012.

<<http://ocw.tufts.edu/data/12/244825.pdf>>.

Carroll, Rory. "U.S. Chose to Ignore Rwandan Genocide: Classified Papers Show Clinton was Aware of 'Final Solution' to Eliminate Tutsis." *The Guardian*. 31 Mar. 2004. Web. 13

Mar. 2012. <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2004/mar/31/usa.rwanda>>.

Chandler, David. "From Dayton to Europe." *International Peacekeeping*. Centre for the Study of

Democracy, University of Westminster. Vol. 12. No. 3. (2008). 28 May 2008. Web. 6

Mar. 2012. <[http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/IPK%20-](http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/IPK%20-%2012.3%20Dayton%20to%20Europe.pdf)

[%2012.3%20Dayton%20to%20Europe.pdf](http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/IPK%20-%2012.3%20Dayton%20to%20Europe.pdf)>.

- Clinton, Bill and Al Gore. "President Clinton and Vice President Gore's Economic Plan: Building the Path to Prosperity for America's Families." *2000 White House Education Press Releases and Statements*. 5 Aug. 2000. Web. 29 Mar. 2012.
<<http://www2.ed.gov/PressReleases/08-2000/wh-0805.html>>.
- Clinton, Bill. "1992 Presidential Campaign Brochure." *4President.org*. 1992. Web. 16 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.4President.org/brochures/billclinton1992brochure.htm>>.
- Clinton, Bill. "Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Democratic National Convention in New York." *American Presidency Project: University of California Santa Barbara*. 16 Jul. 1992. Web. 3 Apr. 2012.
<<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25958>>.
- Clinton, Bill. "Address to a Joint Session of the Congress on Health Care Reform." 22 Sep. 1993. *Public Papers of the Presidents — Clinton*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. Print.
- Clinton, Bill. "Address to the Nation on Implementation of the Peace Agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina." 27 Sep. 1993. *Public Papers of the Presidents — Clinton*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. Print.
- Clinton, Bill. "Letter to Colonel Eugene Holmes, Director of the Reserve Officer Training Corps program at the University of Arkansas." *PBS*. 3 Dec. 1969. Web. 7 Feb. 2012.
<<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/clinton/etc/draftletter.html>>.
- Clinton, Bill. "Remarks on Welcoming Military Personnel Returning from Somalia." 5 May 1993. *Public Papers of the Presidents — Clinton*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. Print.

Clinton, Bill. "Remarks to Genocide Survivors in Kigali, Rwanda." 5 May 1993. *Public Papers of the Presidents — Clinton*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States.

Print.

Clinton, Bill. *Back to Work: Why We Need Smart Government for a Strong Economy*. New York:

Alfred A. Knopf of Random House Inc., 2011. Print.

"Clinton vs. Bush in 1992 Debate [Video]." *YouTube*. 19 Mar. 2007. Web. 3 Mar. 2012.

<<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7ffbFvKIWqE>>.

"Clinton's Black Hawk History." *Wall Street Journal*. 6 Aug. 2002. Web. 18 Apr. 2012.

<<http://online.wsj.com/article/0,,SB1028593490788851400,00.html>>.

Czerwinski, Thomas J. "Command and Control at the Crossroads." *Parameters*. Autumn 1996.

Web. 12 Dec 2011.

<<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/USAWC/parameters/Articles/96autumn/czerwins.htm>>.

D'Este, Carlo. *Eisenhower: A Soldier's Life*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2002. Print.

David, Charles-Philippe. "Alice in Wonderland meets Frankenstein: Constructivism, Realism and Peacebuilding in Bosnia." *Contemporary Security Policy*. Vol. 22 No. 1. (2010).

16 Apr. 2010. Web. 20 Mar. 2012.

<http://www.politique.uqam.ca/upload/files/PDF/PDF-100-Alice_wonderland.pdf>.

Dempsey, Martin. "General Martin E. Dempsey Speaks at Duke University [Video]." *Duke University*. 12 Jan 2012. Web. 12 Jan. 2012.

<<http://www.dvidshub.net/video/134841/gen-martin-e-dempsey-speaks-duke-university#.T2nzOWJWpZU>>.

Donovan, Robert J. *PT109: John F. Kennedy in World War II*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961.

Print.

Dowd, Maureen. "Oxford Journal; Whereas, He Is an Old Boy, If a Young Chief, Honor Him."

New York Times. 9 Jun. 1994. Web. 17 Feb. 2012.

<<http://www.nytimes.com/1994/06/09/world/oxford-journal-whereas-he-is-an-old-boy-if-a-young-chief-honor-him.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>>.

Drew, Elizabeth. *On the Edge: The Clinton Presidency*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994.

Print.

Edley, Christopher, Jr. *Not All Black and White: Affirmative Action and American Values*. New

York: Hill & Wang, 1996. Print.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. "Annual Budget Message to the Congress: Fiscal Year 1956." 17 Jan.

1955. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Eisenhower*. Washington,

DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 16. Print.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. "Diary entry on 8 Nov. 1956." *Waging Peace*. Garden City, NY:

Doubleday & Co., 1965. Print.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. "Entry on 12 Nov. 1955." *Eisenhower, Dwight D.: Papers as President*

— *Ann Whitman Diary Series*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States.

Print.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. "James Hagerty Diary, 25 Feb. 1954 entry." *Eisenhower National*

Historic Site. n.d. Web. 29 Sep. 2011.

<<http://www.nps.gov/features/eise/jrranger/5accomp4X.htm>>.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. "October 31, 1956 Report to the American People on the Developments

in Eastern Europe and the Middle East." 31 Oct. 1956. *Public Papers of the Presidents of*

the United States — Eisenhower. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United

States. No. 282. Print.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. "Remarks Recorded for the American Legion 'Back to God Program.'" 1 Feb. 1953. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Eisenhower*.

Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 5. Print.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. "Second Inaugural Address." 21 Jan. 1957. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States —Eisenhower*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 15. Print.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. "Special Message to the Congress Regarding a National Highway Program." 22 Feb. 1955. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Eisenhower*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 39. Print.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. "The Chance for Peace." 16 Apr. 1953. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Eisenhower*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 50. Print.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. "The President's News Conference of July 8, 1959." 8 Jul. 1959. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Eisenhower*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 154. Print.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. (edited by Allan Taylor). *What Eisenhower Thinks*. New York: Thomas Y Crowell Press, 1952. Print.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. (edited by Daniel D. Holt and James W. Leyerzapf). "NARA, Command and General Staff College Files, 'On the Command and General Staff School.' Aug. 1926." *Eisenhower: The Prewar Diaries and Selected Papers, 1905-1941*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. Print.

- Eisenhower, Dwight D. (edited by Daniel D. Holt and James W. Leyerzapf). "Eisenhower Library, Chief of Staff Diary. 30 Nov. 1932." *Eisenhower: The Prewar Diaries and Selected Papers, 1905-1941*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. Print.
- Eisenhower, Dwight D. (edited by Daniel D. Holt and James W. Leyerzapf). "Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Command and General Staff College Files, 'On the Command and General Staff School.' Aug. 1926." *Eisenhower: The Prewar Diaries and Selected Papers, 1905-1941*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. Print.
- Eisenhower, Dwight D. *At Ease: Stories I Tell to Friends*. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1967. Print.
- Eisenhower, Dwight D. *Crusade in Europe*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1948.
- "Eisenhower and D-Day." *The Hauenstein Center for Presidential Studies at Grand Valley State University*. 15 Sep. 2011. Web. 29 Sep. 2011. <<http://www.gvsu.edu/hauenstein/ask-gleaves-eisenhower-and-d-day-490.htm>>.
- "Eisenhower and the Media." *Dwight D. Eisenhower Memorial Commission, Washington, DC*. 2004. Web. 12 Oct. 2011. <<http://www.eisenhowermemorial.org/stories/Eisenhower-and-Media.htm>>.
- "The Election of 1946." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. n.d. Web. 22 Oct. 2011. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/Ready-Reference/JFK-Miscellaneous-Information/Election-1946.aspx>>.

Eyal, Jonathan. "Doctor without a Thesis: Bill Clinton gets an Oxford Degree Today, but Jonathan Eyal's Verdict on his Term's Work is: A Disaster." *The Independent*. 8 Jun. 1994. Web. 7 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/doctor-without-a-thesis-bill-clinton-gets-an-oxford-degree-today-but-jonathan-eyals-verdict-on-his-terms-work-is-a-disaster-1421189.html>>.

"Fact Sheet on the Clinton and Gore Economic Plan." *The White House*. 7 Aug. 2000. Web. 22 Mar. 2012. <<http://clinton6.nara.gov/2000/08/2000-08-05-fact-sheet-on-the-clinton-and-gore-economic-plan.html>>.

Fensch, Thomas (editor). "Letter from President Kennedy to Chairman Khrushchev: Washington, 22 Feb. 1961." *The Kennedy-Khrushchev Letters*. The Woodlands, TX: New Century Books, 2001. #7. Print.

Fensch, Thomas (editor). "Message from President Kennedy to Chairman Khrushchev: Washington, 8 Oct. 1962." *The Kennedy-Khrushchev Letters*. The Woodlands, TX: New Century Books, 2001. #59. Print.

Friedman, Thomas. "Foreign Affairs Big Max I." *New York Times, Opinion*. 8 Dec. 1996. Web. 1 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.nytimes.com/1996/12/08/opinion/foreign-affairs-big-mac-i.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>>.

Gaddis, John Lewis. *We Know Nothing: Rethinking Cold War History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Print.

Genova, Thomas. "Number of TV Households in America." *TV History*. n.d. Web. 23 March 2012. <http://www.tvhistory.tv/Annual_TV_Households_50-78.JPG>.

George, Alexander L. and Juliette L. George. *Presidential Personality & Performance*. Oxford: Westview Press of Harper Collins Publishers, 1998. Print.

Gergen, David. "Interview." *PBS*. n.d. Web. 17 Mar. 2012.

<<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/clinton/interviews/gergen.html>>.

Gergen, David. *Eyewitness to Power: The Essence of Leadership Nixon to Clinton*. New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2000. Print.

Greenstein, Fred. (edited by Stephen E. Ambrose and Günter Bischof) *Eisenhower: A Centenary Assessment*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. Print.

Greeves, Lisa. "Finding the Right Words." *PBS*. 2003. Web. 12 Oct. 2011.

<<http://www.pbs.org/weta/reportingamericaatwar/teachers/rightwords.html>>.

Hamilton, Neil. *Presidents: A Biographical Dictionary*. New York: Checkmark Books, 2001. Print.

Harness, Gregory. *Presidential Vetoes, 1789-1988*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992. Web. 30 Oct. 2011.

<<http://www.senate.gov/reference/resources/pdf/presvetoes17891988.pdf>>.

Hart, John. "Kennedy, Congress, and Civil Rights." *Journal of American Studies*. Vol. 13, No. 2. (Aug. 1979). Web. 22 Jan. 2012. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/27553692>>.

Heale, M.J. *Contemporary America: Power, Dependency, and Globalization Since 1980*. West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. Print.

Hoffman, Matthew. "The Bill Clinton we Knew at Oxford: Apart from Smoking Dope (and not Inhaling), What Else did he Learn Over Here? College Friends Share Their Memories with Matthew Hoffman." *The Independent*. 11 Oct. 1992. Web. 4 Apr. 2012.

<<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/the-bill-clinton-we-knew-at-oxford-apart-from-smoking-dope-and-not-inhaling-what-else-did-he-learn-over-here-college-friends-share-their-memories-with-matthew-hoffman-1556769.html>>.

"How the Presidents Stack Up." *Wall Street Journal*. 10 Jan 2011. Web. 23 Nov. 2011.

<<http://online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/info-presapp0605-31.html>>

James, Susan Donaldson. "Passing the Torch: Kennedy's Touch on Obama's Words." *ABC News*.

8 Feb. 2008. Web. 2 Nov. 2011.

<<http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/Vote2008/story?id=4259093&page=1#.T6GYbZ9YvbQ>>.

"John F. Kennedy and PT109." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. n.d. Web.

18 Oct. 2011. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/JFK/JFK-in-History/John-F-Kennedy-and-PT109.aspx>>.

Keeney, Lester E. "A Cabinet That Looks Like America." *Orlando Sentinel*. 3 Dec. 1992. Web.

7 Mar. 2012. <http://articles.orlandosentinel.com/1992-12-03/news/9212020380_1_cabinet-trade-policies-secretary>.

Kelly, Michael. "The 1992 Campaign: The Democrats — Clinton and Bush Compete to be

Champion of Change; Democrat Fights Perceptions of Bush Gain." *New York Times*. 31

Oct. 1992. Web. 29 Feb. 2012. <<http://www.nytimes.com/1992/10/31/us/1992-campaign-democrats-clinton-bush-compete-be-champion-change-democrat-fights.html>>.

Kennedy, John F. "Proclamation 3504: Interdiction of the Delivery of Offensive Weapons to

Cuba." 23 Oct. 1962. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*.

Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 486. Print.

Kennedy Schlossberg, John. "From J.F.K.'s Grandson, Letter to the Editor." *New York Times*:

The Opinion Pages. 2 Dec. 2011. Web. 29 Feb. 2012.

<<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/03/opinion/jfks-legacy-as-seen-by-his-grandson.html>>.

Kennedy, John F. "National Security Action memorandum No. 132: Support of Local Police Forces for Internal Security and Counter-Insurgency Purposes.' To: The Honorable Fowler Hamilton and The Administrator, Agency for International Development." 19 Feb. 1962. *JFK Wants to Know*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1991. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Address and Question and Answer Period at the Economic Club of New York." 14 Dec. 1962. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 549. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Address at a White House Reception for Members of Congress and for the Diplomatic Corps of the Latin American Republics." 13 Mar. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 78. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Address Before the American Society of Newspaper Editors." 20 Apr. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 138. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Address in New York City Before the General Assembly of the United Nations." 25 Sep. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 387. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Address of Senator John F. Kennedy Accepting the Democratic Party Nomination for the Presidency of the United States in Los Angeles, CA, July 15, 1960."

John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum. n.d. Web. 10 Jan. 2012.

<<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/Ready-Reference/JFK-Speeches/Address-of-Senator-John-F-Kennedy-Accepting-the-Democratic-Party-Nomination-for-the-Presidency-of-th.aspx>>.

Kennedy, John F. "Cable 243: AmEmbassy Saigon - Operational Immediate. August 24, 1963."

John F. Kennedy Library Archives. n.d. Web. 23 Jan. 2012.

<<http://www.jfklibrary.org/JFK/JFK-in-History/~media/EE2438DA4C064164ACABA420F64630D9.pdf>>.

Kennedy, John F. "Commencement Address at American University in Washington." 10 Jun.

1963. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 232. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Excerpts of Remarks by Senator John F. Kennedy, New York Coliseum, New York, NY, November 5, 1960." *JFK Link*. n.d. Web. 23 Nov. 2011.

<http://www.jfklink.com/speeches/jfk/nov60/jfk051160_ny04.html>.

Kennedy, John F. "Inaugural Address." 20 Jan. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 1. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Memorandum to Federal Agencies on the Duties of the Director of the Food-for-Peace Program." 24 Jan. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 6. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Message on a Coconut Shell. August 1942." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. n.d. Web. 11 Nov. 2011. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Ey516Vagyk2dwA6BTctDZg.aspx>>.

Kennedy, John F. "Radio and Television Address to the American People on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty." 26 Jul. 1963. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 316. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Radio and Television Address to the American People on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty." 26 Jul. 1963. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 316. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Radio and Television Report to the American People on Civil Rights." 11 Jun. 1963. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 237. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Radio and Television Report to the American People on Civil Rights." 11 Jun. 1963. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 237. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Remarks in Miami at the Presentation of the Flag of the Cuban Invasion Brigade." 29 Dec. 1962. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 556.. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Remarks in the Rudolph Wilde Platz, Berlin." 26 Jun. 1963. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 269. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Remarks of Senator John F. Kennedy at the University of Michigan on October 14, 1960." *United States Peace Corps*. 30 Sep. 2008. Web. 12 Jan. 2012.

<<http://www.peacecorps.gov/index.cfm?shell=about.history.speech>>.

Kennedy, John F. "Remarks Upon Signing the Agricultural Act of 1961." 8 Aug. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 316. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Review of 'Deterrent or Defense' by B. H. Liddell Hart in the *Saturday Review*." *The American Presidency Project: University of California Santa Barbara*. 3 Sep. 1960. Web. 13 Jan. 2012. <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25937>>.

Kennedy, John F. "Special Message to Congress on the Nation's Youth." 14 Feb. 1963. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 64. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Special Message to the Congress on the Defense Budget." 28 Mar. 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 99. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Special Message to the Congress on Urgent National Needs." 25 May 1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 205. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Speech of Senator John F. Kennedy, Cow Palace, San Francisco, CA." *The American Presidency Project: University of California Santa Barbara*. 2 Nov. 1960. Web. 29 Jan. 2012. <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25928>>.

Kennedy, John F. "Statement by the President on the Increase in the Minimum Wage." 3 Sep.

1961. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 344. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Statement by the President Upon Approving the Public Welfare Amendments

Bill." 26 Jul. 1962. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy*. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 306. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "Statement of Senator John F. Kennedy on Civil Rights Section in Hyannis, MA, August 2, 1960." *JFK Link*. n.d. Web. 3 Jan. 2012.

<http://www.jfklink.com/speeches/jfk/aug60/jfk020860_civil.html>.

Kennedy, John F. "The President's News Conference of April 21, 1961." 21 Apr. 1961. *Public*

Papers of the Presidents of the United States — Kennedy. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States. No. 139. Print.

Kennedy, John F. "The Soft American." *Sports Illustrated*. 26 Dec. 1960. Web. 12 Jan. 2012.

<<http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/vault/article/magazine/MAG1134750/index.htm>>.

Kennedy, John F. (edited by Bill Adler and Tom Folsom. *The Uncommon Wisdom of JFK*. New York: Rugged Land, 2003. Print.

Kennedy, John F. *Profiles in Courage*. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2006.

Print.

Kennedy, John F. *Why England Slept*. New York: W. Funk, Inc., 1940. Print.

Kennedy, Robert F. *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis*. New York: W. W.

Norton & Co., 1999. Print.

"Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population Survey: Characteristics of Minimum Wage Workers, 2010." *Bureau of Labor Statistics*. 25 Feb. 2011. Web. 27 Jan. 2012.

<<http://www.bls.gov/cps/minwage2010.htm>>.

Lake, Anthony. "From Containment to Enlargement' Speech at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C." *The Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management*. 21 Sep. 1993. Web. 4 Apr. 2012.

<http://www.disam.dsca.mil/pubs/Vol%2016_2/Lake.pdf>.

Lammers, William W. and Michael A. Genovese. *The Presidency and Domestic Policy: Comparing Leadership Styles, FDR to Clinton*. Washington, DC: CQ Press of Congressional Quarterly Inc., 2000. Print.

Locke, John. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, 1690*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. Book II, Chapter 1, Part 2. Print.

Marannis, David. *First in Class: A Biography of Bill Clinton*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995. Print.

"Marines Get 1908 Marching Orders: 50-Mile Trek for Officers Prompted by 2 Presidents." *The Toledo Blade Newspaper*. 5 Feb. 1963. Web. 4 Jan. 2012.

<<http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1350&dat=19630205&id=CLFOAAAIBAJ&sjid=PAEEAAAIBAJ&pg=1612,3835858>>.

Maze, Rick. "Kennedy: Troop Spouses Need Minimum Wage Hike." *Navy Times*. 31 Jan. 2007. Web. 27 Jan. 2012.

<<http://www.navytimes.com/news/2007/01/TNSminimumwage070131/>>.

McAdams, John. "The Kennedys and McCarthyism." *Marquette University*. n.d. Web. 12 Dec. 2011. <<http://mcadams.posc.mu.edu/progjfk2.htm>>.

McLeod, Don. "Bumpers Sweeps Election: Fulbright Bumped Out of Influential Senate Seat."

The Fort Scott Tribune. 29 May 1974. Web. 18 Feb. 2012.

<http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1906&dat=19740529&id=084fAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=_tgEAAAAIIBAJ&pg=6512,1658958>.

Morris, Roger. *Partners in Power: The Clintons and Their America*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1996. Print.

"A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement." *The White House*. Feb. 1995.

Web. 2 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/nss/nss-95.pdf>>.

Nichols, David Allen. *Eisenhower 1956: The President's year of Crisis: Suez and the Brink of War*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012. Print.

"Obama's Deal [Video]." *PBS: Frontline*. 14 Mar. 2012. Web. 15 Mar. 2012.

<<http://video.pbs.org/video/1468710007/>>.

O'Brien, Michael. *John F. Kennedy: A Biography*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books of St. Martin's Press, 2005. Print.

Pauley, Garth E. *The Modern Presidency & Civil Rights: Rhetoric on Race from Roosevelt to Nixon*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2001. Print.

Pear, Robert. "Judge Rules Government Covered Up Lies on Panel." *New York Times*. 19 Dec.

1997. Web. 6 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.nytimes.com/1997/12/19/us/judge-rules-government-covered-up-lies-on-panel.html>>.

"People & Events: Operation Mongoose: The Covert Operation to Remove Castro From Power.

American Experience: R.F.K., PBS. 1 Jul. 2004. Web. 23 Jan. 2012.

Petre, Peter and Darienne L. Dennis. "A Liberal Gets Rich Yet Keeps the Faith: Ira Magaziner, 39, Made a Name for Himself as a Student Activist at Brown. Now He's One of the World's Leading Experts in Factory Automation — and Eyeing Politics." *CNN Money*. 31 Aug. 1987. Web. 6 Apr. 2012.

<http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/fortune_archive/1987/08/31/69480/index.htm>.

Pfiffner, James. *The Modern Presidency, 5th Edition*. New York: Thomson Wadsworth, 2008. Print.

Powell, Colin. *An American Journey*. New York: Random House, 1995. Print.

"Pressure to Resume Testing." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. n.d. Web. 24 Feb. 2012. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/JFK/JFK-in-History/Nuclear-Test-Ban-Treaty.aspx?p=2>>.

Reich, Robert. *Locked in the Cabinet*. New York: Knopf/Random House Inc, 1997. Print.

Rempel, William. "Induction of Clinton Seen Delayed by Lobbying Effort Draft: Interviews Indicate Uncle Led Drive. Candidate Says He has 'Told the Truth About My Draft Status.'" *Los Angeles Times*. 2 Sep. 1992. Web. 4 Feb. 2012. <<http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.duke.edu/docview/281723950/13596F580EB11A49A9/1?accountid=10598>>.

Rodin, Judith. *Public Discourse in America: Conversation and Community in the Twenty-first Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003. Print.

Rondinelli, Dennis A. and John M. Heffron. *Leadership for Development: What Globalization Demands of Leaders Fighting for Change*. Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press, 2009. Print.

Schlesinger, Arthur M. *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965. Print.

- Schlesinger, Arthur. "Part I. The Current Crisis in Latin America. Digital Identifier: JFKPOF-121-033." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library Archives*. n.d. Web. 1 Feb 2012. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKPOF-121-033.aspx>>.
- Schoettler, Carl. "Clinton Returns for Honorary Diploma An Oxford Degree." *The Baltimore Sun*. 9 Jun. 1994. Web. 25 Feb. 2012. <http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1994-06-09/news/1994160032_1_honorary-degree-oxford-university-college>.
- Shogan, Colleen J. "Anti-Intellectualism in the Modern Presidency: A Republican Populism." *Perspectives on Politics*. Vol. 5. No. 2 (2007). Web. 23 Nov. 2011. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20446425>>.
- Skowronek, Stephen. *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000. Print.
- Smith, Gary Scott. *Faith and the presidency: from George Washington to George W. Bush*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. p 235. Print.
- Smith, Jean Edward. "How to End a War, Eisenhower's Way." *New York Times*. 11 Apr. 2009. Web. 2 Oct. 2011. <<http://100days.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/04/11/how-to-end-a-war-eisenhowers-way/>>
- Snyder, Alvin. "The White House and Media Relations Scripps-Howard News Service." *Alvin Snyder*. 19 Aug. 1994. Web. 2 Mar. 2012. <http://www.alvinsnyder.com/the_white_house_and_media_relations_36286.htm>.
- Sorensen, Ted. *Kennedy: The Classic Biography*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2009. Print.
- Sorensen, Theodore C. *Kennedy*. New York: Harper and Row, 1965. Print.
- Spragens, William C. *Popular Images of American Presidents*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1988. Print.

- Stevenson, Adlai E. "Letter from Adlai E. Stevenson to President John F. Kennedy. Some Lessons from Cuba. April 23, 1961. Digital Identifier: JFKPOF-114-025." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library Archives*. n.d. Web. 19 Dec. 2011.
<<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKPOF-114-025.aspx>>.
- Summers, Larry. "Inside the Oval Office: The Management Styles of Clinton and Obama." *CNN Money*. 25 Jul. 2011. Web. 29 Mar. 2012.
<<http://tech.fortune.cnn.com/2011/07/25/inside-the-oval-office-the-management-styles-of-clinton-and-obama/>>.
- Tama, Jordan. "More Than Defense: Eisenhower, Congress, and Foreign Policy." *American University*. 19 Feb. 2010. Web. 16 Apr. 2012.
<<http://www.american.edu/spa/ccps/upload/Tama-Eisenhower-paper.pdf>>.
- Taranto, James and Leonard Leo. *Presidential Leadership: Rating the Best and the Worst in the White House*. New York: Free Press, 2005. Print.
- The Charter of Punta del Este, Establishing an Alliance for Progress within the Framework of Operation Pan America*. 17 Aug. 1961. Web. 11 Dec. 2011.
<http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/intam16.asp>.
- Toobin, Jeffery. *A Vast Conspiracy: The Real Story of the Sex Scandal that Nearly Brought Down a President*. New York: Random House, 1999. Print.
- "Top Secret: Plan for Cuba. Cuba: Security, 1961. Digital Identifier: JFKPOF-115-003." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library Archives*. n.d. Web. 13 Dec. 2011.
<<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKPOF-115-003.aspx>>.

"Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water.

Signed August 5, 1963. Moscow, Russia." *United States Department of States*. n.d. Web.

23 Jan. 2012. <<http://www.state.gov/www/global/arms/treaties/ltbt1.html>>.

U.S. Army Center of Military History. *Dwight David Eisenhower*. The Centennial. 16 Mar.

1990. Web. 22 Oct. 2011.

<http://usacac.army.mil/CAC2/cgsc/carl/download/csipubs/Ike_Centennial.pdf>.

United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. "On Appeal from the United

States District Court for the District of Columbia, No. 93-399. Brief of Amicus Curiae, J.

Gregory Sidak, in Support of Appellees." *No. 93-5086. Association of American*

Physicians and Surgeons, Inc., et al. v. Hillary Rodham Clinton, et al. " 5 Apr. 1993.

Web. 4 Mar. 2012. <<http://www.aapsonline.org/clinton/AAPS/SIDAK.PDF>>.

Warshaw, Shirley Anne. *Reexamining the Eisenhower Presidency*. Westport, CT: Greenwood

Press, 1993. Print.

Winthrop, John. *A Model of Christian Charity: Speech aboard the Arbella*. 1630. Web. 5 Apr.

2012. <<http://religiousfreedom.lib.virginia.edu/sacred/charity.html>>.

Wolf, Richard. "Most Diverse Cabinet in History Still Incomplete." *USA Today*. n.d. Web. 17

Mar. 2012.

<<http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/story?id=7376992&page=1#.T4dcNppWprE>>

Woodward, Bob. *Shadow: Five Presidents and the Legacy of Watergate*. New York: Simon &

Schuster, 1999. Print.

Wukovits, John F. *Eisenhower*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. Print.

Yamashiro, Katsumori. "Letter from Katsumori Yamashiro to John F. Kennedy. 1 Aug. 1962.

Digital Identifier: JFKPOF-132-009." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. n.d. Web. 24 Oct 2011. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKPOF-132-009.aspx>>.

Yamashiro, Katsumori. "Letter from Katsumori Yamashiro to Robert J. Donovan. August 1,

1962. Digital Identifier: JFKPOF-132-009." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. n.d. Web. 24 Oct 2011. <<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKPOF-132-009.aspx>>.

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/rfk/peopleevents/e_mongoose.html>.