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HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
RULES AND ADMINISTRATION
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETIETH CONGRESS
FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS

ON

S. 277

A BILL TO AUTHORIZE THE PREPARATION OF PLANS FOR
A MEMORIAL TO WOODROW WILSON

AND

S. 3174

A BILL TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL MEMORIAL TO WOODROW
WILSON IN THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

MARCH 9, 1967, AND MAY 14, 1968

Printed for the use of the Committee on Rules and Administration



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WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL

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(II)

2. 3174

MARCH 9, 1967 AND MAY 15, 1968

Printed for the use of the Committee on Rules and Administration



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WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL

(S. 277)

THURSDAY, MARCH 9, 1967

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:02 a.m., in room 301, Old Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., Senator Claiborne Pell (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senator Pell.

Staff present: Gordon F. Harrison, staff director, and Marian G. Moore, assistant chief clerk, Committee on Rules and Administration; and Orlando Potter, legislative assistant to Senator Pell.

Senator PELL. The hearing of the Subcommittee on the Smithsonian Institution on S. 277 is herewith opened.

The subcommittee is meeting this morning to receive testimony on Senate bill 277, authorizing the preparation of plans for a memorial to Woodrow Wilson. The bill was introduced on January 12, 1967, by the junior Senator from New Jersey, Mr. Williams, and it is cosponsored by his colleague from New Jersey, Mr. Case, by Mr. Byrd of Virginia, Mr. Spong of Virginia, and me.

Without objection the text of S. 277 will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The text of S. 277 is as follows:)

90TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 277

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 12, 1967

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. BYRD of Virginia, Mr. CASE, Mr. PELL, and Mr. SPONG) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration

A BILL

To authorize the preparation of plans for a memorial to Woodrow Wilson.

- 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
- 2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
- 3 That, in furtherance of the recommendations contained in the
- 4 report of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission, trans-

mitted to Congress on September 29, 1966, and in furtherance of plans for the development of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site, the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, or its successor in interest, in consultation with other interested agencies of the Federal Government, shall prepare detailed plans and cost estimates for the development, within the area in the Northwest section of the District of Columbia bounded on the north by E Street, on the south by Pennsylvania Avenue, on the east by Sixth Street and on the west by Ninth Street, of a memorial to Woodrow Wilson, the twenty-eighth President of the United States. The area bounded on the north by E Street, on the south by Pennsylvania Avenue, on the east by Seventh Street, and on the west by Ninth Street is hereby designated as Woodrow Wilson Memorial Square. The Commission shall include in such plans, as a memorial to Woodrow Wilson's contributions toward world peace, provisions for:

(a) a suitable sculpture, expressive of the spirit and accomplishments of Woodrow Wilson;

(b) a full study of the cost, architectural design, nongovernmental source of funds, and plans for the appropriate development of the area hereinbefore designated as "Woodrow Wilson Square";

(c) a full study of the cost, architectural design, nongovernmental source of funds, and plans for the operation of a center for scholars to be located within the Woodrow Wilson Memorial area. Such study shall be based on the recommendations of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission referred to above.

SEC. 2. Within one year after the date of this Act, the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, or its successor in interest, shall submit to the President the detailed plan and cost estimates referred to in section 1 of this Act, together with such other information as may be necessary. The President shall submit to Congress such recommendations, including further legislation, as he deems appropriate.

SEC. 3. The Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission is hereby abolished.

SEC. 4. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Senator PELL. S. 277 gives congressional approval, in effect, to the final recommendations of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission, which was created by act of the 87th Congress for the purpose of "considering and formulating plans for the design, construction, and location of a permanent memorial to Woodrow Wilson in Washington, District of Columbia, or its immediate environs."

The final report of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission was rendered in September 1966 and was printed as Senate Document No. 123 of the 89th Congress, second session, which we incorporate by reference into the record of this proceeding.

In brief, the Commission recommended that a specific site for the Woodrow Wilson Memorial be designated on Pennsylvania Avenue, at what is now known as Market Square; that the memorial include a suitable sculpture expressive of the spirit and accomplishments of Woodrow Wilson; and that priority be given to the development of a Center for Scholars as part of the Memorial. The Commission also recommended that the agency charged with the development of Pennsylvania Avenue be authorized by Congress to make a full study of the costs, architectural design, and nongovernmental sources of funds for the Center for Scholars, and that it also determine whether

the Center for Scholars should be managed by the Smithsonian Institution.

Finally, the Woodrow Wilson Commission recommended that it should be discharged of further responsibility upon transmittal of its report, and that the task of preparing detailed plans for the development of Woodrow Wilson Memorial Square be assigned to the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue. The Woodrow Wilson Commission submitted a draft of a proposed bill to encompass most of these recommendations, and that draft became the basis for S. 277, which is before us today.

I note that S. 277 gives congressional authorization to the designation of the specific area known as Market Square as the site for the Woodrow Wilson Memorial, and that it directs the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue to make the requisite studies and to submit detailed plans and cost estimates to the President within 1 year after enactment of this bill.

The purpose of our hearing this morning is to receive testimony from the two principal parties at interest; namely, the Woodrow Wilson Commission and the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue.

Before they make their presentations, I wish to note that President Johnson, in his message to Congress on the Nation's Capital, gave explicit support to the concept of a Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, and directed that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare participate in the development of plans for the Center.

I ask that the President's message be incorporated into the record of these proceedings by reference, and I suggest that at the conclusion of today's testimony, the hearing be recessed and the record be kept open until such time as the subcommittee deems appropriate.

Our first witness today is the distinguished Senator from New Jersey, Mr. Williams, who will appear here both as sponsor of the bill and as spokesman for the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission, which he served as Vice Chairman.

I ask unanimous consent that his testimony be included in the record at this point. He will appear later.

(The statement referred to follows:)

**STATEMENT OF HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., A U.S.
SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY**

Senator WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity to testify on behalf of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission. As you know, the Chairman of the Commission, Dean Francis Sayre, had hoped to be here but cannot attend. As Vice Chairman, I will speak for the Commission and for myself.

The bill before your subcommittee today is in itself a tribute to Wilson's remarkable range of interests, achievements, and prophetic pronouncements on international issues.

The legislation comes to you with the support of eminent authorities on education, history, statesmanship, political science, social science, and even on the metropolitan development of the District of Columbia. The memory of Woodrow Wilson is strong enough to unite them in a common effort intended to pay tribute to our 28th President while serving and inspiring our generation and others to come.

As August Heckscher wrote in the final report of the Woodrow Wilson Centennial Commission in 1956:

Wilson remains a vital force. In his lifetime he stirred people to great action; he drew forth ardent passions and left nothing he touched quite the same as it had been.

We from New Jersey have special reason to agree with Mr. Heckscher's observations. We cannot claim Wilson as a native; Virginia has that honor, and I am pleased indeed that the Senators and Representatives from that State have given such enthusiastic support and interest to the bill. We from New Jersey, however, are proud that Wilson so effectively caught the attention and imagination of the Nation first as the president of Princeton University and then as a great Governor.

One of my first goals after my election to the Senate in 1959 was to introduce legislation that would establish a Commission to make recommendations to Congress on a suitable and permanent memorial to Wilson within the District of Columbia. On October 4, 1961, President John F. Kennedy signed the bill creating the Commission.

At his elbow in the Oval Room was Mrs. Woodrow Wilson. It was a memorable ceremony, and a very appropriate beginning for the work of the committee.

Mr. Chairman, I will not attempt to list or to describe the many proposals considered by the Commission before and after its public hearings on March 2 and 10. The Commission report, published last September, gives a concise and satisfactory description of the testimony, statements, and reasons for the recommendations.

I have a copy of the report here, and perhaps you would like to enter it into the record of this hearing. I will say, however, that the Commission had no shortage of worthy suggestions for a memorial. As we studied each new idea and as we introduced new thoughts of our own, we marveled often at the power Wilson wields in the minds of men four decades after his death; his influence seems to have grown rather than diminished.

The fundamental recommendation—one that makes the others possible—is that Congress should designate an area opposite the Archives Building as Woodrow Wilson Square.

As the Commission report said, the arguments for this site are overwhelmingly convincing. It would become part of the great plan for the reconstruction of Pennsylvania Avenue; it would become a major crossroads for visitors to the Nation's Capital City; it is almost midway between the White House and the Capitol.

The Commission was very emphatic in its second major recommendation about the need for a suitable sculpture expressive of the spirit and accomplishments of Woodrow Wilson. We had been very much impressed at the hearing by witnesses who spoke earnestly in support of a "monumental" or nonfunctional memorial. Their eloquence helped lead the Commission to the final conclusion that the monumental and "living" memorial concepts could be combined. And this is exactly what we have done in our recommendations.

The third recommendation asks that the permanent agency charged with continuing development of Pennsylvania Avenue should be authorized by Congress to make a full study of the costs, architectural design, and nongovernmental sources of funds for a Center for Scholars, which would become the most prominent structure among the buildings adjacent to the west, north, and east sides of the square.

This recommendation was based largely on the impressive statements made at our hearing last year by such witnesses as Secretary of State Rusk, President Goheen of Princeton University, and Dr. S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Dr. Goheen admirably summarized the situation when he said that a "remarkable convergence of academic and cultural interests" had developed in support of a "center for scholars who need to work on the incomparable assemblages of materials here in Washington relating to the study of American history and analysis of public and international affairs."

You will undoubtedly hear from others who will make it quite clear that the interest in such a center is vigorous and widespread. Secretary Rusk, for example, has authorized me to insert the following letter into your record, if there is no objection.

Senator PELL. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, February 23, 1967.

Hon. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, Jr.,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: I am very pleased to learn that you and your colleagues from New Jersey and Virginia have reintroduced a bill to implement the recommendations of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission.

You may be assured of my continuing interest in these plans to develop a memorial to President Wilson that will accurately reflect his ideals and achievements, and at the same time make a genuine contribution to the quality of public life in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

DEAN RUSK.

Senator WILLIAMS. The Commission report clearly states that priority should be given to the development of this center as the first of several buildings to be developed on available sites on the periphery of the square. Such buildings, of course, should have a function related directly to Woodrow Wilson's interests in education, government, or international affairs. The report suggests, for example, that careful thought be given to the establishment of an international house offering services to foreign students and other visitors from abroad.

Recommendation No. 4 asks that the agency responsible for the development of Pennsylvania Avenue be assigned the responsibility for preparing detailed plans for the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Square. The rationale for this proposal is, I think, almost self-evident. The Pennsylvania Avenue agency will be able to devote adequate time and staff resources to such a project, and it will be able to coordinate development of the square with its overall objectives. Our final recommendation thus asks for the discharge of the Wilson Commission in the knowledge that the work for a Wilson Memorial can now be assigned to an appropriate successor.

In his message on the Nation's Capital, President Johnson has put the weight of his administration behind our proposal.

In his message the President says that he is appointing HEW Secretary Gardner to the temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue to expedite this work. That is a most welcome step, pin-pointing, as it does, the national importance of this memorial to the only resident of New Jersey elected to the Presidency. The President's

statement moves us measurably nearer to the "bricks and mortar" stage of this task.

I don't think that I need say more than I already have about Wilson himself. His greatness has touched the lives of all mankind. We now must have, in the Capital City of this Nation, a tangible and inspiring tribute to him and the many legacies he gave to the world. The bill before you—which would implement the recommendations of the Wilson Commission—would at last give us the work plan we need for a memorial to Wilson in the Capital he knew so well, and Congress should act promptly to let this final work begin.

Senator PELL. At this time we will hear Mr. Edward Goldman, who is the executive secretary of the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission; and who, I am happy to say, is a native son of my own State of Rhode Island.

Mr. Goldman.

STATEMENT OF EDWARD GOLDMAN, ACTING DIRECTOR, PRESIDENT'S TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

Mr. GOLDMAN. Firstly, Senator, I bring regrets and apologies from our Chairman, Mr. Nathaniel Owings, and our Vice Chairman, Mr. Daniel Patick Moynihan, who were unable to be here today. They are extremely sorry that the press of their other activities has kept them from the hearing; and they have asked me to present their apologies and to present the statement for the Commission today.

Senator PELL. Thank you. You may proceed.

Mr. GOLDMAN. We of the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission deeply appreciate the opportunity to present this statement before your subcommittee regarding S. 277, a bill to authorize the preparation of plans for a memorial to Woodrow Wilson.

The Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission, which recommended this legislation, made its report to the Congress in September of 1966. Since then, the ideas and the concepts presented in that report have received enthusiastic reception.

The President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue was particularly excited about the Woodrow Wilson Commission report in view of the fact that the site for a memorial to that great President was located on Pennsylvania Avenue. This selection along with the recommendation that the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission commence to conduct a study of the details of the recommendation was very heartening.

When the Woodrow Wilson Commission's recommendations were received, Mr. Owings, our chairman, asked Mr. Moynihan, our vice chairman, to call together his subcommittee which had originally been set up to consider the idea of a Center for Scholars in this location. This subcommittee has met and is prepared to proceed.

Last week President Johnson in his message to the Congress on the Nation's Capital had this to say:

The proposal of the Woodrow Wilson Commission has much to commend it. Because of its broad educational aspects, I am appointing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue.

As soon as Secretary Gardner is appointed to the Commission, he will be asked by our chairman, Mr. Owings, to head the subcommittee of the Commission, which will commence a study to develop a detailed proposal for the Center for Scholars as recommended by the Woodrow Wilson Commission.

This study will be brought to a conclusion as rapidly as possible. The cost of the study, we believe, will be very small.

We understand that the Smithsonian Institution has a certain amount of money which has been appropriated by the Congress for purposes of conducting a study concerning a center for scholars.

This amount of money, we understand, could be made available so that that study could proceed.

Senator PELL. Excuse my interruption. Do you know how much money it is that they have?

Mr. GOLDMAN. I understand that they have about \$25,000, sir.

Senator PELL. This is the actual appropriation?

Mr. GOLDMAN. Yes, sir. We understand that this money could be made available, and we could proceed to consider the recommendations and commence our planning as directed by the Woodrow Wilson Commission.

The statement was short, but I think it expresses our appreciation and our excitement over the proposals made by the Woodrow Wilson Commission.

We are prepared to proceed just as soon as possible.

Senator PELL. Let me ask a couple of questions here to both clarify the record and to educate myself.

Mr. GOLDMAN. Certainly.

Senator PELL. What is the life of your Commission?

Mr. GOLDMAN. The President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue is currently established by Executive order. It is the successor of the President's Advisory Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, which first drafted the Pennsylvania Avenue plan.

We currently exist, as I have said, by Executive order. There is before the Congress at the present time a bill to establish a statutory Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue.

This bill, which was introduced in the last session of Congress, had passed the Senate, was reported favorably out of the House Interior Committee, but did not reach the floor of the House in the closing part of the session last session.

Senator PELL. Has this bill been introduced in this session?

Mr. GOLDMAN. It has been reintroduced this year, and we are hoping and expecting there will be action on this bill in the very near future.

Senator PELL. Without objection, the text of that bill will be introduced in the record at this point.

Mr. GOLDMAN. Senate Joint Resolution 18.

Senator PELL. Thank you.

(The text of S.J. Res. 18 is as follows:)

S. J. RES. 18

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 17 (legislative day, JANUARY 12), 1967

Mr. JACKSON introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

JOINT RESOLUTION

To provide for the administration and development of Pennsylvania Avenue as a national historic site.

1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
 2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
 3 That the Congress hereby finds and determines—

4 (a) that it is in the national interest that Pennsylvania Avenue and the area adjacent to it between the Capitol and the White House be developed, used, and maintained in a manner suitable to its ceremonial, historical, and physical relationship to the executive and legislative branches of the Government; and

5 (b) that the work of reviewing, programing, and coordinating proposals for the proper development, use, and control of Pennsylvania Avenue and the area adjacent to it between the Capitol and the White House should be continued, with the maximum possible use of private enterprise in carrying out the development plan.

6 SEC. 2. The designation on September 30, 1965, by the Secretary of the Interior of Pennsylvania Avenue between the Capitol and the White House and certain areas adjacent thereto as a national historic site under the name "The Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site" is hereby ratified and confirmed. The boundaries of said historic site are as follows:

7 beginning at a point on the southwest corner of the intersection of Fifteenth Street and Constitution Avenue Northwest, easterly along the south side of Constitution Avenue to the southwest corner of the intersection of Constitution Avenue and Pennsylvania Avenue;

8 then easterly along the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue to and including the outer circumference of First Street Northwest which forms an arc around Peace Monument;

9 then westerly along the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue to the northeast corner of the intersection of Third Street and Pennsylvania Avenue Northwest;

10 then northerly along the east side of Third Street to the northeast corner of the intersection of Third Street and E Street Northwest;

11 then westerly along the north side of E Street to the northeast corner of the intersection of E Street and Fourth Street Northwest;

12 then northerly along the east side of Fourth Street to the northeast corner of the intersection of Fourth Street and G Street Northwest;

13 then westerly along the north side of G Street Northwest to the northwest corner of the intersection of G Street and Fifth Street Northwest;

14 then southerly along the west side of Fifth Street to the northwest corner of the intersection of Fifth Street and E Street Northwest;

15 then westerly along the north side of E Street to the
16 northeast corner of the intersection of E Street and
17 Seventh Street Northwest;

18 then northerly along the east side of Seventh Street
19 to the point on Seventh Street being the intersection of
20 the north side of G Street with the east side of Seventh
21 Street Northwest;

22 then westerly from that point along the north side
23 of G Street to the point being the intersection of the
1 north side of G Street with the west side of Ninth Street
2 Northwest;

3 then southerly from that point along the west side
4 of Ninth Street Northwest to the northwest corner of
5 the intersection of Ninth Street and F Street Northwest;

6 then westerly along the north side of F Street to
7 the northeast corner of the intersection of F Street and
8 Eleventh Street Northwest;

9 then southerly along the east side of Eleventh Street
10 to the northeast corner of the intersection of Eleventh
11 Street and E Street Northwest;

12 then westerly along the north side of E Street
13 to a point approximating what would be the northeast
14 corner of E Street and Thirteen and a Half Street if
15 the latter were extended north across Pennsylvania
16 Avenue;

17 then northerly from the point along a line forming
18 a perpendicular to F Street to the intersection of said
19 line with the north side of F Street;

20 then westerly along the north side of F Street to
21 the northeast corner of the intersection of F Street and
22 Fifteenth Street Northwest;

23 then northerly along the east side of Fifteenth Street
24 to the southeast corner of the intersection of Fifteenth
1 Street, New York Avenue, and Pennsylvania Avenue
2 Northwest;

3 then westerly along the south side of Pennsylvania
4 Avenue to the southwest corner of Pennsylvania Avenue
5 and East Executive Avenue;

6 then southerly along the west side of East Execu-
7 tive Avenue to a point which would be the southwest
8 corner of the intersection of East Executive Avenue and
9 E Street;

10 then easterly along the south side of E Street to
11 the southwest corner of the intersection of E Street and
12 Fifteenth Street Northwest;

13 then southerly along the west side of Fifteenth Street
14 to the point or place of beginning.

15 SEC. 3. There is hereby established a Commission on
16 Pennsylvania Avenue (hereinafter referred to as "the Com-
17 mission"), which shall be composed of (a) not more than
18 seven members appointed by the President who are not offi-
19 cers or employees of the executive branch of the United
20 States Government or of the government of the District of
21 Columbia and who, in the judgment of the President, are
22 especially qualified to serve thereon by virtue of their knowl-
23 edge and experience in one or more of the fields of history,
1 architecture, city planning, and government, and (b) the
2 following Government officials: the Secretaries of the In-
3 terior, Treasury, Commerce, and Housing and Urban De-
4 velopment, the Attorney General, the Administrator of the
5 General Services Administration, the President of the Board
6 of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the Secretary
7 of the Smithsonian Institution, the Architect of the Capitol,
8 the Chairmen of the Commission of Fine Arts and the Na-
9 tional Capital planning Commission, and the Director of the

10 National Gallery of Art. One of the members shall be
11 designated by the President as Chairman of the Commission.

12 Sec. 4. (a) The Commission shall review and refine
13 the development plans heretofore prepared for Pennsylvania
14 Avenue and the area within the Pennsylvania Avenue National
15 Historic Site; shall from time to time, in consultation
16 with other interested agencies of the Federal Government
17 and the District of Columbia, make such modifications there-
18 in as may be necessary; shall coordinate the plans, programs,
19 and activities of agencies of the Federal Government and
20 the District of Columbia which affect the area within the
21 said national historic site; and shall take such action as
22 may be necessary to insure that such plans, programs, and
23 activities are not inconsistent with plans developed for the
24 said national historic site, the comprehensive plan for the
25 National Capital, and any other related plans prepared or
1 developed by the National Capital Planning Commission or
2 other appropriate authority.

3 (b) In addition to consulting with agencies of the
4 Federal Government and the District of Columbia, the Com-
5 mission shall consider the views of other public, quasi-public,
6 and private organizations having a proper interest in the
7 Pennsylvania Avenue area. The Commission shall also
8 consider the views of owners and occupants of private prop-
9 erty whose interests may be affected by any plans, pro-
10 grams, or actions of the Commission or the agencies whose
11 activities are coordinated by the Commission and, for this
12 purpose, shall, to the extent it deems feasible, conduct public
13 hearings on those plans, programs, and activities. The Com-
14 mission shall make every effort to minimize any harmful
15 effects of such plans, programs, or activities on owners or
16 occupants of private property in or adjoining the area
17 affected thereby.

18 (c) The Commission, in carrying out its functions, shall
19 utilize the services and facilities of other agencies of the
20 Federal Government and the District of Columbia to the
21 maximum extent possible. Financial and administrative
22 services (including those related to budgeting, accounting,
23 financial reporting, personnel, and procurement) shall be
24 provided the Commission by the Department of the Interior,
25 for which payment shall be made in advance, or by reim-
1 bursement, from funds of the Commission in such amounts as
2 may be agreed upon by the Chairman of the Commission and
3 the Secretary of the Interior: *Provided*, That the regulations
4 of the Department of the Interior for the collection of indebt-
5 edness of personnel resulting from erroneous payments (5
6 U.S.C. 46e) shall apply to the collection of erroneous pay-
7 ments made to or on behalf of a Commission employee, and
8 regulations of said Secretary for the administrative control
9 of funds (31 U.S.C. 665(G)) shall apply to appropri-
10 ations of the Commission: *Provided further*, That the Com-
11 mission shall not be required to prescribe such regulations

12 (d) The Commission shall report to the President and
13 the Congress annually and shall make such other reports as
14 the President shall direct or as the Commission shall deem
15 desirable. Such reports shall include recommendations for
16 such further legislation as the Commission may consider
17 appropriate for the proper performance of its functions or
18 for the development of the national historic site in other
19 respects.

20 (e) The Commission shall present a final report to the
21 President and the Congress not later than July 1, 1972, and
22 shall thereafter cease to exist. All of its records and papers
23 shall thereupon be turned over to the custody of the Secre-
24 tary of the Interior for his use and for proper disposition.

1 Sec. 5. (a) No agency of the Federal Government or
2 of the District of Columbia shall conduct, consent to, or ap-

3 prove any project or program (1) relating to urban renewal,
 4 land redevelopment, or public housing within the area of the
 5 Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site, or (2) involv-
 6 ing permanent construction, improvements, or facilities of a
 7 type designed to change the character of said area, without
 8 the approval of the Commission while it is in existence:
 9 *Provided*, That this prohibition shall not be effective if the
 10 President, notwithstanding the views of the Commission,
 11 shall approve such project or program: *Provided further*,
 12 That this section shall not be applicable to land under the
 13 jurisdiction of the Architect of the Capitol.

14 (b) During the three years immediately following the
 15 Commission's submission of its final report, no agency of the
 16 Federal Government or of the District of Columbia shall con-
 17 duct, approve, or consent to any project or program of the
 18 types described in subsection (a) of this section which, in
 19 the judgment of the Secretary of the Interior, is inconsistent
 20 with the development of the area within the Pennsylvania
 21 Avenue National Historic Site proposed in said final report
 22 unless, before the expiration of said three-year period, the
 23 plans therein proposed are disapproved by Act of Congress
 1 or are modified by such Act, and in the latter case the
 2 project or program may be conducted, approved, or con-
 3 sented to only if it is not inconsistent with the plans as so
 4 modified.

5 SEC. 6. (a) Members of the Commission who are officers
 6 or employees of the Federal Government or of the District
 7 of Columbia government shall receive no additional com-
 8 pensation by virtue of membership on the Commission.
 9 Other members of the Commission shall receive compensa-
 10 tion at the rate of not to exceed \$100 per diem when engaged
 11 in the performance of duties for the Commission. Each
 12 member of the Commission shall be reimbursed, as authorized
 13 by law (5 U.S.C. 73b-2), for travel and subsistence and
 14 other necessary expenses incurred by him in the performance
 15 of his duties for the Commission.

16 (b) The Commission is authorized to employ such per-
 17 sonnel as may be required for the performance of its func-
 18 tions without regard to the civil service laws and regulations,
 19 and may procure the services of experts and consultants by
 20 contract or otherwise, but at rates not in excess of \$100 per
 21 diem for individuals.

22 SEC. 7. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated
 23 such sums, but not more than \$800,000 in all, as may be
 24 necessary for the Commission to carry out the duties and
 25 responsibilities imposed on it by this Act.

Senator PELL. Do you have any thoughts as to the time sequence as to how long a period of time would elapse before actual construction might be started?

Mr. GOLDMAN. Well, sir, this would to a certain extent depend upon the cost and the possibility of appropriations from the Congress, should this be the route that seems to be the most feasible.

I would say, however, that the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission is prepared to proceed immediately and conclude the study as rapidly as possible; make its summary and recommendations; and as soon thereafter as perhaps money would be appropriated to commence this activity, it could be done.

Senator PELL. I think it would be a good idea if we inserted the membership of your Pennsylvania Avenue Commission in the record at this point. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The document referred to follows:)

PRESIDENT'S TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

Established by Executive Order, March 25, 1965

Chairman, Nathaniel A. Owings.
 Vice Chairman, Daniel Patrick Moynihan.
 Honorable Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior.
 Honorable Henry H. Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury.
 Honorable John T. Connor, Secretary of Commerce.
 Honorable W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor.
 Honorable Ramsey Clark, Attorney General.
 Honorable Lawrence F. O'Brien, Postmaster General.
 Honorable Lawson B. Knott, Jr., Administrator of General Services.
 Honorable Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.
 Honorable William Walton, Chairman, Commission of Fine Arts.
 Mrs. James H. Rowe, Jr., Chairman, National Capital Planning Commission.
 Honorable Walter N. Tobriner, President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia.
 Honorable S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.
 John Walker, Director, the National Gallery of Art.
 George J. Stewart, Architect of the Capitol.

Senator PELL. The Commission was established by Executive order?

Mr. GOLDMAN. Executive order.

Senator PELL. We should also have included in the record the Executive order that established the Commission. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. GOLDMAN. I will provide that.
 (The document referred to follows:)

THE WHITE HOUSE

EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 11210

ESTABLISHING A TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

Whereas Pennsylvania Avenue between the Capitol and the White House serves as the main ceremonial avenue connecting the centers of the Legislative and Executive Branches of the United States Government; and

Whereas parts of Pennsylvania Avenue have been in large measure developed in a manner consistent therewith; and

Whereas other parts of Pennsylvania Avenue have deteriorated in condition and design or are otherwise ill suited to the ceremonial purposes of the Avenue and to the National dignity; and

Whereas the President's Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space called the attention of the President to the deterioration and obsolescence of Pennsylvania Avenue and recommended that he enlist the aid of the finest architectural talent in the Nation to develop plans for the improvement of Pennsylvania Avenue to reflect its National significance; and

Whereas the President requested distinguished members of the architectural and city planning profession to serve on a Council on Pennsylvania Avenue and to develop a plan for the improvement of the Avenue to a level commensurate with its National purpose; and

Whereas Congress, in support of this objective, appropriated funds to assist in the preparation of such plans; and

Whereas the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue has developed a general plan for the improvement of the Avenue, and the Council has been dissolved; and

Whereas the plan developed by the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue has been subjected to extensive review by the National Capital Planning Commission and other interested departments and agencies and has been deemed appropriate in its main outlines; and

Whereas the Congress will be asked to consider legislation to provide for the improvement of Pennsylvania Avenue:

Now, Therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. *Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue*

(a) There is hereby established the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue (hereinafter referred to as the Commission).

(b) The Commission shall be composed of the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Commerce, the Attorney General, the Postmaster General, the Administrator of General Services, the Housing and Home Finance Administrator, the Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts, the Chairman of the National Capital Planning Commission, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, the President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the Director of the National Gallery of Art, and such other members as may be appointed by the President. The Chairman shall invite the Architect of the Capitol to be a member of the Commission.

(c) The President shall appoint from among its members a Chairman of the Commission who shall direct its activities.

(d) Members of the Commission who are officers or employees of the Federal Government shall receive no additional compensation by virtue of membership on the Commission. Other members of the Commission shall be entitled to receive compensation and travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 55a; 5 U.S.C. 73b-2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

(e) The Commission shall meet at the call of the Chairman.

Sec. 2. *Functions of the Commission*

(a) The Commission shall advise the President with respect to:

(1) the component parts of the general plan submitted by the President's Advisory Council on Pennsylvania Avenue respecting their feasibility and practicability from the standpoint of financial, engineering, planning, and other relevant considerations;

(2) the development of an orderly, phased program for carrying out the improvement of Pennsylvania Avenue;

(3) effects of the proposed improvements on owners and occupants of private property in and adjoining the area to be improved and actions respecting the improvement program that will assure its achievement with minimum harmful effects upon such private interests and with the least disruption of business within and adjoining the area;

(4) appropriate legislation for carrying out the program of improvement;

(b) Take steps to assure that such recommendations as it may develop respecting plans and programs for the improvement of Pennsylvania Avenue and the Comprehensive Plan for the National Capital and other plans prepared or being prepared by the National Capital Planning Commission are properly coordinated.

(c) Promote an understanding of the plan and its objectives among the public generally; and

(d) Undertake such other actions as may be permitted by law and requested by the President in furtherance of the objectives of this order.

Sec. 3. *Commission staff and consultants*

(a) The Chairman is authorized to appoint such personnel as may be necessary to assist the Commission in connection with the performance of its functions.

(b) The Commission is authorized to obtain services in accordance with the provisions of Section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U.S.C. 55a).

Sec. 4. *Federal agencies*

(a) As deemed necessary to facilitate the work of the Commission, the Chairman may request the head of any Executive department or agency whose activities may relate to the objectives of the Commission to designate a liaison officer to consult with the Commission on matters of common concern.

(b) Upon request of the Chairman, each Executive department or agency is authorized and directed, consistent with law, to furnish the Commission available information which the Commission may require in the performance of its functions.

(c) Each Federal agency represented on the Commission shall furnish such necessary assistance to the Commission as may be authorized by Section 214 of the Act of May 3, 1945, 59 Stat. 134 (31 U.S.C. 691).

(d) The National Capital Planning Commission is hereby designated as the agency which shall provide administrative services for the Commission.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, March 25, 1965.

Senator PELL. I thank you very much Mr. Goldman for a concrete, specific, and excellent statement. Thank you.

Mr. GOLDMAN. Thank you sir.

Senator PELL. Now I see my distinguished colleague from New Jersey Senator Williams is here and wonder if he would be prepared to make his statement.

Under unanimous consent we previously provided for your statement to appear in the leadoff position.

**STATEMENT OF HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., A U.S. SENATOR
FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY**

(Opening statement of Senator Williams previously incorporated in the record at page 3.)

Senator WILLIAMS. I have a 40-minute statement here if you want me to read it.

Senator PELL. Let us presume that it is read and you might care to just insert it in the record.

Senator WILLIAMS. As a matter of fact I would prefer to do it that way. I am chairman of the Aging Committee and we have a meeting within minutes.

Senator PELL. Fine. Then it will appear in the record as the leadoff statement.

Are there any other comments on it that you would care to make?

Senator WILLIAMS. I appreciate your including the entire statement in the record. Well, there is one insert from Secretary Dean Rusk, who addressed a letter to me on February 23. He supported the proposal before us, and I would like to include that too.

Senator PELL. Without objection, that will be included.

(The letter referred to was previously incorporated in Senator William's opening statement.)

Senator WILLIAMS. I am sure, Mr. Chairman, you are aware of the history of how this proposal came to this committee in its present form.

In 1959, I believe it was, I introduced legislation that would create a commission to study a suitable memorial to Woodrow Wilson. I think I ought to give credit where credit is due. The idea came to me from Chet Huntley, the broadcaster, in my house before I was sworn into the Senate. He came over one day, as he went to the homes of 14 other newly elected Senators of the class of 1959.

And he said, "You know, there is one thing missing in Washington, a suitable memorial to Woodrow Wilson." And I think it was the first legislation that I introduced.

But we created the Commission. Huntley was on it with a lot of other very distinguished people. And out of long deliberation under the chairmanship of Dean Sayre, we finally—having talked about the monumental memorial and the living memorial—evolved this which is really a combination: symbolic in its description as a monument, but useful for people involved with public policy and the study of our country—a living memorial too.

Senator PELL. And the one project would combine, as I understand it, several objectives. The objective of your Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission, the objective of the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission, and also might serve likewise as a vehicle for some of the scholars in the

Government and the Smithsonian Institution, a Center for Scholars—

Senator WILLIAMS. That is right.

Senator PELL. And the thought of this hearing was to try to pull these various strings together.

I think it would be a good idea, without objection, if you submitted for the record at this time the membership of your Commission. Without objection, it will be included in the record at this point.

Senator WILLIAMS. That is fine.

(The document referred to follows:)

THE WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL COMMISSION

Chairman

Francis B. Sayre, Jr., Dean, Washington Cathedral.

Vice Chairman

Harrison A. Williams, Senator from New Jersey.

David K. E. Bruce, U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain, and Northern Ireland.
Clifford P. Case, Senator from New Jersey.

Cornelius E. Gallagher, Representative from New Jersey.

Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen, Representative from New Jersey.

George B. Hartzog, Jr., Director, National Park Service.

Chester R. Huntley.

Douglas M. Knight, President, Duke University.

Senator PELL. Without objection, I would like the proceedings of this subcommittee left open in the event the executive branch wants to submit some further thoughts before we take legislative action.

Senator WILLIAMS. Well, your chairmanship represents, I would say, the right kind of—not conflict of interest—but true interest. You are a graduate of Princeton University?

Senator PELL. That is correct.

Senator WILLIAMS. We of course claim Woodrow Wilson in New Jersey, in the second degree—while he was born in Virginia, and I guess raised in Georgia. He came to New Jersey as president of Princeton University and later became Governor of the State of New Jersey.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much indeed.

I note that we have a statement by one of the cosponsors of the bill, Senator William B. Spong, Jr., which should appear in the record at this point. Without objection, it will be included.

(The statement by Senator Spong is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR., A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

I am joining in the sponsorship of this bill to carry forward the recommendations of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission. My interest in this project stems, in part, from the fact that Woodrow Wilson was a native of Virginia and studied law at the University of Virginia—the most recent of the eight presidents who have come from my home state. In addition, he became a president of enduring national and international stature—a man of exemplary integrity, compassion and vision. The proposed center for scholars from this country and abroad which would be part of the memorial to Woodrow Wilson, is particularly appropriate.

The proposed center for scholars to serve those who come to Washington from throughout the country and the world to pursue their studies would be a particularly fitting memorial to Woodrow Wilson. As he himself said during his first campaign for the presidency:

“* * * I have realized all my life that the only use of education is to open understanding, to comprehend as many things as possible; that it isn't what a

man knows—for no man knows a great deal—but what a man has opened his mind to find * * *

Wilson the educator would certainly have approved of a project which would bring together scholars from many states and nations, providing the environment for broadening associations. And certainly Wilson the seeker of lasting world peace would appreciate the great contribution such a center could make to greater international understanding. I join my colleagues in endorsing the Commission's suggestions and look forward to the rapid approval of this legislation.

Senator PELL. Also, we have been requested to enter in the record correspondence and memorandums from Mr. Pendleton Herring, president of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. Without objection, they will be inserted at this point in the record.

(The correspondence and memorandums submitted by Mr. Herring are as follows:)

THE WOODROW WILSON FOUNDATION,
New York, N.Y., March 7, 1967.

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator PELL: I am very glad to learn that hearings are to be held on March 9 on the bill concerned with the memorial to Woodrow Wilson.

I would like to submit as part of the record the memos that I circulated in December 1965 and in February 1966 proposing that a research center in Washington be thought of as an appropriate memorial to Woodrow Wilson. The response to my memo of December 3, 1965 was sufficiently encouraging to entitle the second memo of February 1, 1966, "The Woodrow Wilson Memorial Research Center in Washington." In a letter of December 13, 1965 from the Assistant Secretary of State, Charles Frankel, I was informed that this memo had been referred to the Presidential Task Force working along somewhat parallel lines with respect to plans for a scholarly center in Washington. My only contribution was to relate such an objective to the idea of a memorial to Woodrow Wilson in both his public and private capacities.

Sincerely yours,

PENDLETON HERRING.

THE WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL RESEARCH CENTER IN WASHINGTON

The increasing contacts between (a) social scientists and other scholars concerned with public affairs in our leading universities and (b) governmental agencies and scholarly resources in Washington point to the desirability of providing appropriate facilities in the nation's capital. From time to time there has been talk about establishing a national university, but the more immediate problem is how to maximize the effectiveness of the relationships that already exist and that are becoming increasingly important between the universities of the country, research councils, scholarly associations and public officials both in the executive and legislative branches.

To facilitate the work of "The University in the Nation's Service," would be the prime function of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Research Center in Washington. A building that would provide offices, studies, seminar rooms, a restaurant, and space for conferences, as well as specialized data and reference library services, would fulfill an important need. It would seem appropriate to locate such a structure in convenient proximity to the Congress, the Library of Congress, and the National Archives.

The Center would both symbolize the role of scholarship and research and the relationship of these activities to the conduct of public affairs and at the same time bring together in a more stimulating situation for interchange individuals now often working in isolation. Rather than pursue the suggestion that there be a national academy for the humanities or for the social sciences, it might be argued that the proposed center could offer informally many of the same advantages. It could also possibly provide headquarters for scholarly associations.

There are programs in fields such as international relations and public administration where access to official records is essential. The concern with the study of major world areas calls for materials relating, for example, to mainland China or to the Soviet Union that require special skill in collecting and handling. Technological advances can now make available on tape the vast store of public records essential to the research of economists. Increasingly the research oppor-

tunities of Washington attract scholars in the humanistic disciplines, of which American studies provide a good illustration of work to be done in law, literature and history. Attracted by the resources for research and the range of governmental programs, a large number of scholars from other countries come to Washington to carry on their work.

Further thought would have to be directed to the organization and legal character of the Center. Should it be public, private, or quasi-governmental? Should it be under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution? Or should it be governed by a special board made up of a number of public members, and a number of private members representing universities and learned societies? These and many other questions would be considered at length if the essential utility of the proposed center is recognized as vital. Its focus, however, is clearly suggested by the interests and attributes of President Wilson's career: in national and international affairs; in educational leadership; in graduate research and writing in the social sciences and humanities, and particularly in political science and history.

RESEARCH CENTER IN WASHINGTON

The increasing contacts between (a) social scientists and other scholars concerned with public affairs in our leading universities and (b) governmental agencies and scholarly resources in Washington point to the desirability of providing appropriate facilities in the nation's capital. From time to time there has been talk about establishing a national university, but the more immediate problem is how to maximize the effectiveness of the relationships that already exist and that are becoming increasingly important between the universities of the country, scholarly associations and public officials both in the executive and legislative branches.

There are programs in fields such as international relations and public administration where access to official records is essential. The concern with the study of major world areas calls for materials relating, for example, to mainland China or to the Soviet Union that require special skill in collecting and handling. Technological advances can now make available on tape the vast store of public records essential to the research of economists. Increasingly the research opportunities of Washington attract social scientists and scholars in the humanistic disciplines, of which American studies provide a good illustration of work to be done in law, literature and history. Attracted by such subjects as well as a variety of other topics, a large number of scholars from other countries come to Washington to carry on their work.

A building that would provide offices, studies, seminar rooms, and space for conferences as well as specialized data and archival services, would fulfill an important need. It would seem appropriate to locate such a structure in convenient proximity to the Congress, the Library of Congress, and the National Archives. It would both symbolize the role of scholarship and research and the relationship of these activities to the conduct of public affairs and at the same time bring together in a more stimulating situation for interchange individuals now often working in isolation. Rather than pursue the suggestion that there be a national academy for the humanities or for the social sciences, it might be argued that the proposed center could offer informally many of the same advantages. It could also possibly provide headquarters for scholarly associations. It might likewise offer historians the services required for their research.

Further thought would have to be directed to the organization and legal character of the center. Should it be public, private, or quasi-governmental? Should it be modeled after the Smithsonian Institution? The National Research Council? Would it be appropriate to think of this undertaking as a "Woodrow Wilson Memorial Foundation," representing as it would so many of the interests and attributes of President Wilson's career? Should it be governed by a board made up of a number of public members, and a number of private members representing universities and learned societies? These and many other questions would be considered at length if the essential utility of the proposed center were to be recognized as vital.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
February 9, 1966.

"I want to acknowledge with appreciation your memorandum suggesting a 'Woodrow Wilson Memorial Research Center' here in Washington. This seems

possibly an ideal way of focussing firmly a number of things that we historians need here, if we are to discharge our responsibilities better.

"So I hope the Association can be in touch with you, whenever appropriate, as matters develop."

PAUL L. WARD.

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION,
February 7, 1966.

"It sounds like an excellent idea and any support the Association can give to it it will be glad to give."

EVRON M. KIRKPATRICK, *Executive Director.*

DECEMBER 29, 1965.

"In response to your letter of December 7 and the memo it enclosed, I wish to emphasize that the Library of Congress will be glad to cooperate in every way possible to improve facilities in Washington for furthering the scholarly exploitation of the resources of this institution and of other governmental agencies here.

"While we endorse the proposal to establish a new center for this purpose, we are not yet prepared to support any one of the several suggestions as to its character. Please know that we heartily look forward to participating in planning, establishing, and serving such a center."

L. QUINCY MUMFORD,
Librarian of Congress.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
January 21, 1966.

"I have shared the memorandum you sent to me with several of my colleagues and I can tell you that many of us at Hopkins have a genuine interest in the kind of thing you have in mind. Quite by coincidence, several members of the Department of Political Science have been thinking along lines similar to those outlined in your memorandum, although with special reference to Hopkins."

MILTON S. EISENHOWER, *President.*

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
December 15, 1965.

"I have read the material that you sent to me with your note of December 7 and have two reactions that may be worth thinking about. It seems to me that the Washington Research Center might well have in residence each year a group of distinguished scholars, who would be on leave from their universities. There might also be—though I am not so certain about this point—a very small core of permanent research 'faculty'. Perhaps that small group might be composed of older statesmen."

G. HEBBERTON EVANS, JR.,
Dean, Faculty of Philosophy.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
Philadelphia, March 1, 1967.

MR. PENDLETON HERRING,
25 West 54 Street,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR PEN: I think facilities such as those you suggest for the Woodrow Wilson center are greatly needed in Washington. Most scholars in American History have had to do extensive research in Washington, and have suffered from lack of any place, other than a hotel room, in which to work. A central meeting place for such scholars, both American and foreign would lead to closer international ties and the stimulation of the scholarship so necessary to America's position of world leadership.

Sincerely,

THOMAS C. COCHRAN,
*Professor of the History of
the People of the United States,
President, Organization of American Historians.*

Senator PELL. Is there anybody else here who wishes to testify on this bill?

(No response.)

If not, the hearings are hereby recessed until the call of the chairman.

(Whereupon at 10:22 a.m. the subcommittee was recessed subject to the call of the Chair.)

Senator Pate. Is there anybody else here who wishes to testify on
 this bill?
 (No response.)
 All right, the hearings are hereby recessed until the call of the chair-
 man.
 (Whereupon at 10:23 a.m. the subcommittee was recessed subject
 to the call of the Chair.)

WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL

(S. 3174)

TUESDAY, MAY 14, 1968

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met at 10 a.m., in room 301, Old Senate Office Building, Senator Claiborne Pell (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senator John Sherman Cooper.

Staff present: Orlando Potter, legislative assistant to Senator Pell; William H. Young, professional staff member; and Marian G. Moore, assistant chief clerk, Committee on Rules and Administration.

Senator PELL. The Subcommittee on the Smithsonian Institution will come to order.

The Subcommittee on the Smithsonian Institution today resumes hearings on legislation to establish a living memorial to the 28th President of the Untied States, Woodrow Wilson.

Last year, in the first session of the 90th Congress, this subcommittee held the initial segment of these hearings on March 9, 1967. We considered at that time S. 277, a bill introduced by our distinguished colleague, Senator Harrison Williams, which authorized preparation of plans for a Woodrow Wilson Memorial on a specified site on Pennsylvania Avenue. On that occasion, we received an explanatory statement from Senator Williams and a general statement of support from Mr. Edward Goldman, the then Acting Director of the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue. We recessed the hearings subject to call of the Chair and pending receipt of the views of the executive branch.

Subsequently, and in consequence of the President's special message on the District of Columbia in 1967, the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission activated its standing committee on the Woodrow Wilson Memorial, augmented at the President's request by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mr. John W. Gardner. The committee undertook an extensive study into the concept of an international center for scholars as a living memorial to President Wilson and, early this year, issued an excellent report which boldly projected the outlines for such a center as "an institution of learning that the 22d century will regard as having influenced the 21st."

On the basis of this new report by the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission, the executive branch submitted a new bill, S. 3174, which is the subject of our hearing today. This measure was introduced in the Senate on March 15, 1968, by Senator Clinton Anderson, together with Senator J. William Fulbright and Senator Hugh Scott, all of

whom are regents of the Smithsonian Institution. Senator Anderson is unable to be with us today, but he has sent a statement of support which will be submitted as part of the record of this hearing. Senator Fulbright and Senator Scott have also sent messages that they strongly support the bill. The Bureau of the Budget has sent a favorable report which is also made part of the record.

Without objection, the text of S. 3174 will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The text of S. 3174 is as follows:)

90TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. 3174

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 15, 1968

Mr. ANDERSON (for himself, Mr. FULBRIGHT, and Mr. SCOTT) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration

A BILL

To establish a National Memorial to Woodrow Wilson in the Smithsonian Institution.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That this Act may be cited as the "Woodrow Wilson Me-
4 morial Act of 1968."

5 DECLARATION OF POLICY

6 SEC. 2. The Congress hereby finds and declares that—

7 (1) that a living institution expressing the ideals
8 and concerns of Woodrow Wilson would be an appropri-
9 ate memorial to his accomplishments as the twenty-
10 eighth President of the United States, a distinguished
11 scholar, an outstanding university president, and a
12 brilliant advocate of international understanding;

13 (2) that the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commis-
14 sion, created by joint resolution of Congress, recom-
15 mended that an International Center for Scholars be
16 constructed in the District of Columbia in the area north
17 of the proposed Market Square as part of the Nation's
18 memorial to Woodrow Wilson.

19 (3) that such a center, symbolizing and strengthen-
20 ing the fruitful relations between the world of learning
21 and the world of public affairs, would be a suitable
22 memorial to the spirit of Woodrow Wilson; and

(4) that the establishment of such a center would
be consonant with the purposes of the Smithsonian
Institution, created by Congress in 1846 "for the in-
crease and diffusion of knowledge among men."

23 THE CENTER AND THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

24 SEC. 3. (a) There is hereby established in the Smith-
25 sonian Institution a Woodrow Wilson International Center
26 for Scholars and a Board of Trustees of the Center (here-
27 inafter referred to as the "Center" and the "Board"),
28 whose duties it shall be to maintain and administer the Center

23 and site thereof and to execute such other functions as are
24 vested in the Board by this Act.

1 (b) The Board of Trustees shall be composed of fifteen
2 members as follows:

3 (1) the Secretary of State;

4 (2) the Secretary of Health, Education, and Wel-
5 fare;

6 (3) the Chairman of the National Endowment for
7 the Humanities;

8 (4) the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution;

9 (5) not to exceed three appointed by the President
10 from time to time from within the Federal Government;
11 and

12 (6) eight appointed by the President from private
13 life.

14 (c) Each member of the Board of Trustees specified in
15 paragraphs (1) through (5) of subsection (b) may designa-
16 te another official to serve on the Board of Trustees in his
17 stead.

18 (d) Each member of the Board of Trustees appointed
19 under paragraph (6) of subsection (b) shall serve for a term
20 of six years from the expiration of his predecessor's term;
21 except that (1) any trustees appointed to fill a vacancy
22 occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his
23 predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remain-
24 der of such term, and (2) the terms of office of the
1 trustees first taking office shall begin on the date of the enact-
2 ment of this Act, and shall expire as designated at the time
3 of appointment, two at the end of two years, three at the end
4 of four years, and three at the end of six years. No trustee of
5 the Board chosen from private life shall be eligible to serve in
6 excess of two consecutive terms, except that a trustee whose
7 term has expired may serve until his successor has qualified.

8 (e) The President shall designate a Chairman and a
9 Vice Chairman from among the members of the Board
10 chosen from private life.

11

POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE BOARD

12 SEC. 4. (a) In administering the Center, the Board
13 shall have all necessary and proper powers, which shall
14 include but not be limited to the power to:

15 (1) appoint scholars, from the United States and
16 abroad, and, where appropriate, provide stipends, grants,
17 and fellowships to such scholars, and to hire or accept the
18 voluntary services of consultants, advisory boards, and
19 panels to aid the Board in carrying out its responsibili-
20 ties;

21 (2) solicit, accept, and dispose of gifts, bequests,
22 and devises of money, securities, and other property of
23 whatsoever character for the benefit of the Center; any
24 such money, securities, or other property shall, upon
25 receipt, be deposited with the Smithsonian Institution,
1 and unless otherwise restricted by the terms of the gift,
2 expenditures shall be in the discretion of the Board for
3 the purposes of the Center;

4 (3) obtain grants from, and make contracts with,
5 State, Federal, local, and private agencies, organizations,
6 institutions and individuals;

7 (4) acquire such site as a location for the Center
8 as may subsequently be authorized by the Congress;

9 (5) acquire, hold, maintain, use, operate, and dis-
10 pose of any physical facilities, including equipment, neces-
11 sary for the operation of the Center;

12 (6) appoint and fix the compensation and duties
13 of the director and such other officers of the Center as
14 may be necessary for the efficient administration of the

15 Center; the director and two other officers of the Center
 16 may be appointed and compensated without regard to the
 17 provisions of title 5 of the United States Code governing
 18 appointments in the competitive service and chapter 51
 19 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of title 5 of the United
 20 States Code;

21 (7) prepare plans and specifications for the Center
 22 including the design and development of all buildings,
 23 facilities, open spaces, and other structures on the site
 24 in consultation with appropriate Federal and local agen-
 25 cies; and

1 (8) delegate to members of the Board or the
 2 Director of the Center such of its powers and responsi-
 3 bilities as it deems appropriate and useful for the
 4 administration of the Center.

5 (b) The Board shall, in connection with acquisition of
 6 any site authorized by Congress, as provided for in para-
 7 graph (4) of subsection (a) of this section, provide, to
 8 businesses and residents displaced from any such site, reloca-
 9 tion assistance, including payments and other benefits,
 10 equivalent to that authorized to displace businesses and resi-
 11 dents under the Housing Act of 1949, as amended. The
 12 Board shall develop a relocation program for existing busi-
 13 nesses and residents within the site and submit such program
 14 to the government of the District of Columbia for a deter-
 15 mination as to its adequacy and feasibility. In providing such
 16 relocation assistance and developing such relocation program
 17 the Board shall utilize to the maximum extent the services
 18 and facilities of the appropriate Federal and local agencies.

19 ADMINISTRATION

20 SEC. 5. The Board is authorized to adopt an official seal
 21 which shall be judicially noticed and to make such bylaws,
 22 rules, and regulations, as it deems necessary for the adminis-
 23 tration of its functions under this Act, including, among other
 24 matters, bylaws, rules, and regulations relating to the admin-
 25 istration of its trust funds and the organization and procedure
 1 of the Board. A majority of the members of the Board shall
 2 constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

3 APPROPRIATION

4 SEC. 6. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated
 5 to the Board such funds as may be necessary to carry out
 6 the purposes of this Act.

7 RECORDS AND AUDIT

8 SEC. 7. The accounts of the Board shall be audited in
 9 accordance with the principles and procedures applicable to,
 10 and as part of, the audit of the other Federal and trust funds
 11 of the Smithsonian Institution.

Senator PELL. The record should show that there has been no change in the basic intent of S. 277 and S. 3174, namely, the creation of an international center for scholars as a memorial for Woodrow Wilson. The only difference is in approach. S. 3174, the latter bill, authorizes the creation of an autonomous board of trustees to bring such a center into being and to maintain and administer it within the framework of the Smithsonian Institution. It authorizes appropriations for the operations and organization of such a board, but specifies that Congress shall make separate and subsequent authorization of site acquisition for the Center.

The genesis of both of these bills was the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission which was created by act of the 87th Congress and which rendered its final report in September 1966, recommending the establishment of a Woodrow Wilson Memorial at what is now known as Market Square on Pennsylvania Avenue, with priority to be given to the development of a center for scholars as part of the memorial. We are fortunate in having on our witness list today, the two men who were most responsible for the origin of this concept; the Chairman of the Commission, The Very Reverend Francis B. Sayre, Jr., Dean of the Washington Cathedral and the Vice Chairman, my distinguished colleague, Senator Harrison Williams of New Jersey.

At this time I would like to ask my friend and colleague Senator Byrd (Virginia) if he has a statement and would hope that he might be willing to make it at this time.

Senator BYRD of Virginia. Thank you.

Senator PELL. Please take a seat, Senator. You are the Senator from the State to which Woodrow Wilson always maintained his loyalty. It is a great pleasure to welcome you here.

STATEMENT OF HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR., A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

Senator BYRD of Virginia. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Virginia is very proud of Woodrow Wilson and very proud of the fact that he was born in Staunton. I appear not so much in my own behalf, but rather to present the views of Major General Opie, who has been a very active man in the matters concerning Woodrow Wilson. He is a very active member of the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Foundation.

Now General Opie makes one recommendation in regard to this bill. And if the chairman will permit me, I would like to read General Opie's recommendation in this regard.

Senator PELL. Delighted.

Senator BYRD of Virginia. He suggested that on line 25—page 5, line 25 of S. 3174—

Senator PELL. Page 5, line 25?

Senator BYRD of Virginia. Page 5, line 25. After the word "agencies" insert the following: "such plans shall include an exterior classical memorial (cultural work) to Woodrow Wilson as recommended in the final report to the President and the Congress of the United States by the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission and listed as recommendation two on page 10 of that report." That is what General Opie regards as a precautionary amendment which he would like to have the committee consider.

I would like to present that recommendation on his part, but also I would like to endorse the recommendation of General Opie on my own part. General Opie is an outstanding citizen of our State and he is editor and publisher of the Leader newspaper in Staunton. He is an unusually able individual and interested in Woodrow Wilson and I express the hope that the committee will give the fullest possible recommendation.

Senator PELL. You and General Opie may be sure that we will.

Thank you for your courtesy in being with us this morning.

At this point, if there is no objection, I would like to insert in the record a letter from Senator J. W. Fulbright expressing his support of S. 3174 and his regrets that he will be out of town at the time of the hearings.

(The letter referred to above is as follows:)

U. S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., May 8, 1968.

Hon. CLAIBORNE PELL,
Chairman, Subcommittee on the Smithsonian Institution, Committee on Rules
and Administration, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CLAIBORNE: Thank you for your letter of May 3 concerning hearings of your Subcommittee on S. 3174. I will be in Arkansas most of next week and will not be able to attend the hearings. As you know, I support S. 3174, and I hope that it may be favorably considered by your Subcommittee.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. W. FULBRIGHT.

Senator PELL. The Very Reverend Francis B. Sayre, Jr., Chairman of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission is with us this morning and I would ask him if he would care to come forward and give us his views and recommendations.

Reverend SAYRE. Thank you, very much, Senator Pell.

I brought with me a statement which I would be glad to read. It is not very long.

Senator PELL. We will be glad to hear from you or you can insert it in the record, whatever you prefer.

It looks short. If you could read it, we would love to hear it.

**STATEMENT BY THE VERY REVEREND FRANCIS B. SAYRE, JR.,
DEAN, WASHINGTON CATHEDRAL, AND CHAIRMAN, WOODROW
WILSON MEMORIAL COMMISSION**

Reverend SAYRE. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate your invitation to testify today on Senate bill 3174, which would create a Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in the Smithsonian Institution at a site north of the National Archives between Seventh and Ninth Streets.

My testimony today is affected by deep personal interest, not only because of family ties and because President Wilson's body rests in a tomb at the Washington Cathedral, but also because I have the honor to serve as Chairman of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission.

That Commission, established by Congress by Public Law 87-364, was authorized to decide on "the advisability of one of two kinds of memorials: one which would be a monument similar to those which honor Presidents Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln; or one which will serve as a building of a functional nature or, as it is often called, a 'living memorial'."

This was no simple assignment. The Commission received hundreds of letters from individuals and officers of organizations. They said that Woodrow Wilson could be remembered appropriately for many great contributions to the people of the world. They were enthusiastic, and many were farsighted and eloquent.

To provide a public forum for discussion of such proposals, the Commission conducted hearings on March 2 and 10, 1966. Distinguished witnesses made compelling arguments for many kinds of memorials. Their arguments are summarized in the Commission's final report—Senate Document 123, 89th Congress—which I submit now for this hearing record.

The major Commission recommendation was summarized in the following statement:

Having given due consideration to the merits of both monumental and "living" memorials, the Commission has concluded that the two might well be combined.

An outstanding sculpture work—well situated in an appropriate square in downtown Washington—could become the major component of a Memorial Center.

Adjacent buildings, each dedicated to a worthy purpose related to Wilsonian tradition could eventually be built to complete the Center.

The report then gave details of its proposal, which—briefly stated—calls for a center for scholars to be installed on the perimeter of a Woodrow Wilson Square between the National Archives and the new National Portrait Gallery recently opened at the old Patent Office Building. Our proposal was meant to serve several purposes:

1. It would appropriately honor the memory of the 28th President of the United States with an inspiring sculptural work in an attractive square.

2. It will be a major step forward in the rehabilitation of Pennsylvania Avenue, and it is thoroughly consistent with the plans of the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission.

3. It would accelerate the development of a much-needed facility for scholars which—the Commission fervently hopes—will be the first of several adjacent structures that will serve public purposes related to Wilsonian themes.

Mr. Chairman, to close this brief statement, I will say that the legislation before your subcommittee today differs from the Commission recommendation only in that it omits one requirement that has already been fulfilled by the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission. That requirement called for a study by the Commission of certain administrative considerations, and I understand that the study has been concluded.

My own personal belief is, therefore, that the Senate bill 3174 is in complete harmony with the recommendations of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission. I do more than urge its early passage. I would point out to all concerned that the Commission proposals—and the bill before you today—represent an opportunity that should be acted upon at the earliest possible date.

That opportunity was summarized in this quotation from the Commission report:

It is the hope of the Commission that its recommendations will be accepted by Congress and become the basis of not only a living memorial to Woodrow Wilson, but also a growing one.

And that is my statement, Mr. Chairman.

Senator PELL. Thank you, Dean Sayre. I imagine your recommendation is somewhat similar, along the same lines as the others, but a little more specific and perhaps in harder form.

Reverend SAYRE. I would agree with that. I think it incorporates some studies that have been made by the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission and also by the Smithsonian.

Senator PELL. Did you happen to hear the statement of Senator Harry Byrd as you came in concerning General Opie's recommendation?

Reverend SAYRE. I heard just the end of it and I believe an amendment was suggested incorporating the statue.

Senator PELL. Right.

Reverend SAYRE. I would question whether you need an amendment to that effect if you incorporate the recommendation of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission which includes such a statue.

Senator PELL. Right, but the General thought of a statue or a classical frieze from the outside; would that be in your view desirable or undesirable?

Reverend SAYRE. I think it would be desirable.

Senator PELL. It is a delight to have you with us today as Chairman of the Commission and as a grandson of the man that we hope is being properly memorialized.

I thank you for your time and the time you have given the Commission.

Reverend SAYRE. Thank you, very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator PELL. Our next statement comes from my able and distinguished colleague from New Jersey, Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr. Senator Williams served as Vice Chairman of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission and sponsored S. 277, a bill quite similar to the one before us today, on which as I indicated earlier, we held hearings last year. It is a pleasure to have Senator Williams testimony at this time.

STATEMENT OF HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Senator WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, Dean Sayre has already given you a summary of the work and the recommendations of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission. I wish to add my own personal statement in support of his conclusion that the legislation before you today is consistent with the proposals made in the Commission report. I, too, urge early action by this subcommittee and by the Congress in order to enable this city and the Nation to take full advantage of a magnificent opportunity to honor a great American while we also make a contribution to the resources of our Capital City.

It is clear to me that Senate bill 3174 is also in harmony with the hopes I had when I introduced the legislation that resulted in the establishment of the Memorial Commission. It had occurred to me, soon after I reached the Senate, that the greatness of Woodrow Wilson had never adequately been recognized in Washington, D.C. As a Senator from New Jersey, I was very much aware of the debt that State owes to him. As an admirer of his work for international understanding and so many other causes intended to better all men's lives, I was also very much aware such men are rare; they create ideas that do not die. As the Woodrow Wilson Centennial report expressed it:

* * * the man (Wilson) remains a vital force. In his lifetime, he stirred people to great action; he drew forth ardent passions and left nothing he touched quite the same as it had been.

Our National Capital is a city of symbols. The monuments to Washington; the words written on the walls of Congress; the tribute we pay to the unknown soldiers at Arlington have deep meaning to all Americans because they know that this city is theirs. In that city should be represented all victories of our national spirit.

Wilson gave our Nation many victories of national spirit. His memory certainly should be honored appropriately, and I believe that the bill before you will serve that purpose.

Mr. Chairman, in closing, I must acknowledge that—much as New Jersey would like to claim Woodrow Wilson as its own—we must admit that several other States are the richer for his having lived in them. His native State, Virginia, certainly has been well represented in all deliberations that have led to today's hearing. Senators Willis Robertson and Harry Byrd, Jr. were active witnesses at the 1966 hearings, and Maj. Gen. E. Walton Opie, former president of the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Foundation at Staunton, was a very helpful source of counsel even before the establishment of the Commission. I would like to thank them and also urge that efforts be made to secure broad cosponsorship of this legislation from Senators and Representatives of that State.

Senator PELL. Thank you, Senator Williams. The next witness is Dr. S. Dillon Ripley, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution who is the man who is a great deal responsible for pulling together the far authorities in this problem and is here with us to give us his ideas.

Dr. Ripley.

STATEMENT OF S. DILLON RIPLEY, SECRETARY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Dr. RIPLEY. Mr. Chairman, Senator Cooper. It is a great pleasure to be here this morning to testify on S. 3174, a bill to establish a national memorial to Woodrow Wilson in the Smithsonian Institution.

Sir, I have copies of my testimony, as written, which I would like to submit for the record, if I may.

Senator PELL. I have had an opportunity to go through this and I appreciate your submitting it for the record this morning.

(Dr. Ripley's prepared statement is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF S. DILLON RIPLEY, SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I am delighted to appear before you today in support of this bill to establish a National Memorial to Woodrow Wilson in the Smithsonian Institution.

This proposed legislation is the result of what Dr. Robert Goheen, President of Princeton University, has described as a "remarkable convergence of academic and cultural interests."

Since the time of President Washington, scholars, public officials, and interested citizens have dreamed of the creation in our Nation's Capital of a great international center for scholars. In 1961, the Congress established by joint resolution a Commission to recommend a permanent memorial to Woodrow Wilson in the District of Columbia. Under the resolution (S.J. Res. 51), the following were named to the Commission:

Chairman—Francis B. Sayre, Jr. (Dean, Washington Cathedral), Vice Chairman—Sen. Harrison A. Williams (New Jersey), Members: David K. E. Bruce (U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain and Northern Ireland), Sen. Clifford P. Case (New Jersey), Rep. Cornelius E. Gallagher (New Jersey), Rep. Peter H. B.

Frelinghuysen (New Jersey), George B. Hartzog, Jr. (Director, National Park Service), Chester R. Huntley (NBO News), Douglas M. Knight (President, Duke University).

At the hearings of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission on March 2 and 10, 1966, the proponents of a scholarly center urged the appropriateness of such a memorial to the twenty-eighth President of the United States, Secretary of State Dean Rusk stated:

"There is a need, there is a need here in Washington, for facilities for greater service to our scholars and to the understanding of national and international affairs. And we feel that the idea of a living memorial for Woodrow Wilson could be a very timely and appropriate occasion for trying to meet some of those needs which are obviously here in our Nation's Capital."

President Robert F. Goheen of Princeton University stated:

"The idea I wish to urge upon you is of a living memorial which will embrace the public and private aspects of Woodrow Wilson's great career: his work as Statesman, and as scholar; as man of affairs and man of letters. And, specifically, I wish to propose that the living heart of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial should be a Center for scholars who need to work on the incomparable assemblage of materials here in Washington relating to the study of American history and the analysis of public and international affairs."

As part of my formal statement then, a copy of which I hereby submit, I stated:

"Because a fitting memorial to Woodrow Wilson must both respect his legacy and evoke his memory, I hope that the members of this Commission will recommend the creation of a living memorial in the form of a great international center for advanced study in our Nation's Capital."

In September 1966, the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission submitted its final report to the President and the Congress of the United States. In this final report, a copy of which is submitted herein for the record, the Commission recommended that an International Center for Scholars, to be located north of the National Archives Building, be constructed as part of the Nation's memorial to Woodrow Wilson. The report further stated that, "The Commission is impressed with Dr. Ripley's proposal that the Center be formally associated with the Smithsonian Institution as a bureau under the guidance of its own Board of Trustees, with its own Director and administrative staff. * * *"

On February 27, 1967, in his message on the District of Columbia, President Johnson stated that, "The proposal of the Woodrow Wilson Commission has much to commend it." In asking the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue to conduct a study to develop a detailed plan for the Center, President Johnson further stated: "It is my hope that the Center will serve as a place for bringing together scholars and students from other countries to increase understanding among peoples of the world, as well as an important educational institution."

In January of 1968, the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue submitted its recommendations to the President, arguing persuasively in favor of the recommendation of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission that an international center for scholars be established in the area north of the National Archives Building as a living memorial to Woodrow Wilson.

In his message to the District of Columbia in March of 1968, President Johnson stated:

"Through an imaginative combination of public and private leadership and financing, this Center could serve as 'an institution of learning that the 22nd century will regard as having influenced the 21st.'

"The dream of a great scholarly center in our Nation's Capital is as old as the Republic itself. There could be no more fitting monument to the memory of Woodrow Wilson than an institution devoted to the highest ideals of scholarship and international understanding.

"I recommend legislation authorizing the establishment of a Center to be operated by an independent board of trustees within the framework of the Smithsonian Institution. Trustees for the Center, in collaboration with the government of the District of Columbia and the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission, and with the approval of the National Capital Planning Commission, will work out detailed plans for the Center and for the development of Market Square."

The present legislation submitted by the Smithsonian Institution to implement the proposals of the President will, if enacted, bring into being the living memorial that has been recommended now, after public hearings and extensive

study, by a Congressional Commission, a Presidential Commission, and the President himself.

In view of this long history and this rather fully documented record, I believe that it would be redundant for one to rehearse the arguments in favor of such an international center. Rather, I think it would be more useful for me now to state very simply what it is that this proposed legislation *does* do and what it *does not* do.

Most important, this bill is intended to determine that the Nation's memorial to its 28th President will be a living memorial rather than a mere monument, and that it will embody and symbolize Woodrow Wilson's lifelong devotion to scholarship. This action will carry out the unanimous recommendations of the Woodrow Wilson Commission.

Secondly, this legislation will, as it were, give to the memorial a local habitation and a name. Consistent with the recommendations of both the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission and the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission, the bill contemplates situating the Woodrow Wilson Memorial on the great square north of the National Archives. Administratively, the Woodrow Wilson Center is to be made part of the Smithsonian Institution, joining with other affiliates in that Institution's historical mission, "For the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."

Third, this bill creates within the Smithsonian the machinery necessary both to plan the Woodrow Wilson Center and ultimately to operate it.

In short, then, the Congress is being asked to take the necessary first steps toward the realization of a fitting memorial to Woodrow Wilson. I should now point out what it is that the present legislation does not attempt to do.

First, this legislation does *not* authorize the acquisition of any site for the proposed Center, although the ultimate acquisition of a site is contemplated by Section 4(a) (4). The actual acquisition will require subsequent authorization by the Congress.

Second, the bill does *not*, therefore, contemplate the immediate appropriation of substantial funds for either site acquisition or construction. Although the bill contains a general authorization for appropriation of such funds as may be necessary to carry out its purposes, the immediate need will be only for funds to enable the Board to draw plans for the program and the physical facilities of the Center. I would estimate that the need in the next three fiscal years will not exceed \$500,000 per year for staff, studies, consultants, site and architectural planning, and for necessary expenses. The bill further specifically requires that all physical planning and ultimate site acquisition must be carried out in consultation with appropriate Federal and local agencies.

In my view, the Woodrow Wilson Center should ultimately be financed through a combination of appropriated and private funds. It is fitting that the Nation, acting through its national government, should acquire a site and construct a building for the Memorial. Using the preliminary estimates of the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission, and recognizing that no firm estimates can be made until the program of the Center has been determined by its Board, I would estimate that site acquisition and building might cost something in the vicinity of from eight to ten million dollars. But I believe that the regular operation of the Center can most appropriately be supported by adequate private gifts and endowments, which I hope can be raised from the great philanthropic foundations of this country—and perhaps other countries. I am intrigued by the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission's suggestion that part of any eventual endowment might consist of appropriated funds, offered by the National Government, on a matching basis to stimulate other non-governmental contributions.

Third, the present legislation does *not* undertake to specify in detail the structure or functions of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. On the contrary, the bill contemplates that this sort of planning will be a major responsibility of the Board of Trustees of the Center.

This seems to me most proper. My own views of the possible form and program of the Center are spelled out at some length in my testimony before the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission. But I very much agree with the Report of the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission, which states:

"We believe that it would be both unnecessary and unwise to limit the freedom of the Center at the outset. Scholarly disciplines that today seem unexciting, or that have not even been conceived of yet, may one day offer the most exciting intellectual challenges and the most fruitful opportunities for research. The whole structure of scholarly institutions may well be radically altered in decades

or centuries to come. (Parenthetically, I might add that the events of the last few weeks suggest that the structure of our universities may be altered much more quickly than that.) The Woodrow Wilson Center must be able to respond easily and imaginatively to the ever-changing world in which it lives. In particular, such questions as the areas of knowledge with which the Center will be concerned and the terms on which scholars will be associated with it can surely best be determined through the years by its own distinguished and responsible Board of Directors."

Finally, I should like to say a few words about the vision which this proposed Center has raised in the minds of many of us who have been associated with its planning over the past years. While convinced that the Center will itself constitute the most fitting memorial to Woodrow Wilson and serve the interests of scholars here and abroad, of universities and academic institutions, and of the Nation's Capital, we have come to believe also that the Center can become the nucleus around which other related institutions might grow. In short, as the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission has said, the Center might be "the first of several buildings to be developed on available sites on the periphery of Market Square." This could be accomplished, I believe, through the imaginative use of private funds. I know, for example, of one university and one scholarly society that have already expressed a keen interest in building facilities in this area, if the Woodrow Wilson Center should become a reality. The Smithsonian stands ready to work with these and other private groups—both non-profit and commercial—to plan and carry out the development of such an area in the heart of Washington. Surely this, if ever, is a time when government, our universities and scholarly organizations, and our great financial institutions should demonstrate their commitment to the central city.

The Smithsonian Institution heartily endorses the proposal to establish the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and undertakes to assist in every appropriate way the development and operation of this Center.

As I stated in my testimony before the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission: "President Wilson personified the dependence of public affairs upon man's knowledge of the principles of government. His extraordinary career as scholar, university administrator, public servant and statesman challenges us to conceive a memorial that will somehow capture and enshrine these diverse elements—not as disparate parts, but as aspects of the life and work of a single, very great man. The internationalism that he advocated in the pursuit of peace is equally indispensable to the pursuit of knowledge. A Woodrow Wilson Memorial constructed as a center to which scholars would come from all parts of the world would unmistakably embody man's unending quest for knowledge and inspire young people in this country to seek that understanding of our fellow man which still is so elusive."

Dr. RIPLEY. I would like, if I might, to improvise a bit on the statement and to discuss various points which have occurred to me which might perhaps enlarge or round out the statement.

Senator PELL. Right.

Dr. RIPLEY. First of all, let me say how pleased I am to be here this morning and to be able to testify about this bill which, in many ways, is the recognition of a dream which the Smithsonian Institution, I think, was created to attempt to realize.

As you are aware, Mr. Chairman, the Smithsonian was founded in this city long before the existence of graduate studies in the United States. It was some 18 years after its founding before a graduate degree was given by any university in this country. And in those days the main emphasis of the Secretary of the Smithsonian was to use the various small funds at his disposal in an attempt to mobilize scholars in this country to allow them to publish their research, and allow them to circulate among other scholars both here and abroad. It was an attempt to bring scholars together wherever they might be, and they certainly were not always in colleges or universities in those days, and by coalescing with some central institution from Washington to attempt to improve the scholarly life of Washington itself. Scholars

were invited here, they lived in the old redstone castle building after it was finished in 1850. They lectured and, very specifically, Secretary Henry enjoined the Members of the Congress to attend these lectures as well as other distinguished citizens of the city in order to provide an open lyceum-like atmosphere in which thoughts and speculation of the most distinguished men in the country would be revealed and discussed openly with our senior members of the community living here in the city.

So in some ways I think of this proposal for an advanced study center as a kind of rounding out of this sort of tradition.

I might point out that in 1898, a committee of college presidents and Government scientists approached the Smithsonian, to promote what they called "an effective plan by which graduates of the college and other qualified persons should be guided by the Smithsonian Institution in advancing studies and research in connection with the facilities presented by the Government bureaus in Washington." The National Educational Association, the Washington Academy of Sciences, the American Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Station—then, of course, a very important outgrowth of the Land Grant Act—and the Smithsonian Regents themselves, led by Alexander Graham Bell, secured passage in 1901 of the act providing access to "facilities for study and research in the Government departments * * * to scientific investigators and duly qualified individuals, students and graduates of institutions of learning in the several States." (Act of March 3, 1901, ch. 831, 31 Stat. 1039.)

For some time it was hoped that as a follow-up of this act funds under the trust established by Andrew Carnegie might be devoted to the promotion of education through a Bureau of Graduate Study in the Smithsonian. Unfortunately for that plan the great bequest which resulted in the setting up of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, was not devoted to fulfilling the proposal for a center for scientific and other advanced studies.

So we have a second step, as it were, toward the accomplishment of a dream. Actual legislation introduced at that time to attempt to promote this very idea, which had been the creation of the activities of the Institution.

For that reason, Mr. Chairman, I was delighted to testify before the distinguished Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission in March of 1966 and to join with the Secretary of State and President Goheen of Princeton, among others, in pleading for the establishment in this city of a living memorial in the memory of Woodrow Wilson.

The report of the Woodrow Wilson Commission, I believe, is before you. I would like to insert, if I may, at this time my own testimony before that Commission in March 1966.

Senator PELL. Your testimony will be inserted in the record. The report of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission has already been printed as Senate Document 123 of the 89th Congress and is now incorporated by reference into the record of this hearing.

Dr. RIPLEY. Thank you, sir.

(The testimony referred to may be found in exhibit 1 in the appendix to these hearings.)

Dr. RIPLEY. As you know, Mr. Chairman, in February 1967, President Johnson stated, "the proposal of the Woodrow Wilson Commis-

sion has much to commend it." He asked the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue to conduct a study to develop a detailed plan for the Center.

And the President, at that time, stated:

It is my hope that the Center will serve as a place for bringing together scholars and students from other countries to increase understanding among peoples of the world, as well as an important educational institution.

I am sure that the gentlemen representing the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania will testify further regarding the record of their deliberations.

I believe that it would be redundant, therefore, for me to rehearse the arguments in favor of such an international center. Rather, I think it would be most useful and helpful for me to state very simply what it is that this proposed legislation does do and what it does not do.

Most important, this bill is intended to determine that the Nation's memorial to its 28th President will be a living memorial rather than a mere monument, and that it will embody and symbolize Woodrow Wilson's life-long devotion to scholarship.

Secondly, this legislation will, as it were, give the memorial a local habitation and a name. As you know, the bill contemplates situating the memorial on the square north of the National Archives.

Administratively, the Center is to be made a part of the Smithsonian Institution, joining with other affiliates in the Institution's historical mission, "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."

And third, this bill creates within the Smithsonian the machinery necessary, under the Board of Trustees, to plan the Center and ultimately to operate it.

In short then, the Congress is being asked to take the necessary first steps toward the realization of a fitting memorial to Woodrow Wilson. However, the legislation does not attempt to authorize the acquisition of any site for the proposed Center. Although the ultimate acquisition of the site is contemplated, the actual acquisition will require subsequent authorization by the Congress.

And secondly, the bill does not, therefore, contemplate the immediate appropriation of substantial funds for either site acquisition or construction.

Although the bill contains a general authorization for appropriation of such funds as may be necessary to carry out its purpose, the immediate need will be only for funds to enable the Board to draw plans for the program and the physical facilities of the Center.

I would be prepared to estimate, Mr. Chairman, if you care to have an approximate initial budget for such authorization.

Senator PELL. This is on page 6 of your statement, I believe. Would this be a further breakdown?

Dr. RIPLEY. I mean an item not to exceed \$500,000 a year. I have actually a breakdown of what we would estimate that it would cost, which might be—

Senator PELL. I believe it would be useful if you would enter it in the record.

Could we have a copy to see it at this point?

Dr. RIPLEY. In my own view, Mr. Chairman, I would assume that the Center should ultimately be financed through a combination of

appropriated and private funds. It seems fitting that we could acquire a site and construct a building for the memorial under the auspices of the National Government, using Federal funds. We estimate that the site acquisition and building might cost from \$8 to \$10 million. We do believe that the regular operation of the Center can most appropriately be supported by adequate private gifts and endowments, which, I hope, can be raised from the great philanthropic foundations of this country—and perhaps abroad, as well.

I am intrigued by the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission's suggestion that part of any eventual endowment might consist of appropriated fund, offered by the Government on a matching basis to stimulate nongovernmental contributions.

Finally, the present legislation does not undertake to specify in detail the structure or functions of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. This is an important point because it means that the planning authority will be the major responsibility of the Board of Trustees of the Center.

I would assume that the Board of Trustees would operate in this connection in a similar way to the board of trustees of any university, by attempting to set the direction and the policy of the Center, and it should rest with the Director to work out a flexible scheme of encouraging the most important research which might be appropriate to the times. This seems to me to fit well within President Wilson's broad and general interest in establishing a graduate school at the University of Princeton.

I have spelled out in my testimony before the Woodrow Wilson Commission some of the thoughts that we had on this score. It seems to us that it is unnecessary and unwise to limit the freedom of the Center at the outset. Scholarly disciplines that today seem unexciting, or that have not even been conceived as of yet, may one day offer the most exciting intellectual challenges and the most fruitful opportunities for research. The whole structure of scholarly institutions may well be radically altered in decades or centuries to come.

Parenthetically, I might add that the events of the last few weeks suggest that the structure of our universities may be altered much more quickly than that.

The Center must be able to respond easily and imaginatively to the ever-changing world in which it lives. In particular, such questions as the areas of knowledge with which the Center will be concerned and the terms on which scholars will be associated with it can surely best be determined through the years by its own distinguished and responsible Board of Directors.

I would assume that one of the major objectives of this Center, Mr. Chairman, would be to encourage local scholarship. We know from studies that the Smithsonian has already made, that in the city of Washington roughly 20 percent of the graduate instruction offered by the universities of the District of Columbia depends upon the services of professional staff members from area research organizations, not within those universities. Such organizations employ professional staffs in research outnumbering the graduate faculty by a factor of approximately 8 to 1. It is quite obvious then, that any step which can be taken to encourage scholars on a simple resident basis, to be here in an advanced center, would enormously affect the intellectual climate

of the city, universities, and the areas around them. They would radiate a kind of communication value in scholarship which is inestimable.

I believe this should be considered only the first of several buildings which might well be developed on the available sites. I might point out that there is currently a movement by the Federal City College to situate itself not very far away, up the same Eighth Street mall to the north in the area of the public library of the city. Here is another example of the potential of this cross axis mall turning into a great center for academic activities in the Nation's Capital—something which has never been fulfilled, but something which has always been dreamed of.

I should point out, too, that there is no doubt that the recent opening of the Fine Arts and Portrait Galleries in the old Patent Office has already had a signal effect on the local community. We have had testimony and tributes in the form of letters from storeowners about how they find the opening of this gallery in their immediate environment develops a new note of interest in the citizens, of the storefronts being smartened up, and new art stores, bookshops, and other stores which have high value are going to be attracted in the neighborhood. It is definitely a neighborhood development which we should not overlook.

The Smithsonian Institution stands ready to work with all private groups, nonprofit and commercial, to attempt to develop the appropriate atmosphere in the area and to plan and to carry out the development of such an area in the heart of our central city.

This is a time, if ever, when government, the universities, scholarly organizations, and our great financial institutions should demonstrate such a commitment.

Finally, in closing, Mr. Chairman, I would like to restate my testimony before the Commission of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial. President Wilson personified the dependence of public affairs upon man's knowledge of the principles of government. His extraordinary career as a scholar, university administrator, public servant, and statesman challenges us to conceive a memorial that will somehow capture and enshrine these diverse elements—not as disparate parts, but as aspects of the life and work of a single, very great man.

The internationalism that he advocated in the pursuit of peace is equally indispensable to the pursuit of knowledge. A Woodrow Wilson Memorial constructed as a center to which scholars would come from all parts of the world would unmistakably embody man's unending quest for knowledge and inspire young people in this country to seek that understanding of our fellow man which still is so elusive.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator PELL. Thank you, very much, Dr. Ripley.

Would you be inclined to think that this will be almost unique as being the Ph. D.'s Ph. D.?

Dr. RIPLEY. I believe so.

Senator PELL. Rockefeller University in New York is somewhat along the same line.

Dr. RIPLEY. In a sense, the way it started, I believe so.

Senator PELL. The student body there are already Ph. D.'s.

Dr. RIPLEY. Many already are.

Senator PELL. It would also be in line with the principle, Wilson's idea when he was president of Princeton, for something separate and a little more advanced from the undergraduate. I have a couple of questions that I want to ask you concerning your making some specific recommendation because, as I indicated, in our informal conversation the Congress is reluctant about open ended authorizations.

And we will consider these figures that you have given us as being fairly realistic when the time comes. There is one question and that is the general state of the budget at this time. And as you know, when the Air and Space Museum authority was put forward there was a commitment or recommendation on our part and commitment for yourselves so that Congress could hold off on it until the expenditures declined for the Vietnam war. I wonder if you have a reaction to the same thought?

Dr. RIPLEY. My statement did not propose any expenditure of funds at the present time. We were mindful of the facts, and what we would be glad to do is develop for the record a proposed budget and hope that it would be possible to introduce some kind of budgetary provision for the Board, perhaps in the planning for the 1970 budget. But not attempt to introduce any request for funds at this time.

Senator PELL. How would the Board be paid for this in fiscal 1969?

Dr. RIPLEY. We would have to see if we could find some funds. We have some small planning money which was given us under our 1968 appropriation for planning for advanced study centers. Perhaps we could absorb some. And I think that we could do a good deal just with temporary items, with Commission meetings, some consultants perhaps and some lectures. We could have a seminar or two to discuss the formulation of the Board. I would rather like to leave it on a tentative basis, Mr. Chairman, in that sense, because I think all of these things take time. I am sure a year is not too great a time to contemplate names for these proposed appointments.

Senator PELL. Now I understand another suggestion that has been made is that the funds should be appropriated to the Smithsonian and not directly to the Board. I was just wondering if you would give us your reaction on that and what reactions there are, if there is a reaction, of the administration.

Dr. RIPLEY. Well, I think that it is simply more useful and tidy to appropriate the funds as part of a general appropriation bill for the Institution.

Senator PELL. You mean it would be a line item?

Dr. RIPLEY. A line item as part of the general appropriation for the Institution. I think that the question of spinning-off various sorts of peripheral and independent agencies is, as it were, not necessarily a proper one, and my impression is that the Congress itself might be more friendly disposed toward an appropriation which was appropriated to an existing and a long-lived organization rather than a spin-off, as it were.

Senator PELL. Would it be a line item for this specific purpose or just part of the general Smithsonian appropriation?

Dr. RIPLEY. No, sir; I believe a line item for these specific purposes.

Senator PELL. Do you have a reaction from the Bureau of the Budget on that?

Dr. RIPLEY. I imagine that there would have to be discussion about it. It seems to me this fits in with the Bureau of the Budget's general provisions that they prefer to have these budgets constructed this way.

Senator PELL. The staff will formally ascertain their views on this point.

(The views of the Bureau of the Budget on the point raised in the hearings are expressed in the following letter:)

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET,
Washington, D.C., July 5, 1968.

HON. CLAIRBORNE PELL,
Chairman, Subcommittee on the Smithsonian Institution,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I refer to your request of June 27, 1968, for the position of the Bureau of the Budget on the suggestion of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution that any funds for the proposed Woodrow Wilson Center be authorized to be appropriated to the Smithsonian Institution rather than to the Center's Board of Trustees.

The Bureau of the Budget generally favors the authorization of appropriations to agencies rather than to subordinate units. Nevertheless, in order to recognize its special status within the Smithsonian Institution, provision was made for direct appropriations to the Board. We continue to believe that, in this instance, the provision for direct appropriations, as in the case of the National Gallery of Art and the Kennedy Center, is desirable.

Accordingly, the Bureau recommends favorable consideration of the bill as transmitted by the Smithsonian Institution and introduced in the Senate (S. 3174).

Sincerely yours,

WILFRED H. ROMMEL,
Assistant Director for Legislative Reference.

Senator PELL. President Goheen, of Princeton, telephoned me about the bill and has submitted a letter which I would ask to have included in the record at this point, and in his letter he recommends that the Archivist of the United States and the Librarian of Congress be added as ex officio members of the Board.

Dr. RIPLEY. I think this is an excellent idea, Mr. Chairman. I am very much in favor of relating or associating these matters closely with the existing agencies of the Government which are associated with advanced study and research, and this, of course, includes the Library of Congress and the Archives.

Senator PELL. I would also like to insert a letter from Mr. Nathaniel Owings, who will be here to testify shortly, in the record at this point, but the pertinent point in this letter is that he requests that the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission be a consulted party as we move along in this effort. Have you any views with regard to this?

Dr. RIPLEY. My point of view is that the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission has helped to create this setting and the opportunities for consideration of the construction and placing of this memorial. I think it would be highly appropriate.

Senator PELL. I would like unanimous consent to insert these letters, Senator Cooper.

Senator COOPER. No objection.

(The letters from Messrs. Goheen and Owings are as follows:)

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY,
Princeton, N.J., May 9, 1968.

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL,
Chairman, Subcommittee on the Smithsonian Institution, U.S. Senate, Wash-
ington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PELL: I deeply regret that an overly congested schedule will make it impossible for me to testify in person before the Subcommittee on the Smithsonian Institution as it conducts public hearings next Tuesday, May 14, on Bill S3174, which would establish in Washington what I believe is the highly significant and greatly needed Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

The provisions of S3174, concerned with founding "a living institution expressing the ideals and concern of Woodrow Wilson", are in the service of mankind and are true to Wilson's sense of the on-flowing significance of life. Such a center where scholars from all over this country and from other lands would always be working, studying, and seeking to stretch human understanding is an infinitely more meaningful memorial to Wilson than any mausoleum, bell tower, obelisk, or other mere monument could ever be.

In strongly advocating the enactment of this Bill, I think it appropriate to recall to you a few of Wilson's words that have a special relevance for the undertaking you are considering. Over 60 years ago, in Cleveland, Ohio, he said:

"I do not see how any man can fail to perceive that scholarship, that education, in a country like ours is a branch of statesmanship. It is a branch of that general work of enabling a great country to use its energies to best advantage * * *"

At the same time, may I call to your attention a segment of the testimony I gave in Washington on March 2, 1966 before the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission. I spoke then of the importance of "a living memorial which will embrace the public and private aspects of Woodrow Wilson's great career: his work as statesman and as scholar, man of affairs and man of letters". And I urged that "the living heart of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial should be a center for scholars who need to work on the incomparable assemblages of materials here in Washington relating to the study of American history and the analysis of public and international affairs".

For the scholarly objectives of the Woodrow Wilson Center, I think that the composition of its Board of Trustees as prescribed in the Bill would be improved if the Librarian of Congress and the Archivist of the United States were included among the designated governmental members. They would most appropriately replace two of the three members to be appointed by the President from within the Federal Government, and should not reduce the majority of the Board to be appointed from private life.

Let me say again how strongly I favor the enactment of this Bill.

Sincerely,

ROBERT F. GOHEEN.

PRESIDENT'S TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE,
Washington, D.C., April 1, 1968.

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PELL: I would like to thank you for the effort you are involved in concerning the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars (S. 3174).

If there is anything that I or my staff can do with regard to the Hearings that will be held, please do not hesitate to call on us. We have a study model of the site and other relevant drawings that might interest your Committee.

It is important to us that we be mentioned in the Bill on terms of consultation during the design phase of the Center, as it would give the Commission a leg up, and I feel we can be useful to the Board in this respect.

To this end, the language of Paragraph (7), Subsection 4(a), might be changed by the Committee to read:

4(a): "(7) Prepare plans and specifications for the Center; including the design and development of all buildings, facilities, open spaces and other structures on the site shall be carried out in consultation with the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, or its Successor, and with other appropriate Federal and local agencies, and all such plans shall be subject to the Commission's final approval;"

I have checked with Dillon Ripley and others at the Smithsonian, and they are in agreement, and feel this would benefit all concerned.

Cordially yours,

NATHANIEL A. OWINGS, *Chairman.*

Senator PELL. Senator Cooper, do you have any questions?

Senator COOPER. It seems to me that the idea of the Center would be very appropriate as a memorial to President Wilson.

Dr. Ripley, could you outline, as you see it, the steps by which this Center could be established?

Dr. RIPLEY. I would hope, Senator Cooper, that if this bill is enacted, the Smithsonian could be concerned in concert with the President to set about the formulation of the Board of Trustees. I would hope also that it might be in the interest of the President to grant the possibility that the trustees could be self-perpetuating on the private side, simply as a group of trustees of any university. The university-like aspect of such an international center should not be overlooked and, I think, normally trustees prefer to exist in an atmosphere, just as our own Board of Regents do, in which some official, *ex officio* members may be named and then have *ex officio* posts, but the other members of such a board tend to be self-perpetuating after their first appointment.

This, it seems to me, would be very appropriate from the point of view of the continuation of the Center. However, beyond that, once you have the Board assembled, I would assume that our first business would be to call in consultants and various members of the academic community, to set about considering the framework of the administration of such a center. And this might, as I said earlier, take a year or more.

The organizations which could be called upon to provide advice are many of those from whom we have already sought advice: the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Science Foundation, the Endowments for the Arts and Humanities, and the American Council on Education, and many other institutions in this city already concerned with advanced studies, such as the Brookings Institution and so on. These sort of consultations will take a considerable amount of time. And eventually we will assume the idea that a budget formulated somewhat along the lines we have proposed could be adopted and then proposed to the Congress. I would think it would be quite rational as an individual budget within our general request for an appropriation for the Smithsonian.

The question of the director would arise and the question of the election of the first fellows. All of this would flow in due course out of the delegation and out of the opportunities that presented themselves for obtaining money.

I think that the interest and support of the Congress is fundamental at the outset, but I am highly optimistic, as I am sure other members of this panel of witnesses today will be, in the hope that we would eventually obtain substantial private funds.

We are not assuming at all that this need be entirely a federally supported activity. We are assuming that the conviction which forms the basis for these hopes and aspirations of ours will result in a response from the private sector.

Senator COOPER. You said, and I think you are right, it would take some time for the preliminary steps. After that, what would you con-

sider to be the next step; would you then get to the point of acquiring a site and constructing?

Dr. RIPLEY. Yes; we would then of course assume that the Board would formulate proposed legislation which would have to be introduced for the acquisition of the site and then for the construction of a building, and we would assume at that time that other associations, distinguished universities, private associations of scholars might well express considerable interest in associating themselves with this general site and that should be coordinated and planned very carefully, as the bill outlines, with the city authorities of Washington.

But at that time we would then hope to introduce legislation—and considering, of course, the present effects on the budget of the war, this would be in a postwar period—and in the meanwhile we hope that our own facilities on the Mall would provide a site for the meetings, not only of the Board of Trustees but for the office of the director and for the first scholars. As you know, Senator, we have had appropriated to us moneys to remodel the original Smithsonian Building and it is now our hope that we could start finding space within that remodeling for the first meetings and the first offices for the group.

Senator COOPER. Would you contemplate that scholars would be brought together, say, before the facilities are constructed especially for them; would you begin to do some work in your present facilities?

Dr. RIPLEY. Yes; we already do this and we assume that this, in effect, would be an extension of what we already do and we could flow into this future situation in gradual steps using existing small facilities.

Senator COOPER. Is it contemplated that each step, where funded by the Congress, requires that requests would be made to the Bureau of the Budget?

Dr. RIPLEY. Yes.

Senator COOPER. And submitted to Congress?

Dr. RIPLEY. Yes.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much.

Dr. RIPLEY. Thank you, very much indeed.

Senator PELL. Our next witness is Mr. Nathaniel A. Owings who is Chairman of the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission. Mr. Daniel Moynihan is here also and perhaps you might like to sit with Mr. Owings.

STATEMENT OF NATHANIEL A. OWINGS, CHAIRMAN, AND DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN, VICE CHAIRMAN, PRESIDENT'S TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

Mr. OWINGS. Mr. Chairman and Senator Cooper, I am here to support the Senate bill 3174, and it is with a great deal of pleasure that I am able and permitted to testify upon this bill, because it represents the keystone, one of the keystones of the total master plan for Pennsylvania Avenue.

And, to me it is very encouraging to find that an intellectual facility and educational program can also contribute to the environment in terms of the physical environment of the area itself. Ever since we have been involved in the Pennsylvania Avenue design, we have been seeking to find a way to bring life to the avenue, and we have been

making every effort to find some way to have activities there and still do it by private enterprise activities rather than purely Government buildings.

Now it is very difficult to do that because this area has gotten to be very high priced from the real estate standpoint and also there is a great demand for public buildings. So the idea of converting Market Square into what I would consider the central facility, and if I may take the liberty of pointing out to the members of the committee this is the Market Square on the map on Pennsylvania Avenue. Here is the Capitol and here is the White House, the Treasury, the proposed National Square and here is the avenue. As a central access for the entire project we have here the Archives Building and here the proposed Market Square to the north and here, colored in red, is the area that we hope will eventually develop into a complex of the educational buildings which I hope feature the environment rather than anything else, which is something we need and certainly this can be a demonstrated point in the Capital City.

If you will note this square, this requires eventually Federal funds to clear. Around the edge of that square, however, we hope to stimulate private enterprise in this group here, and in this area here, this is the one building that is contemplated at the moment for the start of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial facility.

But it will eventually stimulate all of this area, including this area and bring the axis from here down through and across the Mall and the building at this end here.

So then we would have a magnificent cross axis at the center of Pennsylvania, which would really be sparked by this single individual project, the Wilson Memorial.

Senator COPPER. May I ask a question. Could you mark out the area, the defined area which would be included in this proposal?

Mr. OWINGS. In the bill, it cites somewhere north of the Archives, but the thing that we have in mind would be the clearance of this square. This is ultimately.

Senator COOPER. That would be open?

Mr. OWINGS. This is an open paved square, the way it was originally.

Senator COOPER. Would the Center extend north?

Mr. OWINGS. I will show you that, if you would care to look at the model. This is the model building that we would start with here and here is the Archives, Pennsylvania Avenue, that is the FBI, this one building would be the Center that I would mark out, if I were to mark out something and the amount of money that the Secretary mentioned would be just for this section here, this one later would be adjacent to that.

This would be the memorial, the park that they are referring to. Some physical evidence for Wilson.

Now I would like to refer to a prepared statement which I would like to put in the record.

Senator PELL. Without objection.

(The prepared statement is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF NATHANIEL A. OWINGS, CHAIRMAN, PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
COMMISSION

Gentlemen, may I first review briefly the history of the legislation now pending before your Committee. In March 1966, John Woodbridge, former Director of the

Pennsylvania Avenue Commission, testified before the Woodrow Wilson Commission, recommending the establishment of a living memorial to Woodrow Wilson in the area just north of the National Archives between 7th and 8th Streets. The Wilson Commission received this idea, together with the Smithsonian's proposal for a Center for Advanced Studies, with enthusiasm.

The Wilson Commission, in its report to the President and the Congress of September 1966 recommended that the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission "prepare detailed plans for the Woodrow Wilson Memorial."

In February 1967 the President stated in his District of Columbia message that the Woodrow Wilson proposal had "much to commend it." The President appointed the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission and asked him to take the leadership in the formulation of a more detailed plan for the Center.

At the time of the hearings of the Woodrow Wilson Commission I appointed a standing Commission made up of the following members:

Daniel P. Moynihan, Chairman, Vice Chairman, Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue.

Lawson B. Knott, Jr., Administrator, General Services Administration.

S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

John Walker, Director, National Gallery of Art.

William Walton, Chairman, Commission of Fine Arts.

Former Secretary Gardner was invited to join this committee and immediately began an intensive inquiry into the education and cultural purposes which a center for scholars might serve.

In January 1968 our Commission submitted to the President its final report with the following recommendations:

"First, * * * that an International Center for Advanced Study be created as the nation's memorial to Woodrow Wilson.

Second, * * * that the area directly opposite the National Archives, designated as Market Square on the Pennsylvania Avenue plan, be named Woodrow Wilson Square, that a suitable architectural memorial be placed in the square, and that the Woodrow Wilson Center be located at 8th Street on the North side.

Third, * * * that the funds necessary to construct the Center and the square be appropriated by the Congress.

Fourth, * * * that the Center be governed by its own board of trustees, and that its operating expenses be met through a permanent endowment raised from private sources both here and abroad, possibly on a matching basis with the Federal government.

On March 13, 1968 President Johnson again endorsed the idea of a Woodrow Wilson Memorial and in his Message to the District of Columbia recommended legislation for "a center to be operated by an independent board of trustees within the framework of the Smithsonian."

The Commission has been active in this project since the inception of the idea for the Center. We recognize the need for coordination of further planning of both the Center and other related projects. With this in mind, I shall appreciate the Subcommittee's consideration of the following language changes in Subsection 4(a)—line 21, page 5. We would like this section to read as follows:

"Prepare plans and specifications for the Center; the design and development of all buildings, facilities, open spaces and other structures on the site shall be carried out in consultation with the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, or its Successor, and with other appropriate Federal and local agencies, and all such plans shall be subject to the Commission's final approval;"

The Pennsylvania Avenue Commission is anxious to continue its active role in establishing this living memorial to our 28th President; for, not only will this be a fitting monument to a great man, it will also serve as a catalyst to stimulate extensive private development in the area. The result will be a quickening of both cultural and economic activity in the area with benefits to the nation and to the Nation's Capital.

We wholeheartedly endorse enactment of this Bill.

Mr. OWINGS. The main point I want to make about that is that we have been in this from the beginning since 1966 when we testified before the Woodrow Wilson Commission and we carried the ball since then. In other words, we have the report on which this bill was based and that was done—I also would like to put that in the record, it is the report of the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania

Avenue on the establishment of the Woodrow Wilson Center dated 1968.

Senator PELL. Without objection.

(The report may be found as exhibit 2 in the appendix of these hearings.)

Mr. OWINGS. This was prepared under the able direction of a subcommittee which I appointed, chaired by Daniel Moynihan, who is here with me today, and from the standpoint of the actual physical or actual environment of this report, I am going to leave that up to him.

The main thing I would like to point out, however, is that that subcommittee consisted of Lawson Knott, Administrator, General Services Administration; S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary, Smithsonian Institution; John Walker, Director, National Gallery of Art; William Walton, Chairman, Fine Arts Commission. So we had representative people.

In order to carry out this program during this period, this gray period when the war is still on and there is some question about what is immediately ahead in the postwar period, I would again like to introduce specifically as a followup to my letter which you have already introduced the request for an amendment to read as follows:

Subsection 4(a) line 21, page 5, I would appreciate your consideration of the following words: "prepare plans and specifications for the Center, including the design and development of all buildings, facilities, open spaces and other structures on the site shall be carried out in consultation with the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue or its successor and with other appropriate Federal and local agencies and all plans shall be subject to the Commission's final approval."

I mentioned that as a specific need due to the fact that we would be very happy, Mr. Chairman, during this interim period when there are no new funds available for this project, to continue to carry out the preliminary functions under the budget that we so far have been lucky enough to receive. It is a modest one, but we have a staff, a going operation, and we could help by sacrificing for another year or so just as we have done so in the past and keep this on the road until things do get better, or so we not actually need an appropriation from the Congress this year even for the preliminary work on the Center if it was deemed advisable that we continue working on it.

Senator PELL. Dr. Ripley is here and I think he has indicated approval of this modification and change; would this be correct as you heard the language spelled out?

Dr. RIPLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. OWINGS. I am stressing that the action is an economic benefit to the community by introducing that at this particular spot and I would like to mention that the District government, Mayor Walter Washington has indicated his approval of this as an additional stimulant to the area and, I believe that he was consulted by the Bureau of the Budget and, I think, somewhere in the record it should be indicated his concurrence that the District has an interest in the tax base.

I would further like to stress Secretary Ripley's idea that we could merge private and public funds. If we get the subsidy from the Government that is necessary to get the land values down to some place where they could be used for an academic facility, then I am sure that this will be in this location—with the prestige behind it, we can

find a great deal of money that would be honored to be associated in such a venture. So it could be a true demonstration of private and Government funds to work together.

With your permission that is the end of my testimony.

Senator PELL. Two questions.

One, you heard the earlier recommendation that General Opie related by Senator Byrd of Virginia to be incorporated in the text of the bill in reference to the statue or frieze dimensional memorial to President Wilson. Is it your view that it should be a frieze or a statue?

Mr. OWINGS. I have views. As long as nobody defines the word "classic" I am perfectly happy about that. I think that what General Opie has in mind is already taken care of by the very wording of the bill itself and the added amendment in my opinion, would be repressive and cast a little shadow on the freedom that should be so developed. But I say again, if you leave the word classic in, as long as you do not define what classic means, I have no objection.

Senator PELL. There is obviously a lot of difference between a statue and a frieze and in the look of that plan, I am sure it would not be along that line.

Mr. OWINGS. This is just a block. I think it would be very serious to tie us down to either one because in this day when generals just do not ride horses and you have not any way that you really can—

Senator PELL. I would like to make the point that the building is rather dull.

Mr. OWINGS. I hope the building is not going to be that dull, it only represents a site model, not actual architecture. I suggest that the wording is limited to an appropriate memorial to Woodrow Wilson in three-dimensional form, but to get into the definition and structure merely causes controversy.

Senator PELL. Personally I would like some frieze.

Mr. OWINGS. It would be far superior to the idea of a statue to have a frieze.

Senator PELL. Or perhaps both.

In connection with the environment, would this mean you are thinking in the direction of the graduate studies involved and it would be in the direction of the improvement of human environment?

Mr. OWINGS. I am not a scholar. I am an architect working in the environmental field, but I believe, personally, there is no field of human endeavor that does not develop the human environment.

Senator PELL. Perhaps there may be opportunities for concentrating on the science of Ekistics, as proposed by Dr. Doxiadis—that is, the science of human settlements.

Mr. OWINGS. In fact I feel that the environment has too long been a second-class citizen. I would like, myself, to go as far as possible in setting up a Ph. D. program, if you use that word in the highest meaning of the area.

Senator PELL. I would also like the reaction of Dr. Moynihan on the same thought, whether he would have any advice along this line.

Dr. MOYNIHAN. It is a great building, a great city and to associate themselves freely, this is what I think a city should be.

Senator PELL. This is a thought that if you would not bring it into the bill, if the committee approved you might be able to bring it into the body of the report.

Dr. MOYNIHAN. May I speak, briefly, Mr. Chairman?
 Senator PELL. Certainly.

Dr. MOYNIHAN. Our principle purpose in being here is to introduce into the record the report of the subcommittee of the Commission. But I would add just a few points.

It happens that I am a member of the American Philosophical Society, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences which are respectively the oldest and next oldest learned societies in the United States today.

I was in Philadelphia yesterday visiting the Philosophical Society which is headquartered there and a point struck me that I thought might be of interest to you. That is the physical proximity of these matters on Franklin Square. The Square contains Independence Hall and only one other structure; that structure is the American Philosophical Society which started in 1743 and of which Jefferson was president. It is similar to the American Academy in Boston which was established by John Adams. The conservative and liberal branch thus made unique arrangements for the association of the Government with scholarship. This was something those men cared about. It was the essence of the Government itself to put up the building next to the convention hall, next to the court.

It seems to me that truly here is a unique moment when we can do this. You would be letting in the older and stronger traditions, and this is what the men who started this country thought it should be like. In the person of Woodrow Wilson, you have a unique man, a scholar and a statesman. I would point out that this is 1968. Within a very short time now we will be at the 50th anniversary of the Paris Conference, the establishment of a League of Nations. Of all those changes and events, Mr. Chairman, we try to emphasize one quality which is this, the Center ought not just to be a facility for American scholars, but it ought to be in a very large sense a "gift to the world." There is one international reality, and that is the reality of this kind of an effort as a gesture to the nations of the world, and their scholars to come and share with one another. This is a real world too. It is an important world.

In preparing this paper, Charles Blitzer, the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian and I visited the two portions of the world which have begun efforts of this kind. This was in Tokyo and New Delhi. With support from the Rockefeller Foundation, these international centers have been a success and they were actually referred to before in the original Wilson Commission. We were very generously received. We had various impressions, but this is an effort that the world understands.

In our report, I think we tried to be limited in what we suggest. We proposed an institution, which we say, the 22d century will regard as having influenced the 21st. It seems to me that we will realize how much of an honorable tradition such a gesture and movement would be.

Senator COOPER. Did you say there are only two capitals where a similar center has been established?

Dr. MOYNIHAN. Only two, sir, only two that we know and looked into. They are busy places treasured by the persons that use them, the visitors and the local people that use them. The center in Tokyo runs day and night. And these things work and I think they serve a purpose.

Senator COOPER. Would you say that such a center would be developing in the cosmos?

Dr. MOYNIHAN. If it does we have to get to the moon and we ought to get our center up first.

Senator PELL. Thank you, very much for a very articulate presentation. I am so glad that both the chairman and the vice chairman of the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission could be with us.

We have with us Mr. Robert Kneipp, the Assistant Corporation Counsel. He is here representing Mayor Washington.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT KNEIPP, ASSISTANT CORPORATION COUNSEL, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. KNEIPP. I merely want to report, Mr. Chairman, that the District government favors the enactment of the bill and has been advised by the Budget Bureau that its enactment would be in accord with the program of the President.

I might add that the District government, the government of the District was somewhat concerned that the location of the Center in the center of the business district might have an adverse effect on tax return or employment in the District of Columbia. However, the bill in section 4(b) makes adequate provision for the relocation of any displaced businesses and any residents that might be in the area in accordance with the provisions of the Housing Act of 1949 and in view of this, the bill seems to deal quite adequately with the concerns of the District government at one time with respect to the possible effect of the location of the Center at that point.

Senator PELL. Actually, haven't some of the buildings in the area already been razed?

Mr. KNEIPP. I believe just to the west there is a building torn down; just to the west of what is known as Market Square on the diagram.

Senator PELL. I was referring to the riots. Was not this part of the riot area?

Mr. KNEIPP. I do not believe that area was adversely affected by the riots. I have nothing more to add unless you have questions.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much for being with us today.

We now have Mr. Pendleton Herring, president of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation.

STATEMENT OF PENDLETON HERRING, PRESIDENT, THE WOODROW WILSON FOUNDATION

Mr. HERRING. I am delighted to have this opportunity to appear today. I have no formal statement, but I would like to speak informally in support of S. 3174.

I am giving part of my time to the Woodrow Wilson Foundation.

I should explain, perhaps, that the foundation was established in 1922 to keep alive the memory of Woodrow Wilson which was not too green at that time.

Our large and important enterprise today is to finance and see through to completion with the cooperation of Princeton University the definitive edition of the papers of Woodrow Wilson.

This will probably take quite a number of years and may eventuate in about 40 volumes. It is rather an extraordinary scholarly undertaking.

My chief responsibility is president of the Social Science Research Council and I am just completing my 20 years in that position, and it is against the background of my activities that I think I can be most informative to this committee with respect to the present proposal.

So if you will permit a slightly less formal presentation, I will speak in those terms.

I would like to make two points. One is to emphasize the need for this Center and the second point is to emphasize the appropriateness and, indeed, the utility of relating this need to the memory of Woodrow Wilson.

Speaking to the first point—forgive me if I recall—I started my own graduate studies here in this city in the twenties and I wandered around the Halls of this building. Access was no problem in those days. There was no particular need for an information service to guide you around the Capitol. Since I had grandparents in Washington there was no particular need for a fellowship. So I happily went forward with fieldwork which was rather a rare thing in those days. Most research was carried on in the library.

I mention this personal experience because I wish to emphasize that times have changed. When the New Deal came along, the academic world and Washington discovered one another with results that are still with us. In other words, the relationship between our universities and colleges and the activities in our Nation's Capital became very important.

I taught at Harvard from 1928 to 1946 and I mention that because I was very active in getting underway the Graduate School for Public Administration. The purpose of that graduate school was to train men for public service. We felt the necessity of relating what was going on in the Government to the program at Harvard. The school invited officials to come to Cambridge and spend a while. Some of them did, but many of them took the rather realistic view that certainly in those days, if you were long absent from your desk down here it might not be where you left it when you returned.

Today, the need to relate the academic world and the world of government and politics continues, and at Harvard today the Kennedy Center is a response to this need.

Senator COOPER. I am one of the trustees of that Center so I know something about it.

Mr. HERRING. One can also think of the Woodrow Wilson School for International and Public Affairs at Princeton as another notable example. While I think that these efforts are important and will continue, they can scarcely be multiplied across the country when we consider the scope of university activities and the problems with which they are struggling.

The place of universities in American society will surely be of greater importance as we look ahead to the future, and their relationship to government and the world of public affairs will be also. Therefore, I think it is very needful indeed that we take this growing and important relationship into account. We have not kept up with the need in terms of sheer physical accommodation. We have not taken into account environmentally what has been happening intellectually. The proposed Center for scholars would recognize this situation.

Now I might say that my own interest in this problem was quickened when I found myself on a visiting committee of Johns Hopkins in 1965. Milton Eisenhower was president at that time. We began to talk about the need that I have just described, a need that I had observed in a number of institutions. Accordingly, I agreed to prepare a brief memo and circulate it to friends in a number of universities and in scholarly organizations to see what their reaction would be.

There was a warm response. My only contribution was to relate this need of the academic community for scholarly facilities in Washington to the commitment on the part of the Federal Government to do something about a memorial for Woodrow Wilson. At any rate, this two-page memo of February 1966 simply relates this need for better facilities for scholars and the fact that the Government is committed to do something for Woodrow Wilson. May I offer this memo for the record?

Senator PELL. Without objection, it will be inserted in the record. (The document referred to is as follows:)

THE WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL RESEARCH CENTER IN WASHINGTON

The increasing contacts between (a) social scientists and other scholars concerned with public affairs in our leading universities and (b) governmental agencies and scholarly resources in Washington point to the desirability of providing appropriate facilities in the nation's capital. From time to time there has been talk about establishing a national university, but the more immediate problem is how to maximize the effectiveness of the relationships that already exist and that are becoming increasingly important between the universities of the country, research councils, scholarly associations and public officials both in the executive and legislative branches.

To facilitate the work of "The University in the Nation's Service," would be the prime function of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Research Center in Washington. A building that would provide offices, studies, seminar rooms, a restaurant, and space for conferences, as well as specialized data and reference library services, would fulfill an important need. It would seem appropriate to locate such a structure in convenient proximity to the Congress, the Library of Congress, and the National Archives.

The Center would both symbolize the role of scholarship and research and the relationship of these activities to the conduct of public affairs and at the same time bring together in a more stimulating situation for interchange individuals now often working in isolation. Rather than pursue the suggestion that there be a national academy for the humanities or for the social sciences, it might be argued that the proposed center could offer informally many of the same advantages. It could also possibly provide headquarters for scholarly associations.

There are programs in fields such as international relations and public administration where access to official records is essential. The concern with the study of major world areas calls for materials relating, for example, to mainland China or to the Soviet Union that require special skill in collecting and handling. Technological advances can now make available on tape the vast store of public records essential to the research of economists. Increasingly the research opportunities of Washington attract scholars in the humanistic disciplines, of which American studies provide a good illustration of work to be done in law, literature and history. Attracted by the resources for research and the range of governmental programs, a large number of scholars from other countries come to Washington to carry on their work.

Further thought would have to be directed to the organization and legal character of the Center. Should it be public, private, or quasi-governmental? Should it be under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution? Or should it be governed by a special board made up of a number of public members, and a number of private members representing universities and learned societies? These and many other questions would be considered at length if the essential utility of the proposed center is recognized as vital. Its focus, however, is clearly suggested by

the interests and attributes of President Wilson's career: in national and international affairs; in educational leadership; in graduate research and writing in the social sciences and humanities, and particularly in political science and history.

Mr. HERRING. Turning to the appropriateness of Wilson as a symbol, I think we can emphasize two points: The first is Wilson the statesman. In thinking of Wilson as a public figure the memorial as envisaged by the Pennsylvania Avenue Planning Commission has much to offer the general public. The memorial will give impetus and direction to urban renewal in the very center of the city. The area, with provision for a variety of educational and cultural activities, might develop over time into a quadrangle for the Nation. Thus one of Wilson's dreams for his own university might be realized on a larger scale.

When we turn to Wilson the scholar we recall that he was not only the President of Princeton University, but that he also served as president of the American Political Science Association, the American Historical Association, and in his writing he gave primary attention to history and political science. As the president of a great university his interests, of course, were wide—as wide as the university's.

He provides a focus, and I think that the Center we are talking about requires a focus, a sufficient direction, so that it does not become an amorphous sort of thing trying to answer all sorts of requests from all over the country.

Senator PELL. These comments, we appreciate them as being good, but let me ask where you are headquartered; where is the Woodrow Wilson Foundation?

Mr. HERRING. To the extent that it has headquarters, the Woodrow Wilson Foundation has a secretary at Princeton University.

Senator PELL. There used to be a Woodrow Wilson Foundation in New York City.

Mr. HERRING. That is correct.

Senator PELL. That is closed down?

Mr. HERRING. We sold the house and devoted the funds to the editing of the Wilson papers.

Senator PELL. Thank you, very much. Do you have anything more?

Mr. HERRING. I do have one further thought that I would like to make a part of the record.

Senator PELL. Good, we will be delighted to insert it in the record.

Mr. HERRING. Thank you.

(The document is as follows:)

If the Board is to be a 15-member Board, 8 should be drawn from academic life or from scholarly fields related to the broad range of Woodrow Wilson's educational and professional concerns. The other members of the Board should be drawn from those who have served with distinction in public affairs thus typifying Woodrow Wilson's concern with the wide scope of policies and governmental problems at the national, state and international levels.

At the outset academic institutions and professional bodies associated with Woodrow Wilson's career would be invited to offer nominations for Presidential consideration. Once the Board is established the posts designated for members from governmental posts or from public life would continue to be filled by Presidential appointment. The members drawn from the academic community, scholarly societies or research organizations would fill by co-option the vacancies occurring in this category. Thus a majority of the Board would be self-perpetuating and the remainder appointed by the President.

Senator PELL. Are there any other witnesses who wish to appear before the subcommittee? If not, at this point I would like to insert

in the record written statements supporting S. 3174 submitted by Senator Clinton P. Anderson and Senator Hugh Scott. Also, the record will be kept open for any additional statements that may be submitted during the next several days.

These hearings are now adjourned, subject to the call of the chairman.

(The statements of Senators Anderson and Scott and letters subsequently received by the subcommittee and made part of the record are as follows:)

STATEMENT BY HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW MEXICO

Mr. Chairman, this statement is presented in behalf of S. 3174, a bill Senators Fulbright, Scott, and I have introduced which would establish an international center for scholars in the Smithsonian Institution as a memorial to Woodrow Wilson. The bill has been titled the "Woodrow Wilson Memorial Act of 1968."

A tremendous amount of time and effort has been devoted to the project embodied in this proposed legislation. Efforts on a major scale were initiated in 1961 when Congress established the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission. In hearings conducted by this Commission in 1966, Secretary of State Dean Rusk summarized the sentiments of scholars throughout our nation when he said:

"There is a need, there is a need here in Washington, for facilities for greater service to our scholars and to the understanding of national and international affairs. And we feel that the idea of a living memorial for Woodrow Wilson could be a very timely and appropriate occasion for trying to meet some of those needs which are obviously here in our Nation's Capital."

In its final report to the President and Congress, the Commission recommended that an international center for scholars be constructed as part of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial. It also included the suggestion that the center be formally associated with the Smithsonian Institution as a bureau under the guidance of its own Board of Trustees.

In February of 1967, President Johnson asked the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue to conduct a study to develop a detailed plan for the center. This study was completed in January of 1968 and submitted to the President. It recommended that an international center for scholars be established in the area directly north of the National Archives Building.

In his message on the District of Columbia in March of 1968, President Johnson summarized these recommendations and passed them on to Congress when he said:

"I recommend legislation authorizing the establishment of a Center to be operated by an independent board of trustees within the framework of the Smithsonian Institution. Trustees for the Center, in collaboration with the government of the District of Columbia and the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission, and with the approval of the National Capital Planning Commission, will work out detailed plans for the Center and for the development of Market Square."

It is to this end, Mr. Chairman, that I have introduced S. 3174. The bill provides for a Board of Trustees which is to be composed in part of appropriate officials of the Government of the United States (Secretary of State, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and as many as three others), and in part of private citizens. In order to insure the independence of the Board, its private members—who will constitute a majority of the fifteen-member board—will be appointed for staggered six-year terms.

The bill provides that in administering the Center the Board shall have all necessary and appropriate powers. Among these are the power to appoint a director and staff, to award fellowships and grants, to receive and spend monies, to plan an appropriate site and buildings, and to acquire such site as may subsequently be authorized by the Congress. In connection with the acquisition of any site, the Board is instructed to make full provision for the relocation of businesses and residences in cooperation with appropriate local and Federal authorities.

This legislation, if enacted, will establish within the Smithsonian Institution the necessary mechanism for planning and creating the Woodrow Wilson Mem-

orial Center. The Board may employ the appropriate personnel to plan both the program of the Center and its physical facilities and may proceed, when authorized by the Congress, to acquire a site for the Center.

Finally, I would like to emphasize that this bill not only authorizes the appropriation of funds necessary for the aforementioned purposes, but also empowers the Board to solicit and receive private funds for the Center.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me to present my views on what I believe is a truly significant project.

STATEMENT OF HON. HUGH SCOTT, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee, I am delighted to express my support for S. 3174, a bill to establish a National Memorial to Woodrow Wilson in the Smithsonian Institution. In view of my common heritage with the 28th President as natives of Virginia, I have a special interest in properly commemorating his memory.

This proposal to create a living memorial to President Wilson in the form of an International Center for Scholars seems most appropriate as a means of honoring this great scholar and statesman. His ideas were, in many respects, ahead of the generation in which he lived. In his memory, it seems fitting to provide an institution for exploring ideas and ideals of generations past and nurturing the growth of knowledge that will guide generations to come. Truly we are here considering "an institution which the 22nd century will regard as having influenced the 21st."

President Wilson, though, was not only a man of scholarly accomplishments, he was also a man of practical application. Like another great President from Virginia—President Jefferson—he recognized that ideas are valuable as they relate to the physical world into which they are born. We must assure that this proposed birthplace for ideas—this Center for Scholars—will be housed in a setting which exemplifies its goal of learning from the past to influence the future. Careful thought and planning should be given to the design of a structure which will look to the future and not merely mimic great deeds of the past.

With regard to administration of the Center, placing it within the Smithsonian Institution but with an independent Board of Trustees is an eminently sensible means of providing the Center with its own direction while taking advantage of proven expertise in the administration of scholarly institutions. As a Regent of the Smithsonian, I have had occasion to view first hand this type of organizational structure and have seen it work most successfully. The result in this case, as in others, will surely be a furthering of the Institution's goal, " * * * the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."

I therefore join with the Woodrow Wilson Commission, the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue and the President in urging passage of this legislation to create a truly meaningful memorial to President Wilson. This urban Center for Scholars, hopefully to be located along the Nation's ceremonial way—Pennsylvania Avenue—will be of immense value to the Nation and to the Nation's Capital. The creation of such a vital complex in the heart of Washington will honor this man and the city he loved while simultaneously bringing life and activity to the center of the city once again.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS,
Washington, D.C. June 11, 1968.

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on the Smithsonian Institution,
Committee on Rules and Administration,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for affording me an opportunity to submit my views on S. 3174, the "Woodrow Wilson Memorial Act of 1968."

This legislation, which honors our twenty-eighth President of the United States, has my full support. The establishment of a memorial to him has a special meaning for Virginians for, as you know, this distinguished scholar and leader was a native of my great State. Woodrow Wilson was born on December 28, 1856, in Staunton, Virginia, in what was then the Presbyterian Manse, at 24 North

Coalter Street. Today, this is a national shrine; it is a storehouse of Wilson memorabilia; and its dignity and simplicity charm the many who visit this great shrine each year.

The University of Virginia has played an important role in his life. In June 1879, after graduation from the College of New Jersey (Princeton), Woodrow Wilson's aspirations turned to a career in public life. The law appeared to be the instrument to achieve this goal; the path, the University of Virginia. Here, his interest was aroused in British and American Political history, with less concern for formal law courses.

Woodrow Wilson's future life course is history, and I am wholeheartedly in accord with the purpose of S. 3174. It is hoped this bill will be favorably considered.

With kindest regards, I am
Sincerely,

WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR.

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., July 2, 1968.

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL,

Chairman, Subcommittee on the Smithsonian Institution, Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PELL: As a member of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission, I am pleased to urge approval of S. 3174 which would establish a Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars as a memorial to the Nation's 28th President.

Certainly the proposed memorial is a fitting tribute to a man who not only was Governor, President and statesman but who was a distinguished educator and scholar in his own right. First as teacher and later as President of Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson recognized the potential contribution of scholarship to public affairs. His career bridged both worlds.

The proposed bill would establish in the Smithsonian Institution an International Center for Scholars to serve as a living memorial where scholars from the world over can meet to pursue research and have access to the rich resources of the National Capital area.

As has been pointed out by the President's Temporary Commission on the Establishment of the Woodrow Wilson Center, "More than a memorial to the President, it will be a gift to the world . . . an institution of learning that the 22nd century will regard as having influenced the 21st."

Sincerely,

CLIFFORD P. CASE,
U.S. Senator.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., May 23, 1968.

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL,

*Chairman, Subcommittee on the Smithsonian Institution,
Committee on Rules and Administration,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: In our capacity as members of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission, appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, we are writing to express our support of S. 3174. This bill, similar to that we have introduced in the House, would establish a National Memorial to President Woodrow Wilson in the Smithsonian Institution.

The Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission held public hearings on March 2 and 10, 1966, at which twenty-one distinguished witnesses presented their views. In September of 1966, we joined with the other members of the Commission in submitting a unanimous Final Report to President Johnson and the Congress. The major recommendation of that Report was that a Woodrow Wilson Memorial Center should be developed in the area north of the National Archives and that the first building to be constructed as part of the Center should be an International Center for Scholars. We also recommended that more specific plans for the Woodrow Wilson Memorial should be developed by the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue for ultimate submission to the Congress by the President, including such further legislation as he might deem appropriate.

We are very pleased that the recommendations of the Woodrow Wilson Commission have received such wide acclaim.

The legislation, before your Subcommittee as S. 3174, will make possible the necessary first steps toward the realization of an appropriate living memorial to Woodrow Wilson in the Nation's Capital. By creating, within the Smithsonian Institution, a responsible Board of Trustees, and by authorizing that Board to proceed with the development of concrete plans for a Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the bill creates the machinery necessary to fulfill the recommendations of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission. At the same time, this legislation provides that further congressional action will be necessary to authorize a site for the Center, and thus insures final review by the Congress before any substantial appropriations for acquisition or construction can be made.

As we stated in our Final Report in 1966: "The members of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission have been challenged by the responsibility assigned them by the Congress. Their conclusion reflects both appreciation of the great president in whose honor a suitable remembrance is to be made and perception of the social and political needs of succeeding generations to which his heritage is bequeathed." We urge your favorable action on S. 3174 in order that the recommendations of that Commission may now be realized.

Sincerely,

CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER,
PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN.

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Washington, D.C., May 14, 1968.

Hon. B. EVERETT JORDAN,
Chairman, Committee on Rules and Administration,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR JORDAN: The Government of the District of Columbia has for report S. 3174, 90th Congress, a bill "To establish a National Memorial to Woodrow Wilson in the Smithsonian Institution."

The District Government favors the enactment of the bill.

I have been advised by the Bureau of the Budget that, from the standpoint of the Administration's program, there is no objection to the submission of this report to the Congress, and that the enactment of this legislation would be in accord with the program of the President.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS W. FLETCHER,
Assistant to the Commissioner
(For Walter E. Washington, Commissioner).

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION,
NATIONAL HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C., June 5, 1968.

Hon. CLAIBORNE PELL,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PELL: The National Historical Publications Commission at its meeting on May 29, 1968, took note of the "bill to establish a National Memorial to Woodrow Wilson in the Smithsonian Institution" (S. 3174) which bill is now before the Committee on Rules and Administration of which you are a member. After some discussion Dr. Whitfield Bell moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Professor Henry Graff and passed unanimously:

Resolved: that the National Historical Publications Commission strongly endorses S. 3174 to establish in the National Capital a Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars to be constructed just to the north of the National Archives Building, except that it recommends amending the bill as introduced so as to include as members of the Board of Trustees the Librarian of Congress and the Archivist of the United States (or alternates designated by them) since these officials preside over the greatest concentration of archives, books, manuscripts, and other research materials that scholars using the facilities of the

Center are likely to be consulting and they therefore ought especially to have a voice in the administration of the Center."

I was absent when this resolution was discussed and passed, but I forward it to you in the hope that it meets with your approval and may be considered in connection with the Committee's report on this legislation. The Commission was sorry you could not be with it on the 29th to participate in the discussion of this and other business brought before it.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES B. RHOADS, *Chairman.*

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
BUREAU OF THE BUDGET,
Washington, D.C., May 13, 1968.

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on the Smithsonian Institution,
Committee on Rules and Administration,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your request on May 6, 1968, for the views of the Bureau of the Budget on S. 3174, "To establish a National Memorial to Woodrow Wilson in the Smithsonian Institution."

The proposed Woodrow Wilson Center would be a fitting memorial to a great President of the United States who was also an outstanding American scholar and a world leader. As President Johnson stated in his Message to the Congress on the District of Columbia on March 13, 1968, the objective of the Center would be to serve as "an institution of learning that the twenty-second century will regard as having influenced the twenty-first."

The Bureau of the Budget recommends favorable consideration of S. 3174.

Sincerely yours,

WILFRED H. ROMMEL,
Assistant Director for Legislative Reference.

DOWNTOWN PROGRESS,
NATIONAL CAPITAL DOWNTOWN COMMITTEE, INC.,
Washington, D.C., May 20, 1968.

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL,
*U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR PELL: On behalf of Downtown Progress, the National Capital Downtown Committee, Inc., I request respectfully that this letter be included in the record of the hearings on S. 3174, "a bill to establish a center for scholars as a National Memorial to Woodrow Wilson in the Smithsonian Institution."

Downtown Progress is a non-profit corporation formed by business and civic leaders in the Nation's Capital to help prepare and carry out a program for the revitalization of Downtown Washington, between the White House and the Capitol. Testimony presented before your committee identified an area within Downtown Washington as a likely location for a National Memorial to Woodrow Wilson. We support the concept of this memorial. We believe that the following two considerations should be reflected in the legislation authorizing this memorial, however, if it is to enhance the section of Downtown Washington that will serve as its setting.

1. Definite boundaries should be established for the memorial area so that public agencies and private investors considering development in Downtown may be able to proceed with action around the memorial area during the long period that will be required for planning and construction of the memorial. In our view, the memorial ought not to extend beyond the area bounded by 7th, 9th, and E Streets, N.W., north of the National Archives. If the memorial were extended north of E Street to F Street, thereby eliminating private commercial development between 7th and 9th Streets along F Street, the Downtown retail district of the Nation's Capital would be split in two. This two-block interruption in retail traffic along F Street would depress the economic vitality of the Downtown area and would reduce its role as the major contributor of needed tax revenues to the District of Columbia, and as the major employment center for residents of the inner city.

2. Adequate relocation payments should be provided for all enterprises that would be dislocated by the development of the memorial. The proposed bill S. 3174 provides that relocation payments be made in accordance with the Housing Act of 1949, as amended. Under these provisions, the Federal Government would be authorized to pay 100% of the moving costs and related expenses for firms dislocated by the development of the memorial, up to a maximum limit of \$25,000. It is likely that the costs of relocation for some of the firms in the proposed memorial area would exceed \$25,000. In our view, it would be reasonable for the purposes of this specific proposal for a *national* memorial that the Federal Government pay 100% of relocation costs, even in excess of \$25,000.

As we have stated earlier, our purpose in presenting these views for your consideration is to make it possible for a memorial to Woodrow Wilson to be created in a positive urban setting. This setting will be sustained essentially by private development activities in a revitalized Downtown. Downtown Progress has been working in cooperation with other private organizations and with public agencies, including the Smithsonian Institution and the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, since 1960, to provide the framework that has been stimulating private development interest in the area between the White House and the Capitol. Two of the principal elements of this framework are the Minibus, and the National Visitor Center. Downtown Progress initiated the Minibus concept, and participated in the efforts which made it a reality. It has been operating successfully along Downtown F, 7th and 8th Streets since 1963. And Downtown Progress provided the background studies which provided the basis for the establishment of the National Visitor Center at Union Station. The National Visitor Center should be in operation by 1971. Both of these accomplishments will be of direct benefit to the Woodrow Wilson Memorial.

You have our deep appreciation for your interest in the Nation's Capital, and our best wishes for the creation of an attractive and useful memorial to Woodrow Wilson.

Sincerely,

ROBERT C. BAKER, *President.*

POTOMAC ELECTRIC POWER CO.,
Washington, D.C., June 7, 1968.

Subject: S. 3174—A bill to establish a National Memorial to Woodrow Wilson in the Smithsonian Institution.

Hon. CLAIBORNE PELL,
Chairman, Subcommittee on the Smithsonian Institution, Committee on Rules and Administration, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.
(Attention of Mr. O. B. Potter).

DEAR SIR: Earlier this week we became aware for the first time that a hearing on the above Bill had recently been held by your Subcommittee and that its to be extremely relevant facts to be considered in choosing the site for the record was expected to be closed at the end of this week. Because the area which, we understand, is being considered for the proposed Memorial*, includes a site now occupied by one of our largest and most important substations, I feel that we should place before your Subcommittee, in broad outline at least (we do not have time, at this juncture, to prepare a detailed presentation), what we believe Memorial and in providing for the relocation of displaced facilities such as our substation, should it ultimately have to be relocated to make way for the Memorial.

The substation to which I refer is our Substation No. 117, located at 422—8th Street, N.W., on the west side of 8th Street midway in the block between D and E Streets. This substation, with its related underground transmission and distribution facilities, presently supplies electric service to some thirteen important government buildings in the Mall area between 7th and 14th Streets, N.W. (including the Departments of Justice, Agriculture and Labor, the Bureau of Internal Revenue, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Bureau of Engraving and Printing), as well as to a very substantial number of our non-governmental customers in the area bounded roughly by 15th Street, New York Avenue, 3rd Street and Pennsylvania Avenue.

The substation was placed in service in November, 1957 and book investment in it, and in its appurtenant transmission and distribution facilities located in

* The area bounded by F Street, 7th Street, Pennsylvania Avenue and 9th Street, NW.

the area which we understand is being considered for the Memorial is approximately \$4,834,000.

If the substation had to be abandoned in order to make way for the Memorial, the time that would be required to construct, and place in service, a new, substitute substation would be not less than three years after its site had been acquired. The cost of substitute facilities would depend to a considerable extent on the site chosen for the new one, but I think it can be conservatively estimated at not less than \$6,000,000, and it is highly important to realize that none of this cost would be revenue producing to this Company, since the expenditures would have to be made simply in order to continue the rendition of service to already existing customers.

Certainly, costs such as those, incurred in order to create a national memorial to one of the Country's great Presidents, should not be placed on the shoulders of the electric consumers in the District of Columbia, but rather should be borne by the people of the Nation as a whole. Further, in these times of tremendous demands on the Federal treasury we submit that to incur them simply in order to remove the existing substation from the area of the Memorial, would be wasteful and extravagant. Rather, we urge that every effort be made to design the Memorial in such fashion as to permit the continued operation of the existing substation at its present location.

The foregoing is the best I can do, in the time available, to acquaint you with our problem and its significance. I can suggest no particular amendments to S. 3174, and can only urge (i) that the Bill be revised to contain a provision directing the designers of the Memorial to make every effort to permit our existing substation to remain at its present location, and (ii) that adequate provision be made in the Bill, or in other related legislation, for compensating private industry and business for all takings and/or destructions of value of personal property as well as real property flowing from the acquisition of the Memorial site and any accompanying displacements of existing businesses and installations in the area.

I hope that this letter can be incorporated in the record of the hearing on the Bill.

Respectfully,

D. C. VAUGHAN.

(Whereupon, at 11:25 a.m. the subcommittee recessed to reconvene at the call of the chairman.)

the given which expenditures being considered for the Memorial is approximately \$1,000,000.

If the substitution had to be abandoned in order to make way for the Memorial, the time that would be required to construct, and there in working a new substitute, the substitution would be not less than three years after the site had been acquired. The cost of substitute facilities would depend on a considerable extent on the site chosen for the new one, but I think it can be conservatively estimated at not less than \$5,000,000, and it is highly important to realize that some of this cost would be revenue producing to this Company, since the expenditures would have to be made simply in order to continue the production of service to a ready existing customer.

Certainly costs such as those incurred in order to create a national memorial to one of the country's great Presidents should not be placed on the shoulders of the electric consumers in the District of Columbia, but rather should be borne by the people of the Nation as a whole. Further, in these times of economic depression on the Federal Treasury, we submit that to incur such a charge in order to remove the existing substitution from the site of the Memorial would be wasteful and extravagant. Rather, we urge that every effort be made to design the Memorial in such fashion as to permit the continued occupancy of the existing substitution at its present location.

The foregoing is the best I can do, in the time available to prepare you with my opinion and its significance. I can suggest no particular amendments to the Bill and earnestly urge that the Bill be passed in its present form. I direct the Directors of the Memorial to make every effort to secure a location for the Memorial to remain at its present location and (B) to cause a resolution to be made in the Bill, or in other related legislation, for compensation between industry and business for all takings and/or destructions of private property as well as real property flowing from the acquisition of the Memorial site and accompanying displacements of existing businesses and individuals in the area.

I hope that this letter can be incorporated in the record with the hearing on the Bill.

Respectfully,

W. C. W. W. W.

Witness my hand and the substitution passed by the Board at the City of the Chairman.

APPENDIX

EXHIBIT 1

STATEMENT OF S. DILLON RIPLEY, SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BEFORE THE WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL COMMISSION, MARCH 10, 1966

Dean Sayre, distinguished members of the Commission, I am grateful for this opportunity to present to you a proposal for a Woodrow Wilson Memorial in the City of Washington.

Because a fitting memorial to Woodrow Wilson must both respect his legacy and evoke his memory, I hope that the members of this Commission will recommend the creation of a living memorial in the form of a great international center for advanced study in our nation's capital.

President Wilson personified the dependence of public affairs upon man's knowledge of the principles of government. His extraordinary career as scholar, university administrator, public servant and statesman challenges us to conceive a memorial that will somehow capture and enshrine these diverse elements—not as disparate parts, but as aspects of the life and work of a single, very great man. The internationalism that he advocated in the pursuit of peace is equally indispensable to the pursuit of knowledge. A Woodrow Wilson Memorial constructed as a center to which scholars would come from all parts of the world would unmistakably embody man's unending quest for knowledge and inspire young people in this country to seek that understanding of our fellow man which still is so elusive.

I can join President Goheen in assuring you "that a remarkable convergence of academic and cultural interests has been developing upon this idea of a Woodrow Wilson Memorial Research Center." The proposal that I put before you has emerged from a continuing series of discussions among the representatives of scientific and scholarly institutions and associations in Washington during the past year. I can think of no more fitting and auspicious occasion on which to make it public.

Concretely, then, I propose that an International Center for Advanced Study be established in the City of Washington as the nation's memorial to Woodrow Wilson.

I would further propose that the Woodrow Wilson Center be formally associated with the Smithsonian Institution, as a bureau under the guidance of its own Board of Trustees, with its own Director and administrative staff.

The nucleus, the heart, of the Center would be a group of scholars of the highest distinction who would be members of its staff either permanently or on long-term appointments. These Fellows of the Center, perhaps 30 in all, would be organized into a number of Institutes, each of which would be concerned with a particular area of knowledge or a particular set of intellectual problems that are not, as such, adequately dealt with in universities or other academic centers. The members of each Institute would be drawn from a wide variety of disciplines and academic specialties. Although the members of an Institute need not be expected to work together as a team, it is to be hoped that their continuing association would cast new light on the general areas of their interest. The choice of subjects or problems around which to organize the Institutes should reflect, on the one hand, the state of our knowledge in areas of greatest intellectual and practical importance, and, on the other hand, the peculiar resources of the Washington area—its libraries, archives, museums, laboratories, government offices, and universities. Associated with the Center's own scholarly staff would be a number of visiting scholars, graduate students from universities throughout the world, and associate fellows from the Washington area.

In addition to the pursuit of its own scholarly programs, the Center would serve as a focal point for the intellectual life of Washington. When appropriate,

scholars from the universities and research institutions of the Washington area and experts from the government would be formally associated with the Center. This might simply involve attendance at meetings of various kinds and participation in discussions and publications, but it might also involve the use of a study and of the Center's own specialized facilities.

Beyond this, the Center should serve as a place in which scholars and experts, both academic and nonacademic, who live and work in Washington, may meet. It should have seminar rooms, dining rooms, common rooms, and an information center which would be available to the Washington scholarly community. And, rather than serving simply as a meeting place, it should develop its own programs of lectures, symposia, study groups, and the like. A primary aim of these programs should be the promotion of fruitful interrelations between academics and public servants, both domestic and foreign.

The Center should also serve scholars and scientists who come to Washington from the universities and colleges of this country and from abroad. The Center should include residential facilities for several hundred such visitors. Some of these scholars would be brought to Washington by the Center to participate in its own programs, others would come to pursue their own researches, still others might be accredited to the Center under various programs of international exchange. All of them should be invited to participate in the appropriate activities of the Center.

Finally, the Center should serve the public—as a source of inspiration, of edification, and of recreation. Through exhibits, through lectures and films, and, I might add, through the beauty of its buildings and open spaces, it should be a memorial that will both enlighten and delight those who come to it and those who live around it.

The Center's buildings would reflect its varied activities. It would embrace a number of distinct, yet related elements:

(a) facilities for the Center's own scholarly staff, including studies, dining room, common rooms, seminar rooms, a library, and a residence for the Director;

(b) areas directly accessible to the public, with exhibits, a garden or courtyard, a small theater and an auditorium;

(c) a hostel for visiting scholars and guests of the Center, including meeting rooms, common rooms, and a dining room.

It is my understanding that such a Center would require a building, or buildings, containing some 400,000 square feet, that would cost between ten and fifteen million dollars to build. The Center should be located in the heart of the City of Washington, convenient to such great research facilities as the Library of Congress, the National Archives and the Smithsonian, and easily accessible to the public. A suitable site could cost as much as \$10,000,000. Thus the total cost of creating such a living memorial to Woodrow Wilson would be of the order of \$25,000,000.

The year-by-year operation of the Center should and could, I believe, be privately financed.

I have already alluded to the statement of President Goheen before this Commission, and to the "remarkable convergence of academic and cultural interests" which he spoke of. Although, happily, his proposal and the one I have placed before you are compatible, and are indeed inspired by the same concerns and ideals, I think I should here note two respects in which they differ.

In the first place, President Goheen proposes a Center devoted exclusively to the study of history and public affairs. Although it is true that Woodrow Wilson gained scholarly eminence as an historian and political scientist, we must not forget that he was also the president of a great university and the architect of a great school for postgraduate studies in all disciplines. In honoring his memory we should, I believe, draw our lines broadly and embrace as much of human knowledge as our setting allows, aware that the search for new achievements in understanding should no more be confined by the boundaries of conventional disciplines than by national boundaries.

In the second place, my proposal differs from President Goheen's in that it envisions the Center as having a scholarly staff of its own, drawn from the most distinguished scholars of the world. This would not be a privileged group, but would bear the heaviest responsibility for the success and continued vitality of the Center. I am convinced that, if the Center is to be more than a special kind of hotel for itinerant academics, it must have an intellectual life of its own and scholarly programs of its own—a character and a distinction that will inform and shape all its activities, public and private.

This, briefly stated, is our proposal for an International Center for Advanced Study in Washington. I was deeply gratified to learn that this Commission had received testimony favoring such a concept from President Goheen and from Pendleton Herring, President of the Woodrow Wilson National Foundation. It is a distinct privilege for me to speak further on its behalf and to offer whatever services the Smithsonian Institution can provide in helping to realize this opportunity to create so fitting a memorial to President Wilson.

I should like, Mr. Chairman, also to submit the following information about this proposal and its background:

- (1) A statement on the situation of learning in the nation's capital,
- (2) A series of guidelines on the Center's academic functions, developed in the course of discussions among representatives of scholarly and scientific institutions in Washington, and
- (3) A statement concerning the Smithsonian Institution.

1. THE SITUATION OF LEARNING IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

There is no generally accepted index by which to measure the intellectual and academic strength of a city or its region, although such a question commands widespread public concern. The City of Washington is more considerable in public affairs or finance than most cities, indeed, than most capitals, but it is not of equal prominence in science and learning. And by comparison to other regions of the United States which have become world centers of scholarship the academic capability of the nation's capital has not been fully realized.

The situation of learning in the City of Washington is a matter of national importance not simply because it is the capital city, or because foreign visitors, many of whom are scholars in their own right, may not travel further. Rather, the Federal Government has become a leading partner of universities and similar institutions in the United States and, it is proposed, internationally. Its influence in supporting research, in the sciences and now in the arts and humanities, pervades academic centers. It is of cardinal importance for our country that academic institutions at the seat of the national government be especially attentive to the attributes of excellence. And one may also observe that the improvement of local and regional academic capability is among the foremost goals of our national policies for science and education.

The five District of Columbia universities, now participating in a Joint Graduate Consortium, deserve the widest possible measure of support and encouragement. We confidently expect that the years immediately ahead will witness impressive progress toward a stronger university community in Washington. It is in the universities that the standards are maintained that give advanced degrees their meaning and where, on the scale of a single institution, the ideal of a community of scholars is made manifest. These universities, however, are only one part of a larger network of academic institutions in the nation's capital and its vicinity. Many of these serve the cause of basic scholarly research more directly with fewer constraints than the universities or the large government bureaus. These include the Brookings Institution, the Carnegie Institution, the Folger Library, the National Bureau of Standards, the Smithsonian Institution, the National Institutes of Health, and many others, both public and private, spanning virtually the entire range of research interests in science and learning. All are dependent upon the intellectual climate of the city; all contribute to it.

The variety and number of institutions in and around Washington has created an undeniable potential for sustained intellectual activity of the most intense and worthwhile kind, but this very richness has also created real problems. The laboratory facilities, libraries, and reference collections are so numerous that communication among their staff members, between them and the universities, and among visiting scholars using them has been made difficult. Each institution concentrates on its own primary needs. However desirable and necessary this may be, it has obscured more general common opportunities whose fulfillment would also help to sustain each individual institution. There is not yet even a clearinghouse where information about research opportunities, lectures and seminars, and academic visitors to the city may be provided. So it is proposed to create a center to maintain information and facilities for visiting scholars and scientists, as well as information about them which will be of interest to the local academic community. A body of permanent resident research fellows would be constituted in fields in which Washington represents an optimum location for individual scholars or institutes, whose work would enhance the

academic standing of Washington and contribute to the needs and interests of all local institutions.

The proposed Woodrow Wilson Memorial and the International Center for Advanced Study that it would house should not be conceived to be in competition with existing academic institutions, either in Washington or elsewhere. As President Goheen put it, the Center "should quicken the scholarly climate of Washington to the benefit of all its academic institutions."

2. THE ACADEMIC FUNCTIONS OF A CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY

The functions of the Center would be to—

(a) Provide a facility and an organization to help make available the rich resources of the Washington area consisting of specialized libraries, government records, art galleries, museums, laboratories, and other facilities to scholars and advanced students.

(b) Provide an appropriate base and setting for a company of senior scholars, on permanent or long-term appointments.

(c) Provide a setting for a company of junior scholars and postdoctoral students who would be intellectually related to the senior scholars in either an elder-junior scholar relationship or a scholar-student relationship. Appointments as junior scholars would be for shorter periods than those for the senior scholars, and the emoluments would be smaller.

(d) Provide opportunities for a limited number of predoctoral candidates who would draw upon the junior and senior fellows as their teachers and advisors, and through them would gain access to the resources of Washington.

(e) Serve as an exploratory and catalytic agent in opening up neglected fields of inquiry, and in providing advanced graduate instruction to broaden the competence of members of one discipline to work on problems that extend into other disciplines.

(f) State, and on occasion, launch projects for study and research, providing a home and a setting for the pursuit of such projects in appropriate instances.

(g) Serve as a channel of communication between major educational and research institutions outside of Washington and the resources of the Washington area.

(h) Promote and facilitate research in Washington agencies and institutions.

(i) Conduct advanced seminars and arrange lectures.

In order to carry out these functions and to provide an effective, intellectual core for the organizationally diverse resources that exist in and near Washington, the proposed center should have—

(a) A staff of senior scholars of the highest quality.

(b) Authority to award fellowships and to appoint staff members under very flexible arrangements, including the authority to appoint selected members of the staffs of resource agencies as adjunct or associate members of the institutional staff.

(c) Seminars and common rooms, a reference library, working libraries in selected fields, offices and study rooms, meeting rooms of various sizes, dining facilities, and residential accommodations for single and married staff members and visitors.

(d) Secretarial and reproduction assistance; a wealth of information about what is available, where it is to be found, and who is engaged in a wide variety of kinds of intellectual work; and other means of facilitating the work of its staff members and visitors.

The Center itself would not grant degrees, but would work cooperatively with universities and in some instances would open its facilities to predoctoral students who would return to their own institutions to receive their degrees.

Initial financial support should be provided in an amount sufficient to secure a staff and facilities of the highest quality and to guarantee continuity for a period of at least twenty years. Annual expenditures would probably be in the vicinity of three million dollars.

The primary source of financial support should not be the Federal Government, although eligibility for government grants would be expected.

3. THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

The Smithsonian Institution was founded in 1846 following the Smithson bequest of 1829, "for the establishment at Washington of an institution for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." It may be characterized as a non-profit corporation established in public trust by the Congress, which has been authorized to employ appropriated funds for the operation of some of its bureaus, which therefore resemble agencies of the government. Its private endowments amount to \$20 million and annual appropriations for "salaries and expenses," or operations, have recently come to exceed that figure. Since 1955 the Smithsonian has administered over \$70 million in federal funds for the construction or major renovation of buildings in Washington, including the Museum of History and Technology, research wings for the Museum of Natural History, special structures at the National Zoological Park, and others. Some bureaus, such as the Freer Gallery of Art, are financed primarily through privately administered funds. The John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts is the most recent example of a major public building to be constructed under Smithsonian auspices, employing appropriated funds for a portion of construction costs, while arrangements for operating costs will be on a different basis.

The professional research staff of the Smithsonian numbers about three hundred specialists active primarily in the following fields: anthropology, astrophysics, environmental biology, fine arts, history, mineral sciences, oceanography, and systematic biology. The character of the Smithsonian as a company of scholars has sustained a century-long concern for the situation of learning in Washington. Professor Joseph Henry, the first Secretary, offered its facilities as a meeting place for learned academies and societies, sponsored public lectures, and invited scientists and scholars from all over the world to carry out research in the Smithsonian Institution Building, designed by James Renwick and completed in 1857. Toward the turn of the century the Institution sponsored legislation to open the laboratories, libraries, and other facilities of the Washington area for use by graduate students and other qualified investigators.¹

In 1964 the Smithsonian embarked upon a continuing study of graduate education and related research activities in the City of Washington and its vicinity. This study has disclosed that roughly twenty per cent of the graduate instruction offered by the universities of the District of Columbia depends upon the services of professional staff members from area research organizations, and that such organizations employ professional staffs in research outnumbering the graduate faculties of the local universities by a factor of approximately eight to one. This study will help to define the academic community of the area within which the Center for Advanced Study is to be situated.

A Center for Advanced Study with a permanent staff of thirty to forty senior scholars and their associates, capacity for conferring associate fellowships on other investigators drawn primarily from the Washington area, an information bureau on research opportunities and facilities, and a resident hostel accommodating three hundred would be a noteworthy continuation of the Smithsonian's traditions of service to scholarship and to its local academic community.

The Smithsonian is strongly committed to the proposition that such a Center should be established on a site of its own in the central city and that it be of the utmost distinction architecturally, symbolizing the civic relationships of its permanent and visiting scholars and the relationship of learning to public affairs. As the center of a whole series of overlapping networks of academic activity, its facilities will be in use throughout the day and far into the evening. The combination of public use space with more secluded levels of courtyards would give each visitor a sense of personal participating in the Center complex, while reserving to the research fellows necessary qualities of quiet and seclusion.

It is proposed to move deliberately toward the establishment of the Center. The acquisition of a downtown site and the design and construction of suitable buildings will require considerable time. Therefore the Smithsonian Institution has commissioned plans for the remodeling of the west and central portions of the original Smithsonian Institution Building on the Mall, for which roughly \$2.5 million has been appropriated. It is proposed to use this building, on an interim basis, for a small number of scholars and their associates, a dining hall, common room, and small library. These facilities are required for the Smith-

¹ Act of March 3, 1901, 31 Stat. 1039, 20 U.S. Code 91. See "Report of The Special Committee of the Board of Regents on the Proposal * * * for the Establishment of a Bureau of Graduate Study under the Smithsonian Institution," *Smithsonian Annual Report for 1901*, pp. vx-xxvii.

sonian itself in the not-too-distant future and the Center would in any event soon outgrow them. But the Smithsonian Building is an appropriate and sufficiently spacious temporary location for the Center. Thus, once funds for the operation of the Center are secured, it will be possible to proceed almost at once to appoint its Trustees and Director, and to begin recruiting the staff of its first institute.

It is to be hoped that it will be possible to secure sufficient support from private sources to meet the operating expenses of the Center. The primary need from public sources would be an appropriation for site acquisition and buildings.

EXHIBIT 2

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WOODROW WILSON CENTER

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

Daniel P. Moynihan, *Vice Chairman*
Nathaniel A. Owings, *Chairman*

Alan S. Boyd
Ramsey Clark
Wilbur J. Cohen
Henry H. Fowler
Lawson B. Knott, Jr.
S. Dillon Ripley
Mrs. James H. Rowe, Jr.
C. R. Smith

George J. Stewart
Stewart L. Udall
John Walker
William Walton
Walter E. Washington
W. Marvin Watson
Robert C. Weaver
W. Willard Wirtz

In September 1966, the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission submitted its final report to the President and Congress. The Report recommended:

- (1) That the area north of the National Archives Building be designated as the site for the Woodrow Wilson Memorial;
- (2) That the first building to be constructed as part of a memorial complex on Wilson Square be an International Center for Scholars; and
- (3) That the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue should "make a full study of the costs, architectural design, and non-governmental sources of funds for a Center for Scholars which would become the most prominent structure among the buildings adjacent to the west, north, and east sides of the Square."

In February 1967, President Johnson stated in his District of Columbia message that "the proposal of the Woodrow Wilson Commission has much to commend it." The President appointed the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission and asked him to take the leadership in the formulation of a more detailed plan for the Center. In so doing, the President expressed the hope "that the Center will serve as a place for bringing together scholars and students from other countries to increase understanding among peoples of the world, as well as an important educational institution."

At the time of the hearings of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission, the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission had established a standing committee on this subject, made up of the following members:

Daniel P. Moynihan, Chairman, Vice Chairman, Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue.

Lawson B. Knott, Jr., Administrator, General Services Administration.

S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

John Walker, Director, National Gallery of Art.

William Walton, Chairman, Fine Arts Commission.

Secretary Gardner was invited to join this committee, and immediately began an extensive inquiry into the educational and cultural purposes which a center for scholars might serve, and the forms it might assume. The committee continued its general inquiries into the relations of such a center to the Pennsylvania Avenue area, and of the experience of comparable institutions elsewhere in the nation and the world. Its members have met with leaders in the academic community and in government, and with officials of such organizations as the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Foundation and the Social Science Research

Council. The Chairman of the Committee travelled to Tokyo and New Delhi to inspect the International House of Japan and the India International Center, which were commended to its attention by Secretary of State Rusk during the Woodrow Wilson Commission Hearings.¹ The present report has been prepared by the Committee in accordance with the unanimous judgment of the Commission to accept the basic proposals for an International Center for Scholars developed by Secretary Gardner.

The Pennsylvania Avenue Commission now respectfully submits the following recommendations to the President:

First, we recommend that an International Center for Scholars be created as the Nation's memorial to Woodrow Wilson.

Second, we recommend that a building for the Woodrow Wilson Center be located between 8th and 9th Streets on the north side of the area directly opposite the National Archives, designated as Market Square on the Pennsylvania Avenue Plan.

Third, we recommend that the funds necessary to construct the Center and the Square be appropriated by the Congress.

Fourth, we recommend that the Center be governed by its own board of trustees, and that its operating expenses be met through a permanent endowment raised from private sources both here and abroad, possibly on a matching basis with the Federal government.

Woodrow Wilson was more than a great President of the United States. He was also a great American scholar and a great world leader. Under his influence the study of American government became an established intellectual discipline that has contributed more than a little to the continued vitality and stability of American democracy. Under his influence the nations of the earth took their first, tentative steps towards the achievement of an enduring form of international order, that is, of world government. We propose the establishment of an institution conceived in the tradition of these mighty purposes. In each of the two great concerns of his life he built institutions where before there had been only a need. We urge then that as a memorial to what he did in life, the nation do for him in death.

Nothing would be more suitable than the establishment in the Nation's Capital of an International Center for Scholars, an institution that does not now exist, and which has no prospect of existing save by such an initiative, grandly conceived and boldly undertaken. More than a memorial to the President, it will be a gift to the world. Bringing to the capital of the world's largest democratic nation a center of intellectual enquiry directed primarily to the problems of world order, in all their many ramifications, we conceive nothing less than an institution of learning that the 22nd century will regard as having influenced the 21st.

It is an idea Woodrow Wilson might well have had himself.

THE PROGRAM OF THE CENTER

The nucleus of the Center will be a group of some twenty to forty scholars, drawn from all parts of the world and chosen because of their record of accomplishment and their promise. These scholars shall be drawn from all fields of scholarly endeavor, broadly construed, with emphasis on emerging as well as established fields. It is to be expected that on a more or less consistent basis the resident scholars will include among them persons working in fields most closely associated with the career and interests of Woodrow Wilson.

- (a) American government and politics;
- (b) the legislative process;
- (c) international law and organization;
- (d) the peaceful settlement of international disputes; and
- (e) social ethics.

Most of these scholars will probably come to the Center on one or two year leaves of absence from their home institutions; some might have a more permanent association with the Center, and others might work there for periods of only a few weeks or months.

Ordinarily, the Director of the Center will choose scholars in such a way that at least five or six of them will be concerned with a common problem and will provide for each other the professional atmosphere which best stimulates thought and work. At any given moment, then, the Center should contain a number of groups of scholars, working in close association with each other on related problems.

¹The Committee is especially grateful to Mr. Shigeharu Matsumoto and Mr. D. L. Mazumdar for their assistance.

In addition to the pursuit of its own scholarly programs, the Center will serve as a focal point for the intellectual life of Washington. When appropriate, scholars from the universities and research institutions of the Washington area and experts from the government will be formally associated with the Center. This might simply involve attendance at meetings of various kinds and participation in discussions and publications, but it might also involve the use of a study and of the Center's own specialized facilities, and even on occasion a paid appointment as a part-time Fellow or Associate of the Center.

Beyond this, the Center will serve as a place in which scholars and experts, both academic and non-academic, who live and work in Washington may meet. It should have seminar rooms, dining rooms, common rooms, and an information center which will be available to the Washington scholarly community. And, rather than serving simply as a meeting place, it should develop its own programs of lectures, symposia, study groups, and the like. A primary aim of these programs should be the promotion of fruitful interchange between academics and public servants, both domestic and foreign.

The Center will also serve the visiting scholars and scientists who come to Washington from the universities and colleges of this and other countries. Some of these scholars will be brought to Washington by the Center to participate in its own programs; others will come to pursue their own researches; still others might be accredited to the Center under various programs of international exchange. All of them should be invited to participate in the appropriate activities of the Center.

A major purpose of the Center will be to provide information and access to the resources of the Washington area both for the Fellows of the Center and for visiting scholars. Academic visitors to Washington, whether domestic or foreign, frequently have a limited set of contacts upon which to base their work. An information center at the Woodrow Wilson Center, appropriately staffed and maintained, will provide a very much needed service in Washington. It can refer scholars to appropriate people and places, it can provide introductions to people within government and without, and it can maintain a continually updated index of scholarly resources in the Washington area.

THE LOCATION OF THE CENTER

In March of 1966, the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission formally expressed its unanimous view that a center for advanced study would be compatible with the Commission's Plan for Pennsylvania Avenue.

The proposed Market Square and Woodrow Wilson Center represent a remarkable continuity of vision over the centuries.

The Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space, appointed by President Kennedy in May 1961, proposed the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue based on three guiding principles:

- (1) Any future plan must be a continuation of the past one; the fundamental spirit of the L'Enfant Plan to be carried out.
- (2) The Plan was to emphasize the role of the Capitol as the building at the center of the city.
- (3) The development was to provide a mixture of public and private construction. The Avenue was to be "lively, friendly and inviting, as well as dignified and impressive."

In repeated statements, Presidents Kennedy and Johnson have clearly supported these general concepts, and President Johnson has established this present Commission to consider how they are to be forwarded.

The report of the President's Council put special emphasis on the first and last of these three points in connection with the proposed 8th Street Mall:

"Here is an unexcelled opportunity to set up a strong commercial link—to tie the Pennsylvania Avenue zone to the east-west downtown retail core proposed by Downtown Progress, and to demonstrate the capacity by a handsome Federal area, properly arranged, to attract a higher standard of commercial buildings, while demonstrating also the value to commerce of the visitors and of Federal employees this would attract."

In the thinking of the Council, 8th Street was always seen as an area of intensive activity. Here was to be the sector that did not close down at five o'clock, and did not stay closed over weekends. It was to be an area of hotels, movies, theatres, galleries, shops—whatever made for more life, more happenings. It was to be a pedestrian mall—cascading from the National Portrait Gallery at the top down to the great new Market Square facing the National Archives at the bottom. Automobiles were to be underground, out of sight, and out of mind.

The location of these two great buildings happens to be perhaps the single most striking testament of the enduring power of the Plan for the "Permanent seat of the Government of the United States * * * on the bank of the Potomac" prepared by Pierre Charles L'Enfant pursuant to the Act of Congress of July 16, 1790.

L'Enfant planned that the one major cross axis on Pennsylvania Avenue should be at 8th Street about midway between "Congress' House" and the President's House." This was to begin with a large square containing "five grand fountains intended with a constant spout of water," and leading north to a national church at F Street. (The church was intended for national purposes such as public prayer, thanksgivings, funeral orations, etc. and "assigned to the special use of no particular sect or denomination, but equally open to all.")

When the Treasury Building and the old Patent Office were begun in 1836 (Robert Mills, who had been a draftsman for Latrobe and Jefferson, worked on both buildings) they were located so that the Patent Office, whose porticos are reproductions of the Parthenon, was located on the site of the National Church. The north portico was parallel with that of the Treasury Building seven blocks to the east. A century later, in 1935, when the National Archives was begun (the designer was J. R. Pope) it was located athwart 8th Street, and instead of running flush with Pennsylvania Avenue on the north side was notched in *so as exactly* to face the old Patent Office four blocks away.

Thus the essential elements of L'Enfant's plan were steadily assembled over the generations. The Pennsylvania Avenue Plan is consciously designed to complete the cross axis by constructing the Square L'Enfant had envisaged, and creating a special north-south area leading into and away from the Avenue.

It is fitting that the Woodrow Wilson Center, the nation's memorial to its twenty-eighth President and to the author of *Congressional Government*, should lie between the White House and the Capitol. (It is interesting to recall in passing that this same square is the site of the plaque that Franklin D. Roosevelt designed as his own memorial.)

And it is equally fitting that the Woodrow Wilson Center should take its place as the first building on the new 8th Street Mall. Most centers for advanced study have been designed deliberately to shut out the world around them and to ensure for their residents an atmosphere of cloistered peace. But the Woodrow Wilson Center is designed to relate to the community in which it will live, to bridge the gulf that so often separates scholars from the world of affairs. While it must provide secluded offices and meeting rooms for its Fellows and scholarly visitors, it will also provide public exhibition areas, meeting places, dining facilities and an information center. It will be a place of lively activity, while at the same time providing easy access to the National Archives, the Library of Congress, the museums and galleries on the Mall, and the offices of the Federal government.

The Center's Building. As President Goheen has stated, "The Woodrow Wilson Memorial must not be merely another ponderous imitation of the past. Instead, the design should seek to reflect something of the vitality, the high aspiration, the magnificent forward-looking capacity of Woodrow Wilson. It should express hope and enlightenment, and help kindle courageous dreams of the future."

Specifically, a building for the Woodrow Wilson Center must reflect the varied activities of the Center. This building would, then, embrace a number of distinct, yet related elements:

- (1) Facilities for the Center's own scholarly staff, including studies, dining rooms, common rooms, seminar rooms, a working library, and a residence for the Director;
- (2) facilities for visiting scholars and guests of the Center, including an dining rooms, common rooms, seminar rooms, a working library, and a residential accommodations of various sorts for perhaps twenty or thirty;
- (3) areas directly accessible to the public, with exhibits, a garden or courtyard, a small theater and an auditorium.

The harmonious combination of these various elements, which in itself will do so much to symbolize the Center's role as a meeting place for scholars, public servants and citizens of all nations, will be a challenging task for any architect. We are persuaded that this challenge can be met and that the result will stand, in the words of Julian Boyd, speaking as President of the American Historical Association, "as an imposing architectural witness before the world declaring by its physical presence that free society cherishes the disciplined study of the

past as much as it cherishes its monuments, its historic sites, its restorations * * *

THE GOVERNANCE AND FINANCING OF THE CENTER

While we enthusiastically concur in the idea that the nation's memorial to Woodrow Wilson should be a living memorial, we are not unaware of the dangers inherent in this idea. A conventional monument, once built, need face only the rigors of nature and the aesthetic judgments of posterity. A living memorial, precisely because it does live and grow, may encounter practical difficulties and may develop in unfashionable and undesirable ways. Although we are aware of these risks, we are persuaded that they are well worth taking because the rewards may be so great.

It is obvious that the proposed Center cannot serve the memory of Woodrow Wilson unless it serves the interest of scholarship. To do this, it must be operated with the greatest possible freedom from political control and must preserve the greatest possible flexibility in responding to new intellectual and social challenges.

It is for this reason that we propose that the Center be governed by its own, independent Board of Trustees and that its operating expenses be met from the income of its own endowment.

We believe that it is both essential and wholly appropriate that the Nation should give the building and ground for the Woodrow Wilson Center through a Congressional appropriation. We estimate the total need to be approximately \$8,155,000.² This is exclusive of the cost of Market Square, which we calculate will require an additional \$23,250,750.³

But we believe that the Center's operating funds must be freed of the annual Federal budget cycle and divested altogether of any suggestion of political influence. Woodrow Wilson himself embodied the American tradition of independent scholarship. Almost alone of the great nations of the world, the United States has preserved the tradition that the university is an institution independent of government control. In a world of competing philosophies, ideologies and truths, an institution founded in the tradition of Woodrow Wilson must be open to all beliefs. Its standards of selection must be solely those of the vitality of the subject and the personal integrity and professional excellence of the scholar. It must be prepared to welcome scholars working on unfashionable and controversial subjects, it must provide a forum for unpopular beliefs. Just as Woodrow Wilson's dream of world peace was not of a world lapsed into acquiescent conformity to one world doctrine, but rather one in which the quest for knowledge was never more intense because pursued in a setting of peace and the absence of tyranny, so the Woodrow Wilson Center must always provide a setting for the most lively intellectual confrontations and the most fruitful clash of rival truths.

We propose, therefore, that an endowment of \$30,000,000 be sought for the Center to provide an annual income of some \$1,500,000. This endowment should be sought from the great private philanthropic foundations of the United States and other countries. Our preliminary discussions with foundation executives have led us to believe that such an amount is well within the range of possibility, particularly if a consortium of foundations is created for this purpose. If the Congress of the United States were prepared to contribute to the endowment, perhaps to the extent of \$15,000,000 on a 1-for-1 basis, the prospect would of course be vastly improved. We should like especially to commend this possibility to the Congress.

Our concern for the independence and responsiveness of the Center has also led us to describe its functions and programs only in very general terms. We believe that it would be both unnecessary and unwise to limit the freedom of the Center at the outset. Scholarly disciplines that today seem unexciting, or that have not even been conceived of yet, may one day offer the most exciting intellectual challenges and the most fruitful opportunities for research. The whole structure of scholarly institutions may well be radically altered in decades or centuries to

² *Basis for Estimate*: Land purchase price: total area—31,250 sq. ft., with 26,250 sq. ft. to be acquired at approximately \$125 per sq. ft.: \$3,280,000. Construction of the Center: 150,000 sq. ft. building at approximately \$30 per sq. ft.: \$4,500,000. Architectural and engineering fees for Center: \$375,000.

³ *Basis for Estimate*: Purchase of 96,600 sq. ft. at \$125 per sq. ft.: \$12,000,000; 1300-car garage at \$6,000 per car: \$7,800,000; paving and landscaping: \$1,830,000; 100' x 100' structure at \$30 per sq. ft.: \$300,000; paving and landscaping of Avenue, 500 lineal ft. at \$1,570 per ft.: \$785,000; architectural and engineering fees: \$535,750.

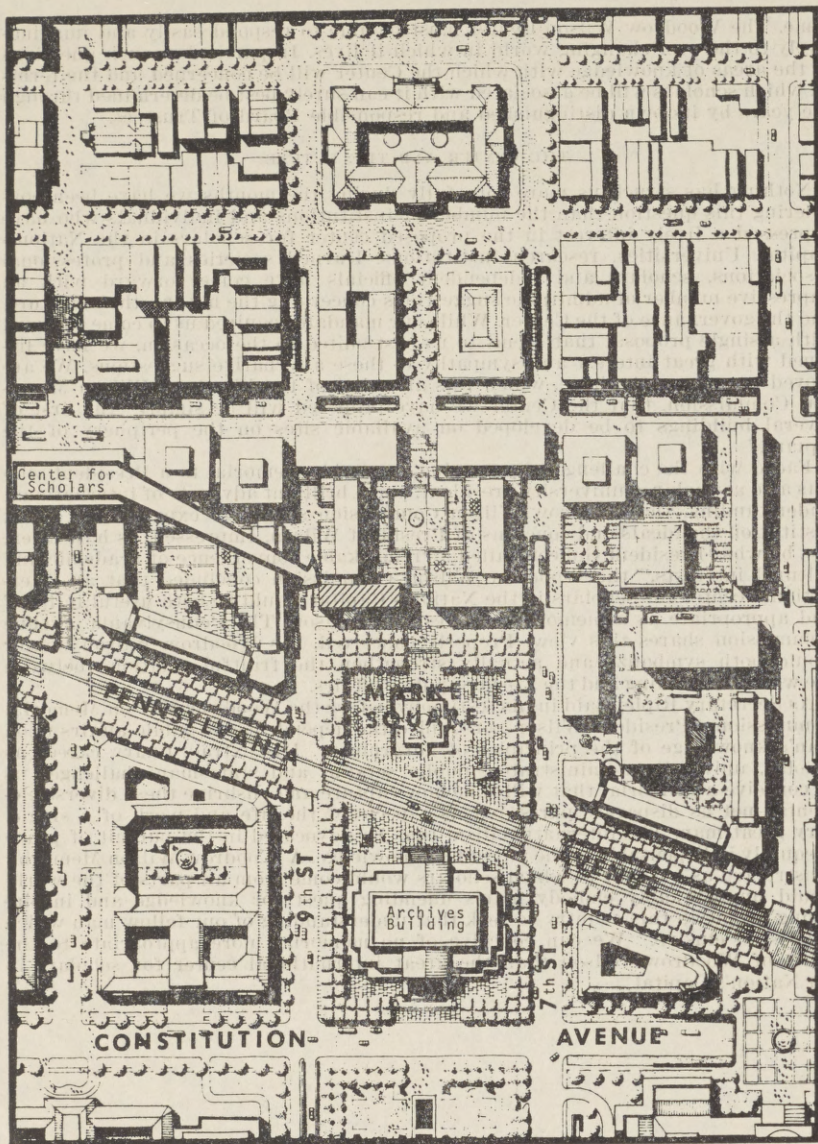
come. The Woodrow Wilson Center must be able to respond easily and imaginatively to the ever-changing world in which it lives. In particular, such questions as the areas of knowledge with which the Center will be concerned and the terms on which scholars will be associated with it can surely best be determined through the years by its own distinguished and responsible Board of Trustees.

THE CENTER AND THE FUTURE

Nothing has struck us more forcefully during the months we have been considering this question than the number of institutions and individuals who have expressed a lively interest in the proposed center for scholars in the Nation's Capital. Universities, research institutions, learned societies and professional associations, scholars and independent officials have come forward with an impressive number of admirable suggestions concerning the nature, the structure, and the governance of the Center. While our mandate required us to come forward with a single proposal that seems to us best suited to the occasion, we have listened with great interest and sympathy to these alternative suggestions. We are moved to express the hope, which was also that of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission, that the Center we have proposed will be simply "the first of several buildings to be developed on available sites on the periphery of the Square."

Faced with the challenge of proposing a suitable memorial to a President who was also a scholar, a university president, and a brilliant advocate of international understanding, the Woodrow Wilson Commission sought to express in a living institution the ideals and concerns of President Wilson. Impressed, as have been, too, by what President Goheen called a "remarkable convergence of academic and cultural interests," the Woodrow Wilson Commission concluded that an international center for scholars in the Nation's Capital would be both useful in itself and appropriate as a memorial to President Wilson. The Pennsylvania Avenue Commission shares this view. Properly conceived, the Woodrow Wilson Center would both symbolize and actually strengthen the fruitful relations between the world of learning and the world of public affairs.

As Secretary Ripley said in his testimony before the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission, "President Wilson personified the dependence of public affairs upon man's knowledge of the principles of government. His extraordinary career as scholar, university administrator, public servant and statesman challenges us to conceive a memorial that will somehow capture and enshrine these diverse elements—not as disparate parts, but as aspects of the life and work of a single, very great man. The internationalism that he advocated in the pursuit of peace is equally indispensable to the pursuit of knowledge. A Woodrow Wilson Memorial constructed as a center to which scholars would come from all parts of the world would unmistakably embody man's unending quest for knowledge and inspire young people in this country to seek that understanding of our fellow man which still is so elusive." We can conceive of no memorial more appropriate to the spirit of Woodrow Wilson than the great international center for scholars in our Nation's Capital.



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