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43	14	n.d.	Report	Manpower Report Book II. State Manpower and Important Positions. 54 Pages.

STATE DEPARTMENT MODEL

Because of the critical importance of this area and your own competence and interest in the field, I have not prepared comprehensive recommendations from the file, though this is readily possible. Instead, I thought you might find useful this model of what I had intended to do before this phase of my effort was terminated for political reasons. I had picked a few men whose experience and judgement of men in given areas is reputable, to enlist their suggestions. My intention was to have an input which spanned age (young and veteran), ideology (conservative and liberal), region, (west, south, east, mid-west, Rocky Mt.), background (rural, urban, black, rich, poor, etc.) sex (men and women), and type of experience (government-private, management-labor, academic-practical, etc.).

This model contains unrefined recommendations from a young, competent, public servant, described by a number of persons as one of the ablest, most "savy" men in Washington. He has worked at a number of positions and levels in Washington, was Gordon's right hand in budget, Bundy's right hand in the White House, has served in Africa and Asia and is now a principal architect of new direction in international development through the World Bank (Pearson's commission). The candor of his confidential remarks regarding positions and persons in State provide their chief usefulness. They reflect an essential element in any hard look at manpower in State, and any effort at "housecleaning", which I thought you might wish to have.

The following extract from his covering letter illustrates his bias and intent.

"I suspect I can be of most use to you by providing three kinds of comments: (1) a note on special qualifications for each job and/or major differences between the Manual job description and actual practice

during the past eight years; (2) a summary judgment of the incumbent -- particularly if he is a career Foreign Service Officer -- when you might consider keeping him on; and (3) my own personnel suggestions. I will try to do this for any job that I feel even mildly competent to judge.

"You will find my nominations heavily weighted in favor of people now in government. This reflects my confidence that you have a very broad net cast for outsiders and that my comparative advantage lies in knowledge of insiders. It does not imply that I think all or most of these jobs should be filled from inside.

"You will find my scratchings more in the nature of notes than prose. Articles and sentence structure are sacrificed to speed and coverage. I stand ready to interpret if necessary.

"Your secrecy rule is received, understood, and will be applied. I know you will reciprocate with respect to my comments, which are nothing if not frank."

Secretary of State

As head of the Department of State and the principal adviser to the President in the formulation and execution of the foreign policy of the United States, the Secretary of State is charged with the responsibility for all activities of the Department.

The Secretary of State is responsible to the full extent permitted by law, for the overall direction, coordination, and supervision of interdepartmental activities of the United States Government overseas (less exempted military activities). The Secretary discharges this authority and responsibility primarily through the Under Secretary of State and the regional Assistant Secretaries of State, who are assisted by interdepartmental groups of which they are executive chairmen.

Under Secretary of State

The Under Secretary of State serves as full deputy to the Secretary of State and as Acting Secretary of State during the Secretary's absence. He advises and assists the Secretary in the formulation, determination, and implementation of United States foreign policy and provides overall direction to the geographic and functional bureaus and offices of the Department in the conduct of policy. He assists the Secretary in carrying out his authority and responsibility for the overall direction, coordination, and supervision of interdepartmental activities by serving as Executive Chairman of the Senior Interdepartmental Group. He is responsible for the effective integration of economic assistance and sales programs both at home and abroad.

McGEORGE BUNDY, President of the Ford Foundation. Discounting predictable bias of personal friend and former assistant, still seems clear that no President of any party can afford to deprive himself of protection of Bundy as Secretary of State. Qualifications and personal qualities absolutely unique in my experience.

DOUGLAS DILLON, New York investment banker; solid second choice.

THOMAS KUCHEL, retiring Senator from California. Right combination of energy, judgment and persuasive capacity-- plus excellent instincts in foreign affairs.

DAVID GINSBURG, Washington lawyer. Bright, effective advocate with long experience with foreign issues and diplomatic establishment. Would have to be carefully counterbalanced by other appointments with respect to Near Eastern affairs.

ABRAM CHAYES, Harvard Law School professor. Probably most knowledgeable American lawyer in foreign affairs field. Same problem as Ginsburg vis-a-vis Near East, but not so closely identified with Israeli cause.

2:
Under Secretary for Political Affairs

The Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs serves as Acting Secretary of State in the absence of the Secretary and the Under Secretary. He assists the Under Secretary in giving overall direction to the substantive functioning and day-to-day management of the Department. He provides guidance on matters of foreign economic policy and related political issues. He assists the Secretary and Under Secretary in assuring that the Department's relations with other departments and agencies are effectively coordinated. He supervises the activities

of the Special Assistants to the Secretary for Refugee and Migration Affairs, Fisheries and Wildlife, International Labor Affairs, Population Matters, and the Director, Office of Water for Peace.

Deputy Under Secretary for Political Affairs

The Deputy Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs gives general direction within the Department to politico-military, intelligence, and arms control and disarmament matters and to relations with other departments and agencies on such matters. He supervises the activities of the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Politico-Military Affairs, the Special Assistant for Youth, and the National Military Information Disclosure Policy Committee, and gives guidance to the Office of International Scientific and Technological Affairs. He gives continuous supervision and general direction to the military assistance and sales programs.

This job has no set content and varies greatly with holder. Presently has special role in economic matters --particularly international monetary reform--and European affairs. Role has gradually diminished as SIG and Under Secretary's office have gained strength. Strongly believe this should revert to Under Secretary for Economic Affairs because there is real and felt need for 7th floor factotum on economic problems. Nothing lost by that because most issues have large enough economic component to assign to this man if Secretary wants him to handle. This can be critically important spot if filled by first-rate man.

- ✓ ANTHONY M. SOLOMON, Asst. Secretary for Economic Affairs. Easily the most innovative and effective foreign economic policy operator now in Washington. Little pretentious at times, but not unreasonable price for his abilities.
- ✓ RAYMOND VERNON, Harvard Professor of International Business. One of the very few with the operating savvy for this slot. First-rate mind.
- ✓ FRANCIS M. BATOR, Harvard Professor of Political Economy. Superb mind. Three years (1964-67) of White House experience doing much of what should be done from this slot if appointee is up to it.

-- (OVER) --

Another uncertain mandate now tending to become last port of call for very senior Foreign Service Officers. Productivity very low and even lower quality of late. Should be place where defense and diplomacy meet, both in theory and in joint and negotiated programs with DOD. Need youngish, tough, experienced pro in politico-military affairs.

- ✓ ARTHUR HARTMAN Special Asst. to the Under Secretary and Director of the SIG Staff. Probably the best of the newly senior crop of FSO's. Bright, works hard, good judgment, professional in every way.
- ✓ ROBERT W. KOMER, Deputy Ambassador to Vietnam. Very bright hard-driving former Bundy Deputy in White House (1961-66). Long experience with political-military interface. Perfect casting would be to appoint him Assistant Secretary for Near East/South Asia, but Jewish background would give him three strikes with most of his clients.
- ✓ TOWNSEND W. (TIM) HOOPES, Under Secretary of the Navy. Good mind, decisive, long experience in DOD would help. Very solid producer.

(2 a)
Under Secretary for Political
Affairs

(continued)

CARL KAYSEN, Director of Princeton's Institute of Advanced Study. Another very bright ex-White House (Bundy) staff man (1962-64) with a rare talent for covering the full range of foreign affairs -- from international money to intelligence operations. Professional economist.

THOMAS C. SCHELLING, MIT Professor of International Affairs. No recent government experience, although near miss in 1967, but wealth of academic interest and production on foreign matters, particularly defense analysis.

The Deputy Under Secretary for Administration acts, and as necessary, acts for the Secretary and Under Secretary in providing effective and coordinated administration across the whole subject area for which the Secretary has policy and substantive responsibility; exercises the authority vested in the Secretary with respect to administration of the Department and the Foreign Service, including the authority specified in section 3 of the act of May 26, 1949 (65 Stat. 111; 22

U.S.C. 811a), to "administer, coordinate, and direct the Foreign Service of the United States and the personnel of the State Department." He directs and supervises the activities of the Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, the Director General of the Foreign Service, the Director of the Foreign Service Institute, and the Inspector General, Foreign Service. He controls the organizational structure and assignment of functions and prescribes and promulgates such rules and regulations, and makes such delegations of authority as are necessary to carry out his responsibilities.

Counselor

The Counselor of the Department, ranking equally with Assistant Secretaries of State, serves as special adviser and consultant to the Secretary, the Under Secretary, and the Under Secretary for Political Affairs on major problems of foreign relations. He handles special international negotiations and consultations and other special assignments as requested or approved by these officials.

Legal Adviser

The Legal Adviser, ranking equally with Assistant Secretaries of State, is the principal adviser to the Secretary and to the Department on all legal matters with which the Department and the overseas posts are concerned.

One of the toughest jobs in Washington -- has ruined more good men than any other. Appointee should know Department and have overhaul in mind before he starts work. Yet he must not be Foreign Service Officer and he must have implicit trust of Secretary.

- JAMES W. CLARK, Chief of the International Division of the Bureau of the Budget. Tough but reasonably diplomatic, youngish administrative specialist whose job is to know what makes Department tick and just might pull off retooling without provoking revolution of Foreign Service. Youngest BOB Division Chief by at least 10 years.
- GEORGE S. SPRINGSTEEN, Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs. Strong, aggressive careerist (but not FSO) who is probably up to the job.
- CLIFFORD ALEXANDER, Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Spent several years in foreign affairs business on White House staff. Can't imagine a nicer idea than very bright Negro administering the State Department.

✓ For most of Kennedy-Johnson years this job combined with chairmanship of Policy Planning Staff. That is good tradition to maintain if new Secretary wants to lend importance and operational contact to Planning Staff. If not, principal criterion for Counselor should be closeness to Secretary. If Secretary trusts him with serious work, he has a job. If not, he wanders corridor looking for one. Shan't offer nomination in ignorance of Secretary's identity.

Has to be at least as much policy adviser as lawyer.

- ✓ JOHN REHM, Deputy Special Presidential Representative for Trade Negotiations. First-class lawyer with long experience in full range of international legal matters. Reasonable policy sense, though sometimes backward about expressing it.
- PETER BATOR, New York lawyer with Davis, Polk. No government experience, but very bright and long considering giving government a whirl.
- ANDREAS LOWENFELD, Professor of Law at NYU. Spent several years in as Assistant Legal Adviser. Smart, very dedicated.

Chairman of the Policy Planning Council

The Chairman of the Policy Planning Council advises and assists the Secretary and other senior officials in evaluating current foreign policy, in the formulation of long-range policies, and in the coordination of planning activities within the Department and with other interested departments and agencies.

CHIEF OF PROTOCOL.—The Chief of Protocol serves as the protocol official for the United States Government and

the White House. He advises and assists the Secretary of State in the fulfillment of the United States Government's obligations relating to national and international protocol.

Director

International Scientific and Technological Affairs

International Scientific and Technological Affairs, under the direction of the Director, a principal officer of the Department with rank administratively equivalent to an Assistant Secretary, advises the Department and the Foreign Service on science and technology as it relates to foreign policy in international relations. The Director is responsible for the peaceful uses of atomic energy and outer space and general scientific and technological affairs as these matters relate to the development of foreign policy. He is responsible for directing the overseas Scientific Attaché Program and serves as central point of liaison with both Government and non-Government scientific organizations.

Calls for combination research director, negotiator, crisis consultant, and thinker. Present incumbent has been with Planning Staff for 13 years. He is entirely serviceable civil servant, but will never be very relevant to Department operations. Strong appointee should ~~be~~ also be made Counselor.

MORTON HALPERIN, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (ISA) for Policy Planning. Very young (just over 30), very bright defense analyst. One of the relatively few really superior intellects in government. Would make the Policy Planning Staff into something very much worth listening to.

THOMAS C. SCHELLING, MIT Professor (described above under Secretary for Economic Affairs)

Must be tolerable reporter as well as greeter, since he ends up only witness to many head-of-state conversations.

LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary. Relatively junior (Class 3) FSO with good deal of high-level experience. Speaks Spanish, Serbo-Croatian, some French. Life-long Republican.

MATTHEW J. LOORAM, Country Director for Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan. Very bright, very presentable FSO with special knack for easy conversation. Speaks French and Italian. Wife is a European Rothschild.

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR LATIN AMERICA -- This man must run both a State and an AID bureau under the present setup. Won't do to be completely bamboozled by economics. Present incumbent not great success.

REGIONAL BUREAUS

The regional bureaus, each under the direction of an Assistant Secretary of State, are responsible for the conduct of relationships with the countries and regional international organizations within their particular area. They also maintain relationships with foreign missions in the United States representing countries within their regional jurisdiction, except on substantive consular matters, and guide the operation of Foreign Service establishments within the area.

The regional Assistant Secretaries of State are responsible for overall direction, coordination, and supervision of interdepartmental matters in the regions of their responsibility. They serve as executive chairmen of interdepartmental regional groups established to assist them in performing this function.

The regional Assistant Secretaries are assisted by Country Directors responsible for leadership and interdepartmental coordination with respect to assigned countries. Country Directors work closely with U.S. Ambassadors

and country teams abroad to ensure the adequacy of U.S. policy for assigned countries and of the plans, programs, resources, and performance for implementing such policy.

The regional bureaus of the Department are as follows: Bureau of African Affairs, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Bureau of European Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, and Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.

EDWARD M. KORRY, Ambassador to Chile. Intelligent, aggressive, charming, hard-driving ex-newspaperman (UPI and Cowles Publications) Formerly Ambassador to Ethiopia. Excellent advocate, good bargainer. Fluent in Spanish. One of few innovative spirits in govt.

WILLIAM T. DENTZER, Chief of AID Mission to Peru. Very bright younger man (39) with long experience in Latin America.

WILLIAM G. BOWDLER, Ambassador to El Salvador. Senior FSO (at 44) with long service in Latin America. Native Spanish. Spent three years as White House man for Latin America. Steady, unflappable, very savvy, great depth of knowledge.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA -- As tough a job as East Asia because of Arab-Israeli problem. Must always choose between Near Eastern and South Asian experience--nobody has both in any large measure. Present incumbent moderately good career Near East Specialist, former Ambassador to Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Kuwait. Almost impossible find anyone with professional knowledge of Near East who is not known to lean one direction or other in Arab-Israeli dispute.

MAX MILLIKAN, Director of MIT's Center for International Affairs. First-rate economist with much broader interests and experience. Appointment would delight Indians, please Paks somewhat less; neutral with regard to Near East.

WAYNE A. WILCOX, RAND Corporation, Expert on India and Pakistan. Very bright, very knowledgeable, very operational. A real coup for any Administration that wants bright young men.

THURSTON MORTON, retiring Senator. This is a job where a politician's stature is considerable asset.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS Present incumbent is quiet, competent career (but not FSO) man with greatest strength on economic issues. This tends to be frustrating job because so many cooks -- inside Department and out -- concern themselves with European policy. Need good diplomat and negotiator.

PHILIP M. KAISER, DCM in London. Sharp, thoroughly professional FSO. Former Ambassador (Senegal and Mauritania). Excellent French

STANLEY M. CLEVELAND, Economic Counselor in Paris. Senior FSO with long European experience. Especially expert on European communities and NATO.

HENRY KISSINGER, Director of Harvard's Center for Defense Studies In the first rank of academic analysts of European politics and defense posture. Also canny operator.

FRANCIS M. BATOR, Harvard Professor. (described above at Under Secretary for Economic Affairs)

(More)

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REGIONAL BUREAUS

(continued)

ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS This man tends to go largely unsupervised by seventh floor. Thus, premium on judgment. Present incumbent is most experienced hand in relatively short history of U.S. diplomacy in Africa. His keynote is caution -- with the strengths and weaknesses that implies.

OGDEN (BROWNE) REID, Congressman (R) from New York. Bright, interested in and knowledgeable about Africa, unexcitable. Would be excellent in African view -- Africans like to feel they are getting special attention.

ROBERT C. GOOD, Ambassador to Zambia. Yale, Ph.D., former academic. At State since '61. Easily the best mind and one of best operators in African Bureau. Now ready to leave Zambia after more than three years.

FRANKLIN WILLIAMS, Director of Columbia's new Urban Affairs Center. Very impressive Negro with long history in civil rights movement. Former Ambassador to Ghana and to UN/ECOSOC. Very sharp, but might be given to excess on such problems as Rhodesia and South Africa.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EAST ASIA -- A brutal job.

MICHAEL FORRESTAL, New York lawyer. Fine mind, lots of energy, very effective manner. Dovish on Vietnam, but might be asset as such. Extensive White House and State Dept. experience on East Asia.

WILLIAM LEONHART, Special Assistant to the President for Vietnam Civil Affairs. Senior FSO. Good mind, effective operating style. Sensible on balance between military and political problem in Vietnam. Former Ambassador to Tanzania. Heavily involved in Washington end of Paris talks.

A. DOAK BARNETT, Columbia Professor and China specialist. Might make sense to appoint non-Vietnam expert.

WILLIAM LANG, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (ISA). Darkhorse candidate. A totally new face vis-avis Vietnam, but experience in the Pentagon since 1961. Hard worker, learns fast. Fine choice.

(More)

ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS Traditionally weak link in Department, present incumbent has made this job into considerable power center. If he could be persuaded to stay, would be great advantage. My own hunch is he will stay only for promotion. Ergo, earlier recommendation.

W. MICHAEL BLUMENTHAL, President of Bendix International. Knows trade backward and forward -- spent four years representing U.S. in Kennedy Round at Geneva, preceded by three years as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs. Excellent, youngish man.

WILLIAM M. ROTH, President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations. Single man most responsible for success of Kennedy Round. Gets along with Mills and other trade moguls on the Hill. Wants to leave to return to family business (Matson Lines, etc.) in California.

PHILIP H. TREZISE, Ambassador to OECD. Senior FSO with long history of economic work, particularly trade. Steady, fertile mind. Another former Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs.

CLIFFORD WHARTON, Agriculture Research Council in New York. Agricultural economist by profession. Negro. Spent many years in Far East. Certainly could pick up expertise in trade and monetary matters with ease. AID would be better casting, but he might prefer this.

EDWARD R. FRIED, White House, National Security Council Staff. Senior FSO. Yet another former Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs. Trade specialist with good feel for the rest. Sound judgment. Heavily involved in monetary reform drive.

6.
Bureau of Economic Affairs

The Bureau of Economic Affairs, under direction of the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, formulates and implements policy regarding foreign economic matters of an interregional nature and, in this connection, negotiates agreements; serves as Deputy Administrator for the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act (Battle Act); and clears assignments of officers to economic positions abroad.

- see previous page - -

INTERNATIONAL TRADE POLICY.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY AFFAIRS.

COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS AND BUSINESS ACTIVITIES.-

INTERNATIONAL RESOURCES AND FOOD POLICY.-

TRANSPORTATION AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS.

Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs

The Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, under direction of an Assistant Secretary, conducts the Department's educational and cultural exchange programs authorized by the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961. These include student exchange, under which Americans pursue graduate study abroad, and foreign nationals in the United States and under which foreign students come to the United States for student leader seminars and for educational travel; teacher exchange, whereby Americans teach abroad, and foreign nationals teach in the United States (in elementary and secondary schools) and foreign teachers and other educators participate in educational development projects in the United States; the program for university lecturers and research scholars, which arranges for Americans to lecture and do advanced research abroad at institutions of higher learning and for foreign nationals to follow similar pursuits in the United States; the international visitor program, which brings distinguished leaders in government, politics, social welfare, and fine arts to visit the United States to observe, consult with colleagues, demonstrate special skills, or engage in specialized programs; and a special exchange, whereby American specialists in a wide variety of fields, learning, teach, advise, consult, or participate in projects abroad.

Assistant Secretary
ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR CULTURAL AFFAIRS

JAMES PERKINS, President of Cowell.

MRS. NAN TUCKER McEVOY, Washington Representative of the Population Council. Culture on wheels. Stately, charming, bright, literate, etc. Ornament for any Administration. Family owns the San Francisco Chronicle.

The Bureau makes grants-in-aid, under which financial assistance is given to American colleges and universities which carry on junior-year-abroad projects and conduct seminars for visiting student leaders, to certain organizations and groups which carry on youth programs, to organizations sponsoring projects which further the establishment of study centers in American studies abroad, and to other projects. These activities are sponsored by the U.S. Government, the U.S. State Department, UNESCO and other international and cultural activities, and by other governmental organizations.

7.
DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE & RESEARCH -- Should be capable of general policy consulting across the board, as well as holding own in bureaucratic maneuvering with CIA and DIA. Present man very good, but unlikely to stay.

Bureau of Intelligence and Research

The Bureau of Intelligence and Research, under direction of the Director of Intelligence and Research, with rank equivalent to that of an Assistant Secretary of State, develops and implements a coordinated program of intelligence, research, and analysis for the Department and for other Federal agencies, and produces intelligence studies and spot intelligence essential to foreign policy determination and execution.

HELMUT (HAL)SONNENFELDT, Chief of INR Research and Analysis on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Professional lifetime (he is 42) spent in intelligence analysis, disarmament matters, and Soviet studies--good strengths for this job. Very bright, very articulate. Would be superb appointment.

HAROLD S. SAUNDERS, White House National Security Staff. Several years in unmentionable agency as intelligence analyst. Since 1961 on WH Staff with concentration on Near East/South Asia. Quiet, steady, unflappable, and very acute.

Bureau of International Organization Affairs

The Bureau of International Organization Affairs, under direction of the Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs, provides guidance and support for United States participation in international organizations and conferences, and

acts as the channel between the Federal Government and such organizations. It prepares United States positions on international organization matters, and coordinates the overall Federal Government interest with respect thereto.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS. Must know, or be willing to learn, intricate wonderland of UN parliamentary politics. Very grueling job, particularly in terms of results per unit effort. Incumbent essentially a technician of UN procedure, and a good one. Slot could stand more imagination, however.

WILLIAM B. MACOMBER, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations. Former Special Assistant to Dulles and also held present job under Eisenhower. Ambassador to Jordan, Assistant AID Administrator and Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations under Kennedy and Johnson. Still only 47. Very good with people. Good advocate. Would do well at UN, though might not take job.

ROBERT O. BLAKE, DCM in Paris. Senior FSO (at 47). Member of our UN Delegations '61-'64. Former DCM in the Congo. Bright, swashbuckling, forthright character who evokes good feeling, while he is stripping off the britches. Fluent in French and Russian.

Bureau of Public Affairs

Under the direction of the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, this bureau provides the public with information concerning U.S. foreign policy and the work of the Department of State. This bureau also (1) advises and assists officials of the Department on the public affairs aspects of foreign policy; (2) reviews and provides foreign policy guidance on public statements and manuscripts by Government officials; and (3) provides foreign policy guidance to agencies which conduct overseas information programs of the United States Government.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS -- Job for good front man who knows press corps with intimacy usually reserved for ex-reporter.

ROBERT J. McCLOSKEY, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. The Department's official spokesman for 5 years. Respected. Unflappable (approaches godliness in this job). Persuasive. Good protection for any Administration.

BOYD FRANCE, Washington Reporter for "Business Week". Careful and articulate. Well-traveled. Not as nerveless as McCloskey, but might get there.

8.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS

Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations

The Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations supervises and coordinates all legislative and non-legislative relationships (except appropriations matters) between the Department and the Congress, directs the presentation of the Department's legislative program, and provides advice to other areas of the Department on congressional matters.

If this man isn't good, Secretary and other 7th floor people have their workload doubled. Present incumbent a Republican who held the same job under Eisenhower (and served in between), is very good at his trade, particularly with Republicans. He should be held if willing. Otherwise, might try to pick up sensible ex-congressman after elections.

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

Inspector General, Foreign Assistance

Ranking equally with Assistant Secretaries, the Inspector General and Deputy Inspector General of Foreign Assistance have statutory responsibilities (subsection 624(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended) relating to the effectiveness of U.S. economic and military assistance programs and Peace Corps and Public Law 480 activities.

The office conducts overseas and headquarters inspections of program operations. Based on the findings in these inspections, the Inspector General makes recommendations to the head of the agency concerned and follows up such recommendations to determine the action taken by the agency.

This office has no discernible use, nor has it produced anything of consequence in its six years of existence. It should be abolished forthwith.

Inspector General of Foreign Assistance

Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs

The Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs was created by act of Congress, section 104(b) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (66 Stat. 174; 8 U.S.C. 1104), and is directed by an Administrator who ranks equally with Assistant Secretaries of State. The Administrator develops, establishes, revises, promulgates, and directs policies and procedures relating to functions of the Bureau, including the administration and enforcement

BUREAU OF SECURITY AND CONSULAR AFFAIRS

J. PATTERSON DREW, Washington law partner in Drew and Lambert. Bright young lawyer with considerable government experience (AID) on top of some years with Dewey, Ballantine in New York. Wife is Washington editor of the "Atlantic".

ment of the provisions of the immigration and nationality laws, issuance of passports and related services, issuance of visas and related services, protection and welfare of American citizens and interests abroad, and third country representation of interests of foreign governments.

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The key to staffing AID is a basic Presidential decision on what to do about foreign aid. If the new President decides to keep the Agency more or less intact for a year or more, recruiting can presumably proceed as with other agencies. But if he decides to do major surgery -- or to set up a task force to think about major surgery -- recruiting of first-class people will be nearly impossible until the outlines of the new mechanisms are clear and there is some evidence the Congress will let him have his way. My own view is that his best bet in the surgical case is to keep all or most of the present crew on until the new structure is statutory fact. None of the present appointees is so weak as to present major risk of embarrassment to him. (Agency morale is scraping bottom, however, and it may not be possible to keep a high percentage of the good people -- who are not themselves a high percentage of the total -- without special effort.)

If a task force is established, it is worth keeping in mind two major personnel mistakes Kennedy made in his similar approach in 1961: (a) making the head of the existing mechanism (Henry Labouisse of ICA then) chief of the task force without having decided that he would head the new Agency; and (b) having paid the considerable price of easing an unwilling Labouisse out of the picture, appointing a well-known but utterly inexperienced and inept lawyer to run the new creation. It took the program several years to recover from these flaws. At least the first should not be repeated.

The following are my suggestions assuming most of the AID jobs need doing in any new framework--whatever the titles and bureaucratic distribution. (Where these thoughts overlap with my State Department suggestions, I will not repeat; the entry will be marked DE (decided elsewhere) except where new data are relevant.)

* * * * *

ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS

A.I.D. performs its functions as an agency within the Department of State. The Administrator reports directly to the Secretary of State and the President and is charged with central direction and responsibility for the economic assistance program. The headquarters office in Washington is responsible for the broad formulation, coordination, and support of the various programs which are carried out in cooperation with other countries in the free world. The organizational structure of the Agency consists of the Office of the Administrator, five regional bureaus to carry out the program, program offices and staffs to assist the Administrator in dealing with broad functional areas and inter-regional programs, management offices to assist the Administrator in managing the affairs of the Agency, and United States A.I.D. missions which develop the program of assistance in cooperation with the government of the participating country and work closely with the local officials in program execution.

FUNCTIONS OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
The Administrator plans, directs, and coordinates the operations of the Agency. He is responsible, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, for the formulation and execution of U.S. foreign assistance policy and for the administration of the Agency in accordance with the Economic Development Act of 1961. He supervises and directs the activities of the various offices of the Agency in the United States and overseas.

ADMINISTRATOR Rightly regarded as toughest job in Washington. Requires Administrator who can run \$ 2 billion worldwide program while presiding over constant and heated internal debate over economic theory and practice. And he must do this under constant fire from Hill without stable constituency in Congress or body politic.

Incumbent is bright, tough New York lawyer with eight years of AID experience -- first as Assistant Administrator for Near East/South Asia, then as Deputy Administrator, and, since 1966, in top job. Good Administrator, resilient, and good on the Hill when he will sally forth, which isn't nearly often enough. Suspect he would be willing stay on during transition if asked.

Critical criteria for new man are decent foreign policy instinct administrative ability, and, most important, ability to be persuasive on the Hill.

J. IRWIN MILLER, President of Cummins Engine. Long history of aid interest and work, mainly through churches. Would appeal to liberal wing of both parties and academic establishment. Bright, good on the Hill and with public. Don't know administrative talents.

SENATOR THURSTON MORTON

SENATOR THOMAS KUCHEL

the Deputy Administrator

DEPUTY ADMINISTRATOR: This is job for inside man who knows program thoroughly and can run Agency while Administrator fighting battles on the Hill. Incumbent is extremely acute former newspaper man (UPI) with 5 years of AID experience (formerly Assistant Administrator for East Asia). His dour, soft-spoken manner mustn't deceive; he is one of sharpest and most original minds in aid business. Might stay on during transition if asked.

✓ ANTHONY M. SOLOMON, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. (DE) Has turned down this job before -- unlikely to take it now, but such a good fit it might be worth a try.

DONALD FRASER, Congressman (D) from Minnesota. Most knowledgeable Congressman on aid matters. Very sharp, very earnest, and reasonably adept at persuasion on the Hill. (Long-time Humphrey protege.) (OVER ON BACK for More)

GENERAL COUNSEL: This job tends to be used -- successfully or otherwise-- as center for organizing public pressure on Congress not to mutilate the foreign aid bill. Incumbent is moderately sharp AID hand.

✓ J. PATTERSON DREW. Drew and Lambert. (DE) Good casting.

✓ JOHN REHM, Office of the Special Trade Representative. (DE)

STEPHEN KURZMAN, Washington lawyer, partner in Kurzman & Goldfarb. Late 30's. Former Legislative Asst. to Senator Javits and Deputy Staff Director of Kerner Riot Commission. No concentrated experience with foreign affairs, but good head and effective on Hill

PAUL FIRSHENBERG, Sinclair Oil executive. Late 30's. Former AID lawyer with bulk of experience centered on South Asia. Bright, smooth, cares about aid ends and means.

ASSISTANT ADMIN. FOR ADMINISTRATION: Man-killer of a job, given maze of legislative restrictions and intense interest in AID mismanagement on Hill. Incumbent is ex-Comptroller with virtues and vices one would expect of same.

GORDON CHASE, Staff Director, Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. Middle 30's. Good mind. Great energy and persistence. Formerly Deputy Assistant Administrator for PPC, and before that Bundy's personal assistant at White House. Ex-Foreign Service officer. Right combination of youth, imagination and toughness.

✓ JAMES W. CLARK, Chief, International Division, Bureau of the Budget. (DE)

ASST. ADMINISTRATOR, WAR-ON-HUNGER: This appointment particularly dependent on basic decision about what to do with food aid. Theory is that "War on Hunger" should incorporate both food aid programs run largely by USDA and dollar aid to agriculture (fertilizer, etc. largely run by AID regional bureaus. This office now a non-asset, but alternative should not be to dump program into hungry maw of agriculture. Don't know incumbent well, but not impressed with him. Job should be filled by agricultural economist, not frustrated extension agent.

JAMES BONNER, Michigan State Professor of Agricultural Economics. Former staff man for Council of Economic Advisers. Early 40's. First-class agricultural economist with deep knowledge of agriculture bureaucracy. Would be superb appointment if feasible

WALTER FALCON, Harvard Development Advisory Service. Young, very bright. Good experience in India and Pakistan where much of the problem is. Articulate, good worker.

CLIFFORD WHARTON (Described earlier.)

GENERAL COUNSEL: Provides legal advice and service to the Agency.

MANAGEMENT OFFICES AND STAFFS

The Assistant Administrator for Administration is responsible for management and organization within the Agency for International Development. He is assisted by the following:

OFFICE OF THE WAR ON HUNGER: Provides leadership to the Agency. War on Hunger activities include A.I.D.'s role in administering the Food for Freedom and Food from the Sea Programs; assists in the development of policies, procedure and reporting systems pertaining to agriculture, health, population, and nutrition; participates in program reviews, budget formulation, and coordinates evaluations and audits of War on Hunger activities. Acts as the Agency focal point for all dealings with the Department of Agriculture and Health, Education, and Welfare in matters pertaining to health, population and nutrition. Coordinates the Agency research program and administers grants under section 211(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act.

DEPUTY ADMINISTRATOR (continued)

MAURICE J. WILLIAMS, Assistant Administrator for NESAs. Best of present regional heads. Thorough aid professional. Former AID Mission Director in Pakistan and Deputy Director in Iran. Probably most competent senior administrator U.S. aid program has ever produced. Reasonably effective with Congress.

RAYMOND VERNON, Harvard Professor of International Business. Extremely bright, systematic operator with deep knowledge of private finance and investment (may be much to the point in new setup.) Particular knowledge of Latin America. No known experience on the Hill.

EDWARD M. KORRY, Ambassador to Chile. (DE) Increasingly interested in aid problems.

PROGRAM OFFICES

PROGRAM AND POLICY COORDINATION— Develops capital and economic assistance program policy, coordinates and presents Agency budget requests, recommends allocation of resources, and provides technical assistance to regional bureaus in development planning. Assures coordination of U.S. aid programs with development assistance activities of multilateral and interregional organizations and other donor governments. Provides professional staff guidance and assistance to all elements of A.I.D. in the areas

of educational, institutional, and social development. Provides statistical support services to the Agency's bureaus, offices, and staffs.

OFFICE OF PRIVATE RESOURCES— Provides leadership and formulates public program guidance, and promotes for maximum effective utilization of U.S. non-Federal resources in foreign countries development. Includes A.I.D.'s Private Investment Center which acts as a focal point for Agency contacts with the business community and coordinates the financial assistance, investment insurance, and investment promotion activities of the Agency. Administers the Specific Risk Insurance Program, portion of the Ex-Im Bank Guaranty Program, and Investment Survey Program. Also includes the Private Resources Development Service which provides staff assistance to the Agency's cooperative development activities and technical assistance efforts in industry, housing, and infrastructure. Establishes and maintains general relationships with all non-Federal entities, except universities, and coordinates all voluntary foreign contributions for relief activities.

OFFICE OF LEGAL AFFAIRS— Develops and issues the guidelines and policies to coordinate all legal aspects of country programs and projects and provides general legal advice and coordination with the U.S. trade movement, the International Labor Organization, and the U.S. Department of Labor.

OFFICE OF PUBLIC SAFETY— Has primary responsibility for public safety matters. Develops policies, standards, and procedures in public safety assistance. Coordinates public safety projects and activities with other appropriate agencies and A.I.D. offices; provides participant training in public safety; and evaluates public safety

ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR PROGRAM AND POLICY COORDINATION. This office is both home of most professional economists in Agency and principal general staff to Administrator to try to control four strong regional bureaus. Chief has historically been prestigious academic econometrician with (hopefully) unusually operational turn of mind. Important to keep this academic respectability to maintain university control and support.

Incumbent fairly new at job and probably more than willing stay during transition. Solid economist with field experience. Tends to boy-scoutishness at times, but growing out of it.

GUSTAV PAPANEK, Director of the Harvard Development Advisory Service. Very bright, relatively young development economist with special knowledge of Pakistan. Now running largest private U.S. supplier of very high-level technical assistance with teams in Colombia, Malaysia, Pakistan, etc. Good administrator; well thought-of in academic community.

(MORE ON BACK)

ASSISTANT ADMIN. FOR PRIVATE RESOURCES. Job offers real opportunity for hard-driving innovator. Incumbent good, but little short on weight and push.

RAYMOND VERNON, Harvard Professor of International Business. (described above)

W. MICHAEL BLUMENTHAL, President of Bendix International. (DE) Probably wouldn't take it.

MICHAEL RASHISH. Washington lawyer. Very shrewd, imaginative young lawyer who was most helpful on Trade Expansion Act. Would do excellent job.

LESTER GORDON, Papanek's Deputy at the Harvard DAS. Spent four years as Deputy Assistant Administrator for PPC. Knows aid theory and practice. Excellent administrator. (Brother of Kermit Gordon, President of Brookings and former Budget Director

MARTIN GAINSBURGH, Senior economist at the National Industrial Conference Board. One of very few non-academic economists whom academics would accept as professional. No real history in development, but plenty bright enough to learn.

THOMAS ENDERS, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. One of handful of very bright young FSO's with real economic training and expertise. Experience largely European affairs, trade and international money, but he could do this job if asked.

REGIONAL BUREAUS

There are five Regional Bureaus: East Asia, Viet-Nam, Near East and South Asia, and Africa, each under an Assistant Administrator, and Latin America under the U.S. Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress.

The Regional Bureaus are the principal line offices of A.I.D. with responsibility for program planning and execution of U.S. economic development programs overseas. Regional programs are administered in accordance with policies and standards established by the Administrator assisted by staff, program, and management offices. The chain of command runs directly from the Administrator through the head of each Regional Bureau and thence through the Ambassadors to the Directors of United States A.I.D. missions.

The head of each Regional Bureau, within Agency policies and delegated authorities: (1) plans, directs, and supervises the activities of the Bureau, and the overseas United States A.I.D. missions within the region; (2) directs the formulation of U.S. assistance programs in the region, reviews and approves proposed regional and country programs and projects, and approves the negotiation and execution of development agreements with countries in the region; (3) approves and submits to the Administrator an annual budget covering all proposed Agency activities in the region, and assists in presenting and justifying the budget to the Congress; (4) approves and directs the allocation of available program and administrative resources among United States A.I.D. missions in the region and components of the regional bureau; (5) directs, coordinates, and supervises the implementation of programs and projects; (6) monitors, reviews, and reports to the Administrator on the conduct and performance of authorized programs and projects, and takes any required remedial action or recommends appropriate action to the Administrator; (7) assures the maintenance of necessary liaison with the Department of State, other U.S. and multilateral agencies and organizations, public and private organizations, and officials of recipient countries; and (8) represents the Agency and the Bureau as required to the press and the public.

DEPUTY ASST. ADMIN. FOR LATIN AMERICA: Latin American bureaus of State and AID were merged in 1963, but continue to have separate identities below top level, with one Deputy for State side and another for AID. AID job should be filled by first-class man with confidence of AID Administrator to avoid guerilla warfare which now too often the case. Don't know incumbent well enough to comment.

Rueben Sternfeld, Alternate U.S. Executive Director of Inter-American Development Bank. Early 40's. Many years experience as Associate Assistant AID Administrator for Latin America, and before that with Bureau of the Budget. Very astute operator. Deep knowledge of Latin America. Might not take this job, but perfect casting if he will.

ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR AFRICA: Slashes in AID appropriations have hit Africa very hard. This job increasingly thankless. Incumbent is wealthy New York media man who began with no knowledge of Africa but has picked up a lot through earnest diligence. Not a brilliant operator, but not bad for this job--and very few who would be better will take the job until AID prospects improve.

Wayne Fredericks: Special Adviser to Dave Bell at the Ford Foundation. Probably best-known American in Africa. Spent six years as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs where he was real head of Bureau during the Soapy Williams era. Bright, immensely knowledgeable about and interested in Africa. Has refused this job before, but don't know how happy is at Ford. Years of business experience with Kellogg.

Andrew Kamarck, Director of the Economics Dept. at World Bank. One of legitimate authorities on African economics. Well-liked by Africans and everybody else. Soft-spoken, low-key, professional. Good mind, dogged worker.

Charles Nelson, AID Mission Director in Tanzania. Long-time AID and Peace Corps Administrator in Washington and Africa. Probably best man in AID African bureau (weakest in Agency). Bright, black, thorough professional.

Robert Smith, Deputy Asst. Administrator for Africa. Another career AID man, though most experience in East Asia. Smart, though not dazzling. Hard worker, good administrator.

ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR EAST ASIA. Job centers around Korea and Indonesia, with some attention to Phillipines. Incumbent is youngish scion of prominent banking family, formerly Assistant Secy of the Treasury for International Affairs (under Dillon). Moderately good man, but doubt he would stay.

Clifford Wharton, Vice President, Agriculture Development Council (Rockefeller-sponsored) in New York. DE. This is probably perfect job for Wharton, but doubt he would take it.

Leroy Wehrle, Fellow at Kennedy Institute, Harvard. Formerly Deputy Asst. Admin. for Vietnam, Deputy AID Mission Director in Saigon, and Deputy Mission Director in Laos. Young, excellent economist with lots of EA experience, very bright.

ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR VIETNAM This is a job nobody in Washington wants. Principal requirement is steady nerve and willingness to take Congressional punishment. Incumbent is old AID hand, former Mission Director in Turkey and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for NEA. Probably the best program salesman in AID; does very well on the Hill.

Leroy Wehrle, Described above.

Charles A. Cooper, Deputy AID Mission Director and Economic Counselor in Saigon. Early 30's. Good economist. Very bright and energetic. Formerly with RAND. Long experience in South-east Asia.

Joel Bernstein, Special Assistant to AID Administrator. Good casting if new Administrator wants steady, rather colorless AID pro in this job. Former Mission Director in Nigeria and Korea. Reasonably bright, persistent, can-do man.

ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR NORTH EAST AND SOUTH ASIA Job centers around India, Pakistan, and Turkey. Terrible spot to put a rookie, particularly as frictions with Indians increase. Incumbent is best senior career man in history aid program. Almost certainly willing stay during transition if asked.

Wayne A. Wilcox, RAND Corporation.(DE)

Ernest Stern, Deputy Staff Director, Commission on International Development. Best young (34) career man AID has produced. Served in all three major countries of this region. Youngest Deputy AID Mission Director (Pakistan) in history. Excellent economist and capable of incisive political analysis. Good administrator.

Walter G. Farr, Director of HUD's Model Cities Program. Bright young (40) lawyer who spent five years as Deputy Assistant Administrator for NESAs. Tough, knows program thoroughly. Sometimes a little brash.

Peace Corps

As stated in the Peace Corps Act, the purpose is "to promote world peace and friendship through a Peace Corps which shall make available to interested countries and areas

men and women of the United States qualified for service abroad and willing to serve, under conditions of hardship if necessary, to help the peoples of such countries and areas in meeting their needs for trained manpower, and to help promote a better understanding of the American people on the part of the peoples served and a better understanding of other peoples on the part of the American people."

Activities.—The Peace Corps program for the placement abroad of volunteer men and women of the United States in developing nations of the world to help fill these nations' critical needs for skilled manpower. In this program of assistance, Peace

Corps volunteers, carefully selected and well trained, serve for periods of 2 years teaching, building, or working in the communities to which they are sent. They serve local institutions and live with the people they are helping.

CHANNELS OF OPERATION.—The Peace Corps provides skilled manpower to developing nations through several different channels:

1. Through arrangements with private voluntary agencies to carry out Peace Corps-type programs;
2. Through arrangements with colleges, universities, or other educational institutions;
3. Through programs of other U.S. Government agencies;
4. Through programs of the United Nations and other international agencies; and
5. Through directly administered Peace Corps programs with host countries.

PEACE CORPS

Peace Corps presents both problem and opportunity for Republican Administration -- hardest enterprise to staff and keep going; best service to party image if it can be staffed and kept going.

Incumbent long-time government hand (Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America, Ambassador to Panama, Peace Corps regional director for Latin America). Steady, hard-working, unglamorous in a job where some glamor is useful.

DIRECTOR

Frank Mankiewicz, newspaper columnist. Former Press Secretary to Robert Kennedy, Peace Corps regional director for Latin America, and Peace Corps Representative in Peru. Bright, witty, very popular with young people. Long experience with Peace Corps; many good ideas for its maintenance and improvement. Probably unavailable to Republican Administration without personal approach from the President.

Congressman Charles Mathias (R., Md.) Good choice if he fails to win Senate seat.

Bill D. Moyers, newspaper publisher. Almost certainly wouldn't take it, but superb casting if he would.

Clifford Alexander (DE) Excellent place for Negro agency head.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR

Richard Thornell, now in third year at Yale Law School. Former Peace Corps official and with Commerce's Community Relations Service. Negro. Young, very bright, ideals tempered but not destroyed by experience.

Charles Nelson, AID Mission Director in Tanzania. (DE)

(More)

Director

Director of the Peace Corps, the Department of State, to the Secretary of State for all the activities of the agency. He is assisted by a Deputy Director and several staff units.

PEACE CORPS -- Deputy Director (continued)

Richard Moose, Institute for Defense Analysis. Very bright young ex-FSO with service abroad (Africa), at State headquarters, on Senate Foreign Relations Committee Staff, and on White House staff. Now doing analysis of U. S. national security machinery. Good with people, particularly young people.

END.

"I have not tried to make recommendations for each individual ambassadorial job. My most helpful contributions, I think, are an assessment of what is needed to do the job in countries I know reasonable well, a comment on the situation of the incumbent--particularly career people-- and a general guide as to the best Foreign Service Officers and AID careerists who should be considered where career appointments are appropriate. I should add that virtually all of the people I recommended for State and AID Washington jobs would also be candidates for ambassadorships, some with obvious geographic specialties and others in a more general way."

AMBASSADORIAL POSTS

NOTE: The following selective list reflects my areas of knowledge and specialization. I have not included an assessment of European posts because I suspect other sources can do it at least as well. Coverage of Latin America and East Asia is particularly selective because I am less intimately acquainted with situations there. (Parenthetical after country name indicates incumbent is career or non-career.)

I. INDIA (Non-career)

One of three or four toughest posts in the world. Ambassador must be knowledgeable (or willing to learn) about enormously complex society, willing to travel constantly over huge area, gifted enough diplomat to handle growing list of very bitter and complicated issues in atmosphere of declining aid and increasing Indian nationalism, and prepared to survive inevitable bouts of intestinal disease. If President proposes to make serious attempt establish solid relation with Indian Government, appointee should be non-career man with closest visible personal relation to President.

Incumbent probably knows India better than any other American. Also has best relationship with strongest single figure in Indian politics -- Deputy Prime Minister Morarji Desai. However, he has long since lost effectiveness as representative of United States because of poor health, because of increasingly obvious powerlessness and estrangement from Washington, because of disaffection for Mrs. Gandhi, and because of general souring of Indian opinion of the United States. He now plans to stay on until Spring if Democrats elected. Don't know how he would approach Nixon. In any event, sad but crystal-clear that U.S. representations not to be taken seriously in Delhi unless and until he is replaced.

2. PAKISTAN (Non-career)

Pakistan Ambassadorial challenge increasingly similar to India, though still some hangover from days of close U.S.-Pakistani alliance. Principal differences flow from fact that Pakistan is a military dictatorship and President Johnson has gone to great lengths to establish personal relation with Ayub. Main implication of first fact is that country rather more manageable and predictable than India. Problem of succession also emerging with Ayub's recent heart attack. Implication of LBJ approach is that Pakistan is used to Ambassadors with clear and undoubted political links with President. Appointment of career man would inevitably be interpreted as signal of U. S. desire for a new tone in relations. (This is not to dismiss that proposition on its merits.)

Incumbent is life-long Coca Cola executive, finishing as No. 3 man in corporation. Old friend of LBJ, though life-long Republican. Commitment to Johnson is to spend two years (August 1967 - August 1969) in post as last job before retirement. (He is not quite 60.) Earnest and hard-working, he has had misfortune of presiding over period of distinct cooling of U.S.-Pakistani relations as aid declines, U.S. is ejected from intelligence base, and Paks look more to Bloc for military support. His ties with Johnson are known, so any decision to keep him on should be accompanied by efforts to make clear similar ties with Nixon.

3. NEPAL (Career)

Fairly quiet post where principal job is King-watching in primitive country whose main value to U.S. is as buffer zone between China and Soviet Union.

Incumbent is one of very few lady career FSO's to achieve ambassadorial rank. Well-liked in Nepal, doing good job, and flattering to Nepalese to have publicity which periodically surrounds her. Future will depend in part upon handling of Ambassador to Vietnam, but she should be kept on if that situation permits.

4. CEYLON (Career)

A sleepy post which could become slightly more interesting if (a) present government succeeds in getting the economy moving, and/or (b) left-leaning "outs" recover and threaten to become "ins."

Incumbent is very weak senior FSO whose only known virtue is friendship with Senate Majority Leader, with whom (and with whose wife) he grew up. If that factor less important in new Administration, he should be replaced forthwith.

5. AFGHANISTAN (Non-career)

One of the fairly active minor posts where U.S. tries to keep foot in door in country where Soviet Union is by far most powerful foreign influence. Large technical assistance program and long history of U. S. economic involvement.

Incumbent reasonably bright former UCLA professor of political science. No political connection with LBJ or anybody else. Energetic fellow who gets great enjoyment from being Ambassador and probably does good job of representation and management of U. S. programs.

6. TURKEY (Non-career)

Post of major importance and major managerial difficulty -- there are almost 25,000 Americans in Turkey. Calls for great diplomatic skill and ability to understand and express arguments and recommendations with respect to economic policy affecting aid program.

Incumbent (interim appointee) very bright, formerly Deputy Ambassador to Vietnam and Bundy deputy in White House. One of Government's most knowledgeable men on this part of the world; energetic to a fault. At least 15 years of Government service, but not career FSO. Excellent man to keep on if President can live with past involvement in Vietnam.

7. IRAN (Career)

Another exacting post. Incumbent one of better career Ambassadors, but President should think of trying establish special relation with Shah who is quite upset at prospect of change in Administration.

8. ETHIOPIA (Career)

One of handful of really important posts in Africa. Could become critical when Emperor passes on. At least until that day, Ambassador should be fluent in French.

8. Ethiopia (continued)

Incumbent very solid senior FSO. Formerly Assistant AID Administrator for Administration, with prior service in South Asia. Seems to have established himself with Emperor and doing good job of managing problems associated with very large U. S. intelligence base. Also principal reporter, analyst, and representative with respect to main African regional organizations which are headquartered in Addis. Good man to consider retaining.

9. KENYA (Non-career)

Another prominent African post which could become powderkeg with passing of aged patriarch.

Incumbent is young, dedicated former VISTA Director and Peace Corps official. Reasonably bright, very interested in Kenya, and seems to have established himself with Kenyatta. Don't know whether he would stay under Republicans, but no harm if he did.

10. TANZANIA (Career)

Two points of significance: (1) home of Julius Nyerere, most thoughtful, articulate, "radical" leader in independent Africa, and (2) area of strongest Chicom influence in East Africa. Very important U. S. representative be strong, steady-nerved, and intellectually accomplished enough to be interesting to Nyerere.

Incumbent is quiet, effective senior FSO with excellent relations in Tanzanian Government. Probably about due for another post, but there need be no hurry about transferring him.

11. UGANDA (Career)

Usually rather quiet backwater, but home of violent tribal disputes which could explode any time.

Incumbent closely resembles Colonel Blimp, but has done fine job of establishing relations with government and keeping track of events.

12. CONGO (K) (Career)

Place for a man of sound judgment and absolutely unflappable disposition. Standard procedure for Congo to go from bright prospects to certain doom every day thirty days in succession. Constant contact with Congolese President, constant frustration with Congolese backwardness, constant redefinition of level of acceptable U. S. risks and involvement. Ambassador must be fluent in French.

Incumbent is senior FSO with long experience in European affairs. He is quiet and fairly effective with Congolese, but clearly serving out his time in hope of better post.

13. NIGERIA (Career)

Brutal job under present circumstances. Ambassador must live and work with Federal Government in Lagos while trying to exert pressure against massacre and other ill treatment of Rebels. Imperative that appointee not have any committed position on Nigerian question before arrival. Considerable U. S. constituency for Rebels makes job all the more difficult.

Incumbent reasonably competent professional who, I am afraid, has become captive of Federal point of view. Other members of U. S. Mission even more so. Incumbent should not stay much longer at this post, but it will be extremely hard to find a satisfactory replacement. Costs of filling this post badly could be very great.

14. GHANA (Career)

U. S. representation in post-NKrumah era must have strong economic theme. Must also be up to sorting wheat from chaff in complicated politics of government by military directorate.

Incumbent excellent newly-senior FSO, certainly one of best ever to specialize on Africa. Fairly recently arrived and should be kept on if at all possible.

15. ZAMBIA (Career, but not FSO)

Most difficult Ambassadorial job in Africa. The real firing line of the Rhodesian problem, this multi-colored^{tribal} tribal country could go up in smoke tomorrow. Small, backward capital where living is less than easy. Ambassador must establish good relations with bright, constructive, but highly ecclesiastical President who single-handedly holds country together.

Incumbent probably is best U. S. Ambassador in Africa and one of best in the world. Very bright, very articulate and excellent relation with Kaunda. Ready to come out after four years (and recommended elsewhere for top Washington job) but should be kept somewhere in position of major responsibility if at all possible.

16. GUINEA (Career)

Another place for a nerveless character -- Sekou Toure' continues to flirt with the Bloc and give a periodic kick in the pants to the U.S. Ambassador must be fluent in French.

Incumbent is good, sound, senior FSO.

17. SENEGAL (Career)

Rather stagnant country which considers itself cultural capital of Africa. President is renowned poet, philosopher, and leading "Black Frenchman." Ambassador must be bilingual and capable of intellectual discourse.

Incumbent is another bright, young, newly-senior FSO who seems to be getting along well.

18. CHILE (Non-career)

Very critical and unpredictable. "Showcase" of Latin American democracy. Ambassador must analyze politics as devious as any in the world, maintain solid contact with Frei, and also keep in touch with elements which may succeed him. Full-range of aid questions always at issue as well. Spanish must be fluent.

Incumbent is tough, very bright, former newspaper man and Ambassador to Ethiopia. Real flair for advocacy. Probably best U. S. Ambassador in Latin America (and recommended elsewhere for top Washington job). Should be kept around if he can be persuaded.

19. BRAZIL (Career)

Toughest and most important Latin American post. Ambassador must combine considerable stature, good analytical capacity, diplomatic talents, and ability to understand economic problems.

Incumbent rather run-of-the-mill senior FSO -- long on conventional wisdom, short on imagination.

20. GUATEMALA (Career)

Volatile, sometimes dangerous post where suspicion of U. S. motives rampant and universal. Newly-appointed incumbent one of less-impressive newly-senior FSO's -- former Minister to Bulgaria. Courtly, correct, and excellent linguist, but not likely to do anything not clearly blessed by the Foreign Service Manual.

21. EL SALVADOR (Career)

Rather sleepy post, chiefly important as home of Central American common institutions.

Incumbent very experienced, steady Latin American hand with good dose of White House responsibility and experience. Should be kept on if possible.

22. JAPAN (Career)

Post should be ranked with major European capitals in importance and degree of difficulty.

Incumbent bidding to become one of Foreign Service gurus. I have always been less impressed with him. This would be good place for outstanding political appointee.

CAREER AMBASSADORIAL CANDIDATES

The following is a list -- in no particular order -- of the better career State and AID people senior enough to be considered for Ambassadorial vacancies. The accent here is on younger and newly-senior people who may not be high on lists prepared by the Foreign Service establishment. Age, present position, and areas of specialty are noted. Not included here are career people now in Ambassadorships and other politically appointed jobs who were covered in my previous papers. This list also omits FSO's below Class 2 -- though some of them would make fine Ambassadors.

STATE

1. Arthur A. Hartman: 42; Special Assistant to the Under Secretary and Director of the SIG Staff; overseas experience in Europe.
2. Thomas O. Enders: 37; Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs (Monetary matters); expertise in economic matters and European affairs; overseas service in Europe.
3. OLIVER L. TROXEL: 49; Chief of African Section of Bureau of Intelligence and Research; African expert; service in Philippines, Israel, Ethiopia, and Ghana.
4. DEAN R. HINTON: 45; Senior FSO, but now AID Mission Director in Guatemala; previous experience concentrated on European economic affairs; service in Middle East, Africa and Europe.
5. JOSEPH A. GREENWALD: 50; Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs (Trade); trade expert; overseas service in Europe.
6. ROBERT O. BLAKE: 47; DCM in Paris; service in Soviet Union, USUN Delegation, and Africa.
7. PHILLIP M. KAISER: 55; DCM in London; European expert; former Ambassador to Senegal.
8. LEE STULL: 45; just finished tour as Political Counsellor in Pakistan; formerly foreign affairs adviser to Vice President in late 50's; service in Europe and South Asia.
9. GALEN STONE: 47; Political Counselor in Vietnam; service in Europe and India.
10. MATTHEW J. LOORAM: 47; Country Director for Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan; service in Africa and Europe.
11. DAVID P. SCHNEIDER: 46; Deputy Director, Office of Space and Environmental Affairs; South Asian Specialist; briefly DCM in Pakistan.
12. JAMES W. SPAIN (FSR): 42; Country Director for Pakistan and Afghanistan; Pakistan specialist who has served there and lived there as private citizen.
13. EDWARD R. FRIED: 50; Senior Member of White House Foreign Affairs Staff for Europe and Foreign Economic Affairs; economic expertise; most foreign service in Europe.

14. RODGER P. DAVIES: 47; Deputy Assistant Secretary for NEA; Near East Specialist with service in most major Near Eastern capitals.
15. HELMUT SONNENFELDT: (FSR) 42; Director of Soviet-East European section of Bureau of Intelligence and Research; Soviet expert; no overseas service.
16. L. DOUGLAS HECK: 50; Consul General in Istanbul; long-time South Asian specialist; extended service in India and Nepal.
17. DONALD K. PALMER: 45; Deputy Assistant Secretary for Latin America (Economic Policy); economic expertise; service in Europe.
18. STANLEY M. CLEVELAND: 45; Economic Counsellor in Paris; European specialist; long service in Europe.
19. BERNARD NORWOOD: 46; President just withdrew (because of Senator Long's opposition) nomination as U. S. Tariff Commissioner; trade expert; service in Europe.
20. ROBERT J. McCLOSKEY: ⁴⁶ Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs (and Department Spokesman); recently became FSO; only foreign service in Hong Kong.
21. R. LEIGHTON VAN NORT (FSR): 38; Office Director in Bureau of International Organization Affairs; no service abroad.
22. George S. SPRINGSTEEN (FSR); 45; Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs; no service abroad.
23. BENJAMIN H. READ (FSR): 43; Executive Secretary of the Department; former Legislative Assistant to Senator Clark; no service abroad.
24. WILLIAM LEONHART: 49; Special Assistant to the President for Civil Programs In Vietnam; former Ambassador to Tanzania; service in Latin America, Asia, and Europe as well as Africa.
25. PHILANDER P. CLAXTON (FSR); ⁵⁴ Special Assistant to the Secretary for Population Affairs; former Deputy Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations; no service abroad.
26. PHILIP J. FARLEY: 52; Deputy Assistant Secretary for Politico-Military Affairs; service in Europe.
27. J. DAVID LINEBAUGH: 50; Member of Policy Planning Council for South Asia; South Asian specialist with service there; still recovering from very serious auto accident some years ago.
28. ALFRED PUHAN: 55; Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs (Germany); German expert; service in Europe.
29. RUFUS B. SMITH: 56; Country Director for Canada; Asian specialist; service in East and South Asia.

30. MAURRY J. BELMAN (GS): 35; Deputy Legal Adviser; no service abroad.
31. DAVID H. POPPER: 56; Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs; UN specialist; lifetime of UN-related posts.

AID

1. JOHN P. LEWIS: 47; Mission Director in India; former member of President's Council on Economic Advisers; India specialist; also worked in Korea.
2. ERNEST STERN: 34; now on leave to be Deputy Staff Director of Commission on International Development; formerly Deputy Mission Director in Pakistan; also served in India and Turkey.
3. WILLIAM T. DENTZER: 39; Mission Director in Peru; service in Europe.
4. REUBEN STERNFELD: 40's; alternate U.S. Executive Director of Inter-American Development Bank; Latin America expert.
5. JOSEPH C. WHEELER: 42; Deputy Assistant Administrator for Near East/South Asia; formerly Mission Director in Jordan; no other service abroad.
6. JOHN H. FUNARI: 39; Mission Director in Jordan; no previous service abroad.
7. CHARLES NELSON: 40's; Mission Director in Tanzania; African expert; former Peace Corps programming chief.
8. ROBERT S. SMITH: 44; Deputy Assistant Administrator for Africa; service in Europe.
9. ALEXANDER SHAKOW: 31; Country Director for Indonesia; former Peace Corps Representative in Indonesia; economist.

END

IMPORTANT POSITIONS

These positions are not in a priority order. The ones I have chosen for suggestions do cover the range of important early consideration.

I have generally avoided political recommendations, believing these would be more adequately covered by others.

Those I have mentioned are in positions for which they would not conventionally be recommended.

SECRETARY OF STATE

The most important immediate problem to solve, with implications for the entire future of foreign policy, State Department recruitment and morale, and the administrative style of the new administration is the manner of ending the Vietnam war, and reassessing and redefining a new, different, and total posture in the world. The Secretary of State must be tough, competent, a skilled negotiator, able to recruit and command top talent, and content to staff the President as the chief "maker of foreign policy" without burdening him with being Secretary of State as well (Kennedy's and Johnson's great mistake and burden).

Edwin O. Reischauer - Far East expert, but global in interest and competence; strong supporter of RN's views on Southeast Asia and Vietnam; beloved former Ambassador to Japan; excellent administrator, negotiator; politically independent, capable of mobilizing strong bipartisan support; served General Staff in World War II, studied and taught in France, China and Japan; distinguished Harvard professor, but with a strong practical bent, warm human interests and relationships. Missionary born, a strong strain of service runs through his life and work. Forceful and decisive, but not egocentric; independent but one who would "support," not "supplant," the President.

Douglas Dillon - Experienced former Undersecretary of State, respected bipartisan leader, public and private sectors, real interests not finance but foreign policy; perhaps best architect of total State Department reform with confidence of Foreign Service Officers; less experienced in Far East, but highly respected in Europe; more of staff man to the President, than independent leader. Good choice if President takes major initiative in Foreign Affairs.

McGeorge Bundy - Though Republican, tarnished by role in White House with Kennedy and Johnson, and his special role in Vietnam policy; as a major "housecleaner," he is hard to beat; a tough, bright, decisive administrator; ambitious but loyal staff man; an

"expendable" appointment which may be required if major overhaul of State and policy is to be accomplished; abrasive in personal relations, but no one will win popularity contest and overhaul this machinery and policy.

David Rockefeller - Usually placed in fiscal and economic affairs, deep interest and competence in international matters; superior manager, adept in negotiation, personally staffed in depth, a "fresh face" with an eye toward economy, efficiency, and impact in State; ideal counterpart to President without aspiring to be one; not identified with any special part of world, interested in all; special capacity to rethink foreign aid, intelligence, and information, three critical areas of reorganization: underscores critical accent on economy and balance - domestic-foreign.

UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE

Don K. Price, Jr. - Dean, School of Public Administration, Harvard; former assistant secretary of the budget; research and development of State; Hoover Commission; advisor to foreign governments; skilled administrator, organizer and implementer; crucial to reorganization of State, world wide contacts and respect - government, business and academia, splendid recruiter of new manpower.

William W. Scranton - Former special assistant to the Secretary, quietly effective organizer and administrator, sensitive to President's policy; has respect of Foreign Service; would "humanize" some of the tough decisions that must be made from top; good continuity through "expendable" Secretary if that is required.

John S. Dickey - President, Dartmouth College, former special assistant to Secretary of State, author of book on Secretary of State; firm, decisive, administrator, respected student of international affairs, wise "reorganizer"; good balance to any secretary; wide contacts, splendid recruiter of talent.

CHAIRMAN, ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

This position is critical to a fresh approach to the USSR and the wider problems of negotiation regarding NATO, the UN, and regional security pacts. The movement is from the earlier scientific and technical problems to the wider, legal, political, strategic considerations. If there is reorganization of the mechanism of National Security, this should be an essential ingredient, and leadership should reflect that wider relationship.

Arthur Larson - Director, Rule of Law Research Center, School of Law, Duke University, former undersecretary of Labor; director USIA; special assistant to President; informed, respected, restrained, sound negotiator, well connected, reasonable and persuasive. Could move the work of the agency from the narrowly scientific and technical to the legal-political.

Henry Kissinger - Bright German born political scientist at Harvard, directing their defense studies program; consultant to State, Defense and foreign governments; tough minded, solid negotiator, and imaginative innovator in this area; splendid complement to comprehensive effort in new Foreign Policy.

Max Stanley - Remarkable lay expert, engineer-administrator, father of Dave, (candidate for United States Senate, Iowa) and President of the Stanley Foundation; long interested in the problems of Peacemaking and Peacekeeping; one of the best negotiators I know sophisticated in arms control and disarmament; former president United States United Nations Association, wide international contacts, a splendid rural mid-west contribution to an area almost exclusively dominated by the Eastern establishment.

DIRECTOR CIA

Franklin A. Lindsay - President Itek, former member Gaither Committee on National Security; Hoover Commission on Government reorganization; Herter's committee on Foreign Aid; executive assistant to Bernard Baruch, representative to NATO; brilliant OSS officer in World War II, student of counter intelligence, excellent in organization, security, and the critical support role of intelligence in matters of Defense and Foreign Policy.

Edmund A. Gullion - Dean, Fletcher School of Diplomacy, tough minded first Ambassador to the Congo during that crisis, career Foreign Service Officer in Greece, London, Stockholm, France, State Department; critical analyst of Vietnam failures in intelligence and strategy; excellent administrator, recruiter of men. Though nominally democrat, career in non-partisan service, and strong supporter of RN's general Foreign Policy.

DIRECTOR USIA

Rueben Nathan - Director of Fairfiel' Institute, political advisor to RN; extraordinary perception of need to reform, redirect, and strengthen this agency in the entire field of psychological warfare, projecting an authentic image of United States abroad, and creative role of this agency in the post-Vietnam South East Asia, and the new Europe. Understands RN's point of view in depth, and eloquently simple exponent, master of all the tools and media.

Landrum Bolling - President, Earlham College, Indiana. Brilliant European foreign correspondent - Berlin, Central Europe, Mediterranean, student of Middle East and Africa; splendid administrator, master of media, fine grasp of the real America and how to project abroad; excellent team man, imaginative, aggressive and human.

VIETNAM NEGOTIATOR

William Foster - Distinguished Director of Arms Control Commission, seasoned and tough minded negotiator, Republican but bi-partisan, a good way to cap his career (69); respected by Defense, State, and Russians - a rare combination to carry into these negotiations.

Nelson Rockefeller - If not given a Cabinet post, an excellent alternative, on short term could fully represent the President; is tough minded in this type of negotiation; would be well staffed personally and able to recruit any needed expertise. Would dignify importance of swift certain solution in eyes of world. Significant political capital possible.

Cyrus R. Vance - Good continuity figure, as part of delegation; thoughtful, competent, and trusted, excellent negotiator. Advisable only if RN wishes continuity. I would incline toward fresh start, and avoid coming into negotiations on the President's coattails. This is an "insurance" on the alternative.

Walter Judd - Veteran of Asian affairs; tough minded on communist negotiations; brings strength and weakness of an "old face"; would be a trusted representative of the President, with a fine grasp of Asian psychology, limited only in bringing a "new" or "fresh" perspective.

David N. Rowe - Director International Relations Study Center, Yale; co-chairman of "Scholars for Nixon"; Asian expert, born in China, speaks language, tough minded, articulate, RN enthusiast; brings wide acquaintance in area and with the problems attending a settlement.

AMBASSADOR VIETNAM

Frederick E. Nolting - Vice President, Morgan Guarantee Trust, Paris; former Assistant to Undersécretary of State; United States delegation to NATO; Ambassador to Vietnam 1961-63; (Kennedy pulled the rug from under him while en route home); highly regarded by the Vietnamese; speaks fluent French; deep sense of mission to Vietnamese people, could help get a fresh policy going in post war period.

George Romney - Not as strange as it may sound; though he does not know the area, language or culture, and tripped on "brainwashing", he has all the human qualities that will be essential to rebuilding that tortured nation: human confidence, enthusiasm, dedication, even a Mormon's sense of "lay mission"; he and his wife would capture the peoples loyalty, and he could help engineer the redevelopment, economic and human. Just the sort of thing, rightly presented, to attract him.

AMBASSADOR TO UNITED NATIONS

The critical state of the UN left by Ball's intemperate exit and the contrast in the present appointment over past ambassadors makes this appointment crucial. Much of the task of restoring our prestige abroad centers in the eloquence with which the Ambassador at the UN is able to interpret American intentions, ideals, and life. More important, almost, at this moment of history, than the political function of representation in the organization, is the interpretive function required. Must be reflected in the competence of the President's choice.

Senator Edward Brooke - An articulate spokesman for the authentic elements of the continuing American Revolution; tough minded negotiator, patient but insistent, gives the lie to "racist" charges around the world that mar our prestige; would not threaten Secretary of State as second political center of power; a telling way to build bridges domestically to the Negro community across a wide front.

If a bi-partisan appointment is advisable without high political visibility:

Richard F. Pedersen - Career UN Ambassador; young dedicated, competent, highly respected; representative in security council; College of Pacific and Harvard educated - fine blend of East and West; modest beginnings and international sophistication, present Ambassador and Senior advisor;

If bi-partisan desired with political visibility:

Sol Linowitz - Brilliant Ambassador to OAS, former chairman of the Board, Xerox; cultured, practical, innovative; though democrat, really non or bi-partisan in Foreign Affairs, learns quickly, excellent speaker, represents best in American culture, he and wife the best in Ambassadorial function; has respect of governments and international community; would give good boost to importance of Latin America in UN, an important element in on-going negotiations.

AMBASSADOR TO MOSCOW

Philip Mosely - Director, Russian Institute, Columbia; distinguished leader in United States-USSR understanding and relationships. Essentially non-partisan; Representative at Potsdam, and variety of important post-war conferences. Fluent in Russian; seasoned administrator; highly acceptable to Russians, though not sentimental in approach.

Andrew Cordier - Acting President, Columbia; former Undersecretary in UN, seasoned veteran in dealing with Russians; though does not speak language; an excellent negotiator of a new, no-nonsense policy with USSR, used to the "heat in the kitchen", and respected around the world. Most people do not realize he is a Republican who got his start as a county chairman in Indiana!

AMBASSADOR TO PARIS

Frederick E. Nolting (see previous page re: Nolting as Ambassador to Vietnam) - If bipartisan policy desired--review Sargent Shriver's present standing and effectiveness as Ambassador for possible continuation through the Paris negotiations. (This could facilitate recruiting of abler, younger men into government. He is still a symbol for the "Peace Corps generation.")

DIRECTOR, AID

Generally agreed one of the toughest assignments, in need of radical review in policy and procedure, requiring major muscle on the Hill. Has had long period of successive disruption, needs to be part of major review and fresh approach.

John A. Hannah - President, Michigan State, long and distinguished leader in foreign aid and technical assistance; key figure in developing overseas institutions, respected around world and at home; member and officer of major associations, public and private, in this area; sharp analyst, seasoned administrator, a fine finale to a long career of service.

Frank Keppel - President, General Learning Corp.; former Dean, Harvard School of Education; and U. S. Commissioner of Education; his deepest interests are in revamping foreign aid, involving much larger private sector role, etc.; imaginative, tough minded, with fine contacts on Hill, Washington, business and academic community essential to AID.

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Charles J. Hitch - President, University of California system; Arizona-born Rhodes scholar; former Asst. Secretary of Defense; staff of Mission, London; Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion; Rand Corporation; excellent administrator, organizer, analyst; excellent qualifications to convert Vietnam effort to essential economics and increased security measures to close that gap; a delicate and difficult campaign pledge.

Charles B. Thornton - Chairman of the Board and chief executive officer of Litton Industries, Inc.; comprehensively competent administrator, well versed in the "hardware" of defense, widely connected and respected, able to recruit and retain essential talent.

Robert B. Anderson - former Deputy Secretary of Defense, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of Treasury; comprehensively competent, administrator and organizer; well qualified to combine economy, conversion, and development of new technology and professional armed service.

UNDERSECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Henry Rowen - President, Rand Corporation; former Deputy Asst. Secretary for Defense; Deputy Director, Bureau of the Budget; skilled analyst, administrator, organization and control, essential elements in this critical phase of Defense conversion and development.

Elvis J. Stahr - Retiring President, University of Indiana; former Secretary of the Army; President, West Virginia University; Dean, Kentucky Law School; administrator, organizer and implementer; wide contacts in Defense from Secretary of the Army; objective with respect to various "hardware interests." Can "humanize" the cold McNamara machinery.

Fred Russell - Recently retired California industrialist; former executive officer in aircraft industries; skilled in organization, management, production, welding people and materials into an economic, efficient, and human process. Dedicated to RN, wise, tough, and competent.

SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

James W. Rouse - Brilliant founder and President of the new model city, Columbia City, between Washington and Baltimore; outstanding builder, administrator, innovator, inspiring leader; understands Urban problems, human motivation, the private sector, respected nationally, demonstrates how to solve these problems with balance of private initiative and federal cooperation.

Ralph Lazarus - President, Federated Department Stores, Cincinnati, major industrial and business leader concerned with Urban Affairs, informed, actively involved, member of major private efforts to bring local, community leadership to bear on Urban renewal, job opportunity, and new forms of housing, home and business development.

Senator Charles H. Percy - Would bring imaginative leadership, capacity to involve private sector, management skill and a sense of mission about the cities and Urban culture; a "new face" in this area; would take the position out of the category of "poverty and welfare" to a new prospect for revitalized "Urban Culture."

SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT (cont.)

Wayne E. Thompson - Vice President for Community Relations, Dayton Stores, Minneapolis; former City Manager, Oakland, California. Wide experience with urban problems, the promise of private initiative and government planning.

Martin Meyerson - President, State University of New York at Buffalo; former Dean of School of Environmental Sciences, University of California; Professor of City Planning, Univ. of Chicago and MIT; outstanding city planner (Boston's urban renewal); international expert in urban renewal; gifted administrator, capacity to attract wide array of talent, respected by all minorities and the poor.

UNDERSECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Whitney Young - Respected national Negro leader; Executive Director, National Urban League; member of wide variety of professional organizations essential to this task; opportunity for major bipartisan leadership in this area with heavy Democratic population in urban areas.

Walter W. Straley - Vice President, American Telephone & Telegraph Co.; former President, Pacific Northwest Bell Co.; skilled in public relations, administration, mobilizing public and community involvement and support; needed complement to Secretary, and crucial to the motivation to move this program beyond crash treatment to prevention and cure.

Henry Russell - Vice President, Community Affairs, Pepsi Cola; Negro leader; member, Advisory Council of President's "Plans for Progress," the U. S. State Department Advisory Council on African Affairs, and the Business Leaders Advisory Council of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

Ben W. Heineman - Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Chicago and Northwestern Railroad Company, distinguished business and civic leader, active on Presidential Commissions, demonstrated capacity to modernize and transform mass transit; a critical domestic issue, with objectivity toward other forms of transport.

Stanley Osborne - Partner Lazard Freres and Company, former Vice President Eastern Airlines, assistant to president, Atlantic Coast Fisheries, financial and administrative experience in major forms of transportation, skilled administrator, imaginative and innovative essential in this new department.

Charles C. Tillinghast, Jr. - President TWA, distinguished executive, organizer, planner, remarkably human leader, world-wide contacts, remarkable objectivity essential in competing vested interests in this area.

SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION, cont'd

Wilfred J. McNeil - President, Grace Lines, former Assistant Secretary of Defense, Veteran's Administrator, Washington, and private industry. Though near retirement, could give solid initial leadership, with objectivity to coordinate and facilitate development in this area.

UNDERSECRETARY, TRANSPORTATION

George P. Baker - Dean, Harvard Graduate School of Business and Transportation; most distinguished comprehensive authority in this field, involved at all levels of management, research, planning, and operations. Would bring yeasty leadership and tidy administration to this complex office.

SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

Though this position has not been considered critically urgent in past administrations, the relative role of the "rural" states in a Republican victory, calls for an early and thoughtful appointment to underscore this importance. The problems here are so deep, and the department so conventional, it will take a unique blend of "farm-minded administrator and innovator" to give new life and promise to this post.

Cliff Hardin - Chancellor, University of Nebraska, formerly Michigan State; has given remarkable leadership to the "heart" of America's farmland; speaks for, with, and from agriculture; respected and trusted, good administrator; as close to a "farmer" in the office as likely to get.

Earl Butz - Dean, College of Agriculture, Purdue University, former Assistant Secretary of Agriculture; experienced, imaginative, close to the economics and life of agriculture, dedicated Republican, alert to changes required in this office.

Charles Palm - Dean, College of Agriculture, Cornell; distinguished international leader; understands plight of rural American from the "inside", earthy, practical, but imaginative, Texas born, Arkansas bred, honest and tough minded, essential for needed reform and innovation.

Henry Ahlgren - Vice Chancellor for Extension, University of Wisconsin; former director of agriculture extension; Distinguished Service award from Department of Agriculture; frontier leader, understands human factors in rural migration, needs, and future of agriculture in a technical urbanized society.

UNDERSECRETARY, AGRICULTURE

Arthur T. Mosher - Executive Director, Economics of Agriculture; former head Allahabad Agricultural Institute, India and development work in Asia and Latin America; dynamic inspiring leader, good administrator, lively sense of frontiers of agriculture, understands from ground up.

UNDERSECRETARY, AGRICULTURE, cont'd

Donald S. Perkins - President Jewel Company, chain food stores, Chicago; bright, young executive, alert to problems of food, production, distribution, and competition, good balance to secretary.

Don Paarlberg - Professor Agriculture, Economics, Purdue; active RN advisor in economics, former Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.

SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

Laurence S. Rockefeller - (contingent on whether David or Nelson are in cabinet!) Distinguished conservation leader, director of most major organizations in this area. Major mover in park development, problems of water and air pollution, and the range of contemporary problems for interior; lively interest in American Indians and the island trusts and territories as well.

Governor Walter Hickel - Governor of Alaska, Representative of what remains of "unspoiled West"; symbol of range of major concerns in this area; would grow in national leadership in field.

Lelan F. Sillin, Jr. - President, North East Utilities; major leader in conservation, skilled administrator, interpreter, and leader, active in major water and air pollution studies and development.

W. Robert Parks - President, Iowa State University, former economist, department of agriculture, soil conservationist, creative administrator, would bring imagination and common touch to this spot.

UNDERSECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

Robert V. Hansberger - Chairman of Board, Boise Cascade Corporation; Idaho, widely respected executive in western lumber industries with lively sense of public accountability of forests and lands; former head of Young Presidents' Organization, bright and effective.

Theodore F. Stevens - Lawyer, Alaska; former Assistant to Secretary of Interior, solicitor, experienced in department, administration and legislation critical to problems in this area.

POSTMASTER GENERAL

Everyone agrees this department approaches disaster. It has been a catch all for political patronage and party appointments. The Commission headed by Fred Kappel, Chairman of AT&T, has made a comprehensive report and recommendation. It advocates a private-public corporation to revamp and run the department. It could turn a major federal deficit into a break even operation. It can be done.

Fred R. Kappel - Chairman of the Board. AT&T, as an expendable appointment to develop legislation and support for implementing the recommendations of the report.

SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

Elisha Gray, II - Chairman of the Board, Whirlpool, Incorporated, Benton Harbor, Michigan; aggressive business leader, administrator, executive, deeply concerned with private sector leadership in public affairs.

Charles P. McColough - President, Xerox, vigorous leader of fast growing industry, active in promoting social responsibility in industry, international contacts, respect and confidence of business community.

Fred J. Borch - President, General Electric; member and leader of major business and government commissions; international interest and leadership.

H. Bruce Palmer - President, National Industrial Conference Board; seasoned executive, wide contacts and respect in entire business field; remarkable humanist and leader of men.

Robert S. Oelman - President, National Cash Register, Dayton, Ohio; spirited, civic minded industrial leader, convictions and capacity to mobilize private sector.

UNDERSECRETARY OF COMMERCE

Oliver C. Carmichael - Chairman of the Board, Associates Investment Corporation, South Bend, Indiana, former President Converse College, South Carolina, Chairman of the Board Notre Dame, champion of tax credit incentives to business, seasoned administrator.

John E. Swearingen, Jr. - President, Standard Oil of Indiana, young, aggressive, seasoned administrator, with lively interest in industrial leadership revitalizing the private sector.

Lynn A. Townsend - President, Chrysler Corporation, young aggressive industrial leader, brought new life to Chrysler, key to this critical industry in our economy.

William Ruder - President, Ruder and Finn, public relations firm, NYC; deeply interested in motivating private sector, communications expert as complement to Secretary.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE & INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS

Albert L. Nickerson - Chairman of the Board, Mobil Oil Company; widely respected executive, international contacts in critical areas of world and strategic products, relevant to major problems in international commerce.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE, cont't

W. P. Gullander, President, National Association of Manufacturers; former Vice President, General Dynamics, familiar with range of aerospace technology, oceanography, and communications, commercial frontiers.

Richard C. Cornuelle: - A provocative idea and action man; one of ablest architects of a revitalized private sector, close friend of Finch; this may not be the best place for him, but one should be found.

SECRETARY OF LABOR

Jefferson Ward Keener - President, B. F. Goodrich Company; widely respected by labor, seasoned executive, deeply concerned with manpower, security labor-management relations.

Lyle Fisher, - Vice President for personnel and industrial relations, Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company; outstanding labor-management man; respected by labor, splendid executive, creative and imaginative in developing jobs, enthusiastic RN supporter.

Martin Catherwood - Industrial Commissioner, New York State, former Dean, College of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, leader in progressive labor legislation, job opportunities and benefits, respected by labor and management.

John W. McConnell - President, University of New Hampshire, former Dean of Cornell College of Industrial and Labor Relations. Extensive international labor experience, wide reputation and respect of labor.

UNDERSECRETARY OF LABOR

George Lodge, Professor Harvard Business School, former Assistant Secretary of Labor, U. S. representative to International Labor Organization, young attractive, able, would be in Senate from most other states, but the Kennedy's were too much in Massachusetts.

A. A. Fletcher - (If defeated as Lt. Governor of State of Washington) Successful leader in Black Capitalism, creating jobs in Neighborhoods, outstanding Negro leader; former professional football player and teacher; articulate, with ready identification with labor and promise of leading it.

David Freeman - Executive Director, Washington Metropolitan Area Jobs Council, Incorporation, former Assistant Dean, Stanford Law School and Peace Corps executive; young effective, manpower oriented.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

The critical control of inflation, balance of payments and the revitalization of incentives for a larger initiative for the independent sector, has such consequences for every area of government, the leadership here must be broad gauged, tough-minded, and closely associated with all other government heads. They must blend fiscal responsibility and flexible economic initiative.

David Rockefeller - as an option to Secretary of State as above.

Robert V. Roosa - Partner Brown Brothers, Harriman and Company; former Undersecretary and with Federal Reserve; highly respected in an out of government, author on balance of payments, money, trade and economic growth; fine combination of policy maker, administrator, and leader of men.

William M. Martin, Jr. - Chairman, Federal Reserve Board, cannot succeed himself, possesses wide support of all sectors of business and finance, an excellent move for him winning major bi-partisan support.

Rudolph Peterson - President, Bank of America, active experience in Baltimore, Mexico, Hawaii, San Francisco and Chicago, member of all critical fiscal organizations, strong, effective leader, wide support.

UNDERSECRETARY OF TREASURY

Keith Funston - Chairman of the Board, Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation, former President New York Stock Exchange and Trinity College; wide contacts, stronger on management than economic policy a good balance in the undersecretary.

Henry Wallich - Professor economics, Yale; former Assistant to Secretary of Treasury, member President's Council of Economic Advisors, White House; if Secretary stronger on management, he would complement in strong economic policy.

Stephen M. DuBoul, Jr. - partner Lehman Brothers; one of the young, bright leaders in this area; Harvard Business School's recent "whiz kid".

Robert M. Hearin - President, First National Bank of Jackson, Mississippi, if a Southern progressive influence is desired, one of the attractive new fiscal leaders of the South.

COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISORS

Arthur F. Burns - self evident, senior advisor to RN in this area.

Gabriel Hauge - President, Manufacturers Hanover Trust; former State Budget Officer, Minnesota, Federal Reserve, Special Assistant to the President, broad government and administrative experience, fine combination, fiscal and program emphasis.

Albert L. Williams - Chairman, Executive Board, former President, IBM; corrects criticism Council has been dominated by economists; brilliant economic analyst, but with view toward growth, business productivity and management.

Milton Friedman - Professor of Economics, University of Chicago; well-known to RN, special flare for economic theory and innovation.

Paul A. Samuelson - Brilliant professor of Economics, MIT; President, International Economic Association, 1966; expert in tax reform, but comprehensive generalist, respected by academics and operators alike.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Senator Roman Hruska - Distinguished member of Senate Judiciary Committee, conservative in temper, but progressive in criminal reform; would be respected in the South and West, on the Hill, and among Attorney Generals; consistently does his homework, a "no frills," "no nonsense," tough-minded, fair man; no spot-light-seeker--stability in one of the tough spots this year; not an easy target for any group.

George Hinman - Lawyer, special counsel to Rockefeller, distinguished New York leader in civic and legal affairs, liberal in spirit, but tough on law and order; well connected in South, skilled administrator, sensitive to entire range of civil rights issues, and needed legal and treatment reforms, experienced in New York State's programs and leadership in some of these fields.

Edward H. Levi - President, University of Chicago; former Dean of Law School; Special Assistant to Attorney General in Washington (1940-45); legal training less on current issues, but great objectivity, dependability of judgment, judicious and thoughtful; firm and decisive, all essential qualities in this spot at this time.

William P. Rogers - Former Attorney General (hazard in reappointment, but at this time, something to be said for this consideration); experienced in administrative department, could give major attention to "crises" and new directions. Obvious confidence of RN.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL, CIVIL RIGHTS

Lawrence E. Walsh - New York lawyer, former deputy assistant Attorney General, served through major posts in New York, Task Force on Law Enforcement, fair-minded, experienced; respected in legal profession.

Martin Pollner- Executive Director-Advisory Council, sensitive understanding of problems in area, experienced in the department, and excellent public interpretation and representational role-critically important in that area.

Earl Dearing- City prosecutor, Louisville; member Advisory Council for RN, able Negro leader, sensitive, objective, respected.

Stephen Kurzman-Lawyer, Washington, former deputy staff director of National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders; former Assistant, Senator Javitz, bright, competent, young.

ADMINISTRATION

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Richard E. Spelts, Jr. - President, Spelts of Nebraska, First National Bank, Grand Island; chief architect of National Award for Outstanding city in America; occupied all the "small business" chairs in Middle West, organized competent, strong accent on independent sector, understands problems from ground up, former Chairman, State Republican Party, headed Truth Squad in 1964; ran Senator 'Curtis' campaign, a good political as well as professional appointment.

Burkley Burrell - President of National Negro Business League, successful Washington D. C. "small business man", wide influence in Negro community, well connected in business and industry; with effort to develop "Black Capitalism" a Negro in this spot would be a dramatic confirmation of the campaign.

CHAIRMAN, FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

George Champion - Chairman of the Board, Chase Manhattan Bank; though near retirement, a strong senior hand, close to RN - for the comprehensive fiscal management essential in the initial year.

CHAIRMAN, FEDERAL HOME LOAN BOARD

Ralph Cake - Chairman of the Board, Equitable Savings and Loan Association, senior advisor to RN, though senior retirement, knows how to affect grass roots initiative and reform in this whole area, essential to motivate the "small" home owner in a new phase of economy. One of the "grand old men of the party."

HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

(See comprehensive Recommendations) HEW Manpower above

DIRECTOR OF THE BUDGET

This office plays a decisive hand in determining priorities. Development of new legislation and program evaluation are centered here. Until reorganization may change this, crucial to have a combination of program generalist and fiscal and budget analyst in this role. Difficult but imperative to find.

W. Allen Wallis - President, University of Rochester, brilliant statistician, Director of Research, University of Chicago; remarkable grasp of program budgeting, economic controls and fiscal systems; generalist on programs and specialist in budget formation.

Charles Hitch - (See above Secretary of Defense)

Henry Rowen - President, Rand Corporation (see above - Defense)

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE BUDGET

John A. Perkins - Chairman of the Board, Dun and Bradstreet, former director budget, State of Michigan and President of University of Delaware; excellent in combining program and fiscal controls.

Howard R. Bowen - President, University of Iowa, brilliant economic and management planner; former President, Grinnell, Professor, Williams, member Department of Commerce; member of all major President Commissions and professions in field; a refreshing "new face" to bring to Washington.

Norman Hurd - Director of the Budget, State of New York, former Head Economics, Cornell, dedicated, competent, seasoned under fire - fine grasp of program budgeting and economy - a rare quality of dedication to public service.

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, cont'd

Dr. Joseph Kaplan. - Distinguished Chairman, Physics, UCLA, well known to RN, respected scientist, well connected nationally and internationally, lively sense of the crisis in science, not as strong on the "social" science side, warm, wise advisor

DIRECTOR, NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

Eric Walker - President, Penn State University, scientist engineer, Executive Secretary, Research and Development Board, President, technical research for small business; chairman, Committee on Undersea Warfare; President's Science Advisory Committee; splendid administrator, fair objective, and innovative, especially required in this sensitive spot in distributing major research funds.

CHAIRMAN, ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

Philip N. Powers - President, Argonne University Association, comprehensive consultant to Defense, State, President's Commission, brilliant physicist, engineer, administrator, nationally and internationally regarded; active in manpower resources, research, and planning.

Alvin Martin Weinberg - Director, Oak Ridge National Laboratory, imaginative physicist, President's Science Advisory Committee, contributed significantly to RN's policy statement, "future oriented", a fresh voice in this area.

DIRECTOR, EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES COMMISSION

Sam Pierce, Jr. - Lawyer, distinguished Negro leader, former judge, member New York City Board of Education, State Minimum Wage Board; highly respected, articulate, competent, well connected across entire range of employment possibilities.

Robert L. Randolph - Director of Compliance EEOC, former Dean Deputy OEO, brilliant Negro economist from University of Illinois, competent in labor-management relations, skilled negotiator and administrator, young, attractive articulate.

ADMINISTRATOR, NASA

Simon Ramo - Executive Vice-President, Thompson Ramo Woollridge Incorporated, California, former President Sapsce Technology Labs, Science director USAF ballistic missile program - Atlas, Titan and Thor; member of major science advisory commissions, space technology, competent scientist, engineer administrator, fine sense of public and private partnership essential in this field.

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Dr. Jean Mayer - Professor, School of Health and Center for Study for Population Control, Harvard; brilliant scientific generalist, understands sciences and technology, but differs from most by having remarkable administrative ability, fine sense of how to support policy development for executive action, a critical requirement in this role.

Dr. Frederick Seitz - President, Rockefeller University; Chairman Defense Science Board; President, National Academy of Sciences, brilliant, comprehensive, respected, served in business, government and university ideal blend.

NEW YOUTH SERVICE AGENCY

This can be one of the dramatic points of early leadership in the new administration. The appointment must reflect a real understanding of the youth today. The wrong appointment would really raise a creditability question of major proportions.

Dr. Nicholas Gonchoroff - Executive Secretary for National and International Affairs, National YMCA; former Russian Tank Captain, defected at Berlin, US citizen - "chosen not birth", brilliant youth leader across America Renaissance man, with gutty feeling for America's freedom and youth opportunity, a more competent and comprehensive "Shriver" with a message and ability to rally youth. Need to check whether "Russina born" a political liability in a new agency.

Jaqueline Grennan - President, Webster College, Missouri, former mn, eloquent youth leader, in touch with deep currents, "secularized" her college and her life, attractive, compelling leader, a "dramatic" appointment, with quality to back it up - one of the outstanding young women of America - a leader in any league. Uncertain of her political interests or loyalties.

Clifford L. Alexander - Negro lawyer, former member National Security Council, Special Assistant to President, Executive Director of HARYOU, winner of several outstanding achievement awards; one of ablest young negros "in touch" with our times.