

*1/12 Henry Kissinger -
may be something here
of interest to you and
Bell
Peters
Barlow*

November 11, 1968

PRESIDENT NIXON AND THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE:
A PROGRAM TO ENSURE CONTROL OF KEY PERSONNEL
BY THE NEW PRESIDENT

BACKGROUND:

Mr. Nixon's candidacy not only was unsupported by nearly 90% of the personnel of the Department of State-- it was opposed, at least passively.

Long years of Democratic rule have assured a bureaucracy in the Department of State, which, if required to be politically neutral in legal terms, nevertheless is so strongly opposed to conservative values that none but "liberal" concepts in domestic politics are accepted with any degree of tolerance. This attitude spills over into foreign policy matters. Intellectual honesty and the freedom to air dissenting, i.e., conservative, ideas (an essential part of any intelligent policy formation process) have remained only a theoretical possibility--to be exercised only at the peril of an officer's career. This was because of the tendency to view all dissenting opinion having conservative or traditionally patriotic modalities as emanating from "right wingers" (an epithet at State as damning as "John Bircher").

The possibility that Mr. Nixon could become President was, therefore, feared by most officers in the higher grades (FSO-2, FSO-1, GS-16, GS-17, GS-18) because:

- (1) it threatened their personal status as well-entrenched bureaucrats;
- (2) it posed an inescapable challenge to self-generated and securely protected cliques within the State Department/U.S. Foreign Service, which, remaining intact and undisturbed over the years, have managed to defeat or frustrate the firmest-intentioned reformers and could continue to do so, if permitted.
- (3) it carried the inherent promise of a re-examination of past "sacred cows" of "liberal" and "internationalist" creation, through which these individuals had furthered their careers and with which they were closely identified.

The vast bulk of "liberals" in the U.S. Foreign Service/State Department establishment believe that the allegedly thin margin of Mr. Nixon's victory will make

it impossible for the new Nixon team to impose any deep or meaningful change either upon the internal system which has nurtured them or upon the outward working of the system in terms of U.S. foreign policy operations. (They refuse to interpret the true significance of a 57% anti-administration vote.) Their basic assumption is that their technical expertise will be so indispensable to an incoming administration that their own personal commitment to previous policies can be effectively obscured before the new administration's supporters can be trained to operate the foreign affairs machinery of the United States.

In like manner, Mr. Nixon's statement that "we strongly support the Foreign Service and will strengthen it by improving its efficiency and administration by providing adequate allowances for its personnel" is considered by many to suggest that Mr. Nixon intends to make few significant changes and that those that are introduced can be defeated or rendered superficial by dilatory tactics.

Passage of time, therefore, will make it increasingly difficult to identify with clarity persons whose record and outlook during the past administration has been so totally "radical liberal" as to systematically discourage, veto, or kill professionally persons and policies of conservative persuasion.

For all these reasons, if all those now occupying key non-appointive slots at the GS-16/FSO-2 level (and higher) remain in their present positions, any serious effort to exercise policy control over the Department of State will be frustrated or blunted.

Described below is a three-phased State Department transition plan which will assure the return to a U.S. policy of enlightened national self-interest, skillfully implemented:

PHASE I - Immediate Fact-Finding Team

Assignment of about twenty-five (25) working-level staff members, critically placed (see appendix), who are committed to the Nixon administration, for the purpose

of gathering information and preparing recommendations in the fields of personnel and organization for the use of the President-elect and his advisors. A small cadre of professional Department of State employees known to be supporters of Mr. Nixon should be used in harness with persons from outside the Department and the present administration. Authorization exists for such immediate assignment of personnel (see appendix 2).

PHASE II - Early Target Date for Completion of Staff Studies

No later than December 30, a series of preliminary recommendations should be submitted by the fact-finding team to the President-elect's staff; these would include:

- (1) Immediate, prepared access to and exploitation of files in key decision-making areas;
- (2) Identification of a large number of decision-influencing positions which must be staffed by provably loyal supporters of the President-elect.
- (3) Background studies of personnel, whether or not they currently occupy political policy-making positions, which illustrate a person's basic foreign policy orientation and his potential for future service to the President-elect and to the country.

②
only a bit dangerous!

PHASE III - Re-assessment and Possible Re-direction of Some U.S. Foreign Policy Operations

The direction or results of recommendations that might flow from Phases I and II cannot be prejudged. Since the studies would be fully objective and not bound by any preconceptions, they would not necessarily vindicate the views of any groups or individuals now active in U.S. foreign policy formulation.

However, since the President-elect is in the favored position of not being bound by administrative policies of the past eight years, it is expected that:

- (1) potentially disruptive elements in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy who could defeat an otherwise validly conceived policy, will be identified;
- (2) valid propositions, useful for promoting U.S.

interests, will suggest themselves, and postulates which have been tangential or even contrary to U.S. interests will be eliminated as points upon which policy is based;

- (3) untapped reserves in personnel and ideas will be located;
- (4) the President-elect will be assured of foreign policy machinery the reliability of whose components is beyond question;
- (5) programs will be developed which will insure the President-elect of objective foreign policy machinery, geared to enable him to maximize US foreign policy options in the decade of the 1970s.

RECOMMENDATION:

That implementation of Phase I and II of the Three-Phase Program set forth above begin immediately by selection and assignment of the necessary working-level transition staffs to the Department of State.

_____ Approve
_____ (date)

_____ Disapprove

Attachments:

- Appendix 1 - Critical Areas for Transition Staffs
- Appendix 2 - US Code granting authority for above

cc: Mr. Robert Ellsworth

CRITICAL AREAS WHERE TRANSITION STAFFS
WOULD BE ASSIGNED AS FAR IN ADVANCE AS POSSIBLE
OF NIXON-APPROVED OFFICERS-IN-CHARGE

(Note that the approximately 25 transition staff positions needed are not listed in priority. Assignment would be to the Transition Staff itself and officers would not be bound to a specific office. A need for a high degree of staff mobility obviously will be required.)

OFFICES OF: (At least one staff man per area except as indicated)

The Deputy Under Secretary for Administration, and,

The Director General of the Foreign Service

The Deputy Assistant Secretary for Budget

The Deputy Assistant Secretary for Operations

The Deputy Assistant Secretary for Organization and Management

The Deputy Assistant Secretary for Personnel (3-5, initially)
Career Management and Assignments
Employment Division; Medical Division
Performance Evaluation
Presidential Appointments Staff

The Assistant Secretaries of Geographic Areas and Functional Responsibilities (5-7 needed initially to begin with the executive/personnel area, including International Organizations and Intelligence and Research. The Transitional Staffs from other areas would be called upon to help as substantive considerations demanded.)

The Chairman of the Policy Planning Council

The Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security (At least 5 needed)

The Executive Secretariat (to consider 7th floor operations functioning under the Secretary, Under Secretaries, etc., and their relationship to other areas in the government.)

The Legal Advisor

The Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations

TITLE 3.—THE PRESIDENT

§ 101

§ 101. Commencement of term of office.

The term of four years for which a President and Vice President shall be elected, shall, in all cases, commence on the 20th day of January next succeeding the day on which the votes of the electors have been given. (June 25, 1948, ch. 644, 62 Stat. 678.)

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

The statement on Organization and Functions of the Executive Office of the President, 14 P. R. 7856, as amended 17 P. R. 6204; 18 P. R. 5668, provides:

SEC. I. DIVISIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

The Executive Office of the President consists of the divisions listed below.

SEC. II. WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

The White House Office comprises the officers and employees of the staff of the President required in the performance of the detailed activities incident to his immediate office.

SEC. III. BUREAU OF THE BUDGET—(A) GENERAL

The Bureau of the Budget serves the President in the preparation and administration of the budget, in the review of legislation and Executive orders, in the improvement of administrative management and organization, and in the coordination and improvement of Federal statistics.

(B) APPROVAL OF COLLECTION OF INFORMATION

Under the Federal Reports Act of 1942 [sections 139—139f of Title 5], no Federal agency, with specified exemptions, may collect identical information from ten or more respondents without the Bureau's approval, which is indicated on the report form or questionnaire. This authority is exercised by the Assistant Director for Statistical Standards, with assistance from an Advisory Council on Federal Reports representing national business organizations.

SEC. IV. COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISORS

The Council of Economic Advisors assists the President in the preparation of his economic reports to Congress; studies developments and trends in income, production, and employment; appraises activities of the Federal Government bearing upon the growth and stability of the Nation's economy; and develops and recommends to the President national economic policies to foster a strong economy.

SEC. V. NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

The National Security Council advises the President with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to the national security. The Central Intelligence Agency is under the Council's direction.

SEC. VI. OFFICE OF DEFENSE MOBILIZATION

The Office of Defense Mobilization directs, controls, and coordinates on behalf of the President all defense mobilization activities of the executive branch of the Government.

SEC. VII. OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT

The Office for Emergency Management, when activated, assists the President in dealing with public emergencies.

PRESIDENT'S ADVISORY COMMISSION ON PRESIDENTIAL OFFICE SPACE

Act Aug. 3, 1956, ch. 925, 70 Stat. 979, as amended by Pub. L. 85-3, Jan. 25, 1957, 71 Stat. 4, created a President's Advisory Commission on Presidential Office Space to study the problem of providing more adequate office space for the White House Office and the other agencies of the Executive Office of the President. Pursuant to section 1 (b) of act Aug. 3, 1956, the Commission was required to report to the President its findings and recommendations within 10 months after Aug. 3, 1956, and section 2 (g) of act Aug. 3, 1956 provided that the Commission should cease to exist 30 days after the submission of its final report.

§ 102. Compensation of the President.

The President shall receive in full for his services during the term for which he shall have been elected compensation in the aggregate amount of \$100,000 a year, to be paid monthly, and in addition an expense allowance of \$50,000 to assist in defraying expenses relating to or resulting from the discharge of his official duties, for which expense allowance no accounting, other than for income tax purposes, shall be made by him. He shall be entitled also to the use of the furniture and other effects belonging to the United States and kept in the Executive Mansion. (June 25, 1948, ch. 644, 62 Stat. 678; Jan. 19, 1949, ch. 2, § 1 (a), 63 Stat. 4; Oct. 20, 1951, ch. 521, title VI, § 619 (a), 65 Stat. 569.)

AMENDMENTS

1951—Act Oct. 20, 1951, made the President's expense allowance taxable.

1949—Act Jan. 19, 1949, increased the President's salary from \$75,000 per year to \$100,000 per year, and gave him a yearly expense account of \$50,000 for which he was to make no accounting and which was tax free.

EFFECTIVE DATE OF 1951 AMENDMENT

Section 619 (e) of act Oct. 20, 1951, provided in part that this amendment should become effective at noon on Jan. 20, 1953.

EFFECTIVE DATE OF 1949 AMENDMENT

Section 3 of act Jan. 19, 1949, provided that this section, sections 104 and 111 of this title, sections 31 and 31b of Title 2, The Congress, and section 693-1 note of Title 5, Executive Departments and Government Officers and Employees, should take effect at noon on Jan. 20, 1949.

PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITION ACT OF 1963

Pub. L. 88-277, Mar. 7, 1964, 78 Stat. 153, provided:

"[SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE]. That this Act may be cited as the 'Presidential Transition Act of 1963.'

"SEC. 2 [PURPOSE OF THIS ACT]. The Congress declares it to be the purpose of this Act to promote the orderly transfer of the executive power in connection with the expiration of the term of office of a President and the inauguration of a new President. The national interest requires that such transitions in the office of President be accomplished so as to assure continuity in the faithful execution of the laws and in the conduct of the affairs of the Federal Government, both domestic and foreign. Any disruption occasioned by the transfer of the executive power could produce results detrimental to the safety and well-being of the United States and its people. Accordingly, it is the intent of the Congress that appropriate actions be authorized and taken to avoid or minimize any disruption. In addition to the specific provisions contained in this Act directed toward that purpose, it is the intent of the Congress that all officers of the Government so conduct the affairs of the Government for which they exercise responsibility and authority as (1) to be mindful of problems occasioned by transitions in the office of President, (2) to take appropriate lawful steps to avoid or minimize disruptions that might be occasioned by the transfer of the executive power, and (3) otherwise to promote orderly transitions in the office of President.

"SEC. 3 [SERVICES AND FACILITIES AUTHORIZED TO BE PROVIDED TO PRESIDENTS-ELECT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS-ELECT]. (a) The Administrator of General Services, referred to hereafter in this Act as 'the Administrator,' is authorized to provide, upon request, to each President-elect and each Vice-President-elect, for use in connection with his preparations for the assumption of official duties as President or Vice President necessary services and facilities, including—

"(1) Suitable office space appropriately equipped with furniture, furnishings, office machines and equipment, and office supplies, as determined by the Administrator, after consultation with the President-elect, the Vice-President-elect, or their designee provided for in subsection (e) of this section, at such place or

See next Page

places within the United States as the President-elect or Vice-President-elect shall designate:

"(2) Payment of the compensation of members of office staffs designated by the President-elect or Vice-President-elect at rates determined by them not to exceed the rate provided by the Classification Act of 1949, as amended [chapter 21 of Title 5], for grade GS-18: *Provided*, That any employee of any agency of any branch of the Government may be detailed to such staffs on a reimbursable or nonreimbursable basis with the consent of the head of the agency; and while so detailed such employee shall be responsible only to the President-elect or Vice-President-elect for the performance of his duties: *Provided further*, That any employee so detailed shall continue to receive the compensation provided pursuant to law for his regular employment, and shall retain the rights and privileges of such employment without interruption. Notwithstanding any other law, persons receiving compensation as members of office staffs under this subsection, other than those detailed from agencies, shall not be held or considered to be employees of the Federal Government except for purposes of the Civil Service Retirement Act [chapter 30 of Title 5], the Federal Employees' Compensation Act [chapter 15 of Title 5], the Federal Employees' Group Life Insurance Act of 1954 [chapter 24 of Title 5], and the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act of 1959 [chapter 36 of Title 5];

"(3) Payment of expenses for the procurement of services of experts or consultants or organizations thereof for the President-elect or Vice-President-elect, as authorized for the head of any department by section 15 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946, as amended (5 U.S.C. 55a), at rates not to exceed \$100 per diem for individuals;

"(4) Payment of travel expenses and subsistence allowances, including rental of Government or hired motor vehicles, found *necessary* by the President-elect or Vice-President-elect, as authorized for persons employed intermittently or for persons serving without compensation by section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946, as amended (5 U.S.C. 73b-2), as may be appropriate;

"(5) Communications services found necessary by the President-elect or Vice-President-elect;

"(6) Payment of expenses for necessary printing and binding, notwithstanding the Act of January 12, 1895, and the Act of March 1, 1919, as amended (44 U.S.C. 111);

"(7) Reimbursement to the postal revenues in amounts equivalent to the postage that would otherwise be payable on mail matter referred to in subsection (d) of this section.

"(b) The Administrator shall expend no funds for the provision of services and facilities under this Act in connection with any obligations incurred by the President-elect or Vice-President-elect before the day following the date of the general elections held to determine the electors of President and Vice President in accordance with title 3, United States Code, sections 1 and 2, or after the inauguration of the President-elect as President and the inauguration of the Vice-President-elect as Vice President.

"(c) The terms 'President-elect' and 'Vice-President-elect' as used in this Act shall mean such persons as are the apparent successful candidates for the office of President and Vice President, respectively, as ascertained by the Administrator following the general elections held to determine the electors of President and Vice President in accordance with title 3, United States Code, sections 1 and 2.

"(d) Each President-elect shall be entitled to conveyance within the United States and its territories and possessions of all mail matter, including airmail, sent by him in connection with his preparations for the assumption of official duties as President, and such mail matter shall be transmitted as penalty mail as provided in title 39, United States Code, section 4152. Each Vice-President-elect shall be entitled to conveyance within the United States and its territories and possessions of all mail matter, including airmail, sent by him under his written autograph signature in connection with his preparations for the assumption of official duties as Vice President.

"(e) Each President-elect and Vice-President-elect may designate to the Administrator an assistant authorized to make on his behalf such designations or findings of necessity as may be required in connection with the services and facilities to be provided under this Act. Not more than 10 per centum of the total expenditures under this Act for any President-elect or Vice-President-elect may be made upon the basis of a certificate by him or the assistant designated by him pursuant to this section that such expenditures are classified and are essential to the national security, and that they accord with the provisions of subsections (a), (b), and (d) of this section.

"(f) In the case where the President-elect is the incumbent President or in the case where the Vice-President-elect is the incumbent Vice President, there shall be no expenditures of funds for the provision of services and facilities to such incumbent under this Act, and any funds appropriated for such purposes shall be returned to the general funds of the Treasury.

"SEC. 4 [SERVICES AND FACILITIES AUTHORIZED TO BE PROVIDED TO FORMER PRESIDENTS AND FORMER VICE PRESIDENTS]. The Administrator is authorized to provide, upon request, to each former President and each former Vice President, for a period not to exceed six months from the date of the expiration of his term of office as President or Vice President, for use in connection with winding up the affairs of his office, necessary services and facilities of the same general character as authorized by this Act to be provided to Presidents-elect and Vice-Presidents-elect. Any person appointed or detailed to serve a former President or former Vice President under authority of this section shall be appointed or detailed in accordance with, and shall be subject to, all of the provisions of section 3 of this Act applicable to persons appointed or detailed under authority of that section. The provisions of the Act of August 25, 1953 (72 Stat. 838; 5 U.S.C. 102, note), other than subsections (a) and (c) shall not become effective with respect to a former President until six months after the expiration of his term of office as President.

"SEC. 5 [AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS]. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Administrator such funds as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of this Act but not to exceed \$900,000 for any one Presidential transition, to remain available during the fiscal year in which the transition occurs and the next succeeding fiscal year. The President shall include in the budget transmitted to the Congress, for each fiscal year in which his regular term of office will expire, a proposed appropriation for carrying out the purposes of this Act."

FORMER PRESIDENTS; ALLOWANCE; SELECTION; COMPENSATION, AND STATUS OF OFFICE STAFF; OFFICE SPACE; MAILING PRIVILEGE; WIDOW'S PENSION

Pub. L. 85-745, Aug. 25, 1959, 72 Stat. 838, as amended, Pub. L. 88-426, title I, § 124, Aug. 14, 1964, 78 Stat. 412, provided: "That (a) each former President of the United States shall be entitled, as long as he shall live, to receive, a monetary allowance at the rate of \$95,000 per annum, payable monthly by the Secretary of the Treasury.

"(b) The Administrator of General Services shall, without regard to the civil-service and classification laws, provide for each former President an office staff. Persons employed under this subsection shall be selected by the former President and shall be responsible only to him for the performance of their duties. Each former President shall fix basic rates of compensation for persons employed for him under this paragraph which in the aggregate shall not exceed \$65,000 per annum. The rate of compensation payable to any such person shall not exceed the maximum aggregate rate of compensation payable to any individual employed in the office of a Senator. Each individual appointed under this subsection to a position on the office staff of a former President shall be held and considered to be an employee of the Government of the United States for the purposes of the Civil Service Retirement Act [chapter 30 of Title 5], the Federal Employees' Compensation Act [chapter 15 of Title 5], and the Federal Employees' Group Life Insurance Act of 1954 [chapter 24 of Title 5].

"(c) The Administrator of General Services shall furnish for each former President suitable office space appropriately furnished and equipped, as determined by

the Administrator, at such place within the United States as the former President shall specify.

"(d) Each former President shall be entitled to conveyance within the United States and its Territories and possessions free of postage of all mail matter sent by him under his written autograph signature. The postal revenues shall be reimbursed each fiscal year out of the general funds of the Treasury in an amount equivalent to the postage which would otherwise be payable on such mail matter.

"(e) The widow of any former President of the United States shall be entitled to receive a pension at the rate of \$10,000 per annum, payable monthly by the Secretary of the Treasury, if such widow shall waive the right to any annuity or pension under any other Act of Congress.

"(f) As used in this section, the term 'former President' means an individual who shall have held the office of President of the United States, and whose service in such office shall have been terminated other than by removal pursuant to section 4, article II, of the Constitution."

FORMER PRESIDENT EISENHOWER; ALLOWANCE COMPENSATION OF OFFICE STAFF; WIDOW'S PENSION

Allowance to former President Eisenhower as precluding entitlement to pay of General of the Army, compensation of office staff to former President to be reduced by pay of military assistants to the General of the Army, and benefits of widow of former President unaffected by restoration of military status, see Appointment of General of the Army note under former sections 1691—1697 of Title 50, Appendix.

§ 103. Traveling expenses.

There may be expended for or on account of the traveling expenses of the President of the United States such sum as Congress may from time to time appropriate, not exceeding \$40,000 per annum, such sum when appropriated to be expended in the discretion of the President and accounted for on his certificate solely. (June 25, 1948, ch. 644, 62 Stat. 678.)

§ 104. Salary of the Vice President.

The Vice President shall receive in full for his services during the term for which he shall have been elected the sum of \$43,000 a year, to be paid monthly. (June 25, 1948, ch. 644, 62 Stat. 678; Jan. 10, 1949, ch. 2, § 1 (b), 63 Stat. 4; Mar. 2, 1955, ch. 9, § 4 (c), 69 Stat. 11; Aug. 14, 1964, Pub. L. 88-426, title III, § 304(a), 78 Stat. 422.)

AMENDMENTS

1964—Pub. L. 88-426 increased the Vice President's salary from \$45,000 to \$43,000 per year.

1955—Act. Mar. 2, 1955, increased the compensation of the Vice President from \$30,000 to \$35,000.

1949—Act. Jan. 10, 1949, increased the Vice President's salary from \$20,000 per year to \$30,000.

EFFECTIVE DATE OF 1964 AMENDMENT

Amendment of section by Pub. L. 88-426 effective on the first day of the first pay period which begins on or after July 1, 1964, except to the extent provided in section 501(c) of Pub. L. 88-426, see section 501 of Pub. L. 88-426, set out as a note under section 1113 of Title 5, Executive Departments and Government Officers and Employees.

EFFECTIVE DATE OF 1955 AMENDMENT

Amendment of section by act Mar. 2, 1955, effective Mar. 1, 1955, see note under section 31 of Title 2, The Congress.

EFFECTIVE DATE OF 1949 AMENDMENT

Amendment of section by act Jan. 10, 1949, effective at noon on Jan. 20, 1949, see note set out under section 102 of this title.

LONG-DISTANCE TELEPHONE CALLS

Sections 46c and 46d of Title 2, The Congress, relating to long-distance telephone calls for Senators are made

applicable to the Vice President under the provisions of section 46d-1 of Title 2, The Congress.

§ 105. Compensation of secretaries and executive, administrative, and staff assistants to President.

The President is authorized to fix the compensation of the six administrative assistants authorized to be appointed under section 106 of this title, of the Executive Secretary of the National Security Council, of the Executive Secretary of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, and of eight other secretaries or immediate staff assistants in the White House Office at rates of basic compensation not to exceed that of level II of the Federal Executive Salary Schedule. (June 25, 1948, ch. 644, 62 Stat. 678; Oct. 15, 1949, ch. 695, § 2(a), 63 Stat. 880; Oct. 4, 1961, Pub. L. 87-367, title III, § 303(h), 75 Stat. 794; Aug. 14, 1964, Pub. L. 88-426, title II, § 304(b), 78 Stat. 422.)

AMENDMENTS

1964—Pub. L. 88-426 included the Executive Secretary of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, and substituted provisions permitting the President to fix the compensation of the enumerated personnel at rates of basic compensation not more than that of level II of the Federal Executive Salary Schedule for provisions which limited the compensation of such personnel to two at rates not more than \$22,500, three at not more than \$21,000, seven at not more than \$20,000 and three at not more than \$18,500 per annum.

1961—Pub. L. 87-367 authorized the President to increase the compensation of three assistants to the President from \$17,500 to \$18,500 per annum.

1949—Act Oct. 15, 1949, increased compensation of secretaries, and executive, administrative, and staff assistants.

EFFECTIVE DATE OF 1964 AMENDMENT

Amendment of section by Pub. L. 88-426 effective on the first day of the first pay period which begins on or after July 1, 1964, except to the extent provided in section 501(c) of Pub. L. 88-426, see section 501 of Pub. L. 88-426, set out as a note under section 1113 of Title 5, Executive Departments and Government Officers and Employees.

EFFECTIVE DATE OF 1961 AMENDMENT

Amendments of this section by Pub. L. 87-367 effective at the beginning of the first pay period which begins on or after the sixtieth day following Oct. 4, 1961, see section 305 of Pub. L. 87-367, set out as a note under section 2203 of Title 5, Executive Departments and Government Officers and Employees.

EFFECTIVE DATE OF 1949 AMENDMENT

The increased compensation provided for by act Oct. 15, 1949, took effect on the first day of the first pay period after Oct. 15, 1949, see section 9 of act Oct. 15, 1949, set out as a note under section 273 of Title 2, The Congress.

REPEALS

Act July 31, 1956, ch. 804, title I, § 109, 70 Stat. 740, which amended this section to authorize the President to fix the compensation of additional secretaries or other immediate staff assistants and increased salary rates, was repealed by Pub. L. 88-426, title III, § 305(1), Aug. 14, 1964, 78 Stat. 422.

CROSS REFERENCES

Former Presidents, office staff, see note set out under section 102 of this title.

§ 106. Administrative assistants.

The President is authorized to appoint not to exceed six administrative assistants and to fix their compensation in accordance with section 105 of this title. Each such administrative assistant shall perform such duties as the President may prescribe. (June 25, 1948, ch. 644, 62 Stat. 678; Oct. 15, 1949, ch. 695, § 2 (b), 63 Stat. 880.)

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT AT THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
(Transition to Conservative/Republican
Control Under President Nixon's Management.)

December 5, 1968.

SOME GENERAL COMMENTS:

Skilful management and pruning of personnel resources at the Department of State will be required to provide President Nixon with foreign policy machinery the reliability of which is beyond question. Low morale within the Department of State and the tendency to forecast any well-intentioned Republican reforms as "McCarthyism", a "purge" or a "witch hunt" suggests that the long-overdue personnel clean-up will have to be performed with skill, tact, and, most importantly, with meticulous regard for due process and the legal rights of persons affected. (The Otepka case is evidence that such due process has not always existed in the past several years.)

The Foreign Service personnel system's autonomy will have to be the major focus of any reform program that hopes to get off the ground. This autonomy--long presented as essential for preserving the integrity of the Foreign Service--in fact has produced the opposite effect. Only those in critical areas where it is possible to fight arbitrary actions by personnel manipulation have tenure. This has led to a self-promoting and interlocking group of cliques which can only be broken up by a superior authority from outside the Department of State. It is a reform that can be accomplished without injury to individuals and with great benefit to the national interest.

SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS:

1. Immediate Implementation of a Three-Phase Program.

Such a program for ensuring control of key personnel and functions in the Department of State was submitted on November 11 to the Republican Key Issues Committee. A Copy of that paper is attached as Appendix I.

2. Creation of a Permanent Foreign Service Board of Review.

It might be claimed that such bodies exist (e.g., 22 CFR 7.1 (1968) .) In fact such as do exist are subordinate to the whims of the Department of State authorities and their authority in law and in practice is very limited. What is needed is a board in continual session which is required to sanction all major internal personnel actions at the Department of State. Control of the Board would be tightly held in the hands of the White House. No one could

advance

in the Foreign Service or be dismissed from the Service without first coming before the scrutiny of this board-- in person, if possible. At the present time there is no mechanism whatsoever to insure that uniformly high standards are applied service-wide. Regulations are often at cross-purposes, complex and as a result the most critical personnel functions of foreign policy often are in the hands of self-serving cliques who have no way of measuring the impact of their decisions upon US policy (at best) or who use personnel manipulation as a way of achieving a policy goal (at worst), that can not be defended on its own merits. If the national interest is served by the present system it is often by accident.

The primary function of the new Board, a kind of watch-dog for the President over State Department personnel, is to insure that--in addition to being technically qualified-- our diplomatic officers are the kind of representatives of the United States we want serving abroad. The Board would have wide authority to enforce standards believed vital (Note Appendix II, for example, which illustrates the low language levels of higher officers being promoted in the service.) Above all the Board would guarantee that an American character is retained by the US Foreign Service.

3. Re-Study Current Foreign Service Promotion List. The submission of the Foreign Service Officer promotion list for Congressional approval should be delayed pending re-examination by the incoming Republican Administration of the Department's entire personnel program, policies, and practices. To fail to suspend action will cost the new Nixon administration an entire year of impact upon the Kennedy/Johnson establishment--during the first and most critical year. On the other hand, if the new Administration makes it clear immediately that it intends to take an active interest in personnel matters, the effect upon foreign service attitudes will be great. In "normal" years, the list is published in March, but this year rumor has it that the outgoing administration will make the list public prior to January 20 as a "farewell present" to those who have served it faithfully.

yes

JAN 13 1969

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

Richard M. Nixon

December 1, 1968

Kissinger

Harlow

450 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022
(212) 661-6400

Honorable Roswell B. Perkins
Debevoise, Plimpton, Lyons & Gates
320 Park Avenue
New York, New York. 10022

Dear Rod:

Let me start with your post script: I do know Henry Kissinger quite well; we have just been together, repeatedly, this week.

Your November 15 letter is one of the most constructive and useful documents, in my opinion, that anyone could hope for in dealing with the serious problems of transition. I am eternally grateful to you, and so will be (or certainly should be). I am sharing your very compelling ideas with a number of others hereabouts.

I suppose little more will need to be added, except to express the hope that as other opportunities for effective work here occur to you, please share them with me.

I would relish an early visit. Perhaps we could lunch?

With warm regard.

Sincerely,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:kmb

DEBEVOISE, PLIMPTON, LYONS & GATES

320 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022

TELEPHONE: (212) PLAZA 2-6400

CABLE: DEBSTEVE NEW YORK
TELEX: 224400

CHARLES ANGULO
COUNSEL

EUROPEAN OFFICE
5, PLACE DU PALAIS BOURBON
PARIS 7^{ème}

TELEPHONES { 468-11-51
705-80-49

CABLE: DEBSTEVE PARIS
TELEX: 25602

ELI WHITNEY DEBEVOISE
FRANCIS T. P. PLIMPTON
MARVIN LYONS
SAMUEL E. GATES
SIDNEY G. EDWARDS
OSCAR M. RUEBHAUSEN
A. FAIRFIELD DANA
THOMAS T. RICHMOND
WILLIAM EVERDELL III
CHARLES I. PIERCE, JR.
EARLE J. STARKEY
D. BRET CARLSON
GEORGE N. LINDSAY
JAMES B. WELLES, JR.
ROSWELL B. PERKINS
ROBERT B. VON MEHREN
HAROLD H. HEALY, JR.
JOSEPH BARBASH
CHESTER BILLINGS, JR.
MICHAEL H. GOFF
WILLIAM B. MATTESON
BARRY R. BRYAN
RICHARD D. KAHN
WILLIAM PHILO CLARK
J. ASA ROUNTREE
GEORGE B. ADAMS, JR.
ROBERT J. GENIESSE
ANDREW C. HARTZELL, JR.
PHILIP S. WINTERER
STEPHEN BENJAMIN
LOUIS BEGLEY
GUY PASCHAL
DAVID V. SMALLEY
CECIL WRAY, JR.

JOHN SANN
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL

November 15, 1968

The Honorable Bryce Harlow
c/o Headquarters of President-
Elect Nixon
Hotel Pierre
Fifth Avenue and 61st Street
New York, New York

Dear Bryce:

Again, a million congratulations on your appointment. I can sincerely say that nothing could have pleased me more. I had the highest regard for your services to President Eisenhower, and I know that you will do the same for President Nixon.

You will be deluged with advice and special pleadings of one sort or another in the weeks ahead. I have no special pleading, and am not seeking (and could not accept) a job in Washington. However, I have a number of things on my mind, and I will unburden them all at once, even though they are somewhat unrelated.

Then, I would like very much to have lunch or dinner with you some time in the next six weeks, if you find you can spare the time.

1. Conflict-of-Interest Problems.

As you well know, the Eisenhower administration did not come off too well on the subject of conflict-of-interest, although some of the attacks were unjustified. In my opinion it is essential that the Nixon administration establish--and demonstrate that it has established--a high degree of sensitivity to conflict-of-interest problems.

After I left Washington, in the period

November 15, 1968

1958-60 I chaired a special committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York which made an extensive study of the conflict-of-interest laws and proposed specific revisions designed to make them more realistic and less of a barrier to both full-time (but short-term) and part-time service. Since the confirmation procedures of the committees of the Senate are not statutory, we could of course recommend no legislation, but did express ideas as to guidelines.

President Kennedy picked up our proposed legislation, and Nick Katzenbach and others (including ourselves) pushed it through Congress in a simplified form. I wrote a Harvard Law Review article on the new legislation, a copy of which is enclosed.

The Kennedy-Johnson administration did much better on conflicts-of-interest, with the help of the new statute. The present Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Office of Legal Counsel, Frank Wozencraft, is very alert to, but eminently sensible and practical in connection with solution of, conflict-of-interest problems.

My plea is that you set up a procedure immediately for reviewing prospective appointments from the conflict-of-interest viewpoint and trying to work out problems as early as possible and as quietly as possible. This is important not only from the viewpoint of protecting the new administration against adverse publicity, but also from the viewpoint of aiding in the recruitment of the people you want.

As a starter, I suggest that you discuss this with Frank Wozencraft and see whether you could work out a procedure for him to assist you, perhaps with a legal staff of your own in addition. (Your legal staff could consist of the person who will be Wozencraft's successor, if you knew who that will be. However, you should not await his designation, in my judgment.) I think Frank would be completely nonpolitical in his approach, and the subject is too important to fail in getting the best possible advice. In addition, you may want to consider announcing an interim panel of outside lawyers to review conflict-of-interest matters for the new administration prior to January 20, working in conjunction with the Justice Department.

November 15, 1968

After the Nixon administration is in office, I strongly urge a very active coordinating and clearing-house type of role for either a White House unit or a unit within the Justice Department, in order to assure that conflict-of-interest problems are being handled effectively and with some degree of uniformity among the Departments and agencies.

2. Appointments to H.E.W.

Of course, the staffing of H.E.W. is crucial from President Nixon's viewpoint, since it will indicate to a large number of people what his basic attitudes will be in these areas. I think that Dick must work very hard to establish the image of warmth and sympathy for the problems of the disadvantaged and sophistication in the approach to solving these problems.

My first suggestion is that Dick offer the Secretaryship of H.E.W. a second time to John Gardner--a matter which I am sure you have all discussed. No one is more qualified, and I still do not understand all the circumstances of his resignation from the Johnson administration. He is a lifelong Republican. While it might strike some people as a grandstand play, the choice of Gardner would be a tremendously meaningful act to everyone in the fields of health, education and welfare. I frankly doubt that John would consider going back to H.E.W., but the President-elect would have won himself hundreds of thousands of "brownie points" from people whose sympathies are not entirely with him at the present time.

Assuming John turned the job down, the effort must still be to get someone of his quality. I have not thought hard enough about who the best people are, but would be glad to participate in a selection search if you need help. Above all, it must not be a Ribicoff-type appointment.

Either as a possible appointee or an advisor, I would hope that you would ring in my immediate successor as Assistant Secretary of H.E.W., Elliot Richardson, who is now the Attorney General of Massachusetts. I recommended Elliot for the job to Marion Folsom and he performed superbly. I am writing Elliot today to elicit his ideas.

If you do not have any particular ideas as to personnel for H.E.W., you might consider convening an interested group to make up a list of names and see what could be flushed out. (Even the present Secretary, Wilbur Cohen, might contribute some good ideas. As you know, he is a very able and perceptive professional who knows many people.)

3. Department of Transportation.

I am sure you are fully familiar with the background of the Department of Transportation. It was proposed many years ago by Nelson Rockefeller to President Eisenhower when the former was Chairman of the President's Committee on Government Organization ("PACGO").

A new Republican administration ought to embrace the Department of Transportation with enthusiasm. I am inclined to think that the present Secretary, Alan Boyd, is good, and that he should be fully consulted. The field of transportation was woefully neglected for many years, except possibly for roads. Moreover, the Eisenhower road construction program tended to unbalance the situation with respect to other modes of transportation.

The problem of mass transportation around the cities is by far the most important aspect of the whole picture, and how to help the ailing railroads is the next most important. Airport construction is the third.

I wrote John Lindsay's "white paper" on transportation for his campaign for the Mayoralty, which was well received, and served as Chairman of a Transportation Task Force for him for several months after his election. Also, I have had a chance to observe some facets of railroad matters in my law practice. Accordingly, my interest in the area is great, although I am no expert. I will be glad to try to help from time to time if it would be of any use.

4. Executive Interchange Program.

As you may know, the Johnson administration appointed a committee to work out a program for exchange of young executives between government and industry, for

November 15, 1968

periods of two-years or less. This committee includes representatives of business, such as Leonard F. McCollum of Continental Oil, Donald Cook of American Electric Power, T. Roland Berner of Curtiss-Wright, former Secretary of Commerce Alexander Trowbridge and others. I am also a member of this committee. The draft report, I think, is a good one, and I think that the program should be adopted by a new administration.

I understand from Sandy Trowbridge that efforts are afoot to revamp the committee so as to change the auspices and make it more of a Nixon-developed program. This is fine, but the main thing is not to let the ball drop.

John Macy is one of the spearheads of this effort, as is Frank Wozencraft whom I mentioned above. I would suggest that, in due course, you discuss its status with John Macy.

5. Reconstruction and Economic Development Program for Vietnam.

I believe that one of the most useful things the new President could do in his inaugural address or State of the Union message would be to state in strong and fresh terms a theme enunciated by President Johnson in a speech at Johns Hopkins University nearly two years ago, namely, putting the United States behind a major reconstruction and economic development program for Southeast Asia (and, in particular, South Vietnam) as soon as the war can be brought to an end. This positive note would have the tremendous advantage of setting everybody's sights ahead of and above the present morass, and hopefully would serve to give impetus to the peace talks.

I would personally recommend that the President-elect follow up such a policy statement with the designation of a committee of both government and nongovernment personnel to work out a blueprint for a "Marshall Plan" for Southeast Asia. I suspect that a tremendous amount has been done in this direction already, but it has not been publicized--and perhaps for very good reasons. Hopefully, the reasons (if any) for relative silence as to post-war reconstruction planning can be overcome.

Since Johnson has (so far as I know) said virtually nothing about this subject since his Johns Hopkins speech, Nixon could pick up the ball without undue fear of being tagged as "me too." And even if people do remember the Johns Hopkins speech, they will nevertheless applaud Nixon for moving in this direction so promptly.

6. Governor John Chafee.

As a Harvard Law School contemporary and friend of John Chafee, and also a summer resident of Rhode Island, I was deeply chagrined over John's loss. As you may know, it followed the death of his daughter from an accident with her horse, which put a virtual stopper to John's campaigning. The whole thing is deeply tragic.

I hope that you will find a way to call John to New York in the near future, and would also find a high place for him in the administration. (For all I know, this has already been done.) It seems to me that he would be useful in a number of jobs, since he has a very broad experience--including (I believe) the Marine Corps. I think he would serve well in the Defense Department or the Department of Commerce.

* * *

I was greatly encouraged by the public statement emanating from the Nixon headquarters between the election and your designation to the effect that Dick's appointments would be on the basis of "excellence." I regard his first staff appointment as a clear manifestation of this standard. I hope and pray that you will continue, as an administration, to match this standard. Political debts can be paid in a million ways--but service to the people, and hence to Dick's own success and his place in history--can be achieved only by an uncompromising quest for quality.

The Honorable Bryce Harlow

-7-

November 15, 1968

With best wishes, and please give me a call if you can spare time for a chat about the foregoing matters and others.

Sincerely yours,



Roswell B. Perkins

Enclosure

P.S. Do you know Henry Kissinger personally? If not, I am most anxious to get you together.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

*Henry
Any action*
JAN 7 1968

CONFIDENTIAL

December 4, 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR AMBASSADOR MURPHY

Subject: Message from Lodge

I thought you might wish to have today this telegram from Cabot Lodge on Senator Brooke's conversation with Chancellor Kiesinger.

Bill

William Leonhart

Attachment

Kiesinger

CONFIDENTIAL



Department of State

*Mr Bryce Harlow
74D*

TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 443

PAGE 01 BONN 20062 041400Z

49
ACTION SS 25

INFO EUR 15, H 02, CPR 02, NSC 10, P 04, RSR 01, RSC 01, /060 W
----- 002496

R 041343Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1196

C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 20062

FOR AMBASSADOR MURPHY (S/NL) FROM LODGE

1. CHANCELLOR KIESINGER EXPRESSED GREAT INTEREST IN THE DESIGNATION OF HENRY KISSINGER TO BE PRESIDENT NIXON'S SPECIAL ASSISTANT. AT A MEETING WITH SENATOR BROOKE AND LODGE, THE CHANCELLOR EXPRESSED GREAT ADMIRATION FOR KISSINGER AND FOR HIS WIDE KNOWLEDGE OF EUROPEAN PROBLEMS.

2. SENATOR BROOKE SUGGESTED THAT THE CHANCELLOR MIGHT LIKE TO VISIT THE NEXT PRESIDENT IN WASHINGTON IN THE SPRING. THE CHANCELLOR SAID HE THOUGHT THIS WAS A VERY GOOD IDEA. SENATOR BROOKE ALSO RECOMMENDED THAT MINISTER OF ECONOMICS SCHILLER COME TO THE UNITED STATES WHERE, BROOKE FELT, HE COULD DO MUCH GOOD. LODGE

CONFIDENTIAL

22

December 18, 1968

*File
Harlow*

Kissinger

JAN 4 1968

Admiral Arleigh Burke, Director
Center for Strategic Studies
810 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Arleigh:

Two letters from you in one day simply doubles my pleasure; I hope the delay in this response has not doubled your displeasure!

Your suggestions will be handled as you suggest in your first letter of the 27th of November -- they and the attachments will be put in the right hands hereabouts and those involved will be in touch with you.

The media problem is a particularly difficult problem for any Administration, but I think you are on the right track; at least I hope so!

I continue to rely, as always, on your counsel.

Warmly,

Bryce N. Harlow
Assistant to the
President-Elect

BNH:ph

cc: Kissinger and Chapin
2nd letter: Kissinger and Klein

ARLEIGH BURKE
SUITE 600
810 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

27 November 1968

Dear Bryce:

In regard to the comment in your letter of November 20 pertaining to instructions, the one thing you are not going to need is a lot of advice from an old sailor. You're going to get so much guidance from so many people that if it were properly mixed with a phosphate and distributed throughout the United States, all of the tremendous fertilizer industries would be ruined.

Because I am known to impose upon my friends, as well as being an admirer of the American Ordnance Association, I am enclosing for your information a copy of a letter from that association to Mr. Nixon. I know that Mr. Nixon cannot make a specific commitment for 14 May as of now, but if the general idea is acceptable to him, the AOA will go ahead with the rest of the program in the hopes that Mr. Nixon can be present for a short while.

This might be a good opportunity for Mr. Nixon to make an important speech on his views on the defense of the country, or the relationships between industry and the government, or some similar topic, to a very influential audience. The audience will consist of the leading manufacturers of the country who have an interest in national security. They are eager to help the government and they have been very discouraged in the last few years because of the way things have been run, and particularly with the lack of goals or even a general idea of what might be expected in the future. I do hope that Mr. Nixon can give this an upcheck.

I am sending some enclosures which explain what the American Ordnance Association is. They are numbered 1, 2, and 3 in the order of importance. Perhaps they can be skimmed by whoever on the staff is responsible for such matters.

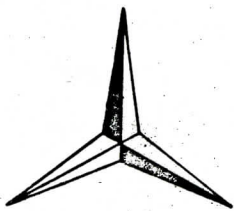
With warmest regards,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Arleigh".

ARLEIGH BURKE

Mr. Bryce N. Harlow
Office of the President-Elect
Pierre Hotel
61st Street and Fifth Avenue
New York, New York



THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY • 810 18th STREET, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

Telephone (202) 783-7950

OFFICERS

- *Arleigh Burke
Director of the Center
- *David M. Abshire
Executive Secretary

SENIOR STAFF

- Alvin J. Cottrell
- Norman A. Bailey
- Sevinc Carlson
- Gordon D. Gayle
- Robert A. Kilmarx
- James H. McBride
- Michael A. Samuels
- M. Jon Vondracek
Communications

WRITER-IN-RESIDENCE

- Richard J. Whalen

RESEARCH COUNCIL

- *Philip E. Mosely, Chairman
Columbia University
- Kenneth E. BoLieu
Washington, D. C.
- Karl H. Cerny
Georgetown University
- Jules Davids
Georgetown University
- *Joseph S. Farland
Washington, D. C.
- Walter V. Laqueur
*Institute of Contemporary
History (London)*
- Kurt L. London
George Washington University
- Laurence W. Martin
University of London
- Thomas C. Schelling
Harvard University
- Joseph L. Tryon
Georgetown University
- Charles W. Wagley
Columbia University
- Richard L. Walker
University of South Carolina
- Henry C. Wallich
Yale University
- Robert E. Ward
University of Michigan
- John C. Warner
Carnegie-Mellon University

ADVISORY BOARD

- *Karl K. Bendetsen,
Chairman
- Robert B. Anderson
- Isaac L. Auerbach
- Frank E. Barnett
- Kenneth E. BoLieu
- Donald C. Burnham
- Peter H. Dominick
- *Joseph S. Farland
- Gerald R. Ford
- *James B. Horigan, S.J.
Frank N. Ikard
- *Arthur Krock
- *Morris I. Leibman
- Neil H. McElroy
- Claiborne Pell
- Arthur W. Radford
- Frederick Seitz
- Robert B. Semple
- *C. E. Straight
- Matt S. Szymczak
- *Arthur G. Trudeau
- John C. Warner
- Clement J. Zablocki

27 November 1968

Dear Bryce:

This second letter to you on the same day is really imposing on you, but you might be interested in a program which the Center for Strategic Studies is going to try. As you know better than anyone, the media in Washington frequently operates on an emotional bias, and their reporting is sometimes anything but objective. They have come to distrust briefings and handouts, because it is very difficult in briefings to encourage the freedom of exchange of information essential to a thorough understanding of the problem.

About six months ago we had a seminar on Vietnam attended by a mixture of media people, governmental officials, and academic persons, who had a very free exchange of views. As a result some of the reporters changed their views, and some of the government people realized the difficulties of getting knowledge across in their briefings.

Therefore, early in 1969 the Center plans to institute on a systematic basis a continuing seminar with members of the Washington press corps both from the domestic and foreign media. We will have an informal steering committee to guide the program. The steering committee will include Center board members and associates such as Arthur Krock, Kenneth Gilmore, Richard Whalen, and other similar persons.

We will hope to create a climate in which media members can increase the objectivity and accuracy of their reporting. We know that the media will attend only news-oriented discussions, so each seminar will be built around a single policy issue under study at the Center, or a development in national security or foreign policy which suddenly emerges. These seminars should also serve as a way for select executive and legislative persons to enter into an exchange with the media without attribution.

We hope that this will be helpful in clarifying issues without any commitments to a single solution.

We believe that such a program cannot be run by a government agency, but that if it is run by the Center which is not connected with the government but with the best interests of the United States at heart, it can be useful.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Arleigh".

ARLEIGH BURKE

Mr. Bryce N. Harlow
Office of the President-Elect
Pierre Hotel
61st Street and Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

HARLOW
file

December 30, 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR BRYCE HARLOW

From: Henry A. Kissinger

Subject: Reply to letter from Senator Goldwater

Attached, per your request, is a proposed reply to a letter from Senator Goldwater. I have suggested that the Senator meet with either Secretary-Designate Rogers or myself to discuss the issues listed in his letter.

Dear Barry:

Many thanks for your very useful letter on the nuclear disarmament issue. Many of the problems you raise have long concerned me, and one of the first pieces of business for the new Administration will be a hard look at the entire question.

Perhaps the best way to proceed would be to ask Henry Kissinger to sit down with you shortly after the inauguration for a discussion of the problem. You may also want to take the subject up with Bill Rogers. Between the two, you will be dealing with the men most immediately concerned with the examination I hope to get underway shortly after the 20th.

Unless you would prefer to handle this in some other way, I will ask Dr. Kissinger to get in touch with you later in the month.

I hope that you and I will be able to get together for a discussion of your Latin America trip and the nuclear issue some time in the next month or two.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Richard M. Nixon

The Honorable Barry Goldwater
3800 North Central Avenue
Phoenix, Arizona 85012

G - X

Subject: Meeting to discuss nuclear disarmament

HAK

sd

Henry Kissinger 12/18

Can your folk give me
a rough draft of
a suitable reply to
Hus for RN?

Bryce

Barry Goldwater

3800 NORTH CENTRAL AVENUE
PHOENIX, ARIZONA 85012

19
410
12/23

Dictated December 6, 1968, Pisco, Peru
Transcribed December 11, 1968, Phoenix, Arizona

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon
450 Park Avenue
New York City, New York

DEC 23 1968

Dear Dick:

You personally are, of course, too busy to do anything about what this letter will discuss, but I wish you would put it into the hands of somebody in the field so that I can discuss it with you or them at the earliest convenience.

The subject is nuclear disarmament, the treaties we now have and the treaty which is proposed.

As I recall it, the bill which set up the Arms Control Agency was passed some time in late September, 1961. The purposes of the legislation were never made clear, and from the very outset the whole thing had a rather peculiar odor to it. Either just at the end of that year or at the beginning of 1962, a friend of mine wrote me enclosing a clipping from a Geneva paper stating that the now well known three part treaty aimed at the total disarmament of Russia and the United States had been proposed.

I always had the distinct feeling that negotiations for this treaty had commenced long before the Arms Control Agency had been set up. I do not recall the State Department paper put out on this, after there was much hue and cry from the citizenry of our country, but it was a blue paper with the number 247 or something like that.

Briefly, the proposal was a three part one, the first to be accomplished in three years, which, in effect, was to destroy each country's abilities to transport nuclear devices. The major portion of this first part called for our scrapping our B-47 fleet and Russia scrapping her Badger fleet. We have accomplished the scrapping of our B-47s, but her Badger fleet has not been touched, to my knowledge. The Badger was a comparable airplane to the 47, although not as good, but it could do the job.

Following this was the Test Ban Treaty which I, along with every other member of the Preparedness Subcommittee, with the exception of one and maybe two, voted against. We voted against it mainly for the reason that we were convinced from the still secret testimony of scientists and military experts that we had not solved the EMP problem and we felt that the Russians had in their series of high magnitude, high altitude tests in 1960 and 1961. The leadership to attain this treaty stemmed from President Kennedy, but I have always felt that he was motivated by the personnel of the Arms Control Agency plus the usual coterie of the New York Times, the Washington Post, etc.

The other day, I read in a speech made by Scoop Jackson, who is particularly knowledgeable in these fields, where he stated that we had not solved the problems of EMP and inferred that we could not solve them without further high altitude or out-of-the atmosphere tests. I will not elaborate on the dangers of not being able to overcome these effects, but someone should brief you on them as they are short and rather frightening.

You are going to be urged to back the Non-Proliferation Treaty which is being pushed by the identical people who pushed the other effort, that unilateral disarmament. The purpose of this letter is to urge you to commence a study immediately, if you have not already done so, calling on whatever experts you care to, plus a review of the secret testimony still locked up in the safe of the Preparedness Subcommittee, to try and get at the reasons why all of the haste was made and all of the new waste has been suffered.

To top this all off, and it may not have come to your attention, Robert McNamara, who was one of the chief proponents of all of the treaties and unilateral disarmament, just the other day was in Russia conferring with Kosygin on the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The question immediately came to my mind, why is the head of the World Bank so busily engaged in discussing treaties in an entirely different field with a head of state not particularly friendly to the free world?

This is being dictated at sea and will be mailed as soon as we reach a port and will be transcribed in Phoenix and will be mailed to you in New York or Washington. Either I can contact you or you can contact me after my return to the United States on December the 16th if you care to discuss this, or have one of your staff discuss it with me a bit further.

In a rather hurried trip through Brazil, the Argentine and Chile, I am quite a bit dismayed at what I am hearing about the reaction of the citizenry to the United States and, as you well know, this has long been another subject of great interest to me that I would like to discuss with you at your leisure.

Peggy joins me in the very fondest to you, Pat, and your wonderful family.

With best personal wishes,


Barry Goldwater

Barry Goldwater

P. O. BOX 1601
SCOTTSDALE, ARIZONA 85252

12 DEC 1968

ZIP CODE

PHOENIX
DEC 12 1968
U.S. POSTAGE
06
KEYER
L. 326 229

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon
450 Park Avenue
New York City, New York