The Transition To A New Administration

“To the victors belong the spoils” used to be the slogan that ushered thousands of eager job-seekers to Washington, D.C., to staff the new administration of our federal government after a Presidential election. The substitution of the Civil Service merit system was supposed to change all that. Many people think, however, that it only substituted the politics of the bureaucracy for the politics of the precincts.

It has been widely reported that President Ronald Reagan will be able to change only about 3,000 federal jobs when he takes office on January 20, 1981. Of those, some 300 are very important jobs. The new President is expected to keep on the payroll all those millions of employees who are part of the executive branch in the Carter Administration.

It is wishful thinking to hope that the election of a new President and his appointment of an outstanding Cabinet will in itself bring about the change in policies which the voters want. Policies are made by the thousands of middle-echelon bureaucrats who give the advice, determine what information is sent to their superiors, draft the “working” papers, prepare the “options,” “interpret” the regulations, and summarize the “intelligence.”

It might be instructive to look at past changes of administration and see what happened. The Democrats never permitted Civil Service to impede their political or policy objectives. Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson and Carter ruthlessly got rid of holdovers -- Civil Service to the contrary notwithstanding -- and used every possible tactic to put Democrats and liberals on the payroll and keep them there.

Franklin Roosevelt set the precedent in the Commerce Department in the early days of the New Deal. Under “emergency” powers, he fired several hundred holdovers from the Hoover Administration and put a freeze on all new hirings. Then he established the NRA (National Recovery Administration) in the same building -- with all new personnel.

Where did the new employees come from? They were hired through the employment office of the Democratic National Committee -- not transferred from the Commerce Department or other federal bureaus. Two years later, when the NRA was declared unconstitutional, all the NRA employees were hired directly into the Commerce Department and blanketed into Civil Service.

When Harry Truman wanted to load his friends in the Pendergast machine onto the federal payroll, he arbitrarily closed some agency offices and then reopened them in Kansas City. This shook many employees off the federal payroll, and opened up plenty of government jobs to take care of the politicians who elected him.

After John F. Kennedy became president, he abolished the entire federal agency dispensing foreign aid, thus eliminating all the Eisenhower appointees. Kennedy then immediately created a new foreign aid agency under a new name -- and hired a new staff of all Kennedy supporters.

These are just samples of the way Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson used the tool of federal patronage skillfully and ruthlessly in order (1) to carry out the liberal policies of the New Deal, Fair Deal, New Frontier, and Great Society, (2) to build a political party machine, and (3) to enjoy the power and the rewards of spending federal billions down to the letting of the last small contract.

The Eisenhower and Nixon Mistake

Now let us contrast the patronage policy of the Eisenhower Administration. If the election of Dwight Eisenhower in 1952 meant anything at all, it meant a mandate to clean out the State Department. The State Department was the core issue of the Presidential campaign. All Republican orators inveighed against the stalemate war in Korea, Communists in government, and the State Department sellout of China. The 1952 Republican Party Platform promised:

“We shall eliminate from the State Department and from every federal office, all, wherever they may be found, who share responsibility for the needless predicaments and perils in which we find ourselves. We shall also sever from the public payroll the hordes of loafers, incompetents and unnecessary employees who clutter the administration of our foreign affairs.”

It is a blot on the Republican record that this promise was never kept. Only a handful of top jobs were changed. The State Department which lost China, and which announced that South Korea was outside the U.S. “defense perimeter,” remained virtually intact.

The few Republicans who did receive high appointments were told they could not even hire a secretary of their own choosing, but had to continue with the holdover from the Truman Administration.
The bitter harvest of this failure to clean out the State Department was Castro -- with whom we have been saddled in the Western Hemisphere ever since. Eisenhower’s Ambassador to Cuba, Earl E.T. Smith, was never deceived by Castro. Ambassador Smith sent back accurate reports that Castro was a Communist and should not be aided by the United States. But these reports came into the hands of a Truman holdover named Wiedland who pigeonholed them. Wiedland knew that Castro was a Communist but never passed this information on to his superiors.

The assistance that our State Department gave to Castro is the worst blot on the record of the Eisenhower Administration -- and it could have been so easily avoided if the Eisenhower Administration had used federal patronage with the same skill displayed by the Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. This failure to use federal patronage is also probably the principal reason why, in every subsequent year of the Eisenhower Administration, the Republican Party steadily lost ground and more of its candidates were defeated.

When Richard Nixon became President in January 1969, even though he had been working and planning for that event for about 15 years, he had no more knowledge or skill in dealing with the holdover problem than Eisenhower. If anything, Nixon was even more intimidated by the press and the bureaucracy from taking effective action.

On Inauguration Day, the New York Times stated on the front page: “Mr. Nixon will be leading barely 100 associates into top jobs in a government of more than three million employees. They will be guided for months by Democratic holdovers, even in policy posts, and they will have to master a bureaucracy that has been trained and nourished by the Democrats in all but eight of the last 36 years.”

Other newspapers were filled with variations on the principal theme that Nixon would be able to fill only 1,500 to 3,000 federal jobs because all the others were locked up by Civil Service. Obviously, there would be no way President Nixon could give the people the change they voted for if he could replace only 3,000 employees out of 3,000,000, leaving 2,997,000 holdovers from previous administrations.

Immediately after the Nixon victory in 1968, the federal payrolls began building bureaucratic barricades to perpetuate themselves in power. They moved into high gear to hire Democrats for every available position. Jobs which had been vacant for months or even years were hurriedly filled in the weeks between the election and the Inauguration in order to blanket additional Democrats into Civil Service. Many others were transferred from political jobs to permanent “nonpolitical” jobs just prior to January 20. The federal bureaucrats adopted the attitude that the four years of Nixon would be merely an interlude to be endured.

**Coping With the Bureaucracy**

There is no reason to have a defeatist attitude about the task of coping with the bureaucracy in order to carry out the mandate voted by the people in the Presidential election. The great Seabee slogan of World War II was: “The difficult we do immediately, the impossible takes a little longer.” If Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson and Carter could do it, Ronald Reagan can do it too.

Here are three principal ways that the new Reagan Administration can bring about the change the people voted for on November 4, in addition to the hiring freeze which Reagan has already announced will be his first order of business after January 20:

1. **Abolish the unnecessary jobs and cull out the employees who are not doing anything.** The federal government is loaded with thousands of extra employees who walk up and down the corridors with little to do. They fill the cafeterias for coffee breaks at 10, 11, 3, and 4 o’clock. There are so many of these political hangers-on in nearly every agency that they are known in Washington as the “corridor corps.” They write memos to one another and do “busy” work in order to camouflage the fact that they are really just holding political jobs -- playing a cat and mouse game to see if the new Administration has the nerve to fire them.

   The elimination of this payroll padding would be a fulfillment of Republican campaign promises and a service to the overburdened American taxpayers. The financial saving would be only one important benefit. Far more significant would be the substantive changes from present disastrous policies and the improved morale of the many dedicated employees who work hard and really earn their salaries.

2. **Use the technique called “reorganization” in order to bring Republicans, conservatives, and pro-family people into the federal government at every echelon.** This is a perfectly legal and ethical administrative device for outmaneuvering Civil Service in order to hire persons who support the policies of the new Administration. The President can abolish agencies, bureaus, divisions and jobs -- and then create new ones. He can make up different titles for the same old jobs so they are available for new personnel.

3. **Eliminate all the “consultants” on the government payroll.** There are thousands of so-called consultants who work varying amounts of time for various federal agencies at high per diem fees. One of President Kennedy’s first acts after moving into the White House was to send all the consultants then on the payroll a cordial soft-soap letter thanking them profusely for all their past services, and informing them that the new Administration was eliminating all consultants and would have no further need of their services. A couple of months later, Kennedy hired all new consultants of his own choosing.

The Reagan Administration should do likewise if we are to have real policy changes in the federal government. President Reagan must have the help of employees who believe in his vision for America. He must not be handcuffed by the architects of the mess we are in today.
SOME of the Top Federal Jobs Reagan Will Fill

White House
Counsel to the President
Counsellor to the President
Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs
Director of White House Personnel
Assistant to the President and Chief of Staff
Executive Assistant to the Chief of Staff
Deputy Assistant to the President
Administrative Assistant to the Deputy Assistant
Deputy Assistant for Research
Speech Writers
Deputy Assistant for National Security Affairs
Deputy Counsel to the President
Associate Counsel to the President
Deputy Director of White House Personnel
Special Assistant for White House Personnel
Associate Director for White House Personnel
Staff Director for The First Lady
Personal Assistant for the First Lady
Social Secretary for the First Lady
Press Secretary to the President
Appointment Secretary to the President

State Department
Secretary of State
Deputy Secretary of State
Under Secretary for Political Affairs
Assistant Secretary for European Affairs
Assistant Secretary for African Affairs
Assistant Secretary for East Asian Affairs
Assistant Secretary for Near East Affairs
Director, Policy Planning Staff
Director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Deputy Secretary of State
Under Secretary for Security Assistance, Science and Technology
Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs
Deputy Under Secretary for Management
Counselor of the State Department
Director, Policy Planning Staff
Director, Politico-Military Bureau

Defense Department
Secretary of Defense
Deputy Secretary of Defense
Under Secretary for Policy
Under Secretary for Research and Engineering
Deputy Under Secretary for Research and Engineering for Strategic Programs
Deputy Under Secretary for Policy Planning
Deputy Under Secretary for Policy Review
Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs
Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense
Director of Net Assessment

Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs
Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asia and Pacific Affairs
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs
Deputy Secretary for European and NATO Affairs
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near East, African, South Asian Affairs
Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Economic and Technology Affairs
Assistant Deputy Under Secretary for Policy Planning
Assistant Secretary for Communications, Command Control and Intelligence
Deputy Under Secretary for Acquisition Policy
Deputy Under Secretary for International Programs and Technology
Under Secretary for Research and Engineering
Assistant Secretary for Manpower, Reserve Affairs and Logistics
Assistant Secretary for Program Analysis and Evaluation
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
General Counsel
Assistant to the Secretary of Defense (Legislative Affairs)
Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs)
Secretary of the Army
Secretary of the Air Force
Secretary of the Navy

Justice Department
Attorney General
Director of the FBI
Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division
Assistant Attorney General, Tax Division
Assistant Attorney General, Anti-Trust Division
Administrator, Law Enforcement Assistance Agency
Deputy Administrator for Policy Development (LEAA)
Administrator, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
Administrator, Drug Enforcement Agency
Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division
Counsel, Office of Intelligence Policy and Review

Office of Management and Budget
Director
Deputy Director
Associate Director for Human Resources, Veterans and Labor
Associate Director, National Security and International Affairs
Director, Office of Science and Technology and Scientific Advisor to the President

Treasury Department
Secretary of the Treasury
IRS Commissioner
Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Economic Policy
Deputy Secretary of the Treasury
Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs
Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Enforcement and Operations
Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs
Deputy Assistant Secretary, Trade and Investment Policy

**Commerce Department**
Secretary of Commerce
Deputy Assistant Secretary for East-West Trade
Assistant Secretary for Policy
Assistant Secretary for Trade Administration
Assistant Secretary for Export Administration
Assistant Secretary for Economic Development

**Health and Human Services Department**
Secretary of Health and Human Services
Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation
Assistant Secretary for Human Development
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation
Special Assistant to the Secretary -- Director of Civil Rights
Under Secretary of Health and Human Services
Assistant Secretary for Health and Human Services
General Commissioner, Social Security Administration
Commissioner, Administration for Children, Youth and Families
Director, Office of Child Support Enforcement

**Education Department**
Secretary of Education
Deputy Secretary of Education
Assistant Secretary for Educational Research and Improvement
Assistant Secretary for Non-Public Education

**Energy Department**
Secretary of Energy
Assistant Secretary for Research and Development
Deputy Secretary
Assistant Secretary for Defense Programs

**Agriculture Department**
Secretary of Agriculture
Under Secretary for International Affairs
Deputy Under Secretary for International Affairs

**Interior Department**
Secretary of the Interior
Assistant Secretary, Program Development and Budget
Under Secretary of the Interior
Assistant Secretary, Energy and Minerals
Director, Office of Youth Programs

**Labor Department**
Secretary of Labor
Assistant Secretary of Labor for Occupational Health and Safety

**Housing and Urban Development Department**
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
Under Secretary
Assistant Secretary, Policy Development and Research
Assistant Secretary, Neighborhood, Voluntary Associations, and Consumer Protection
Assistant Secretary for Community Planning

**Other Appointments**
Director, National Security Council
Deputy Director, National Security Council
Director of Central Intelligence Agency
Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
Director, Agency for International Development Administrator, Panama Canal Commission
Comptroller General
Chairman, Federal Communications Commission
Liaison for Women’s Legislation (Reagan’s promise)
Director, International Communications Agency
Ambassador to the United Nations
Ambassador to NATO
Ambassadors to all countries
Chairman, Council of Economic Advisors
Chairman, Synthetic Fuels Corporation
U.S. Governor, International Monetary Fund
U.S. Representative, International Bank For Reconstruction and Development
Chairman, Federal Trade Commission
Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency
Chairman, National Foundation on Arts and Humanities
Administrator, National Highway Traffic Safety Administration
Administrator, Office of Comprehensive Employment Development (CETA)
Commissioner, Consumer Products Safety Commission
Commissioner, Commission on Civil Rights
Director, Community Services Administration
President, Legal Services Corporation
Chairman, National Science Foundation
Chairman, National Transportation Safety Board
Chairman, Interstate Commerce Commission
Administrator, Small Business Administration
Director, ACTION
Chairman, Federal Election Commission

**Non-Paid Advisory Positions**
The Reagan Administration will have about 2,000 non-paid advisory appointments to make, positions which pay expenses but no salary, and cover all fields of government activity.

---

**The Phyllis Schlafly Report**
Box 618, Alton, Illinois 62002
ISSN0556-0152
Published monthly by The Eagle Trust Fund, Box 618, Alton, Illinois 62002.
Second Class Postage Paid at Alton, Illinois.
Subscription Price: $10 per year. Extra copies available: 25 cents each; 6 copies $1; 50 copies $5; 100 copies $8.