



# The Phyllis Schlafly Report



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## 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 William Wieland who pigeonholed them. Wieland 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 payrollers 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 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.

After all, isn't that what the American people voted for on November 4? Civil Service should not be permitted to stand in the way of the policy changes which the voters are demanding.

The technique of "reorganization" requires a few smart and skillful lower-echelon employees to do the necessary detail work. If the Democratic Administrations could find such employees, there is no reason why the Reagan Administration cannot do it, too. It is simply a matter of having the will to do it.

The Democrats used this political tool with consummate skill in order to pack the government with liberals. If Republicans fail to use this tool, no one will thank them for their gentlemanliness. The verdict at the polls will be that Republicans just don't know how to run with the ball after it is handed to them.

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  
Assistant to the President for Economic 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 Inter-American 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  
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Grants and Procurement  
Assistant Secretary for Health and the Surgeon 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.

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