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September 16, 1983

P E R S O N A L

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Michael A. McManus, Jr.
Deputy Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

From: Thomas Patrick Melady *Tom*

Subject: Forthcoming Article on the Assassination Attempt Against
The Pope (No. 106)

1. Attached is a copy of an article, The Kremlin and the Pope, which will appear in the November edition of Orbis (Foreign Policy Research Institute).
2. It sets forth the grim evidence; the substantial evidence of direct Bulgarian involvement in the attempt on the Pope's life. The possibility of tacit Soviet approval makes it, in the opinion of some, the "crime of the century."

TPM:cj

cc: Mr. James Baker
Mr. Michael Deaver
The Hon. William Clark

Attachment

THE KREMLIN AND THE POPE *

Alex Alexiev

The substantial evidence of a direct Bulgarian involvement in the attempt on the Pope's life unearthed by the Italian investigative organs, has given rise to speculations of tacit Soviet approval, if not outright complicity, in what has already been called the "crime of the century." The implications of such Soviet involvement, if substantiated, are so profound and disturbing, that many in the West have questioned presumed Soviet motivations. Most Western analysts searching for the likely rationale of Kremlin complicity have focused on the alleged determination of the Pontiff to fly to his homeland and galvanize resistance to the Soviets were they to invade Poland prior to the establishment of martial law in December of 1981. Such a possibility must have been a serious and perhaps in itself sufficient reason for Moscow to wish that a Polish Pope did not exist at the time. It should be recalled that from the Soviet perspective the situation in Poland at the time could not have been considered anything but grim. With the Polish communist party in a state of near collapse and regime authority floundering in the spring of 1981, a direct Soviet suppression of Solidarity may have increasingly looked as the only alternative to Moscow. While this is a plausible motivation, focusing on it alone obscures the much broader impact John Paul II's election and policies have had on the Soviet bloc and contributes but little to our understanding of the determinants and evolution of Soviet attitudes towards him. A more detailed examination of these is thus likely to

* A condensed version of this paper appeared in the Wall Street Journal, March 30, 1983.

provide us with additional clues on why the Bishop of Rome, whose political relevance Stalin once dismissed derisively with "how many divisions does the Pope have," may have come to be perceived as a major threat by the mighty Soviet Union.

THE POPE'S CHALLENGE

From the very first day of the election of Karol Wojtyla as Pope John Paul II it was clear to Moscow that it had to deal with a formidable opponent. During the tenure of his predecessors Paul VI and John XXIII the Vatican had pursued an Ostpolitik which was characterized by willingness to compromise and a seeming desire to accommodate the Soviets. Indeed, it appeared at times that the Vatican was more interested in avoiding antagonizing Moscow than in a vigorous defense of the rights of believers living under communist rule. In the person of Wojtyla though, the Kremlin rulers found themselves faced with a convinced and outspoken opponent of communist totalitarianism and a man with a proven record of standing up to the regime in defense of the human rights and dignity of his people. Soon after his appointment the Pope also left no doubt that the plight of believers in the Soviet bloc was a special and lasting concern of his. Among his early policies he acted to considerably increase the broadcasting time of Radio Vatican in several Eastern European and Soviet languages and appointed a number of representatives of these countries to important positions. More consequential from a Soviet point of view was undoubtedly the Pope's bold and unprecedented venture into the political realm where he openly took issue not only with the communist social system, but with Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe as well. This was most dramatically demonstrated during his triumphant visit to Poland in June of 1979,

which Moscow now believes gave rise to Solidarity. Speaking before collective Polish audiences numbering some six million the Pope made it clear that he considered himself responsible for the other peoples of Eastern Europe also, which he called "the brother peoples and the neighboring peoples" and added emphatically that he had come "to speak before the whole Church, before Europe and the world, of those often forgotten nations and peoples....to cry with a loud voice and to embrace all these peoples together with his own nation." [1] Without mincing words he categorized the Christian worldview as diametrically opposed to the Marxist one, criticized the communist system for allowing "evident privileges for some and discrimination against others" and castigated regime control of the media and censorship by telling a half a million strong audience at Gniezno that it is "sad to believe that each Pole and Slav in any part of the world is unable to hear the words of the Pope, this Slav." [2] Peace and social harmony, the Pope said could be achieved only on the basis of "respect for the objective rights of the nation, such as the right to existence, the right to freedom....," [3] and, in the presence of the Polish Party boss Gierek, declared that the task of the Church is "to make people more confident, more courageous, conscious of their rights and duties...." [4]

In what could only be interpreted by Moscow as a blatant attack on Soviet domination in Eastern Europe, John Paul II further asserted that "no country should ever develop at the cost of another, at the cost of enslavement.... conquest, outrage, exploitation and death" [5] and, on

[1] New York Times, June 4, 1979.

[2] Washington Post, June 4, 1979.

[3] Washington Post, June 3, 1979.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Soviet Analyst, Vol. 8, #13, June 28, 1979.

another occasion, implicitly rejected the Soviet controlled Warsaw Pact alliance by saying that the validity of alliances depended on whether they led to more well-being and prosperity for the member states. The Pontiff's remarks in front of millions of people without question represented an unprecedented challenge to the legitimacy of the communist system and Soviet interests in Eastern Europe and could not have been perceived other than as a grave provocation by the rulers in the Kremlin.

THE CHURCH DEFIANT

While the Pope's influence on the events in Poland following his visit and up until the imposition of martial law is fairly well documented, the revitalizing effect of his activist policies on the Church in other Eastern European countries, though not so well known, has also been considerable and has led to an increasingly assertive attitudes by the Catholic clergy and believers vis-a-vis the regime authorities. In Czechoslovakia, for example, despite successive waves of religious repression, the Catholic Church is experiencing a remarkable revival which has included widespread underground religious life with tens of thousands of participants and a samizdat press.

The Pope has been accused by the authorities of actively supporting and encouraging these illegal activities even to the point of consecrating three secret bishops for the underground Church.[6] In a bold effort to help the Church regain some control over its affairs the Vatican has issued a decree in March of 1982 prohibiting any political activities by ordained priests, which was seen by most as a direct

[6] Neue Zuercher Zeitung, October 1, 1982.

attack on pro-regime Catholic organizations through which the authorities often controlled the Church. This has been particularly true about the regime-subservient Czechoslovak organization Pacem in Terris in which close to a third of all priests had been coopted or forced to participate. As a result of the Vatican edict only some five percent reportedly continue as members; an eloquent testimony to the Pontiff's authority.[7] The Church leadership in Czechoslovakia has stood firmly behind the Pope on this issue which has subjected it to a campaign of intimidation and invective. Even the normally timid East German Catholic Church following a meeting of its bishops with John Paul II, in which he admonished them to take a firmer stand, has recently unequivocally condemned the progressive militarization of their society and some aspects of Soviet military doctrine.

Apart from Eastern Europe, Moscow has had plenty of reasons to worry about the nefarious influence of the Polish Pope on its own territory. This influence has been felt most acutely, but not exclusively, in the Catholic areas along the Soviet western border. In Lithuania, a homogeneously Catholic nation with a long record of historical and cultural ties with Poland, the election of Wojtyla was greeted with elation as that of one of their own. The Pope, who speaks Lithuanian, on his part has never missed an occasion to emphasize his special concern for Lithuania where, he has said, half of his heart resides. The Church there, which has been experiencing a dramatic revival since the early 1970s, has become even more active in its struggle for survival with the Soviet regime and has emerged without a question as the most militant and determined Church in the Soviet Union.

[7] Die Presse, Vienna, January 19, 1983.

Within weeks of Wojtyla's election, Lithuanian priests organized a "Catholic Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Believers" with the expressed objective of assisting the Church hierarchy in publicizing and resisting the violation of the constitutionally recognized rights of the believers. As its first official act the Committee sent a letter to the Pope declaring their unconditional loyalty to him and asking for his blessing of their noble cause. Faced with increasing repression and harassment by the regime and the KGB, the Lithuanian Church has organized many of its traditional activities in the underground. There are now a secret seminary, clandestine nuns orders, a secret lay Catholic society and a flourishing samizdat press consisting of half a dozen publications operating in what has become known as the Church of the Catacombs. Moreover, as the Church has become increasingly uncompromising toward the regime and willing to stand its ground, its influence among the population has increased.[8]

Open defiance of the regime through unauthorized religious processions, demonstrations and mass petitions of all kinds has become commonplace in Lithuania. In one example, a 1979 petition demanding the return of a church in the city of Klaipeda confiscated by the authorities and submitted to Brezhnev and the United Nations was signed by 149,000 believers, an unprecedented figure given a total Lithuanian population of some three million. In another, 59 out of 60 official Church representatives in all six dioceses supported by the overwhelming

[8] It is worth noting here that in the Soviet Union as a whole the fastest growing religious communities such as Catholics, Baptists and other Evangelicals and the secret Moslem brotherhoods are also the ones which have by and large opted out for a policy of non-cooperation with the regime, and have not shied away from open confrontation.

majority of Lithuanian priests signed a statement in May of 1981 declaring their determination to defy Soviet regulations harmful to the Church and arguing that the Church is responsible only to the Pope and in effect does not recognize the state's jurisdiction over its ecclesiastical affairs.[9] The Pope has firmly, if quietly, supported the Lithuanians' struggle. He has, for example, refused to appoint regime-approved church officials, considered collaborators by most believers. It is also widely rumored that in 1979 the Pope bestowed the cardinal's hat in pectore to Bishop Stepanovicus, a man recognized by most Lithuanians as the head of their church, even though he has been prevented from carrying out his pastoral duties and has lived in internal exile for over twenty years because of his opposition to the regime's policies. Last summer he was able to push through the reinstatement of another bishop who, like Stepanovicus, had been exiled internally for twenty years.

No less troublesome for the Kremlin has been John Paul II's perceived impact on the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite. The Uniate Church, as it is also known, has for centuries commanded the allegiance of the people in the Western Ukraine which was incorporated into the Soviet Union following the Nazi-Soviet pact in 1939. The Western Ukraine has always been a traditional hotbed of Ukrainian nationalism and anti-Sovietism, with the Church playing a major role as a national symbol. As a result, it became an obvious target of the relentless Soviet drive to extirpate Ukrainian nationalism and was the only Church in the Soviet Union to be outlawed outright. Its churches were closed, its priests jailed or deported, and its members forced to

[9] Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church, #48, June 29, 1981.

recognize the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. Ever since that time, the Ukrainian Catholics, forbidden the practice of their faith, have been persecuted and victimized like no other religious community in the Soviet Union. Their tragic lot was compounded by the seeming lack of interest on the part of John Paul II's predecessors, who appeared to have completely abandoned them in the interest of good relations with Moscow. This situation has changed under Wojtyla's leadership. Having expressed his concern for the Ukrainian Catholics from the very beginning of his tenure, the Pontiff convoked the first synod of Uniate bishops in the spring of 1980 which openly called for the restoration of the Church, prompting a bitter riposte from the sycophantic patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church and a charge of interference in internal Soviet affairs from the regime. The Pope's sympathetic attitudes and moral support have contributed to the resurgence of a new spirit of hope and defiance permeating the Ukrainian Catholic community. Just as the Lithuanians before them, last September the Ukrainian Catholics organized an "Initiative Group for the Defense of the Rights of the Church" and boldly petitioned the government to allow the reopening of Uniate churches and monasteries. Despite particularly brutal KGB suppression, an underground church with as many as 500 priests and 3 bishops is reported to be flourishing in the Ukraine. John Paul II appears to be firmly in support of the Ukrainians' uphill struggle. As recently as February 1983 he convened yet another synod of the Uniate bishops dedicated to an examination of the state of the underground Church and urged them to intensify their efforts in connection with the upcoming 1000th anniversary of Christianity in the Ukraine in 1988.[10]

[10] Reuter, Vatican City, February 13, 1983.

There is also evidence of a revival of the Catholic Church in other areas of the Soviet Union. Last year the Cathedral of Aglona, a holy place of pilgrimage for Latvian Catholics every August 15, which attracted an average of 20,000 pilgrims in the 1970s was jammed with some 70,000 faithful, while in Byelorussia the authorities have alleged that illegal services and bible schools for children were being conducted by "extremist" priests "carrying out instructions from foreign bosses." [11]

It has now become clear that in the person of the Polish Pope the long-suffering Soviet Catholics have found a determined champion and what Pope Pius XII used to call the "church of silence" is no longer. There is also little doubt that John Paul II has approved of and perhaps even encouraged the increasingly militant attitudes of Soviet Catholics. "The faithful will have only as much freedom as they manage to win for themselves," he is reported to have openly told the Lithuanian clergy, according to the underground organ of the Church. [12]

While the Pope's influence has undoubtedly been strongest among the Catholics in the Soviet bloc it has had much broader ramifications. One aspect of John Paul II's worldview that must be particularly disconcerting to Moscow in its political implications is his implicit rejection of the political division of Europe and Soviet domination of its eastern half. By emphasizing its common Christian roots he has consistently stressed the spiritual unity of Europe--East and West--and has gone beyond that to argue for the opening not only of state borders,

[11] Reuter, September 22, 1982.

[12] Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church, #44, July 30, 1980.

but also those of the (political) "systems." In a highly significant gesture, the Pope has declared the Slavic apostles Cyril and Methodius, who were instrumental in the spread of Christianity among the orthodox Slavs, co-patron saints of Europe along with St. Benedict, thus symbolically overcoming the centuries old division of European Christianity. While this papal action has been largely ignored in the West, it has been bitterly attacked in the East as a "factor in the activization of clerical anti-communism, and the growing ideological claims of the Church." [13]

The Pope's expressed vision of a Europe united on the basis of Christian ideals, however unrealistic, given existing political realities is the logical antithesis of Soviet totalitarian ideology and thus an ideological challenge to its very legitimacy. Moreover, the Pope sees the communist system and its atheistic philosophy as an implacable enemy of the human spirit and a cause of suffering and insecurity for individuals and nations alike. What has distinguished him from his predecessors is that he has not been satisfied to merely identify the problem, but has called on his followers to stand up to it. In a succinct exposition of this aspect of his philosophy he wrote in an address to the United Nations session on disarmament in June of 1982:

The spirit has prime and inalienable rights. It justly claims them in countries where room is lacking for one to live in tranquility according to one's convictions. I call upon all fighters for peace to enter into this struggle to eliminate the real causes of men's insecurity.

It is this determination to act forcefully in accordance with his convictions, armed with the moral authority of his position and his

[13] Cited in Neue Zuercher Zeitung, June 16, 1979, p. 7.

tremendous personal charisma, that has made John Paul II a dangerous ideological opponent for the men in the Kremlin.

MOSCOW LASHES OUT

Soviet media reaction to the Pope has faithfully reflected Moscow's increasing apprehension over the Pontiff's policies and influence. In the initial period between Wojtyla's election in the Fall of 1978 and his visit to Poland in June of 1979, Soviet reporting on John Paul II was scant and generally restrained. Though Soviet readers were occasionally reminded that the Vatican occupied an important place among "religious centers and organizations abroad that actively participate in the struggle of world imperialism against socialism and communism," criticisms of the Pope himself were rather subdued and dealt mostly with his conservative theological views and his alleged failure to attack the evils of capitalism on his various travels in the Third World. This kid glove approach was promptly discarded in the wake of John Paul II's visit to his homeland. On the very first day of the visit Moscow television informed the viewers that the event was being used by "certain Church leaders" for "anti-state purposes,"[14] while foreign minister Gromyko was reported to have feared that the Pope's pilgrimage to Poland would "have the same effect on the masses as the Ayatollah Khomeini had in Iran." [15] In the aftermath of the visit an ever more strident campaign was orchestrated by professional agitators and in the media attacking the Catholic Church and castigating the Pope as an inveterate opponent of socialism.

[14] New York Times, June 4, 1979.

[15] Soviet Analyst, Vol. 8, No. 13, June 28, 1979, p. 7.

This campaign took particularly virulent forms in the areas inhabited by Soviet Catholics. Moscow has been particularly worried about religious dissent in areas such as Lithuania and the Ukraine because of the traditional symbiotic relationship between the Church and nationalism there. Unlike the Russian dissident movement which is almost exclusively centered in the intelligentsia and has very little popular support, religious dissent is broadly based with strong nationalist overtones and therefore the potential to become a mass opposition movement. In Lithuania the authorities have accused the Church of attempting to transform itself into a nationalist political force and have assailed unnamed "fanatical agents of the Pope." In the words of a top KGB official these religious fanatics under the influence of the Vatican's "vile fantasies" become conductors of the hostile strivings of the anti-communists." [16] Simultaneously, a campaign of physical intimidation and assaults on priests, and desecration, looting and burning of churches has taken place. Most ominously three activist priests have been murdered, following vicious media attacks against them, in circumstances which suggest KGB involvement. In the Ukraine the Pope has been personally attacked for his support of believers and for allegedly trying to divide and set against each other the Ukrainian and Russian people. [17] The Vatican has also been accused of "malicious anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda," conducted by "dyed-in-the-wool anti-Soviets and Nazi remnants..." [18] The vilification campaign of

[16] Komunist, Vilnius, #11, November 1981.

[17] Nauka I Religiya, #11, 1982.

[18] Radyanska Ukraina, March 26, 1981.

the Pontiff reached an early peak with the publication of a particularly inflammatory attack on him in the literary political journal Polimya in March of 1981. In it, Wojtyla, characterized as a "militant anti-communist" and a "cunning and dangerous ideological enemy" stands accused of having both known of and acquiesced to an alleged Nazi-Vatican plan to exterminate the Polish people, including the clergy, during World War II. This "malicious, lowly, perfidious and backward" "toady of the American militarists," the author further informs us, struggles against socialism in the interest of his "overseas accomplices" and his "new boss in the White House."

The attempt on the Pope's life in May of 1981 marked another watershed in Moscow's campaign against him. Immediately following the event Soviet propagandists were mainly concerned with steering any suspicion of complicity away from the Soviet bloc and launched a typical disinformation campaign, aiming to show that reactionary imperialist circles and the CIA in particular were behind this ghastly deed. In at least one case Soviet propaganda ingenuity went as far as claiming that the CIA had wanted to eliminate the Pope because of his friendliness towards the Soviet Union.[19]

The media offensive against the Pontiff, however, was resumed again once it became evident that he would survive the attack, and has continued unabated with mounting shrillness to the present. The renewed

[19] APN (in Russian), May 27, 1981. Soviet efforts to link the CIA to the assassination attempt have been intensified since the arrest in Italy of the Bulgarian Sergei Antonov in late November. See, for instance, Radio Moscow programs of January 11, February 8 and 9 and TASS, December 16, 1982 and January 10, 1983. The CIA has also been accused of sponsoring the Red Brigades and organizing the murder of Aldo Moro. Mezhdunarodniy terorizm i TsRU (International Terrorism and the CIA), Moscow, 1982, pp. 252-262.

propaganda effort has focused on the attempt to present John Paul II as the organizer and actual driving force behind the Solidarity movement in Poland and a massive drive to destabilize the socialist bloc and to portray him as a puppet, if not an actual agent, of U.S.

imperialism.[20] "The anti-socialist activity of the reactionary forces of the Catholic Church is attested to by the developments of recent years in People's Poland," opined a recent Soviet commentary and continued bluntly, "the notorious anti-socialist force Solidarity, which came to symbolize the crisis provoked by the anti-socialist forces on instructions from overseas, was born not in the wave of disorders that swept the country in the summer of 1980, but in the Catholic Church." [21] The theme of American manipulation of the Pope was sounded time and again as, for instance, in a hard-hitting article in the Czech journal Tvorba, widely reprinted in the Soviet media. "It is known," the article stated, "that the American president, during his June sojourn in Rome, enjoined John Paul II to assume a more resolute posture in connection with the situation in Poland, to interfere more into the internal affairs of that country. As a reward, Ronald Reagan has shown his readiness to raise financial support, which the Roman Catholic Church would distribute among the opposition in Poland." [22]

The frantic efforts by the Soviet and Eastern European media to prove a link between the Vatican and assorted American reactionary circles bears a disturbing resemblance to the anti-religious campaigns

[20] In its propaganda effort Moscow has often resorted to the practice of having particularly slanderous attacks published first in the press of its Eastern European clients and then widely reprinted and disseminated by the Soviet propaganda machine.

[21] TASS, December 29, 1982.

[22] Tvorba, No. 32, August 11, 1982.

of the early 1950s in Eastern Europe when hundreds of priests were carted off to the labor camps and jails after being convicted as American spies in show trials.

"The subversive activities of the Vatican," however, are not limited to Poland but directed "against all socialist countries and first and foremost against the Soviet people," argues one Soviet author who then proceeds to document the "ideological sabotage" carried out by the Vatican. Among other things the Vatican is accused of organizing special anti-Soviet centers which are said to "train and send propaganda specialists" and smuggle "subversive literature" in the socialist countries.[23] The Pope's advocacy of European unity is also attacked as part of the "anti-communist campaign for the defense of human rights" and an attempt by the "anti-communist forces of Polish clericalism to activate destabilizing forces in the other socialist countries." [24] Alongside the massive media campaign against the Pope, there are disturbing signs that the Soviet regime under Andropov is stepping up the direct repression of the Catholic Church. Last January the KGB arrested the most prominent Lithuanian religious dissident and a founding member of the "Catholic Committee," Father Svarinskas, a man who has already spent twenty-four years in Soviet camps, and the organizer of the Ukrainian "Initiative Committee," Yosif Terelya. There is evidence that for the first time in many years the Soviets are again preparing show trials in an effort to silence dissent. A further disquieting note has been added by an acrimonious article in the

[23] V. Makhin, "Religiya v ideinom arsenale antikomunizma" (Religion in the Conceptual Arsenal of Anticommunism), Politicheskoye Samoobrazovanie, No. 12, December 1982, pp. 117-118.

[24] Cited in Neue Zuercher Zeitung, June 16, 1982.

Lithuanian party organ accusing the clergy of "criminal connections" with the Nazi occupiers and the Gestapo during World War II.[25]

Yet neither the attempt on his life in May of 1981 nor the seditious propaganda campaign against him preceding and following it appear to have intimidated the Pope or to have forced him to retreat from his determined struggle on behalf of the believers under communism. In yet another move likely to be seen as a provocation by Moscow he recently appointed three new cardinals from the Soviet bloc. One of them, the Latvian bishop Vaivods, a veteran of the Soviet Gulag, is the first cardinal in the Soviet Union. Moscow, evidently, was neither consulted nor informed ahead of time of the Pope's choice. ~~The Pope is also determined to go ahead with his return visit to Poland this coming June which is causing increasing concern in the Eastern bloc.~~ The Hungarian party organ, Nepzabadsag, has openly voiced the fear that John Paul II's visit may steer the Church on a course of confrontation in an attempt to bring the regime to its knees.[26]

It should come as no surprise then that the Kremlin's attitudes towards the Pope some four years after his election and close to two years after the attempt on his life continue to be unremittingly hostile and increasingly confrontational. The fact that the successful repression of Solidarity by the Polish military dictatorship in December of 1981, apparently did not alleviate Soviet concerns, as the preceding pages illustrate, testifies eloquently that for Moscow John Paul II was and continues to be much more than a narrow Polish problem. The Pope on his part realized clearly what a serious challenge he presented for the

[25] Sovetskaya Litva, February 8, 1983.

[26] Cited in Die Welt, December 27, 1982.

Kremlin. As early as 1979 during his visit to Poland he told an audience: "I'm sure there are people out there who are already having a hard time taking this Slavic Pope." Hard enough, it seems, to prompt an exasperated Kremlin to cry out, as Henry II once did regarding the Archbishop of Canterbury: "Will no one rid me of this turbulent priest?"

Ambassador of the United States of America

Full

Bill
2

September 16, 1983

The Honorable Michael K. Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington DC 20500

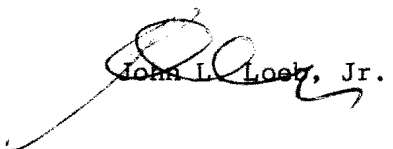
Dear Mike:

I thought you might like to see the ~~enclosed~~ remarks of the Foreign Minister of Denmark at a farewell luncheon prior to my departure from Copenhagen.

I also enclose for your information a press release by the American Embassy and some press clippings from New York. These include The New York Times, The New York Post, and an article that appeared in more than nine upstate New York newspapers.

Apropos of the State Department, you might be interested in their appraisal with regard to my receiving the Grand Cross of the Order of Danneborg from Queen Margrethe II.

As ever,


John L. Loeb, Jr.

Enclosures

REMARKS BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF DENMARK,
HIS EXCELLENCY UFFE ELLEMANN-JENSEN,
AT THE FAREWELL LUNCHEON IN HONOR OF
THE UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR JOHN L. LOEB, JR.
AT THE DANISH FOREIGN MINISTRY IN COPENHAGEN:

Mr. Ambassador,
Dear John,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

By tradition, the Danish Foreign Minister and the Ambassador of the United States of America maintain a dialogue on a variety of important bilateral and international matters.

During your term as ambassador here in Copenhagen we have been able to continue this useful "exercise" through our many open minded and direct conversations.

Let me take this opportunity to say that I have always appreciated the frankness and personal involvement with which you have engaged yourself in our conversation. I also know and appreciate that during your numerous visits to various parts of Denmark you have engaged yourself in a frank and useful dialogue with the grassroots of this country, not least with our young people.

During your stay here we have witnessed with great satisfaction a steady increase in the contacts at all levels between our two nations. Let me mention, as a few cases in point, the Prime Minister's visit to Washington last year, my own conversations with Secretary Shultz on numerous occasions, the visit to Denmark of Deputy Secretary Kenneth Dam earlier this year, and last but not least the very successful visit of Vice President Bush two months ago.

During my visit to Rebild with the Vice President I had the opportunity to point to the historic and strong ties between Denmark and the United States, based upon a close community outlook and ideals. I also mentioned the importance of spurring the dialogue and maintaining unity across the Atlantic. Your mission here has served that purpose, John, and we are grateful for your contribution.

I would like also to make some comments on Danish-American trade relations.

For many years your country has ranked among Denmark's five largest trading partners. During the last three years the United States has been a dynamic market for our exports. This year Danish exports to the United States are expected to reach the 10 billion kroner mark, and 6 per cent of the total Danish exports now go to the United States.

In 1983, for the first time in decades Denmark will have surplus on its trade with the United States.

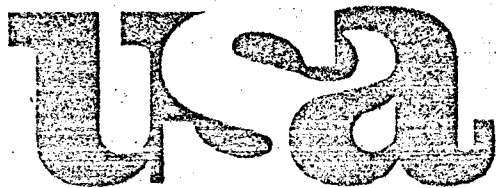
We are fully aware, of course, that trade is a two-way traffic. We therefore also appreciate the importance of the United States as one of our main suppliers. In fact, your country ranks as number 5. The dramatic rise in Danish imports of American goods in 1981 from 7 to 11 billion Danish kroner was partly accounted for by the higher exchange rate for the U.S. dollar, but certainly also by increased Danish purchase from the United States of coal, aircraft and machinery. However, the current exchange rates face the U.S. exporters with hard competition in the Danish market.

From the very first days of your stay in Denmark, Mr. Ambassador, you have taken a very vivid interest in Danish art and culture. You are a frequent and welcome guest in Danish art museums and galleries and the modern Danish paintings which you have acquired and placed on the walls of your Residence will always bear witness to your taste for the best Danish art.

However, your interest in Danish culture has not been only a personal matter. At the official level you have been very active in promoting mutual knowledge of the cultures of our two countries. In regard to Scandinavia Today and particularly in regard to the Danish events in connection with Scandinavia Today you have been a source of inspiration. Your active co-operation has been highly evaluated by the Danes who have worked on these projects. In a few weeks the Prime Minister will inaugurate the last of the Danish events in this field, the exhibition "King and Citizens" in the Jewish Museum in New York City. And we have good reasons to thank you especially for the inspiration you have provided to that project.

You are now about to leave Copenhagen for New York to take up an important assignment as United States Representative to the United Nations General Assembly. I hope that when back in that great country of yours you will remember Denmark, not only as a small and pleasant country in a corner of Europe, but also as a country deeply committed to the Atlantic cooperation and to friendship with the United States.

We thank you and we wish you and your family all the best in the future. Allow me, as a token of remembrance, to present to you this piece of Royal Danish Porcelain.



press release

September 14, 1983

AMBASSADOR LOEB DEPARTS SEPTEMBER 17 FOR UNITED NATIONS POST

DECORATED BY QUEEN MARGRETHE II
WITH GRAND CROSS OF THE ORDER OF DANNEBROG

DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER UFFE ELLEMANN-JENSEN LAUDS
AMBASSADOR LOEB AT FAREWELL LUNCHEON

PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER TO RECEIVE WINSTON CHURCHILL AWARD
FROM AMBASSADOR LOEB IN WASHINGTON SEPTEMBER 29

John L. Loeb, Jr., the United States Ambassador to the Kingdom of Denmark, will leave Copenhagen for New York City on September 17 to join the United States Delegation to the 38th Session of the United Nations General Assembly which convenes on September 20.

On September 29 Ambassador Loeb, as President of the Winston Churchill Foundation of the United States, will confer the Winston Churchill Award on Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at a dinner in her honor at the British Embassy in Washington, D.C.

Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II, at a farewell meeting, decorated Ambassador Loeb with the Grand Cross of the Order of Dannebrog. As one of Denmark's most prestigious awards, the Order of Dannebrog was established in 1671 by King Christian V for extraordinarily meritorious service - primarily for Danish citizens. The award constitutes Denmark's recognition of Ambassador Loeb's outstanding service in strengthening U.S./Danish relations.

At a farewell luncheon hosted by the Danish Foreign Minister in honor of Ambassador Loeb, at the Danish Foreign Ministry in Copenhagen, His Excellency Uffe Ellemann-Jensen said:

"During my visit to Rebild with the Vice President I had the opportunity to point to the historic and strong ties between Denmark and the United States based upon a close community of outlook and ideals. I also mentioned the importance of spurring the dialogue and maintaining unity across the Atlantic. Your mission here has served that purpose, John, and we are grateful for your contribution." *

*The full text of the Foreign Minister's remarks is enclosed.

UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE

Embassy of the United States of America - Dag Hammarskjölds Allé 24 - 2100 København Ø - Telephone 01 42 31 44

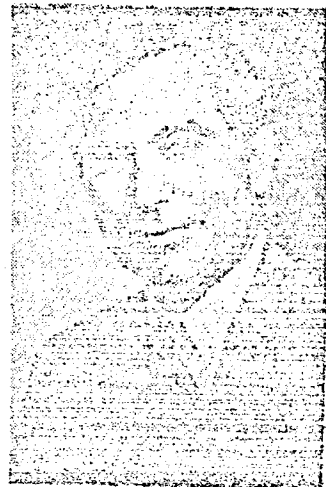


U.S. Ambassador to Denmark Is Decorated by Government

John L. Loeb Jr., the departing United States Ambassador to Denmark, was decorated yesterday with one of that country's highest awards, the Grand Cross of the Order of Dannebrog, in recognition of his efforts to strengthen Danish-American relations, the United States Information Service reported from Copenhagen.

Mr. Loeb, an investment banker and former partner in Loeb, Rhoades & Company, was appointed Ambassador in September 1931. He is returning to New York to join the United States delegation to the United Nations General Assembly later this month.

The medal, awarded by Queen Margrethe II, was presented to him at a farewell luncheon given by the Danish Foreign Minister, Uffe Elleman-Jensen, the information service said.



John L. Loeb Jr.

Loeb honored

John L. Loeb Jr. of Purchase received some farewell honors Monday as he prepared to retire as U.S. ambassador to Denmark.

In honor of his two years in Copenhagen, he received the Grand Cross of the Order of Dannebrog from Queen Margrethe II. The award, established in 1671 by King Christian V for extraordinarily meritorious service, primarily for Danish citizens, recognized Loeb's effectiveness in strengthening U.S.-Danish relations, according to the U.S. Embassy in Copenhagen.

Loeb will soon return to the United States to join the U.S. delegation to the 38th session of the United Nations General Assembly on Sept. 20.

Earlier, Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Elleman-Jensen, the host during a farewell luncheon in his ministry, told Loeb he had discussed with Vice President George Bush the "historic and strong ties between Denmark and the United States based upon a close community of outlook and ideals."

— Milton Hoffman

Appeared in all
Gannett Chain Newspapers
in New York State

The New York Post



JOHN Loeb Jr., U.S. Ambassador to Denmark has been a great success.

Yesterday John was decorated by Queen Margrethe II with the Grand Cross of the Order of Dannebrog, one of Denmark's most prestigious awards to signify Danish recognition of Ambassador Loeb's outstanding effectiveness in strengthening U.S.-Danish relations.

Ambassador Loeb will be back in New York to join the U.S. delegation for the 38th Session of the U.S. General Assembly, which will meet here Sept. 20.

AROUND the TOWN with Eugenia Sheppard



JOHN LOEB
Stronger ties.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 29, 1983

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM

TO: S/CPR - Ambassador Roosevelt
FROM: EUR - Richard R. Burt
SUBJECT: Danish Honor for Ambassador John L. Loeb, Jr.

Her Majesty the Queen of Denmark would like to present a decoration to Ambassador Loeb before he leaves Copenhagen for his new assignment as a member of the United States delegation to the UN General Assembly. The award would constitute Danish recognition of Ambassador Loeb's outstanding effectiveness in strengthening U.S./Danish relations.

We share the opinion of the Danish Government that Ambassador Loeb's service as American Ambassador to Denmark has been truly outstanding. His assignment coincided with a period of unprecedented domestic debate in Denmark over Alliance security policies and the role of US defense installations in Greenland. Ambassador Loeb responded with a vigorous, personally-directed program of outreach to the Danish people designed to improve their understanding of the Soviet threat, current disarmament negotiations and the undiminished need for strong western defenses. After a new, Conservative-led Danish government took office in late 1982, Ambassador Loeb seized the initiative and arranged a very successful Washington visit for Prime Minister Schluter, followed by a painstakingly prepared and very productive visit to Copenhagen by Vice President Bush. Ambassador Loeb's efforts have made a significant contribution to improving the public affairs environment in Denmark on issues of vital concern to the United States and to establishing an unusually close and constructive consultative relationship with the new Danish Government.

I believe that the standard of outstanding and unusually meritorious service specified in P.L. 95-105 has been met and recommend that Ambassador Loeb be permitted to retain the decoration which the Queen of Denmark proposes to bestow on him.

UNCLASSIFIED

United States Department of State

The Chief of Protocol
Washington, D.C. 20520

August 30, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: EUR - Richard R. Burt

Subject: Retention by Ambassador John L. Loeb, Jr.
of Decoration from Danish Government.

On the basis of your appraisal of Ambassador John L. Loeb's performance as Chief of Mission to Denmark, I am happy to concur in your recommendation that he be allowed to retain the decoration to be bestowed upon him by the Queen of Denmark upon his departure from that country.

Ambassador Loeb is to be congratulated on the recognition and honor inherent in this award.



Timothy L. Towell
Acting

September 17, 1983

file

FROM: Bernyce A. Fletcher
516 G Street, Southwest
Washington, D. C. 20024

TO: President Ronald Reagan
Vice President George Bush
Elected Members of Congress
Chairman-Republican National Committee
Other Prominent Republicans

SUBJECT: Attached Page From Article Entitled "Who's In Charge"
From the August, 1983 Issue of Washingtonian Magazine

Dear Mr. President:

The attached page is from the August 1983 issue of Washingtonian Magazine. It's from a story written by Fred Barnes entitled, "Who's in Charge" that appeared in the issue in question. You will note that I have encircled a paragraph in the center column of the attached page from that story. This letter is about that part of the story.

From the moment the August issue of the magazine appeared on the newsstands our phone started ringing. Many of our friends and a host of acquaintances and associates wanted to know what was going on. Why was Lyn Nofziger trying to destroy my husband's reputation, statue and political career with the Republican Party? And, above all, why was Nofziger trying to make it appear that my husband, Art Fletcher, was out of favor with the Reagan Administration?

I am writing this letter to you Mr. President, the Vice President, all Republican members of the Congress, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, Mr. Bill Casey of the CIA, who was the chairman of the Reagan-Bush 1980 election campaign committee, as well as other important Republicans of national prominence. Why? Because many of the questions directed to us as a result of Mr. Nofziger's destructive remarks were and are about you, namely the President, the Reagan Administration and the GOP, and we, Art and I, can't answer them. However, I can say that from the tone and contents of the questions, it appears that the Reagan Administration's image as it pertains to its racial and civil rights problems is beginning to attach to the entire Republican Party. Here is a capsule summary of the questions:

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1. Why would Lyn Nofziger "go public" with such a destructive, negative statement about Art's relationship with the Reagan Administration?
2. What did Art Fletcher do to Lyn Nofziger and President Reagan that would cause them to want to drive him out of the Republican Party?
3. Is Nofziger's statement designed to signal that creditable Blacks aren't welcome in the GOP or the Reagan Administration?
4. Nofziger knows that Art is a consultant and that his ability to attract well paying clients depends on his image as an individual with access and the ability to get a good reception from the Administration. Why would he try to impede, if not destroy Art's ability to earn a living?
5. Is this the way the Republican Party and the Reagan Administration treat its Black participants after a lifetime of loyal support?
6. What specifically did Art say about "Reagan's Civil Rights stand" that would justify Lyn Nofziger's making a special effort to do him harm?
7. Do the GOP members of Congress feel the same about Art Fletcher, as do President Reagan and Lyn Nofziger?
8. When Lyn Nofziger beats his chest and boasts about barring Art Fletcher "from any administration job" is Lyn Nofziger speaking for the President, GOP members of Congress and the Republican National Committee?

As I said earlier, this is just a small sample of the many questions Art and I were asked particularly throughout the month of August, 1983. Incidentally, the peak period of phone calls came during the King Memorial March weekend and continued for several days after that event. As Congress returns and the Annual Congressional Black Caucus weekend approaches, September 23, 1983 to be exact, questions are being asked again. Frankly it has grown to the point of embarrassment as well as being a bit humiliating. As I said in the beginning of this letter, we, Art and I, can't answer for you, Mr. President, nor the Vice President, the GOP members of Congress,

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the Republican National Committee, etc., and I for one am sick and tired of trying. Art, for his part, is willing to turn the other cheek and let Nofziger's statement become buried by time and other newsmaking events, but I am not. Why? Because I have spent too many lonely nights and made innumerable personal sacrifices waiting at home for Art, while he raced all over the country, week after week, month after month, and years on end, supporting GOP candidates, Republican administrations and their policies, just to let it go. It's my view that as bad as the Reagan Administration's image is in Black America, it's no accident that Lyn Nofziger picked my husband who is easily regarded as one of the ten most highly respected Black Republicans in the country, to attack in public.

To say it another way, Lyn Nofziger had a specific reason for "going public" with this destructive, negative statement about my husband, and I want him to "go public" again, with documented facts and tell us what Art said that was so harmful to the President, that he should be denied an appointment and/or have potential clients bypass his services because he's not acceptable to the Reagan Administration. And, if he can't produce such facts, then he should be man enough to say so and apologize "in public."

In other words, I feel about Lyn Nofziger as do you, Mr. President, and the American people about the Soviet Union, and the murder of 200 plus innocent men, women and children in shooting down the Korean Airliner. They either must prove that the airliner was on a spy mission, or they owe the world, and especially the families of those lost in that atrocity, an explanation and whatever else they can do to lighten the burden. I feel that Lyn Nofziger has made an attempt to murder my husband's reputation and destroy his opportunity to make a living for his family at his chosen profession as a Republican political consultant, and if he can't prove his allegations, then he like the Russians owes us, Art and me and the public-at-large, an apology. As I said before, Art could care less, but I want to know. In short, he's the politician, I'm not. But I have suffered and sacrificed as much as he has and I am entitled to some answers. And frankly, even though he's being philosophical about it, he deserves to know all the facts too. After all he has given his entire adult life, nearly four decades to, as he says, "showing the GOP flag and carrying the banner into battle." And he deserves an explanation too. (In fact Art was a Republican, when you and I, Mr. President, were card-carrying Democrats.) Because of Art's efforts on behalf of the GOP, he has been assailed, had his character, integrity and sanity questioned and has been the constant target of threats and intimidation. In the process over the years he has suffered social isolation, and has been eliminated from leadership roles throughout Black America. Why? Because of his high profile, no nonsense, non-apologetic,

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and if I do say so myself, quite effective efforts on behalf of Republican Administrations at the state and national levels, as well as GOP candidates, policies and causes.

And now to find that a deliberate attempt has been made to freeze him out of the Reagan Administration because of some alleged "attack on Reagan's civil rights stand" is more than I am willing to endure in silence. I especially want answers to Lyn Nofziger's charge now more than ever since Art has suffered a heart attack and is in less than stable health.

In other words, I want to know exactly what Art said that was damaging to the extent that it could wipe out a lifetime of loyal service to the GOP. Let me reiterate, I will not be satisfied with mere words, alleged rumors, hearsay, etc. Since Mr. Nofziger went public with his charge this matter deserves specifics. He should be called upon by you, Mr. President, and other party leaders to document his allegations with letters, news clippings, TV news clips, etc., and lastly, Mr. President, Mr. Vice President and members of Congress, and all who receive this letter, I welcome your personal response to this writing and I will especially appreciate your telling me whether my husband, Art Fletcher, has been a liability to the Reagan Administration and the GOP.

Before complying with this request, please know that neither Art nor I sought a job or executive appointment in the Reagan Administration. For better than a decade now, Art has been planning to establish a religious society that would eventually sponsor a super modern two-year business college and technical institute, and call this his ultimate and final contribution to mankind. The Administration's recent report describing the state of American education entitled "A Nation at Risk," proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that there is a drastic need for the type of education/training institution my husband has in mind. He had hoped to find the climate right and the necessary support for the venture here in the District of Columbia, once the Reagan Administration took office. However, the austere economic climate, retrenchment and instability ushered in by President Reagan's economic and social policies placed his dream out of reach for the time being. Be that as it may, the point is that Mr. Fletcher believes that establishing the sponsoring religious society and developing the high tech business college and training institution represents a much higher calling and a far more valuable and lasting contribution than serving in the Reagan or any other national administration. Thus he had no desire, nor did he ever intend to accept an appointment in the current or any future administration.

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As for me, I volunteered to serve on the First Lady's Staff during the Reagan transition period, but I turned down all offers, speculative or real, to join Mrs. Reagan's permanent staff once the administration assumed power. However, Jim Rosebush contacted me about helping him organize and launch the Reagan Administration's Private Sector Initiative Project in August, 1981. Because of his persistent effort, I agreed. I had every intention of returning to private life once that project got underway. (See attached thank-you note from Mr. Bill Verity, Chairman of the Private Sector Task Force.) Mr. Rosebush's successful efforts with the latter project resulted in his being tapped to take charge of the First Lady's Staff and I again agreed to stay on to help him assume the management of that operation. Nevertheless, I resigned in January, 1983, the very minute it became evident that my particular skills were no longer needed or appreciated, and I haven't sought employment since and I am not looking for work now. This information is pertinent because I want to make certain that you do not mistake my reason for writing. Thus, to emphasize the point again, I just want answers to the questions cited throughout this letter. Why?

Because I know Art. He loves to campaign and the campaign season is upon us again, and even with questionable health, he'll be out there again if he thinks he can be helpful. And, for some strange reason, he always manages to convince himself that he can be helpful. In passing, I should point out that Mr. Fletcher does an outstanding job of explaining the Reagan Administration's policies, foreign, economic, defense, as well as tax programs, deregulation, federalism, etc. In other words he's more than a Civil Rights Johnny One-Note. Should you need proof of his versatility, I refer you to Howard University's Public TV Channel 32. Ask them to replay the half-hour interview between Art and Burney McKane, and compare his performance with so-called administration spokespersons, male or female, black or white, conservative or liberal. In doing so, please note that throughout the program he had several opportunities to blast the Reagan Administration's human services and/or civil rights record. You be the judge as to whether he attacked or defended President Reagan.

In arriving at your conclusions keep in mind that Mr. Fletcher is not in the Administration, and doesn't want a job, so he had no particular reason, other than fairness, to be objective as regards to the President's policies and programs.

Even though he can handle himself when he's on the firing line, neither Mr. Fletcher nor I enjoy being shouted and jeered at, because of his effective defense of the Reagan Administration and/or the Republican Party.

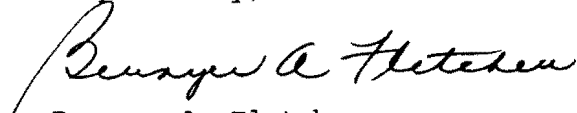
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Thus, campaign season notwithstanding, if we aren't welcome, and I must say there are some Republicans such as Lyn Nofziger who don't like independent, intelligent, courageous Black men and women such as my husband and myself, who can think for themselves and do their own thing, then we most certainly won't force ourselves on anyone. Art and I readily agree that America and the GOP will survive whether we participate or not, and/or whether the Reagan Administration is re-elected or not. Coupled with the latter there is so much to do during this critical transition period in our nation's history, we can sit this election out, and still keep busy supporting other worthwhile causes.

The Congressional Black Caucus Legislative weekend will occur on September 23, 1983 and an estimated 8 to 10 thousand Black Americans will visit this city for that occasion. On the heels of that event an estimated 18 to 25 hundred Black Republicans will attend various affairs and functions sponsored by Black Republican organizations. Because of this we will have house guests, and a large number of friends and acquaintances dropping by to say hello. Because of the Civil Rights Memorial March in late August, 1983, people from all over the nation learned about Mr. Nofziger's boast regarding "barring Art Fletcher from any job in the Administration." Therefore, when they return for the above two occasions we will be peppered again about why Nofziger did this, and what the President and GOP congressmen think about his going public with such a negative statement about Mr. Fletcher. Rather than try to explain your views and reaction to his statement, I would much prefer to let them read your responses for themselves.

Thus I am indeed serious when I say I would appreciate your written response to this letter. I make this request in spite of the fact that I know you are burdened with many other important matters of state. Why? Because I believe it will clear the air as to the Party's attitude about independent, capable Blacks as participants in Republican Party and Administration's affairs.

Respectfully,


Bernyce A. Fletcher

/baf

riously by Reagan's inner circle of advisers. A key transition official said Reagan aides worried that Lehrman, a brainy and assertive supply-sider, would be a "counterforce," opposing any policy he didn't personally favor.

The Lehrman case touches on the fourth truism of staffing the presidency: No matter who a President appoints, somebody will be mad about it. President William Howard Taft moaned 70 years ago: "Every time I make an appointment I create nine enemies and one ingrate." After his election in 1952, President Dwight Eisenhower made enemies by passing up Republicans for post after post. At one point, Massachusetts Senator Leverett Saltonstall asked House Speaker Joe Martin, also a Massachusetts Republican, how many constituents he had placed in new jobs in the administration. "New jobs?" Martin muttered. "I lost the two I got when Truman was in office." When President Richard M. Nixon disappointed Republicans with his early nominees, Kansas Senator Robert Dole said GOP senators should note in their letters of recommendation, "Even though Zilch is a Republican, he's highly qualified for the job." When he couldn't get a single Kansan named, Dole lamented, "There must be a spot for one between now and 1976. A janitor maybe?"

When Reagan began announcing his picks, the Republican right rebelled. Conservatives thought the appointees, taken as a group, were too moderate. "It's mind-boggling that conservative, pro-Reagan activists are being bumped off job lists, while people who have no commitment to Ronald Reagan are being given jobs," said Terry Dolan, the chairman of the National Conservative Political Action Committee. Reagan's "mandate for change is in danger of being subverted," wrote columnist John Lof-ton in an open letter to Reagan.

The rebellion from the right succeeded, at least partially. Pen James had been blocking the nomination of conservative Donald Devine, a University of Maryland professor, as director of the Office of Personnel Management. Devine, he felt, was unqualified. But Jim Baker, newly installed as White House chief of staff, told James that rejecting Devine "may be the straw that breaks the back." He told James, "You have to back off." And so James okayed Devine. Conservatives wanted one of their own in the key role as head of the civil service, but that wasn't the main reason Devine got the OPM job. More important was the strategy he followed: Shoot low. Rather than join the herd in seeking a Cabinet post, he laid claim to a lesser position where he faced few competitors. Robert S. Strauss followed this strategy

in the Carter administration, and was named special trade representative.

James was also leery of making Tom Pauken, another conservative activist, the director of ACTION. Baker overruled him. Lyn Nofziger, who was running the White House political office, nixed a few non-Reaganite appointments, though he lost his bid to bar William H. Draper III from taking over the Export-Import Bank. Draper was a Bush supporter in the primaries who had criticized Reagan. But Nofziger was able to bar black Republican Arthur Fletcher, who was a Labor Department official under Nixon and a White House aide

Before Franklin Roosevelt's election in 1932, competence and loyalty to the President didn't count for much in staffing the presidency.

under Ford, from any administration job, pointing to Fletcher's attack on Reagan's civil-rights stand.

Many of the problems of staffing the presidency go back to Kennedy, Eisenhower, Truman, and Roosevelt. In December 1960, liberal advisers of President Kennedy were upset to learn that he intended to appoint a Republican, fresh from duty as an undersecretary of State in the Republican Eisenhower administration, as his own Treasury Secretary. The Kennedy choice was Douglas Dillon. He might have been the pick of Richard Nixon—Kennedy's opponent in the 1960 election—for the same job, historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. told Kennedy. "Oh, I don't care about those things," Kennedy said. "All I want to know is: Is he able and will he go along with the program?"

Years before Kennedy posed them, Presidents were asking those two questions about potential appointees. They still do. Is the person competent and loyal? And there is a third question. Is there political advantage in naming the person? Carter chose Joseph Califano as HEW Secretary, a job Califano sought avidly, and found him competent but not terribly loyal. Carter fired him in 1979. Reagan named former congresswoman Margaret Heckler to the same post this year (now minus its education function) out of an abundance of political concern over the female vote in 1984, brushing aside concerns about her competence and loyalty.

Before Franklin Roosevelt's election in 1932, competence and loyalty to the

President didn't count for much in staffing the presidency. The party of the President normally filled the Cabinet and subcabinet posts to suit its own purpose. President Woodrow Wilson had to go along with William Jennings Bryan, his Secretary of State, though his respect for Bryan was minimal. State par chairmen and members of Congress were powerful arbiters of who got which job. More powerful still was the Postmaster General, normally the top national par official. He spent most of his time on patronage, not on mail.

Roosevelt took an extraordinary personal interest in choosing his officials, but he did not cast his net widely. But two of his ten Cabinet members, Interior Secretary Harold Ickes and Agriculture Secretary Henry Wallace, were close friends. Summoning Ickes, then Republican senator from Illinois, for an interview, Roosevelt surveyed a room of men and said, "Which one of you gentlemen is Ickes?" "Ick-keys, Mr. President," the senator shot back. "Oh, so that's how you pronounce it," said Roosevelt.

Geography and ideology and minor ties were important to Roosevelt, and have continued to be so to more recent Presidents. Roosevelt kept Jesse I. Straus, the president of Macy's department store, from being Commerce Secretary only because he would have been the fourth New Yorker in the Cabinet. He named Daniel Calhoun Roper of South Carolina instead. From the start, Roosevelt wanted to appoint a woman to his Cabinet, and he weathered union criticism in choosing Frances Perkins as Labor Secretary. Kennedy found the Pacific Coast without representation as his Cabinet filled up. So he instructed aides to find a California businessman to be Postmaster General. They did—Edward Day of Prudential Insurance. Carter, said an aide, came to the end of his Cabinet selection process "needing a woman, needing a black, and needing a HUD Secretary." Patricia Roberts Harris, a black lawyer from DC, was selected. Reagan discovered himself without a southerner in the Cabinet with one job still open. At the urging of Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, dentist James Edwards, a former South Carolina governor, was named Energy Secretary.

What experts call modern personnel practices began with the presidency of Harry S. Truman. He designated a single aide to handle personnel matters. But that aide had other duties as well, and the Democratic National Committee maintained an active role in filling administration jobs. Before Eisenhower was elected in 1952, a supporter named Harold E. Talbott commissioned a New York