

Policy Team-V**Nixon Own Top Counsel
In Foreign Affairs Area**

Reporters of The Washington Post have intensively interviewed many of the men, inside and outside of the Government, who are contributing ideas and advice on national policy to Vice President Richard M. Nixon. This is the fifth of a series of articles based on these interviews.

By Murrey Marder

Staff Reporter

In foreign affairs, more than any other subject, Richard M. Nixon is his own principal adviser.

Nixon has traveled a long but quick road from Alger Hiss to Nikita Sergeyevitch Khrushchev. Communism is still Nixon's forte, but now his horizon is the world. Nixon has said, and so has his presidential opponent, that the major challenge facing the United States and the West is the struggle on all fronts between communism and free, open societies.

By starting off his series of campaign policy papers with heavy emphasis on the nature of this struggle, Nixon's object is to stake out a claim for the Nixon-Lodge ticket as the one with the more profound, more analytical, more comprehensive knowledge of the battleground.

Counterpoised in the image is the picture of Nixon thrusting a forefinger at Khrushchev's chest.

Talk of Broader Program

The heart of Nixon's positive approach to communism is the familiar theme that the underprivileged one-third of the world, the uncommitted third, holds the real balance of power. The United States, Nixon has said, must enthusiastically embrace the "revolu-

tion of expectations" which courses through these areas.

Without ever specifically saying so, Nixon has talked of a broader, more vigorous program, than the Eisenhower Administration has allowed. Nixon bluntly acknowledges that, faced with "progress, Communist-style, at the cost of freedom or no progress," the poverty-stricken "will take communism."

The candidate "best able to handle this issue of survival," Nixon has said, is the man who "has judgment" and "won't go off half-cocked..." His own background, which includes participation in the Cabinet and the National Security Council, and visits to five continents and 56 countries, plus Henry Cabot Lodge's experience in the Cabinet and the United Nations, weight the Party's image of "experience."

Close to Dillon

Nixon sometimes checks ideas and emphasis with Secretary of State Christian A. Herter. He has known him since 1947 when Nixon was a freshman Congressman on Herter's Select Committee on Foreign Aid, which laid the groundwork for the Marshall Plan.

Or, more often, Nixon checks with Herter's deputy,

Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon.

Dillon, described accurately by a close friend of Nixon's as a "cool customer," is regarded as a possible Secretary of State in a Nixon Administration. Herter has said he would leave Government. Although he is the State Department's No. 2 man, he is over the top of the State Department's security programs, and was formerly Ambassador to France. Dillon is relatively little known to the public.

Just turned 51, the tall conservatively dressed Dillon has the blue-eyed analytical look of the successful investment banker he has been (Dillon is a "C" and Co., with Groton, a Harvard background and an air of calmness and competence to match. But he has also been a behind-the-scenes battler for an effective foreign aid program, fearer of West, greater coordination of Western policy, more clearly defined national goals and a more vigorous domestic economy. His push for bigger and bolder aid programs brought him into collision with the former and current Secretary of the Treasury. He carries no noticeable political biases.

Tough Speech Recalled
An exceedingly tough Dillon speech, a month before the ill-fated summit conference last spring, was later lambasted by Khrushchev as evidence that the United States had foredoomed the conference to failure.

In it, Dillon warned Khrushchev he was "skating on very thin ice" in his demands on West Berlin. He called the Soviet idea of "coexistence" a weird and presumptuous theory which should be relegated "to the scrapheap." Live and let live was not the answer, said Dillon in today's words, "we must live and help live."

Dillon does not by any means oppose improving relations with the Soviet Union. On the contrary, he maintains, "we must do everything in our power to achieve rational communication with the Communist world" and "we try to opportunity to reach agreements."

He said that as the Soviet Union develops, "I can't help but believe they are going to need more managerial freedom to get along—but this is a very long term thing." This trend should be encouraged, said Dillon, while making it clear the United States will never "bow to threats."

Backs Aid Expansion
Like Nixon, he is convinced "the big battleground of the future is the way these underdeveloped countries go."

He wants to see the aid programs expanded and put "on a more long-range basis than year-to-year appropriations, but he recognizes congressional hostility to that idea."

The current transformation of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, bringing the United States and Canada into direct participation in coordinating economic policies with their Western allies, with the prospect of alleviating trade bloc conflict, could be called the "Dillon Plan." At the same time, coordinating group was established for aid policy to underdeveloped nations.

Japan has been included on aid policy harmonization, and Dillon "would like to see the Japanese eventually be more fully in this thing on trade."

He says "We can't ask the Europeans to do that until they are ready" but later he will judge them, and a general problem "for the future is how to handle the most important from Japan and India."

Favors "First Secretary"
Dillon highly favors "a first secretary or something similar" in the White House as a coordinator for the economic affairs, as advocated publicly by Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York.

"There are so many things that come up" between departments of Government that could be "resolved by a higher authority" without "pitching the dispute onto the President's desk," said Dillon.

Dillon said many things "don't get done now" because they are in conflict between departments. "When people are going to be a judge and something is going to be decided," he said "They are more inclined to agree." A Cabinet officer, he said, however, must retain a right to veto in the case, if necessary, to the President.

Some Nixon advisers think the Vice President is much opposed to creating another "layer" of authority in the White House. Dillon noted that Nixon has indicated that "Nixon" would possibly have a court of appeal for the department disagreements. President Eisenhower, who is interested in the problem, is big enough man not to be not

who are really trying to help him."

The Policy Advisory Group which Nixon has assembled is therefore a collection of "yes men," Nixon likes "sharp criticism," associates say; he will get enough if he listens, he told the Secretary on his 18th birthday.

Others in State Used
In addition to Herter and Dillon, Nixon and his staff have tapped other lower down in the State Department for ideas.

The one who comes closest to being a columnist kind of Nixon consultant is Prof. William Yandell Elliott, who is a regular consultant to the Secretary of State, with an office on the top brass fifth floor.

Elliott is an unassuming figure as exists on the Washington political scene. A big, robust Tennesseean, he has a hearty manner which either attracts or repels, depending on the listener, he is 64 years old and wholly indefatigable.

At a pace which would floor a man 20 years younger, he divides his time between Harvard, where he has been teaching government since 1925, and was Summer School director for the past ten years. Washington, and a farm in Virginia where he spends the weekends—presumably churning up the ideas which gush forth the rest of the week.

Elliott has been an officeholder or adviser to the Government since the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations, in posts too numerous to catalogue here. Among other things, when Nixon was on the Herter Committee, Elliott was its chief director. Although on the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Elliott also was a member of the Planning Board of the National Security Council, 1953 to 1957.

Went to Russia With Nixon
Although he deprecates himself as a small fry in the Nixon circle, Nixon took him along on an aide on the Vice President's tour of the Soviet Union and Poland last year. "I'm still registered as a Democrat," says Elliott, with a grin, "although I am somewhat deserted by my party."

Elliott has been non-partisan enough in distributing ideas. He contributed some to Nelson Rockefeller while Rockefeller was preparing to run against Nixon for the Presidency, and also has sent suggestions in the past to John F. Kennedy.

"Jack was one of my students at Harvard," said Elliott, "but he was really close to Arthur H. Hays Sulzberger, Jr. I think he really absorbed too much of the Soviet's economic interpretation of political parties." Summarized Elliott: "Jack Kennedy is a very substantial leader with a cool head, but a little more synthetic than Nixon. Nixon is the least synthetic man I know, and the most independent of judgment."

In the Nixon staff operation Elliott, who is a member of the Policy Advisory Group, furnishes ideas through the coordinator James R. Shepley and solicits academic associates to help check on policy.

Covers Wide Field
Elliott's principal field is foreign policy, although he is variously an authority or gadfly on almost everything else from national resources to television.

His opinions and ideas come tumbling out. "The first priority in foreign policy is the credibility of our capacity to meet Soviet threats, a real capacity in the field and not just on paper... This includes especially the training of skilled manpower for the underdeveloped countries to meet the Red challenge in the Cold War."

"The logic of history is going to open differences between the Soviet and the Chinese Communists; the basic undercurrent is there, but you can't give the Russians the impression that they can probe us successfully in ways that would be dangerous. In Southeast Asia we must tackle something basic SEATO... In Africa we must get the best governments that can run themselves before you try anything broader."

Elliott is an advocate of decisive "more robust" government. He has urged a "program reviewing staff" to serve the President as a high-level part of the National Security Council and, among other things, afford guidance to the Budget Bureau which "is presently unequipped" to relate policy priorities to fiscal support. He suggested that the Vice President should preside over the board.

Some pet Elliott ideas make others wince. One is a "North Atlantic Round Table For Freedom," inspired by the Arthurian round table, composed of elder statesmen of the Free World, with symbolic and global for each "Companion" including a "squire" who would assist him in his native role. This could be the answer, said Elliott, to the life, that some ideas fall on Vice President constituting "a fertile ground, somewhere. He sort of court of appeal" for criticism and action, and that President Eisenhower, who is interested in the problem, is big enough man not to be not

"A major problem," said Hannah, "has been the lack of continuity in foreign aid."

There were "two administrators under Truman," said Hannah, "and several under Eisenhower — including at least one who was opposed to the concept, and spent 18 months before he decided it was worth something."

A fervent advocate of technical assistance to developing nations, Hannah has said publicly "perhaps it was inevitable in an earlier article, said that some of 'mission' zeal of the original Point Four program would diminish. But, he said, "it would be a

greater pity to let this noble idea degenerate into being a mere instrument of national policy wielded by men with less concern for people than for politics."

Hannah said he has found that "Nixon is brighter than most people think." Similar remarks have come from every member of the advisory group. Most of them do not know whether Nixon will agree with their ideas or not. Almost without exception, however, they regard Nixon as an extremely alert, open-minded person, willing to listen, and a man who will act decisively in a crisis.

One associate said that while Nixon in public naturally holds his tongue on what he sometimes regards as indecisiveness and too much decisiveness and too much decision-making-by-committee, in private, on more than one occasion he has "blown his top." Nixon "may be wrong, sometimes," said the associate, "but as President you will know where he stands."

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