

Bell Resigns as AID Administrator; Gaud, His Deputy, Named Successor

President Johnson accepted yesterday the resignation of David E. Bell as Administrator of the Agency for International Development (AID).

William S. Gaud, Deputy Administrator since early 1964, was named to succeed Bell.

The President called Bell, who is to become a vice president of the Ford Foundation, "one of the most imaginative, distinctive and effective administrators" foreign aid has had, White House press secretary Bill D. Moyers reported.

A former Budget Director, Bell has been AID Administrator since 1962.

Gaud is a 58-year-old native

of New York City who received his bachelor's and law degrees from Yale. After private law practice in New York, he joined AID in 1961 as assistant administrator for the Near East and South Asia.

The President also announced a series of other appointments and his intention to make these three nominations to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans:

Robert A. Ainsworth Jr., of New Orleans, now a Federal district judge for the Eastern District of Louisiana;

John C. Godbold, a member of the Montgomery, Ala., firm of Godbold, Hobbs & Copeland;

Irving L. Goldberg, a Dallas, Tex., attorney.

The President said he would

nominate five Federal District judges in Texas and one in Florida. They are:

C. Clyde Atkins, a Miami attorney, for the Southern District of Florida;

John V. Singleton Jr., of

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Houston to the Southern District of Texas. A former District Attorney in Houston, Singleton was a secretary to Mr. Johnson in 1941-42 when he was a House member.

Woodrow B. Fields, a Houston attorney, to the Southern District of Texas;

Jack Roberts of Austin, a State district judge in Texas, to the Western district;

Ernest A. Guinn, an El Paso attorney and former city and county attorney, to the Western district;

William A. Taylor Jr., a Dallas Attorney and former state district judge, to the Northern district.

The President designated Glenn W. Sutton, a member of the Tariff Commission, as vice chairman.

Beat The
Sunday

MOYERS

It is the fashion to describe Bill Moyers as *primus inter pares* on the White House staff. This is not accurate. He is *primus*. As President Johnson's closest aide, he has become the second or third most powerful official in the US government, ranking after Mr. Johnson himself and possibly Secretary of Defense McNamara.

Bill Moyers no less than his chief is in the classic parvenu tradition. His father, a cotton chopper, candy salesman and truck driver by turn, is now a time-keeper at an ordnance plant near Marshall. Moyers' alma maters - North Texas University, the University of Texas, Southwestern Theological Seminary - will never challenge Harvard. A year at the University of Edinburgh supplied some polish, but Moyers' chief assets are brains, drive, persistence - and a big assist from an older "new man," Lyndon Johnson.

White House aides stick loyally to their litany: they have no influence, the President is the whole show. Even this President, however, for all his preoccupation with detail, must let others do things in his name. He keeps everyone on a rein, but Moyers has the longest rein, the most leeway. Thus, he picks up the telephone and tells a senior diplomat that he can have "either Prague or Belgrade" as his next assignment. Another call goes to a key cabinet member, to thank him for an enjoyable dinner the night before and to check an important Vietnam matter. He is acting under the President's instructions or anticipating a Johnson request. But Washington's supersensitive antennae pick up the message: Moyers speaks most often for the boss.

Mr. Johnson, about to go under anesthesia for a gall bladder operation, leaves to Moyers (then 31 years old) the crucial decision on whether the President is incapacitated and whether authority should be transferred temporarily to Hubert Humphrey. The relationship between Mr. Johnson and his special assistant-press secretary goes beyond explicit instructions to the deeper stratum of tacit understanding. "Moyers has the absolute confidence of the President," is the flat assessment of one associate.

A White House staff member, nominally equal to Moyers in rank, is asked a question at a background briefing. He hesitates, looks at Moyers and then says he will answer it "if it is okay with Bill." Among the seven men who, with Moyers, comprise the inner core of the White House staff - W. Marvin Watson, Joseph A. Califano Jr., Jake Jacobsen, Douglass Cater, Robert E. Kintner, Harry C. McPherson Jr. and Walt W. Rostow - Moyers is "the person with the first and last lick at everything before it goes to the President."

"Three out of five times," one White House aide says, "the President will take Moyers' advice over anyone else's on the staff."

Not the least measure of Moyers' stature has been his "benign and mature" influence on the President's over-florid style. The freewheeling, ambulatory press conferences around the White House lawn, with their indiscreet remarks and hurtful jibes, are largely a thing of the past. The President's tone in news conferences and private conversations has been perceptibly more restrained since Moyers became press secretary.

On a recent occasion when Mr. Johnson slipped from grace, reporters attached considerable significance to the fact that Moyers was not on hand. The President flew to Chicago last month to address a Democratic fund-raising dinner and there unburdened himself of some unconscionable language. He assailed his Vietnam critics as "nervous Nellies" who "become frustrated and bothered and break ranks under the strain and turn on their own leaders, their own country and their own fighting men." The day before the speech, Moyers hurt his head in a fall. He did not make the trip and did not see the final draft. The best evidence is that Mr. Johnson added the "nervous Nellies" language en route to Chicago, giving rise to a remark later that "Moyers falls down the stairs and we get a Chicago speech."

There are few visible chinks in Moyers' moral armor. "He is an honest-to-God do-gooder," says a colleague. "I have never found a time when Bill Moyers has deceived me or undercut me," says another. He can see three questions ahead. He is also a good disregarder: "He does the important stuff and doesn't get bogged down in staff details. That way he keeps himself free for the President's business. He has an almost intuitive ability to put himself in the President's shoes, anticipating what he will need."

Although Moyers has increasingly centered his attention on foreign policy, especially since the resignation of McGeorge Bundy, he is a generalist whose range encompasses problems from civil rights to foreign aid to nuclear proliferation. His list, however, is always blue-chip, and he eschews the detail work of coordinating staff operations; that chore is devolving on a new addition to the staff, Kintner.

Mr. Johnson calls Moyers "my vice president in charge of everything." Last year he had prime responsibility for assembling the Administration's legislative program by pulling together the recommendations of the various presidential task forces. This year, with

most of the big bills out of the way, Califano took over the legislative job, giving Moyers more time for foreign affairs. He divides this role with Rostow, who handles the operational side as de facto head of the National Security Council staff, Bundy's old job. Senior officials in some key foreign policy agencies are grumbling that the dual setup is confusing; they say there is no "cutting edge" on foreign policy in the White House since Bundy's departure.

Because he exercises a self-control amounting to opaqueness, the essential Moyers is hard to come by. Like the President, he is a convinced consensus man; he would rather spend two hours working out a problem in a meeting and have everyone go away happy than dispose of it in a few minutes and risk dissatisfaction. Like Mr. Johnson, too, he is more an implementer than an idea man, though he is quick to recognize ideas, assemble them into packages and assess their impact. In the domestic arena, he subscribes without reservation to the Johnson program of social welfare legislation, and when he is asked to sum up his philosophy he points to a Thomas Jefferson quote: "The care of human life and happiness is the first and only legitimate object of good government."

In foreign affairs, Moyers is publicly as orthodox as Dean Rusk, but there seems to be a glint or two below

the surface, a hint of a more spacious view. It was Moyers who persuaded Mr. Johnson to keep a line of communication open to Juan Bosch during the Dominican crisis, by sending John Bartlow Martin to talk to Bosch in Puerto Rico. This was at a time when the Administration was saying that Bosch was a nice fellow and all that but just not up to our anti-Communist standards. And more than the rest of Johnson officialdom, Moyers seems willing to acknowledge that the US has failed to get its Vietnam message across to the rest of the world, although he finds no fault with the message itself, Munich analogy and all.

Most White House reporters agree that he manages to stick to the motto his father gave him: "Always tell the truth, but if you can't tell the truth, don't lie." Now and then, he shaves the truth pretty thin, but with his immediate access to the President, he is unquestionably the best press secretary since James C. Hagerty. If he does not want to answer a question, he looses words that dance around the main subject without laying a glove on it. But there is usually some substance in what he does say.

Sincerity is one of his stocks in trade, patience another, and calmness - sometimes to the point of blandness. Unlike his boss, he has never been known to lose his temper. He handles Mr. Johnson simply by waiting for him to run down, which does happen, and then dispassionately dissecting the matter under discussion.

"Moyers men" are starting to show up here and there in government - in the antipoverty program, the Peace Corps and the White House - which suggests that Moyers is taking the long view. But he can afford to wait. A few weeks ago, he turned down the presidency of a small liberal arts college, before that several more lucrative offers, and he harps on the theme that it is important not to take oneself too seriously.

In this respect, he practices what he preaches. With his Mexican cigars and his Texas-style Watusi, he is the despair of his hard-shell brethren. He is the first practical joker in the White House in many a moon. On one occasion, a staff member got a letter from a prominent senator "raising hell with something I'd done and praising Moyers." The "senator," it turned out, was Moyers. With the connivance of former aide Jack J. Valenti, Moyers perpetrated a phony Associated Press story telling of deep dissension between Valenti and Richard Goodwin, then a presidential speechwriter. A witness recalls that Goodwin, when shown the fake dispatch, cried, "it's a dirty lie," and prepared to turn in his resignation, "while Bill just sat there and looked like a pious Baptist minister." JAMES DEAKIN

MR. DEAKIN covers the White House for The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.



"Ah-h! That sounds better."