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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 5, 1984

Mr. Deaver:

The highlighted portions  
pertain to you and JAB.

I have not rescheduled the  
Whalen lunch yet -- JAB not  
real interested and am having  
difficulty in securing a  
mutually convenient time for  
the three of you.

*Hold for  
DB  
lunch if  
we have*

## ALICE IN POTOMAC LAND



### Moral victories (and losses)

The Moral Majority is readying its list of four senators to target for defeat in this year's elections. Their sin was to vote against the school prayer amendment last week, and MM wants to set an example, just like other conservatives did following the vote to give away the Panama Canal.

The religious right really did have an impact on the Senate vote last week. Keep in mind that one-third of the Senate is up for re-election every two years. Well, a whopping 70 percent of this year's "third" voted for the prayer resolution. Just barely half (53 percent) of the class of '86 supported it, while those who don't face the electorate until 1988 (and who apparently think that Moral Majoritarians have short memories) could muster only 45 percent of their numbers for an aye vote.

Those who helped defeat the amendment should ponder this fact: A recent Market Opinion Research poll discovered that nearly half of the public watches at least one electronic preacher each week. And those guys, as a rule, have very long memories indeed.

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The New Right still hopes to fill Ed Meese's White House shoes with one of their own. Recently, they enlisted the support of the Reagan Kitchen Cabinet in this effort, and Mr. Reagan's old buddies soon gathered in the Oval Office to discuss the problem. Holmes Tuttle presided. Just as the meeting got under way, Mike Deaver, the presidential valet, walked into the room. Although they had been promised a private audience, Mr. Tuttle (whose son works at the White House) decided against asking Mike to leave. As a matter of fact, none of these supposedly two-fisted businessmen had the nerve to explain that Mike is part of the problem. So the minutes passed amiably. Mr. Reagan waved goodbye to his pals, and Mr. Deaver walked quietly back to his office. Mission accomplished.

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President Reagan went to Capitol Hill last Wednesday to drum up support for the so-called down payment on the budget deficit. First, he met with Senate Republicans. After the cameras recorded the opening statement and the doors were closed, the president fell back upon the kind of platitudes for which he is noted, leading one senator to speculate that there was probably more interesting conversation among the pages in the cloakroom. Several senators reported that Mr. Reagan's response to a question regarding defense cuts was a rambling story about a Marine whose mother died of cancer.

Meandering on over to the House of Representatives, the president succeeded in getting applause from assembled House Republicans twice — when he arrived and when he left. One member of the House GOP leadership muttered afterwards, "Why did he bother coming up here?" The real problem for Republican congressmen is that Mr. Reagan bought the budget compromise advocated by

Democrat Rep. Daniel Rostenkowski, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. Rostenkowski is the real winner in this year's budget battle, having first won an intraparty battle (with budget chairman Jim Jones who wanted a much larger tax increase). For Republicans, this cozy Reagan-Rostenkowski agreement deprives them of an election year issue. Evidently, there is no difference between the two parties on taxes — except in Jim Jones' district, of course.

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Any notion that the budget austerity means there is a lid on spending in the bureaucracy went out the window last week with the news Education Secretary Bell had for us. The National Institute for Education will have \$800 million more for new programs in the coming year. And that translates to hiring 41 additional bureaucrats.

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Perhaps it's something in the spring air that only affects folks from Illinois. But Rep. Henry Hyde, the House's pre-eminent pro-lifer, has been giving aid and comfort to the enemy. He put in the Congressional Record a glowing tribute to Ted Olson, counselor to the attorney general, completely forgetting, we suppose, that Mr. Olson led the fight against the president's Sanctity of Human Life proclamation.

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Friendship is carried to a fault by this administration. Bill Casey, the CIA director, is trying to get his general counsel, Stanley Sporckin, appointed to the U.S. District Court here despite strong opposition from the business community, which thinks he is a Naderite, and from right-to-lifers, who say he is pro-abortion.

*The author is a political insider who must remain anonymous in order to tell tales out of school.*

## ALICE IN POTOMAC LAND



### Deaver and the Chicoms

One of the real growth industries in our country today is communism. Yes, communism. Not the political philosophy, but rather the question of who gets to be the liaison with communist countries when the United States expands its trading partnerships with them. And if you think it is big business now, wait until you see what it's like after the president gets back from Red China!

On the other hand, don't rush out to try and get a piece of the action. Chances are, Mike Deaver beat you to it.

Currently, Mike is deputy chief of staff at the White House. But those jobs don't last forever, and the day is coming when Mike must return to the world of public relations. And when he does, look for the Chinese communists to come walking through the door with him. Mike has cultivated close ties with them and one begins to suspect that it stems from more than a desire to find a pen pal.

In retrospect, this probably explains why the deputy chief of staff was escorting Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang on his visit to the United States in January — a visit that culminated in the signing of a new industrial accord.

As columnist William Safire pointed out, Mr. Deaver's interest in improving relations between Washington and Peking goes back as far as 1981 when he arranged a meeting between the president and Y.K. Pao, who once parlayed a single boat into a shipping empire in Hong Kong before switching his loyalties to the communist Chinese.

### Very foreign policies indeed

South Africa has thrown in the towel, capitulating to the protests of Mozambique that it was aiding the resistance unit there. If you guessed that a Kremlin threat was behind South Africa's change of heart, guess again. The policy change comes courtesy of our very own State Department. Foggy Bottom passed the word that the traditional U.S. veto of U.N. resolutions imposing sanctions against South Africa will cease unless they mend their ways and quit offending their Marxist neighbors.

Meanwhile, at a March 1 briefing of Republican congressmen, ACDA Director Ken Adelman threw away his tough, prepared text on

Russian treaty violations (which had been approved by the White House) in favor of a sloppy, meandering extemporaneous statement that most of the representatives found dull at best, insulting at worst. Then, he compounded the problem by bluntly refusing to answer most questions. Those who fought for Mr. Adelman to get his present job are aghast again. Should he seek a future government job, he would be well-advised to advertise in the help wanted section of Democrat Today, the publication of the Democratic National Committee.

Well, if Ken Adelman is with us, can Peter McPherson be far behind? The answer, of course, is yes. Only a few weeks after "60 Minutes" did a shocking story about the compulsory abortion and sterilization programs in communist China, AID Director McPherson sent legislation to Capitol Hill that would repeal prohibition against direct U.S. aid to the Red Chinese. Alice thinks she detects the beginning of a Chicom fetish in the administration.

Much to the dismay of the State Department, liberals and conservatives alike on Capitol Hill are balking at implementing the Kissinger Commission recommendations on aid to El Salvador. The left opposes it for the usual reasons, while conservatives feel more aid only prolongs the agony. As the department puts on a full court press to drum up conservative support for the aid program, it also is trying to affect the outcome of the presidential election in El Salvador by denying a visa to Roberto d'Aubisson to come to the United States, there just might suddenly be enough votes to pass the Kissinger aid bill.

### Learning experiences

The administration's clumsy handling of the school prayer issue has a lot of Reaganites scratching their heads. The White House head count of Senate supporters of the school prayer resolution listed two of the measure's strongest supporters — Bill Armstrong and Roger Jepsen — as questionable. Before the laughter dies down, let us also point out that even Howard Baker, the chief sponsor, had a question mark by his name.

## ALICE IN POTOMAC LAND



### Haig vs. du Pont

If you're a friend of Al Haig's, you may want to inquire about his health. You see, he said that Gov. Pete du Pont of Delaware would only become vice chairman of the prestigious Hudson Institute "over my dead body." Al is the chairman, and usually he knows. However, the governor has been named vice chairman and now the contest begins to see which man will really run Hudson's Washington office. Mr. Haig has his own presidential plans for 1988, and he sees Mr. du Pont as a possible rival for the Republican nomination.

Staff changes at the White House: Frank Donatelli, the oldest Young American for Freedom, has been named Faith Whittlesey's deputy in the public liaison office. Karna Small tells friends she will leave White House Communications to run the public relations office at the National Security Council.

Clever planning by conservatives in the House of Representatives may get the school prayer amendment passed yet. The House Republican Study Committee guarantees headlines at this week's hearings. The committee has scheduled both Joe Gibbs and Tom Landry, respective coaches of the Washington Redskins and the Dallas Cowboys, to appear.

### Formidable couple

Behind every successful man, you'll find a successful woman. So, if Sen. Bob Dole becomes the next Senate majority leader, he may have wife Elizabeth, the secretary of transportation, to thank for it. One of Elizabeth's top aides says the price for her appearance on behalf of a Republican Senate candidate is a commitment to vote for Bob for leader. Meanwhile, the senator has his own way of dealing with Senate candidates. According to Kirk Clinklenbeard who runs Campaign America, the Dole PAC, a sizable contribution went to Sen. Roger Jepsen's re-election campaign with the understanding that Mr. Jepsen is to throw his support to the senator from Kansas.

The first effects of Ed Meese's departure from the White House have been felt, and apparently conservative fears are well-founded. Two examples:

- Liberal Elliot Richardson is entering the Republican senatorial primary in Massachusetts against conservative Ray Shamie, and guess who talked him into it? None other than our own Ronald Reagan. The president's telephone plea to Mr. Richardson was arranged by presidential aide Dick Darman, a longtime Richardson associate.

Had Mr. Meese still been operating as White House counselor, he never would have permitted the president to make that call. He surely would have pointed out that Mr. Shamie was one of the first on board the Reagan-for-President campaign in 1980, while Mr. Richardson was trying to deny Mr. Reagan the nomination.

In any event, the news gets Dick Lugar, chairman of the Senate Republican campaign committee, off the hook. Most observers had fingered him as the culprit who was meddling in the Massachusetts primary.

- Jim Jenkins, Mr. Meese's deputy, will not be accompanying Mr. Meese to the Justice Department. And he won't be going to China either. You see, Mr. Meese had asked that he be represented on the upcoming presidential visit by his man Mr. Jenkins. But Mike Deaver said no. There is, after all, that bothersome limit of 500 that the Chinese imposed on the American delegation. To add Mr. Jenkins to the list would mean bumping someone else off — perhaps one of the secret lovers mentioned in last week's column, both of whom are on the manifest.

The president himself will have to represent the conservatives in Communist China (not that conservatives care much whether they are represented there or not).

### To tax or not to tax

At almost the precise moment that Jack Svahn, director of the administration's Office of Policy Development, was assuring conservatives Mr. Reagan would not sign off on any tax increase, White House aides were passing the word that certain revenue "enhancements" were acceptable after all.

Specifically, these aides have given the green light to both Republican Sen. Bob Dole, chairman of the Finance Committee, and Democratic Congressman Dan Rostenkowski, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, whose not-too-dissimilar revenue-raising plans would increase taxes by \$50 billion in the next three years. The hitch is that none of this can be referred to as a tax increase, but must be called loophole closing instead.

All of this was quietly worked out amicably last week with aides to Senate leader Howard Baker participating in the discussions. The president's men even managed to sidetrack attempts to repeal the indexing program. Whether the administration can save face by calling a tax an enhancement remains to be seen.

As for the well-meaning Mr. Svahn, the incident demonstrates better than words why he cannot act as the intermediary for conservatives at the White House in the wake of Ed Meese's departure. He simply doesn't have the clout.

*The author is a political insider who must stay anonymous in order to tell tales out of school.*

# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### The eyes of Texas

Republican fortunes in the Senate appear to be looking up. The big news is in Michigan where astronaut Jack Lousma is coming on strong. In West Virginia, the on-again, off-again entry of former Gov. Arch Moore into the Senate race is apparently in the on position for good. The latest poll in North Carolina shows Sen. Jesse Helms and Gov. Hunt tied at 47.1 percent each. (Don't let the tie fool you. Gov. Hunt's popularity has declined about 10 points while Sen. Helms was moving up in the polls.)

The story in Texas, however, is different. There, everybody and his brother wants John Tower's Senate seat. For awhile, it was thought Bob Krueger had the Democratic senatorial nomination all to himself. Not so anymore. Conservative Kent Hance and liberal Lloyd Doggett are moving up steadily and a run-off between the top two is now certain. The only question is which two will make it. Mr. Krueger just might end up the odd man out. He's "out of gas and out of money" according to one of his opponents. Mr. Krueger has another problem — talking out of both sides of his mouth. When confronted with evidence that he had advocated building the B-1 bomber before a conservative group and opposed it before a liberal audience, he fumbled again, saying, "I guess I'm against it now."

Texas Republicans have three vying for the nomination — Ron Mosbacher, who once worked for Sen. Howard Baker, and two congressmen, Phil Gramm and Ron Paul. Like Mr. Krueger, Mr. Gramm once had things all sewed up. But he now finds himself on the target end of one of the nation's nastiest dog fights. Ron Paul has convinced the fundamentalists that Mr. Gramm is pro-abortion — a charge Mr. Gramm heatedly denies. Meanwhile, Mr. Mosbacher is spending the bucks as if he owned the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. One of the six names above will be the next senator from Texas. Which one will Texas say aye to? As of now, it could be any of them.

### From personnel files

If Deputy Secretary of State Ken Dam leaves the department for a faculty position at Harvard, look for the frantic squabble over who will replace him. Conservative anger over the possibility that a disciple of Henry Kissinger might get the appointment was so intense that the man in question decided to leave State instead.

AID Director Peter McPherson was interested in taking the number two job at the Department of Health and Human Services which has been vacant for months. However, Secretary Margaret Heckler nixed the deal, saying she needs a liberal woman instead. Peter could only swing half of it.

Presidential adviser Mike Deaver apparently burned up the telephone lines when he learned that the New Right wanted old friend Joe Coors to take Ed Meese's place in the White House. Those who were called describe the conversations as "lengthy and unpleasant." One-time conservative Lyn Nofziger has jumped into the controversy and defends the decision not to replace Mr. Meese by saying that the White House can at last speak with one voice. And he didn't mean Mr. Reagan's.

If you think the talk around the White House is about budget deficits and the situation in Lebanon, you're wrong. Get an insider to speak candidly and he will tell you about the two administration figures whose not-so-secret romance was paraded in front of the first lady recently. Since he's married to someone else, aides tried to shield the truth from Nancy, but she caught on anyway. Considering the parties involved, this could be a major election-year embarrassment for the administration.

For those of you who keep track of Democrats working in the Reagan administration, here is an addition. The deputy in the White House scheduling office is Ann Brock, who once worked for Rep. Sonny Montgomery, D-Miss. As a matter of fact, her job was arranged during a tennis match between Mr. Montgomery and Vice President Bush.

Speaking of Democrats, Diane Dewhirst, deputy director of communications at the Democratic National Committee, now works for ABC News as a researcher in their political unit. Just remember that when you hear Peter Jennings tonight. His voice, but her words.

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### Fun and games with Bob and Tip

Last week, we told you that a band of conservative Republicans in the House, led by Bob Walker of Pennsylvania, were going to spend much of this year fighting what they call the tyranny of the Democratic majority. This is what happened during the first week:

- The first bill Mr. Walker tried to "motion up" was the one to permit prayer in schools. Democratic leaders were caught off guard, and since unanimous consent requests can be stopped by a single objection, a floor aide asked freshman Democrat Ron Coleman of Texas to do the objecting. Moments later, conservative organizations were inundating the media in Mr. Coleman's conservative district with press releases pointing out that he was responsible for keeping God out of the classroom. Bumper stickers bearing the words, "Ron Hasn't Got a Prayer" are said to be in production.

- When Rep. Newt Gingrich of Georgia moved that the House take up the constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget, objection was heard from Rep. Pat Schroeder, D-Colo., even though she is a co-sponsor of the resolution. Press releases pointing this out were soon on their way to Denver.

- Speaker Tip O'Neill retaliated by making up a new rule which he said was based on an old custom that no one could remember. Unanimous consent requests of this sort must now have the approval of the leadership in both parties. This brought a horse laugh from the Republican Whip, Trent Lott, who remarked, "The Democrats have never checked anything with us before." But Mr. Walker and his colleagues had been temporarily stopped. By the end of the week, however, they were back at their old stand trying to clear their requests in public with the speaker. One of Tip's aides remarked that Mr. Walker was like political fly paper. The speaker tried to shake him off, but he just wouldn't go away.

- The conservatives managed to get two votes — one to instruct the Rules Committee to investigate the accuracy of the Congressional Record and one to investigate proxy voting in the committees. Both proposals were buried in an avalanche of Democratic votes.

- Republicans resurrected a seldom-used parliamentary device called Calendar Wednesday which enables chairmen to bring up legislation they have reported from their committees. Some committees — Judiciary, for one — make a big fuss about reporting controversial bills — regulatory reform measures, for instance — which for some mysterious reason never get called up for debate. Mr. Walker concedes that it is only a matter of time before the speaker changes the rules so that Calendar Wednesday is no longer a viable tool.

The elected Republican leader, Bob Michel, doesn't understand what all the fuss is about. He has always maintained cordial relations with the speaker and seems somewhat embarrassed about the activities going on about him. Behind the scenes he gave Mr. Walker mild encouragement, but publicly, he scolded the conservatives with fatherly advice: "... once you've made your point, get on with the business of governing." Mr. Walker, however, replies that democracy exists everywhere in America except the House of Representatives, and the business of governing means dealing with issues that concern the American people, not just those which re-elect Democrats.

### The White House follies

News that Ed Meese will depart the White House to run the Justice Department (thereby leaving the Executive Mansion in the hands of Jim Baker) is the reason why conservatives look so glum these days. Perhaps they will take comfort in the knowledge that the decision was really a slap at Mr. Baker. According to insiders, both men wanted to be attorney general, but President Reagan chose his old friend from California.

White House moderates, by the way, are chuckling about how they put one over on the president. They sold Mr. Reagan on the idea of challenging congressional leaders to join him in a bipartisan effort to cut federal spending. What the president didn't know was that Dick Darman and Dave Stockman were playing with a stacked deck — they already knew who would be appointed to represent the House and the Senate. From the Senate: Sens. Dole, Domenici, Hatfield, Inouye. From the House: Reps. Wright, Conte, Conable, Latta and Lott. All of them, except Mr. Lott, are ready to recommend tax increases in lieu of spending cuts.

No one should get the idea, however, that everything is peaches-and-cream for moderates in this administration. Three of them — Mr. Darman, Fred Fielding and Larry Speakes — are angry about the seating arrangements at state dinners. The first lady sees that they are invited, but assigns them to the tables on the lower level where less-important guests must listen to the proceedings over a loud-speaker. All three made a pact to turn down every future invitation to these glittering occasions. However, our informant laughs that when they see this in print, the three gentlemen will be forced to accept the next few invitations anyway, just to prove they aren't angry after all.

The departure of Morton Blackwell, the president's liaison to conservatives, deprives the right of one more solid voice in the inner councils. Among those being discussed as possible replacements are Pat Pizella, who was Jerry Carmen's right-hand man at the GSA; Marvin Leibman, now with the National Endowment for the Humanities; Don Todd, former director of the American Conservative Union; Kathy Teague, who heads the American Legislative Exchange Council; and Robert Reilly, who has already taken over Mr. Blackwell's chores with the White House outreach group on Central America.

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### Storm clouds over the Hill

Most of his friends bet he won't do it, but Congressman Ed Bethune, the Arkansas Republican, is on the verge of running for the Senate seat now held by David Pryor. Back in 1978, Rep. Bethune started 60 points down in his first House race, but managed a victory just the same. That alone should give Sen. Pryor pause for thought.

Bethune's reputation for being a middle-of-the-road Republican masks his enormous popularity with the Christian right. He is a solid supporter of the conservative position on social issues, which Sen. Pryor is not. And Rep. Bethune's sixth sense for sniffing out populist issues was never better demonstrated than in his vote against nerve gas production in the waning days of the recent Congress. That had great appeal to the folks in Arkansas and Rep. Bethune made the most of it long before the senator did. Indeed, Sen. Pryor ended up looking like a Bethune tag-along.

A pro-family group in Arkansas called "Family/Life/America/God" (FLAG), has been influential in past elections, and they are leading the fight to get Rep. Bethune to run. Alice would wave her flag, too, if she thought it would help.

Congress may regret the fact that it extended Social Security coverage to church employees. It is the first time ever that the nation's churches have been taxed, and the complaints run along the line of "you-can't-take-what-is-God's-and-give-it-to-Caesar." One congressman has urged the evangelicals to gather in Lafayette Park on Martin Luther King's birthday and burn their Social Security cards. And he was only half kidding.

If you want three good reasons why Bob Dole will never be the Senate majority leader, you have but to look at page two of last Friday's Washington Post. There, Sen. Dole says he is seriously considering a race for the leadership post and has had 25 or 30 contacts with (note the words are "contact with," not "commitments from") his colleagues about it.

In an accompanying story, Sen. Dole implies criticism of the president for refusing to reappoint Mary Louise Smith to the Civil Rights Commission. Ms. Smith was never a popular figure with congressional Republicans and most of them welcome her departure. Sen. Dole's seeming defense of Ms. Smith puts him at odds with many of his Senate colleagues (reason number one). His statement hasn't exactly made him the White House choice for the job (reason number two). But then, that is what we've come to expect of Sen. Dole (reason number three).

### Trouble in paradise

As soon as President Reagan ordered the FBI to investigate the leak of what transpired at a National Security Council meeting, White House gossips naturally turned their attention to champion leakers Dick Darman and Dave Gergen. As the investigation progressed, the folks in Gergen's communications office were saying, with undisguised glee, that it's not their man this time, leaving the distinct impression that a major announcement from Mr. Darman can be expected shortly. Associates of Mr. Darman reply that this is just camouflage, a poor attempt to cover up what is well known — the recent split between Jim Baker and Mr. Gergen will soon lead to the communications director's demise as a White House source.

Republicans will probably muffle the opportunity, but a Bob Teeter poll for the Republican National Committee shows overwhelming support among the black community for the president's decision to go into Grenada. The irony is that the Black Caucus in the House of Representatives — Democrats all — deplored the Grenadian mission and many of them are leading the fledgling effort to impeach Mr. Reagan for authorizing it. Can the GOP successfully exploit the fact that black leaders are out of sync with their own people? Don't count on it. Blacks have always held strong pro-life views, just like Mr. Reagan, but Republicans never knew how to make the most of it.

All of which reminds us that the White House is trying to scotch the rumor that one of its highest ranking blacks, J.J. Simmons, undersecretary of the Interior, is about to leave his post. This hasn't stopped Dave Swanson, who once worked for John Anderson and is now a member of the Reagan congressional relations team, from campaigning for the job. Mr. Swanson's ambitions may come as a shock to Sen. Paul Laxalt who has his own candidate, a fellow Nevadan.

There is an interesting tussle under way for the position of assistant secretary for legislation at the Department of Health and Human Services. Sen. Orrin Hatch, who chairs the Senate committee with jurisdiction over most of the department's programs, is recommending that George Pritts of his staff get the nod. The administration, however, wants someone more in tune philosophically with Secretary Margaret Heckler and is backing Sen. Chuck Percy's administrative assistant, Hannah Sistare.

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### Jim Baker's ambitions

All of those stories about White House Chief of Staff Jim Baker wanting to be, first, national security adviser, and the ambassador to the U.N. may or may not be true. But insiders do tell us that Baker needs some practical foreign policy experience if he expects to be secretary of state in a Bush administration.

Baker's ambitions aren't helped by the recent performance of the White House congressional affairs office which is responsible to him. Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker's staff was furious at Ken Duberstein, who heads the congressional office, after a Democratic senator suddenly offered an amendment to the debt ceiling bill expressing indignation over press restrictions during the Grenada rescue operation. The majority leader wanted a signal as to just what kind of compromise statement the White House could live with. But the president's position remained murky and the amendment was adopted. One of Baker's top aides lamented: "This happens every time a foreign policy issue comes up."

Footnote: Jim Baker and everyone else in the moderate wing of the White House would be begging Jeane Kirkpatrick to stay on the job at the U.N. if they knew the surprise name that conservatives intend to put forward should she resign in December.

### Capitol Hill sidelights

Conservatives will likely grieve before the day is over at the defeat of Kathryn McDonald in today's special congressional election in Georgia. She seeks to replace her husband, Larry, who was killed when the Soviets downed Korean Air Lines Flight 007. All observers are appalled that the widow's effort was almost a textbook case in how to lose. Recalling Larry's affiliation with the John Birch Society, New Right leader Paul Weyrich lamented, "The Birchers will be tempted to say the KGB sabotaged the campaign. Well, if the KGB had tried, they couldn't have done a better job of it than Mrs. McDonald's own staff."

Whatever chance Sen. John Danforth, R-Mo., might have had of moving into the Republican leadership in the next Congress flew out the window last Thursday. Sitting in the presiding officer's chair, as the Senate began debate on the natural gas deregulation bill, Danforth broke with tradition and failed to call on Sen. James McClure, R-Idaho, floor manager of the bill, when the amendment process began. Instead, he recognized the legislation's chief opponent, Howard Metzenbaum, D-Ohio. There is

nothing in the rules that says the presiding officer can't recognize anyone he wants to, but by Senate tradition, the majority leader or the manager of the pending bill are always given preference over other senators when they seek recognition. Senate leader Howard Baker immediately pulled the bill down, which is legislative jargon for turning to something else quickly. But by siding with the Democratic opposition on a bill the administration wants so badly, Danforth has put to rest any notion that he is a team player, and that's the most unpardonable sin of all for a senator.

There was a certain irony in that Senate vote on an amendment to give the president of the United States power to veto individual items in an appropriation bill rather than having to veto the entire measure. Among the missing that day were Sens. Glenn, Cranston, Hart, and Hollings. All were out campaigning for the Democratic nomination to be president. Relax, guys, the amendment lost anyway.

### Postscripts

Memo to Sen. Carl Levin, D-Mich.: Dear Carl, You're not out of the woods yet. The possibility of Peace Corps director Loret Ruppe running against you next year was one thing. Guy Vander Jagt is quite another. Yes, Guy Vander Jagt, the 10-term Republican congressman from your state's 9th District. Guy has said he won't do it unless victory appears fairly certain. And darned if someone didn't take a poll for Guy to prove that it is.

Memo to Rep. Bill Alexander, D-Ark.: Dear Bill, Everyone really appreciates those speeches on the budget deficit and are tickled to death that you sit on the Appropriations Committee where you can match action with words. But, to be perfectly honest, wasn't it just a little hypocritical to go through with that massive refurbishing of your own office? Your neighbors refer to it as Alexander's palace.

Memo to Sen. Bob Packwood, R-Ore.: Dear Bob, Everyone wonders what became of the Tidewater Conference. The folks at the Tidewater Inn in Easton are particularly concerned. You used to sponsor these sessions on the future of the Republican Party all the time, but it's been over a year since the last one. Meanwhile, some of the conservatives in the House have stolen your thunder. They put together a similar exercise called the Baltimore Conference, and frankly, Bob, the bad news doesn't stop there. Everyone agrees the House Republicans came up with a whopping success.

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



Washington Times  
October 18, 1983

### Newt's folly

Today is primary day in Georgia's 7th Congressional District, and for Kathy McDonald, the ordeal continues. The widow of the congressman killed when the Soviets downed Korean Air Lines flight 007 is expected to finish ahead of the others, but won't have sufficient votes to escape a run-off.

Her sole opponent in the run-off will be either Republican Dave Sellers or Democratic State Representative Buddy Darden. If it's Darden, voters would have a clear-cut conservative-liberal choice. However, insiders now think it is more likely to be Sellers, a moderate. Sellers' chances were greatly enhanced when Georgia Rep. Newt Gingrich decided to go all-out to help a fellow Republican. Conservatives nevertheless find this a little strange inasmuch as Sellers would not look favorably on most of Gingrich's conservative opportunity legislation, whereas Mrs. McDonald would probably support it down the line.

### Life in the ivory tower

Lance Tarrance's poll of the religious right was released last week, and it gave new evidence to the fact that President Reagan is losing ground to both John Glenn and Walter Mondale among a large group of Americans who overwhelmingly supported the Reagan candidacy in 1980.

One would have expected the president's team to take immediate steps to heal the breach, but, no, the attitude of the senior staff was one of "so what?" — Mike Deaver reportedly said, "Who needs them?" — them, meaning the Moral Majority-types. The administration is planning a new Reagan coalition, "minus the fringe groups" as some of them put it — "fringe groups" is now another code word for the religious right. (Keep in mind that many of the men advising President Reagan today are the same ones who helped put together the winning coalition for Jerry Ford in 1976.)

The Tarrance survey shows Sen. Glenn actually leading the president among biblical literalists. Even Walter Mondale captures the support of one of every four evangelicals who call themselves conservatives.

### Where are they now?

The media keeps us informed on the whereabouts of such former Carter administration alumni as Stu Eizenstat, Jody Powell and Sarah Weddington. But Alice thought you might also like to know what has happened to the people who worked for these prominent Democrats when they occupied their positions of power.

Back when Eizenstat was developing the Carter debate books, three of his top assistants were Kathleen Reid, Rosemary Rogers and Georgia O'Conner. Today, these three ladies are still on the job. Reid is a special assistant to the Reagan domestic policy staff. Rogers and O'Conner both serve as assistants to Martin Feldstein, the chairman of Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers.

Constance Gerrard and Patricia Byrne once worked for Jody Powell when he was President Carter's press secretary. Until just a few weeks ago, Gerrard was doing much the same sort of thing for Larry Speakes in the Reagan administration. Patricia Byrne — lucky girl — landed a cushy job with John Rogers, director of the Office of Administration in the Reagan White House.

Vanna Shields used to be personal secretary to Sarah Weddington, back when Sarah headed up the Carter effort to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. Today, Vanna can be found still slaving away at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, working in Dave Stockman's shop.

Liberal Democrats, it seems, are like the poor. They are always with you.

### Rumor of the week

Alice hears that Secretary of State George Shultz's threat to quit was a key factor in the decision to appoint Judge William Clark, a Shultz rival, as secretary of the interior. President Reagan, we are told, felt he could better afford two changes as national security adviser in his first term, but couldn't weather the fallout from the resignation of two secretaries of state.

*The author is a political insider who must remain anonymous in order to tell tales out of school.*

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND

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Washington Times  
October 11, 1983

### The outside world

One of the more clever fund-raising gimmicks in recent months has been devised by the far left, the beneficiaries of which are a lot of Democratic candidates for the House of Representatives.

An organization called the Citizens' Labor-Energy Coalition has been sending workers door-to-door across the country in a campaign to kill the natural-gas deregulation bill scheduled for congressional action later this year. The sales pitch is that the bill will increase utility costs. "A small contribution now to help spread the word will save you a lot of money later on in lower home heating bills," is the way they put it. The contributions then go first to pay the cost of hired "volunteers" and then to the candidates who, true to their word, do oppose the gas deregulation bill.

For the record, the Reagan administration contends that deregulation would in the long run actually reduce utility bills. But the legislation's real purpose is to provide the incentive necessary to uncover new domestic sources of natural gas and reduce U.S. reliance on foreign energy supplies.

It begins to look as if there will be Senate floor action on the president's school prayer constitutional amendment after all. The Judiciary Committee reported it last July but failed to file the essential Committee Report to accompany it. Now, committee sources say they notified the White House legislative affairs office that the report will be ready this week.

There had been some concern that Sen. Orrin Hatch, who supports a silent-prayer amendment, might be dragging his feet on this one, but apparently he will rally behind the president. Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker promised the White House to call the matter up this fall, although his frequent lists of unfinished work have so far failed to include the school prayer amendment.

### Inside the administration

Under the heading of "who needs enemies with friends like these," the Reagan administration can now add its very own Quadrennial Social Security Advisory Council, which is about to issue a decidedly un-Reagan-like call for higher taxes. The council is filled to the brim with Reagan appointees, if not Reagan believers, and therein lies the embarrassment.

It will hardly come as a surprise to learn that the Treasury Department and the Department of Health and Human Services are fighting for the council's soul as it wrestles with the solvency of the Medicare program. HHS says no credible report is possible unless it includes a recommendation for a tax increase. Council members found this argument persuasive and promptly went on record favoring a tax hike in a 9-to-1 vote (although they made it clear they oppose increasing payroll taxes).

Treasury is left to explain why the president still feels higher taxes are unnecessary, even when one of his own commissions suggests otherwise.

Private polling for all presidential candidates continues to show an increase in concern over the crime rate. Most conservative leaders now call it the sleeper issue in next year's election. Attorney General William French Smith is known to be upset that the crime rate doesn't receive the attention it deserves at the White House and says Republican leaders on Capitol Hill avoid him because they are sick of hearing about getting votes on anti-crime legislation.

The Washington correspondent for a Sacramento paper notes this irony: The usually conservative senator from Kansas, Bob Dole, has spoken out against outgoing Interior Secretary Jim Watt, while Alaska's Ted Stevens, who often sides with the liberals, is Watt's staunchest defender. "Word is that both senators want Howard Baker's job as Majority Leader," the reporter writes. "They each figure they'll need to pick up some votes from the opposite ideological camp. So, Dole (was) courting liberals by attacking Watt, and Stevens (was) courting conservatives by supporting him."

California businessman Jack Courtemanche, who was finance chairman of the Reagan campaign in 1976, is coming back to town as deputy to Faith Whittlesey, the president's director of public liaison. **Courtemanche is said to be Mike Deaver's alter ego.**

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### Cabinet politics

The absurdity of the Jim Watt flap can best be seen through the eyes of presidential aide Mike Deaver. Or at least that is what many conservatives think.

They suspect Deaver of not being all that unhappy with the plight of Secretary Watt.

Deaver's motives are not thought to be anti-Watt so much as a desire to promote J. J. Simmons, the undersecretary, to the top spot. Simmons, a black Democrat, is a long-time career bureaucrat whom Watt discovered a few years back.

And while the spotlight focuses on the secretary of the interior, there is a lot of behind the scenes maneuvering to force Labor Secretary Ray Donovan to resign before the '84 campaign gets under way. The betting is that the Labor Department's congressional liaison officer, J. J. O'Donnell, will succeed Donovan on an interim basis, with retiring Rep. John Erlenborn, R-Ill., slated to fill the post in the second Reagan administration. O'Donnell came up through the ranks of organized labor and once served on the AFL-CIO executive council when he ran the Air Line Pilots Association. Although a Democrat, he supported Reagan in 1980.

### Yankee, go home

The road to Nicaragua is evidently paved with the good intentions of Sen. Paul Tsongas, D-Mass. There he was in Managua during the Senate's August recess telling the Marxists what they wanted to hear.

According to the Aug. 16 edition of *Barricada*, the official organ for the Sandinista Front of National Liberation, Tsongas and Rep. James Shannon, D-Mass., were on another one of those peace missions which the left is constantly making to Central America. The senator took the occasion to announce that the majority of the United States is against the bellicose policies of the Reagan administration — that's the way *Barricada* reported it — and "we were against the maneuvers of the gunboats next to Nicaragua."

One highly placed administration official told us that statements like these severely hamper America's Latin policies. "When Ambassador Stone arrives for negotiations in Central America, the first thing he is told is, 'We don't believe what you are saying,' and then someone like Tsongas is quoted."

It is probably cheaper for the communists to sponsor forums throughout the Latin countries, at which well-meaning Americans make damaging statements, than it is to fight a war against Yankee imperialists.

### Bottom lines

Larry Flynt sent all members of Congress a subscription to *Hustler*, the porno magazine he publishes. So, Sen. Charles Grassley, R-Iowa, sent Mr. Flynt a subscription to *Christianity Today* with a note that read, "You sent me a little slice of what's on your mind, so I'm sending you a slice of what's on mine."

The socialist regime of Francois Mitterrand in France was said to be on an austerity kick. Nevertheless, the French delegation to the international banking conferences, going on in Washington the past few days, arrived on a chartered Concorde. One delegate said at a cocktail party last week this was necessary for reasons of comfort. Well, there's socialism for the masses and then there's socialism for the aristocracy.

House Republicans simply won't give up the fight no matter how often Tip O'Neill revises the rules to foil them. In the past few weeks, we have seen the minority force the Democrat majority to vote on one unpleasant amendment after another. There was Texas Rep. Phil Gramm's proposal to stop using the International Monetary Fund to finance trade with the communists. And then there was the attempt of Bill Frenzel, R-Minn., to lower trade adjustment assistance to the spending levels in the Democrats' very own budget. How embarrassing for the speaker's comrades to have to vote against that one. Finally, Rep. George Gekas, R-Pa., had the nerve to suggest that the Democrats' latest jobs bill was a little political and more than a little unsound fiscally. His amendment providing that the measure wouldn't go into effect if the secretary of the Treasury determines it will increase the federal deficit, actually found over 200 Democrats voting against it.

They call it the staff memo caper around the White House. An order has gone out from senior aide Dick Darman saying no one in the Executive Mansion can use an interoffice memo which looks like his. The problem started when Dodie Livingston — she works for the Office of Special Messages — used one of her own buck slips to send a routing request to presidential counsel Fred Fielding. Her routing slip had the same format as Darman's, but was a different color. When Fielding saw it, he automatically thought the request was from someone higher up the pecking order. He put aside everything else to work on it. When Fielding found out it was just a request from Dodie, several things hit the fan and all of the great minds huddled together to come up with a solution. Darman's memo was the result.

Alice has to beg forgiveness of Sen. Charles Percy, R-Ill., for last week's story that he had announced the new staff director of his Foreign Relations Committee by referring to him as Jewish in the press release. Alice erred in that the release did not refer to his aide's religion. Alice regrets the error.

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### So much to remember

Many of the thousands who attended the Sunday afternoon memorial service for the victims of Korean Airlines Flight 007 left with tears in their eyes. Many also left with rage in their hearts. While the speakers were generally respectful of the president, the mood of the crowd was clearly anti-Reagan, mindful as they were of the calculated insult in the president's refusal to attend.

"If this had been a memorial service to (liberal Democratic congressman) Ron Dellums instead of Larry McDonald, you can bet the president would have been here," one angry conservative said as the service began.

The White House line is that Reagan's absence is attributable to the McDonald family's decision to ask Howard Phillips of the Conservative Caucus to put the event together. They point out that Phillips has even said he cannot support Reagan for re-election.

But Alice also believes that Mike Deaver and Jim Baker would not have been all that disappointed had the memorial service turned into an anti-Reagan rally, thereby alienating the president from movement conservatives once and for all. New Right leaders, you may recall, have long urged Reagan to fire both of them.

Conservatives thought Reagan fought the decision to boycott the McDonald service, but as one of them explained, "Nobody beats Baker, but Deaver. And nobody beats Baker and Deaver combined."

Can it be that the issue which so unites the American people has torn the White House staff apart? Another administration source confides that NSC advisor Bill Clark got so fed up with the interference of Baker aide Dick Darman last week that he threw him out of the National Security Council suite.

When Walter Mondale criticizes the president for his timid response to the Soviets, one is tempted to break into uncontrolled laughter. Unfortunately, the Republican alternative to Mondale's hypocritical opportunism is apparently an administration at war with itself.

### Bottom lines

The appointment of Republican Dan Evans to replace Democrat Scoop Jackson in the Senate means that Republicans will pick up three or four extra committee assignments. The new ratio of 55 Republicans to 45 Democrats seems to favor adding GOP seats on the Appropriations, Foreign Relations and Small Business committees. Senators need not worry about all of this, however, since Jim Cannon of Majority Leader Baker's staff, Secretary of the Senate Bill Hildenbrand, and Mitch Daniels, who runs Dick

Lugar's Republican Senatorial Committee, were working on it most of last week. They've probably even decided which senators should get which vacancies.

Lugar thinks the addition of Evans guarantees continued Republican control of the Senate, and this in turn encourages reluctant GOP candidates to challenge incumbent Democrats. So, the senator is giving high priority to persuading liberals Loret Ruppe and Claudine Schneider into making the race against Democrats Carl Levin, D-Mich., and Claiborne Pell, D-R.I., respectively. Just why Lugar finds the addition of two more liberals desirable if continued Republican control is assured has not been fully explained.

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Rumors that Mimi Fellers, administrative assistant to Sen. John Chaffe, will be the next congressional officer for the Department of Health and Human Services are true, according to Ken Duberstein, who heads the White House congressional office. Conservatives aren't exactly happy at the prospect, but then they don't have Duberstein's ear — and Mimi does.

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Alice told you several weeks ago that the Schiavone Construction Co. requested access to files of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee in its investigation of Labor Secretary Ray Donovan. The company wanted to pursue civil remedies against those who alleged wrong-doing on their part. Schiavone has now received a terse reply from the committee's top-ranking senators, Orrin Hatch and Ted Kennedy. Request denied, they say, because neither the Privacy Act nor the Freedom of Information Act applies to Congress. All of which supports H.L. Mencken's observation that any statute which exempts Congress from its operation ought to be declared unconstitutional per se.

But Schiavone Construction won't give up. They have responded with a long letter composed of Sen. Kennedy's own words from a Senate speech he gave in 1974 supporting the Freedom of Information Act.

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# ALICE IN POTOMAC LAND



## Reconciled to more taxes

Just before Congress left town for the August recess, Paul Volcker — safely reappointed as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board — warned that the Fed was going to resume its role as fiscal disciplinarian.

What he was really saying was that the money supply will be tightened and interest rates will go up. What he was really trying to do was blackmail Congress into reducing the federal deficit by raising taxes.

So, here it is September. Interest rates are edging back up and the first order of business for Congress upon its return is a reconciliation bill. That's the bill which, through a combination of spending cuts and tax hikes, keeps the government operating within the limitations set in last spring's budget resolution.

Bob Dole, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, wants to be the key player in the September budget battle, which means stealing the spotlight away from Sen. Pete Domenici, who heads the Budget Committee. Last spring, Domenici's budget resolution recommended only 13 cents in new spending cuts for every dollar in higher taxes. Dole, however, is aware that the man who succeeds Howard Baker as Majority Leader must be a mainstream Republican. So, he is calling for a one-for-one trade — one dollar in spending cuts for every new tax dollar. Conservatives will likely fall in line behind Dole on this one.

In the House, Democrats also want a big increase in taxes, but they balk at proposing it on their own. They dream of forcing the president to do it.

One person to watch when the reconciliation debate begins is Sen. John Glenn. While Glenn's presidential aspirations require that he soften his military image, he has been distancing himself from other Democratic candidates on economic matters, moving to the right. Senate Budget Committee aides think Glenn intends to offer one of those waste-fraud-and-abuse amendments to the reconciliation bill. If he is successful, you'll be reading a lot more about him than either Dole or Domenici.

## The job market

The White House personnel office is determined to get one of its own, Dennis Patrick, appointed to a commission, any commission. First, he was going to the Federal Trade Commission, but chairman Jim Miller blanched when he saw that Dennis' main qualification for the job was his close friendship with the senior staff. Now, Dennis is in line for appointment to the Federal Communications Commission, which means that the personal choice of FCC chairman Mark Fowler is out of the running.

Meanwhile, discount the rumors that Margaret Tutweiler, Jim Baker's top aide, will soon be filling Faith Whittlesey's shoes as director of public liaison. The president has made it clear that Faith can put her shoes under his desk anytime she wants to.

And in still another personnel change, Carolyn Sundseth, former girl Friday to Joe Coors, will take over Dee Jepsen's job as the president's liaison to westerners. Of all the unfair news reports recently, the handling of Mrs. Jepsen's retirement takes the cake.

## Bottom lines

The shooting down of a Korean Airlines commercial aircraft by the Russians brought this comment from a New Right leader who begged to remain anonymous: "The Russians take the John Birch Society a lot more seriously than Americans do. That being the case it follows that anybody who would try to kill the pope would have no hesitation in trying to kill Congressman McDonald (who was head of the society). Please note the reaction of Sen. (Howard) Baker who was urging caution and a continuing dialogue with the Russians while everyone else, even Ted Kennedy, was expressing appropriate horror. The thought that our country might one day be led by a man so scared of the enemy is the most frightening aspect of this whole matter."

Republicans traditionally rotate the chairmanship of their Platform Committee among senators, congressmen and governors. Sen. John Tower was chairman in 1980 and this time it is the House's turn. Apparently, Congressman Trent Lott of Mississippi, who holds the party's number two leadership post in the body, will get the nod at the national convention next year. There may not be a great deal for him to do, however. The Republican National Committee already has task forces at work on a first draft. And the White House insists that the document reflect Reagan, rather than congressional, thinking.

Two years ago, Jeanne Connelly was one of those taking part in an anti-Reagan rally at the Denver office of the Legal Services Corporation where she was employed. Although the law specifically prohibits the corporation and its employees from engaging in political activities, participants in the rally were so confident of the rightness of their cause that they videotaped the whole thing. These days, Jeanne works for Sen. Howard Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, as his staffer for the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, the very committee which has been investigating activities of the same Legal Services Corporation. Recently, committee members were treated to a showing of the videotape from Denver. However, Ms. Connelly was well-protected by fellow aides. Her portion had been carefully excised.

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And in still another personnel change, Carolyn Sundseth, former girl Friday to Joe Coors, will take over Dee Jepsen's job as the president's liaison to women. Of all the unfair news reports recently, the handling of Mrs. Jepsen's retirement takes the cake. They attributed it to the gender gap, when in fact everyone knew she would soon return to Iowa to help her husband Roger in his senatorial re-election campaign. She was told at least two months ago that Mrs. Jepsen would resign shortly after Labor Day.

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### Forgive and forget

The Gary Studds affair provides a wonderful opportunity for the Kennedys. Word trickles down from Massachusetts that Joseph Kennedy III (son of Bobby) has moved into Studds' 10th Congressional District and is expected to challenge the incumbent in next year's Democratic primary. Since both are liberals, the contest will likely be fought on the high ground of moral fitness. Studds, of course, is the congressman who was censured for having an affair with a male page. And yes, the district does include Chappaquiddick.

Alice Green Burnett is said to have done a bang-up job as a member of Jerry Brown's transition team when he replaced Ronnie as governor of California. Even Mike Deaver said as much. So, it was only a matter of time before she would become a member of the Reagan administration. Peace Corps Director Loret Ruppe has just appointed Burnett to head the private sector branch of her agency.

The State Department is defending the Russians again. It all started when the Pentagon wanted to brief members of the two congressional armed services committees on Soviet development of an ABM-type radar system that even the lefties concede is a whopping violation of the SALT agreements — all of the lefties, that is, except those who constitute the foreign policy establishment. State nixed the briefing and made the decision stick, which shows you where the power lies.

### File and forget

One of the least important of today's controversies is which presidential aide — Mike Deaver or Bill Clark — first suggested the name of Henry Kissinger to head the president's Central America Commission. Now, one very knowledgeable source tells us that Richard Nixon had a lot to do with it. Somehow, Alice is not surprised.

Helen Milliken, wife of Michigan's former Republican (sort of) governor, says that the Equal Rights Amendment is more important than the re-election of Ronald Reagan. She has vowed to fight Mr. Reagan on the floor of next year's convention if necessary to get an endorsement of ERA written into the Republican platform.

Something called the Center for Changes conducted a four-day seminar in Detroit a few days back with the provocative title, "Marxism for the '80s." But what really grabbed our attention was the fact that one session was devoted to the role of the Democratic Party in the formulation of the American working class and social movements.

Barbara Honegger's blast at President Reagan, claiming he had failed in his commitment to women, didn't come as a surprise to one White House aide who remembers her behavior as a member of the Reagan transition team in 1980. As the story goes, Barbara had convinced Marty Anderson, Reagan's first director of the Office of Policy Development, that she was clairvoyant, and Marty thought such talents might come in handy to the new administration. Why Barbara then went to the Justice Department rather than, say, the State Department, which could use some clairvoyance, is a mystery. At any rate, she told fellow staffers at the transition headquarters of past premonitions and hinted that her role in the Reagan administration had already been revealed to her. There were those who believed she was psychic and there were those who called her "goofy." The fact that there were two schools of thought on Barbara Honegger may say as much about the Reagan administration as it does about her.

Now that Ronald Reagan has reversed himself on such issues as federal support for bilingual education and the Martin Luther King holiday bill, House Democrats are claiming, tongue-in-cheek, that this administration must have obtained a copy of the Mondale briefing book.

### For the record

Last week's column told about a disconcerting episode in the life of Sen. Paul Sarbanes when the State Department's congressional affairs director, Tapley Bennett, fell asleep as Sarbanes was speaking. By mistake, several words were left out, leading the reader to believe that Bennett was snoring away during a telephone call. Actually, it should have read that the incident occurred during a meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee called to discuss the effect of the Supreme Court's legislative veto decision on the War Powers Act.

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# ALICE IN POTOMAC LAND



WASH. TIMES: 8-9-83

## Selling (out) Reagan policy

The White House has been working closely with a coalition of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish organizations, trying to get Congress to pass legislation authorizing a tuition tax credit. President Reagan has made no secret of his support for the idea. He once went so far as to suggest that he might sign the withholding tax repeal bill if Congress would sweeten the pot by attaching tuition tax credits to it.

Last month, the coalition met with Reagan again. This time, the administration promised to get the tuition tax plan tacked onto a bill dealing with railroad retirement benefits. Well, that bill passed the House and Senate the week before Congress took off on an extended August vacation. No one tried to attach the tuition tax program to it, and to the dismay of many conservatives, the White House didn't lift a finger to live up to its commitment.

The culprit wasn't the president, whose support for tuition tax credits is genuine. Rather, the do-nothing decision was made by Ken Duberstein, who heads the White House congressional affairs office. It is Duberstein's job to sell Reagan policy on Capitol Hill, but in this case it worked the other way around.

Liberal Republicans in Congress explained their dilemma to Duberstein. If they vote for the tax credit amendment, the National Education Association is offended. If they vote against it, the clergy back home will be up in arms. It's better not to have to vote at all.

Duberstein, who once worked for former senator Jacob Javits, understood the message and called off the dogs.

So, the coalition will likely be invited back to the White House for another planning session. However, they needn't expect more than gentle massaging as long as Duberstein controls the situation.

## A visit to the White House

Business came to a screeching halt in mid-afternoon at the White House last Tuesday. About half of all the Republicans in the Senate — those who affiliate with the unofficial, conservative Steering Committee — paid a call on the president.

Ordinarily, you wouldn't expect the Darmans and the Deavers to turn out when conservatives come calling, but they were all there, on the theory, one must assume, that it is difficult to criticize those who sit across the table listening. However, the senators had not come to criticize, but to discuss issues.

Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., opened the meeting by explaining, "Mr. President, we are the base of your support in the Senate." Coming in, they were. Going out, less so.

Between coming and going, the senators talked of everything from the economy to Central America, but their words had no visible impact on either the president or his aides. Helms and company learned that:

- Reagan didn't know Congress had made the federal debt "permanent" and so, not understanding the issue, he asked OMB Director Dave Stockman to discuss it. It turns out Stockman takes the Democratic line that the permanent debt does not lead to item veto or impoundment powers.

- The president's advisers had not told him of the recent stories on abuse of power at the Legal Services Corporation, nor was he aware that his own Justice Department had been asked to enter the case.

- Reagan had also not been told of controversy surrounding the selection of Henry Kissinger to head the Central American commission. The president spoke of his objectives in that region, explaining how his commission would find solutions to all of our troubles there, just like the Social Security Commission solved all of the problems in the retirement system.

Senators returned to Capitol Hill about as happy with government-by-commission as they are with government-by-presidential-aide. Those who man the Republican Cloakroom reported later it had been a long time since they'd heard senators so critical of their own administration.

That the get-together caused more problems than it solved was not lost on the White House. Reagan aides were on the phone promising a better meeting in September. But such a meeting might be hard to arrange. One southern Republican — not Helms — said, "Why would I want to meet with Reagan? He's not running the place!"

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### Revolted, revulsed, nauseated

When Rep. Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., suggested that his colleagues, Dan Crane and Gary Studds, be relieved of their duties in the House of Representatives for having sex with teenage Capitol pages, many members of Congress squirmed in their seats. And for a variety of reasons.

It will be awhile before the breach between Gingrich and Dan Crane's brother, Phil, who represents suburban Chicago, is healed. But perhaps that was to be expected.

There were also those congressmen who don't like the idea of meting out punishment for sexual escapades not too different from what they themselves may be guilty of.

And there was the knee-jerk reaction of the super-liberals, who feel it is their lot in life to defend the morally corrupt. So predictable is their response that one sometimes suspects they are really wind-up toys unleashed on an unsuspecting world by the American Civil Liberties Union.

One of them, Democrat Richard Ottinger of New York, sent Gingrich a handwritten note which read:

"I saw you on television seeking to profit politically from the misfortunes of our colleagues, Studds and Crane, and I was thoroughly revolted, revulsed, nauseated.

"The last guy who pretended to be as super-moral, high and mighty as you was Bob Bauman.

"All you b-----s who wear morality signs on your foreheads are super-hypocrits (sic).

"You may have earned yourself a good shot in the media, but know that from every member I speak to, you've earned yourself the thorough contempt of your colleagues."

Gingrich didn't bother to respond in kind. Instead, he made copies of the Ottinger letter and distributed them on the House floor, converting several congressmen to his point of view in the process.

### Giving him the business

For years, the United States Chamber of Commerce has been taping a weekly television program called, "It's Your Business." As the name suggests, panelists discuss current issues affecting the business community.

After much fretting about it, the AFL-CIO has finally come up with a response of sorts called "America Works." It, too, is a half-hour discussion show in which panelists go over a lot of the same issues, but always from a union standpoint.

There is another difference, however, and Richard Rahn of the Chamber's staff discovered it when he was asked to be the first America Works guest who wasn't pro-union. Mr. Rahn reports that some 17 minutes of debate were filmed, of which only seven minutes were actually used. His own remarks were reduced to approximately two minutes including one comment edited in a way that distorted the meaning.

Mr. Rahn laughs about it, just the same. On "It's Your Business" there is no editing, he reports. "If a guest makes a monkey out of himself, that's his business. On labor's show, it's theirs."

### Administration notes

House Democrats are still aghast at the radicalization of Majority Leader Jim Wright of Texas. It surfaced again when Wright not only voted for, but led the fight in behalf of, the most radical amendment opposing the administration's efforts in Nicaragua.

As one sage explains it, "The radical elements control the Democratic Party in the House, and the House Democrats control the party. Their blood lust is such that they will throw out anyone who doesn't agree with them."

Wright, of course, hopes to succeed Tip O'Neill as speaker when Tip retires. There are rumors he has already told Wright that will be next year, although most observers think a more likely date is 1986.

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Just before the House debated Nicaragua, National Security Adviser Bill Clark and Secretary of State George Shultz went before the Republican Conference to plead the administration's case. But most congressmen left wondering if the administration had a case to plead. Almost to the man, the Shultz-Clark performance was described as "inept." Some of the most mild-mannered Republicans complained they had been lied to. Some of the administration's strongest supporters recalled that when the president threw down the gauntlet in his April 27 speech to Congress on Central America, it was only a matter of days before Reagan aides were on the Hill trying to work out a compromise with Democrats.

Although the defeat in the House was largely symbolic for the president, he can award most of the blame to his own aides.

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Conservatives hardly distinguished themselves when the administration issued its regulations aimed at preventing grantees from using federal funds for political purposes. Right-wing bickering was partly responsible for those regulations being withdrawn.

Now, a new set of regs, built around the full-and-frequent-disclosure concept, are about to be announced, and the White House isn't taking any chances, which is why Howard Phillips (of Conservative Caucus) and others were called to the Executive Mansion last week. The administration has its fingers crossed, but right-wing support of the new rules appears certain.

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Just about everyone at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue is wondering who will run the president's political office when Ed Rollins leaves to help re-elect the boss. Latest rumor has it that the powers will be shared by Margaret Tutwiler, executive assistant to Jim Baker, and Mike McManus, who is a Mike Deaver protege.

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# 'ALICE IN POTOMAC LAND



## Help Wanted

The White House is really taking this economic recovery business seriously. Mike Deaver's personal crusade to lower the unemployment statistics is already the talk of the town. He is concentrating his efforts on displaced workers from the Carter administration.

First, Mr. Deaver hired Patricia Bye to be his administrative assistant, no doubt because of her experience in the White House correspondence office answering Jimmy Carter's mail. Then, he brought Bill Sittman on board as his special assistant. Bill, you may recall, was an advance man for the Carter campaign in 1980 and is said to have spent election night in Plains. Last week, Deaver added Donna Blume to his staff, she being the same Donna Blume who once belonged to Fritz Mondale when he was vice president.

Now, if there are any of you Carter administration people out there who still haven't found suitable employment, please send your form 171s in triplicate to: Michael K. Deaver, The White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, D.C., 20500.

By the way, Interior Secretary Jim Watt is also doing his bit for the cause. He turned to Vic Kamber, former chief lobbyist for the AFL-CIO, to put together the Wayne Newton extravaganza, which precedes the Fourth of July fireworks next week.

Kamber is, of course, the director of PRO-PAC, the political organization created for the sole purpose of defeating Watt's good friend, Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., in 1984. But as one of the secretary's aides put it, "Better to have Vic on the Mall than in North Carolina."

## Ladies' day at Cape Canaveral

The past few days haven't been easy ones for Jack Murphy, who heads the congressional liaison office at NASA. Getting the shuttle up and down safely was the least of his worries. He had the 600 most important women in America on his hands. They were there to watch the launch, and the administration saw it as a way of closing the gender gap. Which explains why Gloria Steinem was invited, and Phyllis Schlafly was not.

NASA chartered a plane to fly most of its guests to Florida. Nancy Reagan's staff insisted on reserved seats in first class, of course. All of the ladies were treated to expensive meals and free booze on the flight down and songs by John Denver upon landing.

The ceremony at the VIP center was in the hands of Democratic Congresswoman Lindy Boggs of Louisiana, while the administration was represented briefly by Faith Whittlesey. Considering the fact it was footing the bill, it should have asked for more.

At the launch site, front, center, and more visible than Sally Ride, were Jane Fonda and Miss Steinem. The taxpayer could be forgiven for asking: What price the gender gap?

Just who was responsible for the decidedly un-Republican guest list is a question on the minds of many of the party faithful. The buck apparently stops nowhere, although Dave Gergen, the president's communication's director, is getting a lot of the heat.

Disenchanted Republicans on Capitol Hill were left with only Murphy to take it out on. He has had to endure questions like, why was Lindy Boggs rather than Sen. Paula Hawkins, R-Fla., the spokeswoman? (Mrs. Hawkins was elsewhere launching a ship.)

Is it true that Sally Ride said she would rather meet afterward with Gloria Steinem than Ronald Reagan? (Well, she didn't use those exact words.)

Ultimately, Rep. John McCain, R-Ariz., got through to Murphy. Why, he demanded to know, was Jane Fonda invited in the first place? McCain, who spent 6½ years in a North Vietnamese POW camp, said that the length of his imprisonment was due in large part to the aid and comfort Ms. Fonda gave the enemy. And here was *his* administration giving aid and comfort to *her*.

Murphy wasn't able to respond to McCain's satisfaction, and the congressman promised to answer it himself the next time the administration comes knocking on his door — hopefully to ask for more money for the space program.

Sources close to Rep. Jamie Whitten, the Mississippi Democrat who chairs the House Appropriations Committee, say the committee is readying an investigation of the Council on Environmental Quality. CEQ Chairman A. Alan Hill hopes that the committee's interest in the council is only fallout from the House-side investigations into the Environmental Protection Agency.

The Reagan administration dwells under the illusion that ratification of the Genocide Treaty will lock up the Jewish vote in 1984. Even the president has now given the green light to go ahead and adopt it. All Foreign Relations Committee senators, except Jesse Helms, are for it.

Rep. Delbert Latta, the quiet Republican from Ohio, never was a barn burner. So, he was an easy mark for Sen. Pete Domenici when the House and Senate budget committees tried to iron out differences between the two bodies over the budget resolution. Domenici, who chairs the Senate committee, ignored his House-side counterpart, preferring instead to work with the Democrats. House Republicans, already angry over the attention the White House gives to the Senate, have been using this as an example of the unreliability of the Senate in furthering administration programs.

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### Old jobs, new faces

Prominent senators in both parties have been quietly warning the D.C. government that any attempt to remove Ben Alexander as president of the University of the District of Columbia would be met with a cut in federal funds for the institution. Alexander's one-year battle to cut waste and raise academic standards was so thwarted by the board of trustees that Alexander finally submitted his resignation last week. It now remains to be seen what action, if any, the senators will take.

Meanwhile, there is a move in conservative circles to get Alexander a major appointment in the Reagan administration. Continued rumors of Terrel Bell's departure from his job as secretary of education could be it. But that would set up another tussle between conservatives and moderates, with the conservatives pushing hard for Alexander as the replacement, while the establishment backs Bill Bennett, the chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

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Last year, the U.S. delegation to the Law of the Sea Conference was at odds with itself. President Reagan was determined to protect U.S. rights to minerals in the ocean beds, but not everyone shared his enthusiasm.

One delegate, Robert Keating, did such a skillful job of building the administration's case that the president rewarded him with a choice diplomatic plum. He was nominated to be ambassador to Madagascar.

Another delegate, Leigh Ratiner, who learned his politics at the feet of super-liberal Elliott Richardson, worked tirelessly to undermine the president's position. Ratiner, who calls himself the Black Prince (he is neither), seemed more concerned about the rights of Third World countries and the communist bloc. Eventually, the Reagan position prevailed.

Ratiner then went to Sen. Claiborne Pell, ranking Democrat on the Foreign Relations Committee, in an effort to stop Keating's confirmation. Pell listened, but finally decided that Keating and Madagascar just weren't worth the fight. This week, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will take up the nomination. No objection is expected, and for once, the reward for being a good soldier won't be merely symbolic.

● ● ●  
Once upon a time, conservative Republicans in the House grew tired of fighting both the dictatorial Democrats and their own stodgy leadership. So, they banded together and created something called the House Study Committee, chipping in a few bucks apiece to finance a supporting staff. Before long, new ideas and exceptional research enabled the conservatives to make the most of their minority status.

Now, the Study Committee has fallen on hard times. Despite the dynamic leadership of its new chairman, Rep. Phil Crane, a lot of the members are dropping out and taking back their support money. The main reason is that the enthusiastic staff is gone, grabbed off by the administration and other congressional offices. Crane faces some tough choices to make it all jell again. But the committee was born out of adversity; perhaps it can do so again.

### Faith, hope and charity

Faith Whittlesey, the new director of public liaison at the White House, tried awfully hard to be one of the boys. Knowing she had been tagged with the conservative label, Faith went to great lengths to please the senior staff, even to the extent of hiring a former aide to Sen. Lowell Weicker. Word has it that she once considered employing Pete Terpeluk, who leads the fight for the left at the Small Business Administration, as a way of pacifying deputy chief-of-staff Mike Deaver.

Then, Faith started reading in the press that her White House colleagues were dissatisfied with her and that some of her responsibilities were being taken away. She went straight to the president, dragging him out into the hallway for a private meeting, away from his aides. And, yes, she got the same reassuring words that Reagan once used with Dick Allen and Anne Burford. As one insider told us, "She may have thought she was talking to the man who is running things. In truth, she was on the right floor, but at the wrong door."

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### The gag rule revisited

Last January, we all worried about the new rules that Speaker Tip O'Neill was ramming through the House of Representatives. They applied to appropriation bills and were designed to end Republican attempts to stop the use of federal funds for abortions. Tip probably doesn't care one way or the other about abortions, but he does care deeply about Republicans getting a political advantage.

In the first test of the new rules, a bipartisan coalition of pro-lifers persuaded the Rules Committee to allow floor consideration of what has become known over the years as the Ashbrook amendment. It eliminates the funding of abortions under federal employee insurance plans. The amendment was attached to the Treasury Department appropriation bill by a vote of 226 to 183. Later on, conservatives, worried about excessive spending in other portions of the bill, joined pro-abortionists in voting to kill the whole thing.

Now a new Treasury bill is on its way to the House floor. But first the Rules Committee must again decide whether or not to allow consideration of the Ashbrook amendment. This time, House Majority Leader Jim Wright himself is lobbying the three pro-life Democrats on the committee. He wants them to switch *their* position and take the political heat back home, so that a lot of other pro-abortion Democrats won't be forced to switch *theirs*. The three Democrats, whose political courage is on the line, are Joe Moakley, Gillis Long, and Dave Bonior. Republicans think they win either way, because of the inevitable resentment against this kind of machine-style politics that went out of fashion in the Congress long ago.

### Democrats vs. Democrats

Through Radio Marti, the United States hopes to broadcast the message of freedom to the people of Cuba. It is a popular idea in south Florida, of course, and almost everywhere else, except Iowa. Yes, Iowa. There, they are concerned that Fidel Castro's jamming of the Marti programs will also jam Des Moines station WHO, which operates on the same frequency.

Funds for Radio Marti were kept out of the Commerce/Justice/State appropriation bill. That's no great surprise when you remember that the chairman of the Commerce/Justice/State Department subcommittee is Rep. Neal Smith, who represents Iowa's Fourth District.

The bill can't come up on the House floor without a rule from the Rules Committee, of course. Here, the chairman, by coincidence just happens to be Florida's Claude Pepper, whose constituency includes those Dade County Cubans. Mr. Pepper wants the rules of debate to specify that an amendment funding Radio Marti will be in order. Smith refuses to call his bill up under those conditions. Speaker O'Neill, siding with Smith, has tried to reason with his Florida colleague. But they don't call Pepper a stubborn old codger merely because he is 82.

House Democrats are worried about Speaker O'Neill's commitment to put a \$700 cap on the next phase of the tax cut. It sounded like a good idea at the time, but they didn't work out the numbers, as the Ways and Means Committee might say. Those hit the hardest are husband and wife, filing jointly, in the \$35,000-\$40,000 bracket. They get stuck with a 10 percent increase in their tax rate. Further proof, Republicans say, that Democrats want to hike taxes to finance more government spending.

We are learning just what the right stuff is made of. Clever politics, for one thing. John Glenn has made more overtures to blacks, gay community leaders, and other minorities than has any other candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. This comes from no less an authority than Jesse Jackson. With his macho image as a former astronaut and the allegedly conservative credentials that the press heaped on him, Glenn can afford to woo gays and blacks — the very groups his fellow candidates are taking for granted.

### Republicans vs. Republicans

Insiders think the conservatives in the White House have gained ground recently and some of the others may be on their way out. For instance:

- Shirley Moore, longtime girl Friday to Mike Deaver, will soon move to the General Services Administration, rekindling the old rumors that Mike is about to vacate the premises.

- Similarly, the promotion of Mike McManus to special assistant to the president, is taken as another sign of Deaver's departure, a promotion that would help McManus find a good job on the outside. His increased status comes in spite of, rather than because of, his work in setting up the Williamsburg Conference, which they say was less than letter perfect. At the last moment, White House personnel with known expertise in putting together conferences had to be rushed in to save the day.

- The promotion of Jim Baker's chief aide, John Rogers, to be special assistant to the president could also be taken as someone being promoted up before being promoted out. After all, it was John's second such elevation in four months, almost unheard of in this administration.

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND

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Washington Times  
May 31, 1983

### The new Reaganite

The Jim Baker forces have succeeded in adding another "moderate" (you know they hate that word liberal, so we play along with the White House staff). He's Lee Verstandig, and he replaces Rich Williamson as presidential assistant for intergovernmental affairs.

Lee's background will give you an idea of just how moderate they are getting these days. Originally an aide to Sen. John Chafee, R-R.I., who just led the so-called Gang of Five in defeating the Reagan budget in the Senate, Lee was assigned to Secretary of Transportation Drew Lewis in the early days of this administration at the urging of Sen. Howard Baker's office. Lewis said that was OK with him, since he needed a house liberal anyway. More recently, he did a brief stint with the Environmental Protection Agency, where, according to Lee, he was sent to clean up after the conservatives.

His wife, Toni Verstandig, is also a veteran of Capitol Hill. Her patron is Rep. Clement Zablocki, the Wisconsin Democrat whom she has faithfully served for these many years. Toni is said to regale friends at parties by taunting Lee with such chants as "We're gonna get the Reaganites in '84."

Knowing all of this, it naturally follows that Lee was the odds-on favorite to take Williamson's place in the Reagan White House. A source there told us that another moderate — Richard Carver, the mayor of Peoria — had already been offered the job when the big push for Verstandig got under way. One happy ending might be for Lee to save the mayor a spot on the staff, since most of Williamson's aides are jumping ship anyway.

### Gender-gap politics

They say you can tell a man by his friends and a lady by her enemies. If true, then Faith Whittlesey, the president's new director of public liaison, must be doing one whale of a job. Already, she's made just about every enemies list in the Baker-Deaver wing of the White House.

Last week, the press got wind of Mrs. Whittlesey telling a Cabinet meeting that the president need not be concerned about women's issues as long as he did what he believed to be right. The subsequent furor was enough to lift the White House off its foundation. An exclusive interview with a Gannett News Service reporter indicated that Mike Deaver would take over some of Mrs. Whittlesey's responsibilities, on the laughable theory that he understands women better than she does. The story actually quoted one top aide as saying Faith's remarks were "potentially harmful to their efforts" to change the president's mind on a number of issues. But there we go again, forgetting that it was really Mr. Deaver the American people were opting for when they checked Mr. Reagan's name at the polls in 1980.

Eventually, even the president himself heard about what was going on. He told his children to get back to their desks, to do their own work and let Mrs. Whittlesey do hers. But one is left with the feeling we haven't heard the last of sibling rivalry at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.

### Things that worry conservatives

Is Pakistan selling out to Moscow on the question of their Afghan refugee problem? Karen McKay of the Committee for a Free Afghanistan says that Abdul-Roman Pajwak, former Afghan ambassador to the United Nations, was arrested in Pakistan last week for publicly criticizing that country's brand of backroom diplomacy with the Soviet Union.

Rumors persist that a group of congressional liberals led by Sen. John Danforth, R-Mo., and Chafee are putting together a plan by which Republican moderates pledged to Ronald Reagan would become delegates to the Republican National Convention. If Reagan were to step down, they would be the kingpins. Don't assume that George Bush automatically benefits from such a plan. Danforth and Chafee are much closer to Howard Baker personally and Bob Packwood professionally than they are to the vice president.

Why hasn't anyone pointed out that the recent rise in President Reagan's popularity just happens to coincide with his emphasis on morality and the tough, no-nonsense approach in his public speeches?

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# ALICE

IN POTOMAC LAND



Washington Times  
May 17, 1983

## Tax and tax, spend and spend

The collapse of all efforts to pass a budget resolution in the Senate Thursday — as one alternative after another went down to defeat — was due to a small group of liberal Republicans who held the balance of power. Except for them, the Senate was casting mostly straight party line votes. It was a frustrating day for senators, but a concealed joy for some of their staffers.

Jim Range, chief aide to Majority Leader Howard Baker, circled the Senate floor, loudly blaming conservatives for not compromising enough — conveniently ignoring the massive, double-digit increase in domestic spending Republicans already agreed to.

While Steve Bell, the staff director of the Senate Budget Committee, cried crocodile tears, there were those who recalled that Bell had written Chairman Pete Domenici's original budget proposal last January — a high revenue, big spending budget that still makes Reaganites blanch.

Moderate Republicans have maneuvered themselves into the interesting position of being the national spokesmen for higher taxes — a platform virtually without a constituency. Some cynics swear that last Thursday's embarrassments were deliberately planned by the Republican hierarchy as a means of badgering the administration into going along with a tax hike. One small bit of evidence to support that theory: Even though the vote on the main Republican substitute was sure to be close, the vice president was nowhere around to break a possible tie. When asked about this, a Bush aide replied, "Baker's staff says he won't be needed." So, even a tie would have favored the liberals.

Insiders will be watching closely as the Budget Committee goes back to the drawing board today. The weekend visit of OMB Director David Stockman to Sen. Domenici's office may mean that the administration will settle for a three-year budget including the surtax Stockman devised sometime back. Imagine the president, campaigning for re-election, having to explain why four years hence he had to raise taxes.

More likely, the Republican leadership will serve up a slightly warmed-over version of what the moderate Republicans were proposing last Thursday. If so, there are those who will say they knew it all along.

## Faith healer

The Senate Intelligence Committee approved Chairman Barry Goldwater's "compromise" plan to eliminate all funding for our efforts to curb the flow of Cuban arms into Central America. Goldwater, using his powers as chairman, prevented a vote on the president's request, which would have been approved. The senator's plan does have an escape clause — if the activities down there continue, funding will be reinstated — and committee members thought that was better than nothing.

So, the White House has decided to take whatever measures are necessary to unite the American people behind the president's program in Central America. Chief-of-staff Jim Baker authorized Faith Whittlesey, the director of public liaison, to put together a working group devoted to this purpose. Meetings are already under way.

Please note that senators are not included, but the heads of several prominent conservative organizations are. And that's a first. Usually, conservatives are only invited in when the ship of state is sinking and all else has failed. No one thinks the situation in El Salvador or Nicaragua has reached quite those proportions, so chalk it up to the political savvy of Mrs. Whittlesey, who was also one of the political architects of the defense plank in the 1980 Republican platform.

So, things are humming again at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. And if this is Jim Baker's way of making amends with National Security Adviser Bill Clark, that's fine. Alice wouldn't want to be a Latin commie now, that's for sure.

## Bottom lines

Father Bryan Hehir is not a Catholic bishop, but he played a key role in the adoption of the pastoral letter on nuclear arms. After the bishops' first session on a nuclear freeze several months ago, Father Hehir sought to calm complaining priests with quiet assurances that the pastoral letter was being toned down. His words were enough to keep many of them at home saving souls rather than traveling to Chicago to dabble in foreign policy.

Now, the strong anti-Reagan statement that emerged from Chicago has prompted a number of lay Catholics to seek out someone as prestigious as Bishop John J. O'Connor to file a minority report. O'Connor, who subscribes to the traditional Christian position on war, will have to hurry, however. Already, the liberal bishops, flushed with success, are turning their attention to capitalism.

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Dick Stone is the president's new ambassador to Central America, a choice that won rounds of cheers from the right. Now, we learn that the ambassador had to pay a price for his nomination, and it came in the form of Foreign Service Officer Joe Presel. Presel, who is now Stone's top assistant, is best remembered as the man who leaked the Rowny hit list when ACDA Director Ken Adelman was up for confirmation.

Another Stone — Roger of Black, Manafort and Stone — is running all over New York telling friends that he will be chairman of the Re-elect Reagan Committee. At the same time, partner Paul Manafort is running around Washington telling friends that he not Roger, is the man selected for the job. We suspect that one, and possibly both, are wrong, which isn't very good for business when you're with a public relations firm.

M. Peter McPherson, administrator of the Agency for International Development, snubbed the Senate Appropriations Committee last week, which has been looking into the \$300 million in U.S. aid scheduled for Syria. He simply refused to testify. Peter was probably too busy trying to line up someone with the appearance of a conservative to take Assistant Administrator Frank Ruddy's place. When we last checked, Peter was dickering with Frank Donatelli, the former national chairman of the Young Americans for Freedom, but that fell through when some of Mr. Donatelli's former right-wing friends heard about it.

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### Speech pits Baker against Clark

There is a lot more at stake for the administration than just the 55 advisers in El Salvador when Ronald Reagan goes on television tomorrow night to plead for support of his Central American policy. It could determine who will be running our country from now on — Jim Baker, the current man in charge, or national security adviser Bill Clark, whose policies Reagan will be advocating in tomorrow's speech.

Since Baker has developed a habit of opposing Clark on just about everything, forces loyal to the chief of staff are now required to question the wisdom of the Reagan address. According to one congressional Republican, Baker is telling his aides not to gin up the usual support for the speech, hoping that as the president's words die a quiet death, so, too, will Clark's powers of influence.

For his part, Clark already has former Sen. Dick Stone out drumming up support for the administration's policy on Capitol Hill. Pro-Reagan forces in the White House are banking heavily on a favorable public response and worry that Baker will succeed in removing the tough rhetoric needed to produce the desired result.

Opposition to Clark's Latin policy is surfacing from some surprising sources — Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders, for one. On the Georgetown party circuit, he's been describing himself to Democrats as their man in the State Department. "I keep the Reaganites honest," he was heard to say. Even the CIA's John MacMahon encourages friends to lobby Congress against "wasting" dollars in Central America.

Meanwhile, Sen. Chris Dodd has been doing some lobbying of his own. He wants a closed-door Senate session to discuss Central America, and he wants it before Reagan delivers his speech tomorrow night. The real purpose of a closed-door session is to put an official light on everything that leaks out (usually within six hours).

So, Dodd's goal is to frame the issue on his own terms in advance of the Reagan address.

It puts Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker on the spot. If he grants Dodd's request, it will be interpreted as strengthening Jim Baker's hand.

Guerrilla warfare in Central America is nothing compared to what is going on right here in our own backyard.

### Second Thoughts

Bill Simon, boy wonder of the Nixon-Ford years, still smarts from being treated by the Reagan White House as just another Republican. So, he joined four other ex-Treasury secretaries in demanding cuts in the defense budget. Then, just when everyone was beginning to wonder how far this feud would go, Simon chose not to testify against the administration's plan to replenish the International Monetary Fund. The change of heart may be good politics, but it does put Simon at odds with his own conservative principles on just about every issue.

Conservatives who counted ACDA Director Ken Adelman as one of their own are headed for still another disappointment. As soon as he was confirmed, Adelman phoned Sen. Paul Tsongas to swear that he, Tsongas, would never regret the Adelman appointment. As if to prove it, the director named Norman Clyne as his executive assistant. Even moderates blanched at so blatant a left-winger in the upper echelon. And before the week was over, Adelman's office conducted a liberals-only briefing which sent Republican morale there into a tailspin.

Moderate Democrats in the House of Representatives can be excused for having second thoughts on trusting their own leaders. First, they were assured that the nuclear freeze resolution was not one of those peace-at-any-price measures. Then, its chief sponsor, Rep. Ed Markey, made it clear that his goal is unilateral disarmament. A few days later, the Democratic leadership said that for tactical reasons Democrats should vote for low defense dollars and higher taxes when the budget resolution was up. After all, they said, there would be another chance to support more sensible figures after the Senate acted.

So, you can imagine how they all gulped upon hearing that the Senate Budget Committee had approved a \$30 billion tax increase and dangerously low defense numbers, too. It just may be that House Democrats won't get a second chance to support something "more sensible."

The city abounds with speculation on who is the source of the hatchet job Time and Newsweek did on national security adviser Bill Clark. On the radio one evening last week, columnists Pat Buchanan and John Lofton came to the conclusion that it was the work of White House aide Dick Darman. Now, however, several members of the Kitchen Cabinet, Reagan's unofficial advisers, think the real culprit is deputy chief-of-staff Mike Deaver. Their reasoning: Deaver was known to have clashed with Clark over plans for still another Reagan foreign policy speech, this one to discuss Soviet violations of the SALT treaties. Deaver brought in Secretary of State George Shultz to plead with the president not to get too specific, while Clark wanted Reagan to tell the American people the whole story and let the chips fall where they may.

Two Republican senators who thought of themselves as the next Senate Majority Leader saw their stock fall sharply in the last few days. Ted Stevens muffed his chance while filling in for the current leader, Howard Baker, during debate on the withholding tax legislation. Stevens moved to recess to have more time to work out a compromise, but was rebuffed by a vote of 63 to 31. Deeply shaken, he left the floor in the hands of Sen. Paul Laxalt until the absent Baker was back in town. Similarly, Budget Committee Chairman Pete Domenici's vote to report the Democrats' budget inspired one of those agonizing reappraisals that Republicans are always going through.

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



WASH. TIMES: 4-12-83

### Mister Deaver's Neighborhood

Alice has a fondness for riddles, so when one of our most distinguished conservative leaders asked her what Howard University and the Beach Boys have in common, she naturally thought it was going to be a joke.

It turns out, however, that the answer isn't funny at all, at least not in the usual way. Alice's conservative friend explained that both were clients of presidential aide Mike Deaver back when he was a public-relations consultant rather than a presidential one.

This all came up during a conversation between Alice's friend and Ben Alexander, the president of the University of the District of Columbia. Ben was complaining that President Reagan is always making the trip up 7th Street to Howard University, while UDC has trouble even getting a rejection to its invitations to Mr. Reagan. Ben discovered that Howard has a friend inside the administration, and he doesn't. Alice would love to help, of course, but she doesn't have any friends on the inside anymore either.

When Jim Watt beached the Beach Boys, it was that same inside friend who orchestrated the immediate outrage. Mr. Deaver, dragging the first lady along with him, got the jump on the Democrats and thereby scored a coup (of sorts) for the administration.

The rumors persist that Mr. Deaver will soon return to the private sector where he can resume his ties officially with the Beach Boys and Howard University. Come to think of it, it wouldn't be a bad idea for Mr. Watt and Mr. Alexander to retain the Deaver firm themselves.

### Dealing Wendy out

Wendy Borchardt was a card-carrying member of the Reagan team in Sacramento, so everyone knew she would be among the first Californians to surface in Washington once the election was over.

After a brief stint on the White House staff, Wendy was nominated to be a deputy under secretary of education. But her confirmation hearings were delayed by liberals on the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee when they tried to blackmail the president into naming a Democrat to a completely unrelated position.

Then, the feminists got wind of Wendy's conservative instincts and sent up a howl of protest. Soon, the moderates in the administration were clutching their faint hearts. The senior staff balked at giving Wendy a recess appointment last January, and Education Secretary Terrel Bell warned her not to take any action that would affect education policy.

Last week, the White House capitulated. Without even telling Wendy, the Baker/Darman/Duberstein wing had the nomination quietly withdrawn. The new candidate will be Wayne Roberts, a liberal who was once Pen James' deputy in the office of presidential personnel. For the past few months, Wayne has been the Education Department's regional representative in Boston.

Wayne could have confirmation problems, too. He worked for the Republican who challenged Senator Bob Stafford in the Vermont primary last year, and Stafford is a key man on the Senate Labor Committee. On the other hand, Wayne has done his best to win Stafford's friendship by stopping many Reagan initiatives designed to close down the Department of Education. Evidently that is no longer a consideration.

Those Americans who voted for Ronald Reagan as a means of cutting down the size of government will find the switch from Borchardt to Roberts a little hard to take. And if further proof were needed of the dwindling power of the Californians in the administration, this surely is it.

### Bottom lines

Congressional Republicans have let those clever Democrats outmaneuver them again. This week, the House will be debating the nuclear freeze resolution at the same time the Senate takes up the nomination of Ken Adelman to run the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The Democrats want to make the freeze resolution a referendum on Adelman, and Adelman's confirmation a vote on the production of nuclear weapons — a one-two punch that might disarm Mr. Reagan as well.

The president was in great form last week when he called Richard Viguerie, editor of *Conservative Digest*. Viguerie begged the president not to let Chinese tennis star, Hu Na, be deported. Mr. Reagan responded, "Don't worry. I'll adopt her myself before I'll let them send her back."

Senator Orrin Hatch sought to make peace with the New Right at lunch yesterday. Conservatives have been denouncing the Utah senator for scheduling ERA hearings this spring, and they came to see Hatch eat crow. Waiters carefully removed the table knives, an unnecessary ploy since the conversation was described as intense rather than angry. The senator gave assurances that the Senate will not act on ERA until after the House has. And Phyllis Schlafly gave assurances that her people will keep an Eagle-eye on the Hatch hearings to be sure of their impartiality.

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## IN POTOMAC LAND



### They shall overcome

When a white, Southern, conservative, Republican congressman says publicly he wants to begin working with the Black Caucus in the House of Representatives, that's news. Or at least it should have been. If Ted Kennedy had said he agrees with 90 percent of the Caucus' objectives, it would have been Dan Rather's lead story that evening. But the statement came from Newt Gingrich, the Georgia Republican, so it was ignored.

The Gingrich speech was delivered moments after the Black Caucus had unveiled its substitute proposal to the budget resolution. He got the attention of the whole chamber when he mused that black politicians say the word "Republican" just like Klansmen say the word "black." Which is strange, Gingrich said, because Republicans, like blacks, are a minority.

The congressman proposed creating a Republican Black Caucus Task Force to explore areas in which the two could start working together. He took note of the benefit to machine politicians for blacks to have no ties to the Republican Party. For Democrats, said Gingrich, "it is an enormous advantage to be able to automatically count on you."

Congressman John Conyers, who is black, seemed to appreciate the point Gingrich was making. Whether anything comes of the idea, it demonstrates once more that the young turk Republicans in the House are no longer content to sit on the back row and accept business-as-usual from their own leadership.

### All in the family

Not many lobbyists have the ability to alter public policy like Timmons and Company. Its top dogs, Bill Timmons and Tom Korologos, are not only veterans of the Nixon/Ford administrations, but also helped the Reaganites in the 1980 campaign. They have the luxury of picking and choosing their clients. So, when they move into the area of family issues, you know that more is afoot than a Jesse Helms filibuster.

We were reminded of this upon learning that Korologos is on the board of advisors to the Home and School Institute, whose founder is Dorothy Rich, the wife of the Washington Post reporter.

And then word reached us that Timmons has been using his old contacts at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue to bring about a meeting between President Reagan and Henry Clausen, the head of the Masonic Order. The purpose of the chat is to talk the Old Man out of his support for tuition tax credits, which the Masons adamantly oppose.

Bill and company can also be seen a lot on Capitol Hill these days where they are trying to get the House to set up a Committee on Hunger and Nutrition. One Republican congressman told us that Timmons' real objective is to use the committee to push adoption of the Brandt Commission report. You remember that one. It's the report that calls for massive aid from the Free World into the developing nations.

All in all, it is an interesting collection of new clients for Timmons and Company and raises the question of why — is it ideology or the big buck? Regardless, it's a far cry from the days of the New Federalism.

### Bottom lines

President Reagan's political judgment is on the mark more often than that of his advisers, which, of course, is to explain why he's the president.

Nevertheless, the White House staff is reportedly very divided over the wisdom of the Reagan defense speech two weeks back. Aides Mike Deaver and Jim Baker opposed it from the beginning and now point to the panning it got from liberal critics as proof they were right.

The president's defense speech created special problems for some Republicans on Capitol Hill. Sen. Jerry Denton was turned down in his request for an advance copy. CBS had asked him to participate in the post-speech analysis. Finally, CBS itself provided Denton with the text, having received it several hours earlier. As the Alabama senator said later, it's pretty hard to rally the troops behind the president when the press gets the word before the troops do.

Personnel rumors of the week: The administration is having second thoughts about naming Rich Williamson ambassador to international organizations and may leave him at his White House desk instead. Delaware Gov. Pete duPont appears set as finance chairman of the president's re-elect committee.

The so-called jobs bill, which the president signed into law a few days ago, looks more and more like the pork-barrel bill its critics claimed it was. A memo distributed by a Senate Republican office says that the measure contained \$100,000 for the President's Commission on Drunk Driving; funds for the San Francisco cable car system and a music hall in Elmira, New York; and \$2,000 for parties hosted by HUD Secretary Sam Pierce.

*The author is a political insider who must remain anonymous in order to tell tales out of school.*

# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### Time to put on your thinking caps

All right, children, don your thinking caps and write on your slates the names of the three token conservatives the Reagan folks have nominated to key foreign policy positions. Well, there was Ernest Lefever. But as his appointment grew controversial, the White House staff ordered him to keep away from senators on the Foreign Relations Committee. Eventually, he had to withdraw from consideration. Then came Ken Adelman, whom the president allegedly wants to head up the disarmament agency. Capitol Hill was ruled off limits for Ken, too, and at the very moment a full court press was called for. His chances for confirmation are 50-50 at best. Now, conservative White House aide Rich Williamson has been named U.S. representative to international organizations. Almost immediately, he was told to cancel his appearance before the Stanton Group, the biweekly gathering of New Right defense strategists. If you see a pattern emerging, children, you get an "A." As one conservative leader told us, "One can't help but wonder if the senior staff really wants these guys confirmed."

We had sworn off Ed Meese stories for Lent. And then Alice learned that the president's counselor has been arranging for professors from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard to come down twice a week to brief the White House staff on how to perform their jobs in a professional manner. Experience helps, even at the White House. So, Harvard has been sending instructors who had jobs in the Carter administration. Yes, the Carter administration. Presumably, with Jim Baker and Mike Deaver cornering the market on hacks from the Nixon-Ford years, Mr. Meese had to turn to Jimmy Carter for his.

Personnel rumors of the week: Jack Courtemanche, one of the gang from California, is still being talked about as Mike Deaver's replacement. And Ron Kaufman, fired from his Republican National Committee post for not being enough of a Reaganite, may turn up on the White House staff running the office of administration if and when John Rogers vacates the premises. Evidently Joan Aikens has lobbied her way back to another six-year term on the Federal Election Commission, although some congressmen were a little perplexed at being lobbied that hard by one who would regulate their campaigns.

Yes, it was Jim Watt who championed Bill Ruckleshaus for the job of EPA Director. Jim has been telling pals that the administration sweetened the pot by promising Ruck the next cabinet vacancy, and one of them allowed as to how he hopes it won't be Jim's. EPA hasn't had much to laugh about lately, but there were a lot of chuckles after Ruckleshaus paid a courtesy call on Congressmen Dingell and Florio. They swear that the congressmen told the new director they had prepared a list of those at EPA who ought to go. At least that's the way they tell it at EPA. Alice wouldn't want to take an F. Lee Bailey test on it.

### Movers and shakers

Republican senators close the doors every Tuesday at noon and caucus in private. But word leaked out after their last session that the usually unflappable majority leader, Howard Baker, flapped twice — first at Bill Armstrong, R-Colo. for complaining about Baker's plan to cut back the number of staff allowed on the Senate floor, and then at Bob Kasten, R-Wis., for pressing his withholding tax amendment. Republicans can't remember Baker ever losing his cool twice in a row.

Speaking of the Senate leader, conservatives have one more reason to cheer Howard Baker's impending retirement. He is the man responsible for putting Frank Reiche on the Federal Election Commission. And Reiche is the man who provided the winning margin when the FEC decided in favor of a new regulation prohibiting campaign contributions by organizations that lobby Congress. Its real purpose is to put conservative groups like the National Right To Work Committee and the Moral Majority out of business. Unions need not worry, of course. They are exempt again.

Last year, when all of them swore they wanted to balance the federal budget, Rep. Bob Walker, R-Penn., tested his colleagues on it over and over again. He offered an amendment to several special interest bills that said those bills couldn't go into effect if the result is a bigger national debt. Embarrassed Democrats kept having to vote against fiscal responsibility. This year, there is a new Walker amendment. He unveiled it last Monday as the House debated the Oregon Wilderness Act, a bill to lock up thousands of acres of forest land. Walker's amendment simply said that the land can't be taken out of production if it increases unemployment. Ultimately, it failed. The vote ran along party lines with embarrassed Democrats choosing trees over jobs.

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



Washington Times  
March 15, 1983

### The Burford Blitz

By 5 p.m. Wednesday, it was all over. Anne Gorsuch Burford was gone and the celebrations could begin. This is not to imply that there were parties actually going on in the White House, although you couldn't mistake the festive air in Jim Baker's quarters. Someone yelled, "One down, two to go" — meaning, presumably, that Jim Watt and Ray Donovan would be next.

But unlike Watt and Donovan, Burford had refused to work with conservative organizations all along. So, when the ordeal began, she had hardly anyone to turn to for help. More than one New Right leader went to great pains to explain this in the past week.

The real story, however, may not be Burford herself, but rather President Reagan and how little he knew about the whole affair. Examples:

- On March 7, the Washington Post ran a story outlining senior staff strategy for getting rid of Burford. As condensed for the daily White House news summary (said to be the main source of media information for the president), it read like a love letter to Burford with everyone trying to help her make the right decision. There was no mention that Jim Baker and Dave Gergen were telling the press she must go, or that Dick Darman sacrificed a weekend away in order to gin up support for her ouster.

- More than a week before Burford resigned, counselor Ed Meese was circulating the name of a possible successor, a Californian working at the Pentagon. At almost the same moment, Reagan was in Klamath Falls pledging complete support for Burford.

- As late as noon on the day she resigned, Reagan, in a speech to the National Federation of Republican Women, delivered another glowing tribute to the EPA director — hardly the kind of statement one would make if he knew his aides were minutes away from forcing her resignation.

Ultimately, the job of telling Mrs. Burford she had to go fell to Meese. But he chickened out and called on long-time conservative leader Joe Coors (Burford's original sponsor) to do it for him. Coors understands the hurt this administration can inflict on loyalists. He and other members of the Reagan Kitchen Cabinet have been subjected to endless humiliations by the senior staff. But he called Burford anyway — not to say she must resign, but rather to convey the fact that Meese wanted her to.

On Capitol Hill, Sen. Steve Symms noted the irony of loyalist Burford being forced out on the very day that Margaret Heckler (who had the worst record of support for Reagan programs in the House of Representatives last year) was being sworn in as Secretary of Health and Human Services. Another senator suggested that Anne's husband, Bob, be selected as her replacement. Others were urging Mrs. Burford to consider a senatorial race against Gary Hart in 1986.

In the end, Anne Burford discovered that loyalty to Ronald Reagan isn't enough in this administration, especially when the president hardly knows she is in trouble.

### Bottom Lines

Just in case you got the idea that the Environmental Protection Agency was the only thing on the administration's mind last week, we offer the following:

- Paul Manafort, who rounded up delegates for Jerry Ford in 1976, is tentatively set to run the president's re-election committee next year.

- Everyone in the Executive Mansion was nervous when the president chose to lay his prestige on the line, defending the withholding tax on sayings and dividends. Casting about for villains, most fingers finally pointed at Assistant Treasury Secretary Buck Chapoton, who hasn't a supply-side bone in his body. They say he was the one who conned the president into sticking his neck out and take that decidedly un-Republican position.

- Congressman Bill Dickinson was the star of the show when the president hosted conservatives to discuss the nuclear freeze movement a few days ago. After Jerry Falwell and others wasted precious time telling Reagan how great he is, Dickinson had the guts to look the president in the eye and say he is in deep trouble on the issue. That's why the White House now says Reagan may go on television to take his case against the freeze directly to the people.

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### Administration fiddles, Bilandic Byrnes

Michael Bilandic tried, without success, to win the Democratic nomination for mayor of Chicago in years gone by. But in 1981, Bilandic, a fiscal conservative, found himself captivated by the early months of the Reagan administration. He began toying with the idea of running again for mayor in 1983, but this time as a Reagan Republican. He reasoned that he could attract enough ethnic Democrats to the Republican banner to make victory possible.

A close friend, highly placed in the corporate world, contacted the Republican National Committee in Bilandic's behalf and was stunned to find that their open door policy doesn't extend to Chicago Democrats. So, he turned to Paul Weyrich, the most prominent of New Right leaders, for help.

Weyrich called several key administration sources — Rich Williamson, Ed Rollins, Sen. Paul Laxalt — and found a lot of enthusiasm for the outrageous idea of electing a Republican mayor in Chicago. But suddenly the White House balked at inviting Bilandic to meet with President Reagan. Finally, Williamson conveyed the bad news: A deal had been cut with the unbeatable Jane Byrne. How can the administration work with her and set up her opponent at the same time?

Well, as everyone knows, the unbeatable Byrne was beaten in last week's Democratic primary, losing to Rep. Harold Washington. The Republicans are not only caught without a deal to their name but are stuck with only a token candidate to challenge Washington. Bilandic now denies he was ever interested in converting to Reaganism. And the administration's understanding of the ethnic voter has been exposed once again as little more than a Polish joke.

### Post-Mortem

The irony of Reagan aide Mike Deaver using "that phrase" in Time magazine to express his contempt for some of the president's key supporters has not been lost on conservatives on Capitol Hill. After reading the Time article, one Southern Republican congressman said, "The Reagan Revolution is dead. What we are seeing at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. is a few little guys administering power."

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# ALICE

IN POTOMAC LAND



Washington Times  
February 22, 1983

## Finding the right target

So, Sen. Alan Cranston, who is running for president, wants Ken Adelman, the president's choice for ACDA director, to come back before his committee for another headline-hunting question-answer session. And Haynes Johnson, the columnist, wants the president to pardon Frank Wills, the security guard who stumbled into the Watergate break-in and who was arrested a few days ago for shoplifting. And then there is Rep. James Scheuer: after the administration settled its dispute with Congress over which EPA documents it would see, Rep. Elliott Levitas said the House would see "everything," but everything turned out to be not enough for Scheuer who said he wants more.

I don't know how the Democrats expect the rest of us to take them seriously.

To begin with, Adelman received his diplomatic training at the hands of UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, and that ought to be enough for anyone. If you want to worry about a Reagan nominee, you might look instead at Linda Chavez Gersten, the lady chosen to be staff director of the Civil Rights Commission.

Most of Mrs. Gersten's career has been devoted to furthering the labor union movement. She was a lobbyist for the National Education Association and then an official of the American Federation of Teachers. Jimmy Carter used her as a consultant on his OMB reorganization project. Mrs. Gersten is affiliated with the Committee for a Democratic Majority, which seeks to keep Congress in anti-Reagan hands. Her selection constitutes another example of the death wish this administration has placed on itself.

As for the EPA dispute, all of the talk has been about Director Anne Gorsuch carrying out the wishes of the president. It's hard to believe no one has questioned the ethical posture of Hugh Kaufman, the agency's professional whistleblower. Mr. Kaufman's statements to the press often begin with, "I have documents in my possession..." One cannot help but wonder if the moral corollary to the shredding machine is the employee who copies selected documents for the media.

The reasoning behind the plea for a pardon of Mr. Wills seems to be that Richard Nixon owes the government back taxes. Why should one suffer retribution and not the other?

Those who insist there is no such thing as "the liberal press" would do well to ponder why the media is more concerned about Adelman than Gersten, Gorsuch than Kaufman, Wills than, say, Stephanie Roper.

## Michael K. Rasputin

As we recall, the influence of Rasputin on the Czarina and Nicholas II gradually wore away the government's credibility with its natural supporters. Keep in mind those words, "natural supporters," and read on.

Mike Deaver, who keeps a watchful eye on the president's schedule, reluctantly agreed recently to an appointment in the Oval Office for the Rev. Jerry Falwell, the fundamentalist minister. But Deaver got even. He slyly told the media that Falwell had been invited over for "a couple of drinks." Falwell is a teetotaler, of course, as are most of his followers, all of whom are upset about the national publicity given the slur.

Mike Deaver did, on the other hand, arrange for a presidential audience with the Rev. Billy Graham. The purpose was to present Graham with the Presidential Medal of Freedom. At any other time, this would have been welcome news to the conservative religious community, except that right now they are at odds with Graham for his "hear no evil, see no evil, speak no evil" statement following a tour of the Soviet Union.

Mike Deaver has also urged the president to lash out at his conservative friends for being critical of administration inaction on its promises to the right. Instead, he suggests confrontation with those who compose Mr. Reagan's natural supporters.

It is possible to argue that Deaver has lost all of his political marbles. He has promoted a Bush advance man, Fred Ryan, to be director of presidential scheduling. And we hear he has been feuding with Bay Buchanan, the Treasurer of the United States, over whether Armand Hammer should get the contract to produce the Olympic commemorative coin.

Mr. Deaver's natural supporter is, of course, the president, just as Mr. Reagan's natural support originates among Moral Majority types. Nevertheless, the president's left-hand man has been heard to claim there is a right-wing conspiracy against him. That's ridiculous. Everyone knows it's really the other way around.

# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### From Russia with love

Will the Senate Foreign Relations Committee finally hold its oft-postponed hearings on chemical/biological warfare? Chances are the decision will depend in great measure on whether everyone promises not to say that the State Department has known for over a year that Cuba is producing yellow rain.

No one wants the word to get out because those up in '84 — the president and the chairman of the committee, for instance — think they need an arms treaty signed before the next election rolls around. So, it's very unfashionable these days to admit that the Soviet Union isn't man's best friend. That requires having some patience with Cuba as well. The yellow rain debate will just have to wait until 1985, when a nice international crisis would probably help the whole Reagan program through Congress.

Alice is somehow reminded of the day, long since past, when the queen kept yelling, "Faster, faster." But for the life of her, the faster Alice would run, the more she stood still.

### "Action-forcing" events

Ed Meese tells the world there is no conflict between him and his White House counterpart, Jim Baker, and that the lines of authority are carefully drawn. Baker administers the place. Meese handles policy — but which policy?

Sunday's Washington Post shed a little light on how communications policy evolves each day. The particularly touchy issues become the bailiwick of a small group of senior staffers — Baker, Darman, Gergen, Deaver, etc., but not Meese.

Back when the papers were heralding the advent of a Social Security compromise, we heard endlessly how the tense negotiations were masterminded by Baker and OMB Director Dave Stockman. Meese was never mentioned, perhaps to his credit.

Last week, Jim Baker was compromising policy again. This time he joined the fight to slap down EPA, calling congressional leaders and promising to turn over most of the Superfund documents the Democrats have been hollering for. The documents today, Anne Gorsuch's head tomorrow, no doubt.

What with Baker wishing at the turkey blind he could fire Meese's staff, Meese seems to be not only fresh out of policies but of collegial respect as well. Nevertheless, Ed insists that the door to the Oval Office is always open to him. Surely he must know by now that policy in the Reagan administration is seldom made there.

### At taxpayer expense

White House aide Mike Horowitz was trying to write OMB's new regulations prohibiting the use of federal funds for lobbying the government. But a steady parade of worried visitors — the bureaucratic equivalents of the Ghost of Christmas Past — kept intruding. Everyone from Dancers for Disarmament to Rockwell International executives wondered how these rules would affect them.

In a way, their complaints were proving Mike's point, namely that many recipients of the federal dollar use at least part of the funds to promote a political cause or obtain a government contract. Not everyone objected, understand. The Farm Bureau, having suffered the federally funded abuses of Caesar Chavez these many years, can't wait for the regs to go into effect.

So, the proposed regulations were published in the Federal Register on Jan. 24. The left had alerted its troops, of course, since the rules would force them to go out and earn the dollars with which to fight the administration. What Horowitz wasn't prepared for were the howls of anguish from the business community, and the fact that the howls were being orchestrated from another corner of the White House by presidential assistant Wayne Vallis.

Evidently Vallis subscribes to the Rita Lavelle school of political theory. Despite the fact that the proposed regulations had the approval of every big-wig in the administration (even Ed Meese), he took it upon himself to organize the opposition.

In this administration, biting the hand that feeds you is no crime. Fighting official policy is no sin. But the honor of being the first to break the new regulations (Vallis' salary is, after all, paid by the taxpayer) may prove to be too dubious even by Reagan White House standards.

# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### His girl Friday

Alice entertained serious thoughts about applying for the job of executive secretary with one of the new Republican senators. The way it all turned out, we're just as glad we didn't.

Pete Wilson, the California Republican, wanted to serve all of the people, he said, so he hired as his executive secretary Bobbie Dono. She's the girl who performed similar duties for Democrat Harrison Williams before he was excommunicated. Bobbie, fired by the same bipartisan spirit, now wants someone from Senator Hayakawa's office to be her secretary, because, as she explains, she doesn't know how to keep books in a Republican office. (Bobbie, honey, there is a distinct possibility that *no one* keeps books like they did in the Williams office.)

Paul Tribble's search for the perfect secretary ended when the wheel of fortune pointed him in the direction of Debbie McPherson. The Virginia conservative was naturally attracted to her when he learned that she had once assisted Nelson Rockefeller and Walter Mondale, among others. Experience wins again.

Nevada's Chic Hecht played it safe. To make sure that he hired a secretary with views compatible to his own conservative Republican instincts, Chic turned to the White House for help. And presidential aide Jim Baker made the sacrifice. Now, one of his assistants, Margaret Glascock, will be Mr. Hecht's executive secretary.

Prediction: About a year from now, there will be an article in the Conservative Digest. Great things had been expected of the three new Republican senators, it will say, but somehow things didn't turn out that way. They no longer listen to their friends, the ones who helped get them elected. Sound familiar? Remember, you read it here first.

### Budget mania

Panic is said to have set in at the White House where the days until a new federal budget is supposed to be unveiled dwindle down to a precious few. At one recent high level meeting, options under consideration ran from the bizarre to the ridiculous, from declaring a national economic emergency to not submitting a budget at all.

OMB Director David Stockman demonstrates the futility of it all to visiting congressmen by asking them to cut the budget anywhere they want to. He runs those figures through the computer and then tells them how big the deficit still is. California Congressman Bill Danneymeyer, whose conservative credentials are the ones by which most of the rest of us are measured, cut everything in sight, then sat back dismayed when Stockman told him there was still a deficit of \$130 billion. Little wonder that it's panicsville at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Congressman Newt Gingrich thinks he knows the answer. The Georgia Republican wants to freeze every single federal program, including defense and Social Security, right where it is for two years. He also would freeze income tax rates for two years. He claims this will get the deficit down to \$39 billion, which, all things considered, is beginning to look like peanuts.

Last week, Gingrich took his plan to Sen. Paul Laxalt, whose lot it is to go through life known as the president's best friend. Laxalt liked the idea well enough, but warned that Cap Weinberger won't. However, most of the Republican leaders in the House — even Jack Kemp in a mild sort of way — are willing to pursue the Gingrich plan even if it means kicking the Pentagon around in the process.

### The toy tax

The boys were whooping it up down at the Treasury Department one night not long ago, telling the kind of jokes that make economists laugh. Finally, two of the congressional liaison aides, Dennis Thomas and Bruce Thompson donned perfectly straight, supply-side faces and began a merry game. They were searching, they said, for any group in today's society that is not already taxed to death. Ultimately, they decided it was children, and the idea for a toy tax was born.

Holiday frivolity notwithstanding, a reporter in the room took the discussion seriously. They next day, he made an appointment with Marty Feldstein, the chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors. When the question was put to him, Feldstein categorically denied that a toy tax was in the works.

Undaunted, our journalist friend headed for Capitol Hill where he ran into Sen. John East, R-N.C., in the press gallery. Would he support a special tax on toys? The senator was asked. East slammed his fist onto a nearby table with such ferocity that the Capitol dome shook. This administration has gone too far, East retorted, if it thinks it can balance the budget on the backs of little children. And right before Christmas, too.

Well, they are still chuckling about it down at Treasury where the nonexistent plans for a toy tax have been shelved until next year's Christmas party. You will note, however, that Toys-R-Us is dickering a contract with lobbyist Bill Timmons, just in case.

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*The author is a political insider who must remain anonymous in order to tell tales out of school.*



# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



The Legal Services Corporation has been a pain in the *corpus* to Ronald Reagan since he was governor of California. He was determined to close it down once he got to Washington, but Congress wouldn't go along with the idea. So, the president nominated a governing board made up of moderate-to-hard-core conservatives. Senator Kennedy threatened to filibuster the two nominees with, shall we say, killer instincts. So, conservative senators balked at confirming the rest.

Last week, Senator Howard Baker scheduled the nominees for confirmation, but said he would skip over those candidates that proved to be excessively controversial — meaning the two that Kennedy objected to. He also neglected to inform the White House. At the last minute, Reagan aide Ed Meese heard about it, and a letter was hastily drafted withdrawing all nominees. Dick Darman, the president's resident liberal, was dispatched to deliver it to the Hill. But traffic must have been atrocious that day, because the letter didn't arrive on time.

Just as Baker was ready to call up the nominees, he got a frantic phone call from Helene von Damm, director of presidential personnel. She explained that the president did not want the board confirmed, and that stopped the matter there. Now, the White House is drawing up a new list of nominees to submit for confirmation, a list that will singe Mr. Kennedy's hair. Phyllis Schlafly is said to be on it, and the message to the senator from Massachusetts is this: The names will keep getting "tougher" until the Senate is willing to accede to Mr. Reagan's wishes.

The ways of the Democratic Caucus in the House of Representatives offer us a lesson in how democracy really works, the kind of lesson not taught in Political Science 101.

Last week, the Caucus voted to bind all Democrats to support the decision it was about to make. Then, to be certain that all Democrats stay in line, Speaker Tip O'Neill delayed formal adoption of committee assignments in the House until the rules changes are officially approved in January. In this way, any Democrat who votes his conscience can be punished immediately.

Thus, with as few as 158 Democrats approving them, last week's Caucus was able to bind all 435 members of the House of Representatives to rules changes designed to stifle conservative initiatives. It was a major victory for the pro-abortionists who lost a series of right-to-life votes in recent years when they were attached to appropriations bills. Such amendments are virtually impossible to offer under the new rules.

Advocates of school prayer and a balanced federal budget have suffered similarly. Efforts to overturn forced busing practices and to remove restrictions on firearms are also doomed to failure. Over in the Senate, Bob Packwood and company will filibuster any such moves there. So, for all practical purposes, the social issue agenda is dead for the next two years.

Largely overlooked in the flurry of rules changes was one to punish any Democrat who aids a Republican at election time.

This is a new party rule, and the penalty for breaking it is to throw the offender out of the Democratic caucus. That may not sound like much to the uninitiated, but the way the House is being run these days, any Democrat who violates the rule might as well be a Republican.

This rule is a direct slap at Congressman Berkley Bedell, a Democrat from Iowa who came to the aid of Tom Evans, R-Del., last fall, and at Bob Edgar, the Pennsylvania Democrat who gave a hand to Claudine Schneider, R-R.I.

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### Baker's Umbilical Cord

Presidential adviser Ed Meese may have an ace up his sleeve in his never-ending struggle with Chief-of-staff Jim Baker for control of the White House. Like everything else in the government, the White House is operating in the red. And, as with everything else, red ink worries the conservative Meese more than it does the moderate Baker.

The real culprit is 26-year-old John Rogers, Director of White House Administration and a Baker protege. Rogers' credentials for his position, where he is in charge of everything from paper clips to toilet installations, can best be understood by noting that he ran errands in the Ford White House and then worked as an intern in the Senate GOP Policy Committee.

Last summer, UPI correspondent Helen Thomas wrote that Rogers' high-handed manner had sparked a staff uprising at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. She said he had eliminated a vending machine room in the West Wing, leaving the staff without a place to buy a candy bar. That, they say, is more reminiscent of LBJ's turning off the White House lights than of Reaganomics.

Rogers is said to have vetoed advance payments for staff traveling with the president, eliminated inside parking for the press, and tried to fire a beauty shop employee because the hairdresser didn't "take care of important enough people." John knows who the important people are. Himself, for one — he once insisted that his name be included on the state dinner guest list. And Jim Baker, for another. There is a saying at the White House that if you follow Baker's umbilical cord far enough you are sure to run into John Rogers.

That is why Rogers' handling of White House finances is not only an embarrassment to Baker, but, in the view of many Reagan staffers, and example of the cause of justice served.

Ed Meese's associates know the frantic juggling that Rogers resorted to in order to keep the White House from going nearly half a million dollars in the hole during fiscal 1982. And they could hardly hide the smirks when told that Rogers has already used up his first quarter funds for fiscal '83.

Jim Baker spent week before last in Texas, fueling speculation that he would retire soon to the banking community there. What this does to the future of John Rogers is problematical. All we know is that last week he turned to a secretary and sighed, "I'd rather go to the CIA than Houston." As the word spread, more than one insider said he doesn't care where Rogers goes, just as long he goes.

### The issues that won't go away

News that the social issues died a quiet death in the midterm elections is premature to say the least. Consider:

- Of Dave Durenburg's Senate victory in Minnesota, the Minneapolis Star and Tribune wrote that the abortion issue affected one voter in four, with the impact working in Durenberger's favor.

- Dick Davis, who lost the Virginia Senate race to Paul Trible, complained that pro-lifers passed out leaflets associating him with abortion advocates at Catholic churches throughout the state.

- The St. Louis Post-Dispatch reported that similar literature placed on the windshields of cars in church parking lots throughout Missouri provided the margin of victory for Senator John Danforth.

- On the other hand, Senator Jack Schmitt's re-election defeat in New Mexico is at least partly attributable to his signing of a letter on behalf of Planned Parenthood.

Much as the liberal press sought to dismiss the issue, the issue simply won't be dismissed. And now, a report on the current meetings of the United States Catholic Conference is circulating Capitol Hill, giving new insights into the political power of the right-to-life issue.

This study makes the point that liberal Catholic bishops seek to combine the nuclear-freeze movement with the anti-abortion issue. The goal is to redefine "pro-life" to include disarmament. The bishops would then "settle" for the so-called states' rights approach to abortion, which is opposed by so many members of the New Right. This would enable Senator Kennedy to be as pro-life as Senator Helms, and it might halt the drift of Catholic voters toward conservative candidates.

So, it boils down to this: The abortion issue won't get last rites if it is successfully merged with the freeze movement. And if it elevates Senator Kennedy to the presidency, liberals won't mind being "pro-life" one bit.

The right to bear arms is another matter on the social agenda that proved that conservative issues can make the difference in otherwise close contests. Everyone knows that opponents of gun controls won a big victory in California — and in the process brought to the polls voters who helped elect the more conservative candidates in races for governor and senator.

What may have escaped your attention is that in two other states voters were offered a referendum on inserting a right-to-bear arms clause into the state constitution. In New Hampshire, the pro-gun forces won a whopping 72 percent to 28 percent victory. A Republican just happened to be elected governor unexpectedly at the same time. In Nevada, it was much the same thing. The proposal there carried by a 71 percent to 29 percent margin and conservative Chic Hecht's Senate campaign was the beneficiary.

### Over and out

Speculation about staff changes at the White House continues unabated. Beleaguered Reaganites on the premises insist that almost any change would be an improvement.

That's not so in the case of Helene Von Damm, who is expected to leave the presidential personnel office to become Ambassador to Austria. Her replacement will likely be young Bob Tuttle. He is the son of Reagan Kitchen Cabinet member Holmes Tuttle and is already receiving on-the-job training.

The early betting on who takes Mike Deaver's place focuses on super lib Dick Darman, director of legislative strategy for the president. Darman has quietly assumed the role of chief adviser for domestic policy in recent weeks when nobody was looking. He accompanied Deaver to South America to make initial preparations for Mr. Reagan's trip there. Two presidential aides on that level wouldn't go on such a trip together unless one of them was in training.

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*The author is a political insider who must remain anonymous in order to tell tales out of school.*

# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



You know it was an unusual election when Republicans take a beating and yet chortle that the Democrats muffed it. Conservatives had mixed feelings about the results, and they tell it this way:

- The big winners were the media and the unions. The liberal press proved its power again, hammering away at Social Security and unemployment until even those with the most secure jobs felt threatened. Labor put together the old coalition of minorities and blue-collar workers that served the Democrats so well over the years. There was no better example of this than in the 6th District of Alabama where Congressman Albert Lee Smith lost. The usual voter turnout in a midterm election there is around 40 percent. This year it rose to 78 percent, almost all of the increase due to union activity.

- Conservatives had their moment of glory, however. Right-to-lifers claim credit for the margin of victory in Paul Trible's Virginia race. Their help prompted Democrat Dick Davis to charge that the Senate contest boiled down to "a race between Jerry Falwell and me." And the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress filled the breach when Chic Hecht's Nevada campaign was faltering, providing field men and organizing the troops.

- Surprisingly, the feminist groups took it on the chin. Neither the National Organization for Women nor the National Woman's Political Caucus dislodged a single incumbent targeted for defeat. The girls lost credibility when they refused to endorse either Millicent Fenwick or Margaret Heckler on the ludicrous grounds that they weren't sufficiently pro-women. (You can imagine the snickers in the crowd when Barney Frank said, "I am the women's candidate, not Mrs. Heckler.")

- John Maxwell, the Iowa campaign guru, proved again that trends make no difference if a campaign is managed properly. John, you may recall, masterminded the election of Senators Grassley and Jepsen. He did it again this year, helping Terry Branstad win the governor's race and Congressman Cooper Evans retain his seat in the House. Iowa Republicans now heave a sigh of relief that Mr. Jepsen's 1984 re-election bid appears much more safe.

- Democrat Herb Harris may have lost his much-publicized race against Stan Parris over in the Virginia suburbs. But conservatives think the real loser was State Senator Richard Saslaw. The Harris people claim that Saslaw sat on his hands thoughtout the fall in the hope that he could run against Parris two years from now. One of Herb's closest friends said on election night, "Two can play that game."

The off-year elections are just the beginning of a lot of changes that will occur on the local scene. The White House now occupies stage center, and these are the stories we hear coming out of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

- Jim Baker's friends insist that the White House chief of staff is going home to Texas where he will join a prominent banking firm, presumably as something more than a teller. Baker would like to return to Washington in 1985 as the junior Senator from Texas, but John Tower stands in the way. Tower wouldn't however, stand in the way if someone were to dangle the job of Secretary of Defense in front of him. And Baker just might be in a position to arrange it.

- Everyone knows that White House Communications Director Dave Gergen is packing his bags. But what you may not know is that the Reaganites have UPI reporter Helen Thomas scouring the countryside for a replacement. And the latest word on Mike Deaver has him joining up with Armand Hammer. We don't know who searches for his replacement, good domestics are so hard to find these days.

- Rich Williamson may be reorganized into some sort of White House public relations czar. One plan has him heading up not only his own intergovernmental affairs office, but also the communications and public liaison offices as well. Rich would chuck it all, however, if someone would offer him Ed Rollins' job as White House political wizard.

- There will be many new faces in the administration's various congressional teams. Dennis Thomas (Treasury) and Powell Moore (State) will form a political consultancy, while Bob Thompson (White House) and OMB economist Larry Kudlow plan very respectable careers as investment bankers.

## Shakeup at the Chamber

Not all of the changes brought about by the election will occur in the government. A shake-up at the Chamber of Commerce headquarters is on tap for this week. Dick Leshner, the chamber's most respected president ever, is in dutch with the chamber's chairman Paul Thayer. And all because Leshner stuck by the organization's official stance in opposing last summer's tax hike legislation. Thayer wanted the bill passed, probably because Ling-Temco-Vaught, which he heads, was one of beneficiaries of the tax leasing provisions. Now that business-oriented candidates have taken a beating in the elections, Leshner may be on his way out, too.

## And on The Hill

Flushed with victory, Democrats on Capitol Hill see no leadership changes emerging in the next Congress. One never knows about the Republicans. So, for what it's worth:

- The Republican Congressional Campaign Committee tried to raise money by letting contributors vote on various plans for altering the Social Security System, thereby spawning all of those last-minute Democratic television commercials. Now, a number of Republican congressmen want to cast a vote, too. Specifically, they want to vote Chairman Guy Vander Jagt out of office, and almost anyone else will do, they say.

- Senator Bill Armstrong called Senator Ted Stevens last week to confess that he once lusted after the post of majority whip. But Armstrong promised to do nothing more than lust for it, which cinches Stevens' re-election to the Republican's second-highest post.

- There will be no challenge for the top Republican spot in either the House or the Senate, although some conservatives feel there are grounds. When it appeared that Bob Michel, the House GOP leader, might lose last Tuesday night, Tip O'Neill took to the airwaves with a glowing eulogy of his Republican friend, and worrying that a Michel defeat would put House Republicans in the pocket of the "far right" — meaning Trent Lott and Jack Kemp, one supposes. But Michel went on to win — putting the leadership back in Tip's pocket, one supposes.

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### Reagan's Perle Mesta

Helene von Damm, the White House Personnel Director, longs to be ambassador to her native Austria. And with her close ties to Ronald Reagan, the job is Helene's for the asking, all denials notwithstanding.

She turned the ambassadorship down once before because Helene — loyal to a fault — felt her place was here. Now, all that is changing. Any doubts about taking the post were resolved in the past few days as chief-of-staff Jim Baker continually whacked away at Helene's already meager staff. One aide in the personnel shop complains that it is no longer possible to do the job with so few people there.

Helene's instructions in the beginning were to find qualified Reagan supporters for administration posts and to hang tough against unreasonable demands from congressional Republicans. So, Helene resisted pressure from Senator Howard Baker who wanted a neighbor (and a Democrat) appointed Caribbean regional director of the Peace Corps. Having prevailed in that battle, she found herself refereeing a fight with Senator Bob Dole. Dole wanted his legislative assistant Mary Wheat named to a top vocational post at the Department of Education despite Mary's outspoken views on expanding welfare programs — a decidedly anti-Reagan stance. The fur is still flying on that one.

According to White House intimates, Helene figures it this way. Mr. Jim Baker and friends think she has been too much of a Reaganite in administering her job. They want her in Vienna, not Washington, and applied the pressure by cutting the staff. Those fights with Capitol Hill gave them the excuse they were looking for.

Helene sees the handwriting, and she knows how the game is played. A European diplomatic post doesn't sound so bad after all. So, pals bet she heads for Austria around the first of the year.

### Flying high in Texas

That's rather smelly stuff being flung in the Texas comptroller's race this year. The incumbent, Bob Bullock, stands accused of having a switch installed in an airplane leased by his office that turns off the flight-hour meter at will. The current guessing game is why.

Bullock's pilot dismisses it as just a way of getting around the FAA safety inspections, an excuse that probably hasn't endeared him to any of the plane's recent passengers. Newspapers in Austin, Dallas, and San Antonio have run stories on the matter, and Bullock's Republican opponent, Mike Richards, hints at darker things afoot. He has made the safety violation a campaign issue.

A former secretary in Bullock's office spilled the beans, although she was kidnapped, held overnight and beaten by unknown assailants shortly before she was scheduled to issue a public statement on it. Naturally, she doesn't think it was all a coincidence, and a lie-detector test supports her testimony.

Not much has been done in the way of an investigation. Everyone assigned to the case by the Federal Aviation Agency seems to start off with a three-week vacation. Some Republicans have urged Secretary of Transportation Drew Lewis to undertake his own look-see. But this usually astute politician hasn't done much about it yet either.

Although a left-winger, Democrat Bullock took the clever precaution of endorsing Republican Governor William Clements for re-election which may be why not much is happening in the way of a state-level investigation either.

Texans go to the polls in a week, and they will have to render a verdict with only political charges to go on, since those who should have looked into the matter chose to look away instead.

### Bottom lines

Conservatives are urging Senator Jesse Helms to challenge Howard Baker for the job of Senate Majority Leader. If the midterm elections go badly for Republicans, they think Senator Baker will have to shoulder part of the blame for delaying consideration of social issues (abortion, school prayer, etc.) until it was too late for any of them to pass. Senator Helms refuses even to talk about it, but then he always does at first.

Jeff Bell, the young Reaganite who has tried twice for a New Jersey Senate seat, will now take a different route to Congress. He has been asked to join Congressman Jack Kemp's staff as director of the House Republican Conference, which Kemp chairs.

Last week, we reported on the mounting excitement surrounding the British movie, "Who Dares Wins," a film that takes a strong stand against the nuclear-freeze movement. Well, someone got a little too excited. One of the two copies in this country was found shredded — giving new meaning, one supposes to the expression, "winding up on the cutting room floor."

Recent meetings by New Right activists with Jewish leaders and neoconservatives have found a common thread. Regardless of how they may view other matters, one and all are united in their determination to get the United States out of the United Nations. Which proves one should never throw away an old bumper sticker.

Wondering if the fundamentalist minister in Nebraska who refused to close his church-run school remains in jail? Put your mind to rest. More than 1,000 ministers from around the country dropped by for Wednesday prayer meeting last week. That was enough to convince the judge that the Rev. Everett Sileven is less of a menace to society out of jail than in. Prompted by more than 6,000 phone calls to the White House, President Reagan issued a statement expressing delight that the matter is well on its way to a happy ending. We'll see.

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### The '82 elections: fixing the blame

Conservatives continue to grumble that both the liberal press and the Reagan administration may be setting them up as the fall guys if the November election results show a big shift to the Democrats. The administration will decry the emphasis on school prayer and abortion in the closing days of the Congress, and the press will say, "I told you so."

For their part, conservative leaders insist that in those primaries where voters had a clear-cut philosophic choice, the candidate on the right usually prevailed. They point to the Democratic gubernatorial primaries in Georgia and Alabama where the ultimate winners had been floundering until they appealed to the religious right and started talking about social issues. Some further examples:

- In Florida, the charge against Democratic Congressman Bill Chappell was that he supported President Reagan too often. He found himself with a liberal primary opponent and his own party out to defeat him. So Chappell appealed to conservatives for help, to such groups as the American Security Council, the gun lobby, and the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress. Chappell called CSFC Director Paul Weyrich personally, and Weyrich not only sent in dollars but also experienced campaign personnel. The situation reversed itself and Chappell won with 54 percent of the vote.

- Not even the national conservative groups could save Congressman Billy Lee Evans in Georgia. He faced a well-financed liberal opponent in the Democratic primary. When it became apparent that Evans would lose the bitterly fought contest, one would have expected the Republicans to field a credible candidate of their own. Instead, Republicans were pouring their resources into the fight to unseat Larry MacDonald, a Georgia Democrat whose record of support for Reagan initiatives is better than most Republicans. The administration has thus come within an eyelash of losing two reliable — albeit Democratic — votes in the House of Representatives.

As for the liberal press, conservatives roll their eyes when someone mentions the David Broder column summarizing the September 14 primaries. Broder called it a "day of victories for moderates and liberals." He reported — inaccurately, as it turned out — that the Democratic nominee for governor in Minnesota would be Warren Spannaus, a political protege of Walter Mondale. Later, when the rural precincts were heard from and the absentee ballots tallied, it turned out that the primary winner was Rudy Perpich, who had campaigned as a conservative on the social issues, particularly on abortion.

### And still more on the elections

Conservative leaders have yet to arrive at a consensus on what will happen in the mid-term elections. In Senate races, the predictions run from Terry Dolan's two-seat gain for Republicans to Paul Weyrich's warning that Democrats could re-take control.

Most seem to agree that the candidacies of Republicans Dave Durenberger (Minnesota), Robert Stafford (Vermont) and Millicent Fenwick (New Jersey) have lost momentum. But, then, so have Democratic incumbents Robert Byrd (West Virginia), Lloyd Bentsen (Texas) and Howard Metzenbaum (Ohio).

One of Mr. Metzenbaum's problems is that even the Democrats are unenthusiastic about his re-election, or so it seems from a story making the rounds on Capitol Hill. During the last week of the recent Senate session, the air was thick with Metzenbaum oratory. Senator John Glenn, the other senator from Ohio, walked over to Majority Leader Howard Baker with a tongue-in-cheek offer: If Baker would get the Senate into its fall recess by the end of September, Glenn would then lead a bipartisan group of 99 senators to Ohio to defeat Metzenbaum. Baker said that would be quite an incentive, and he almost made it. The Senate recessed October 1.

The Senate race in Virginia is said to be one which both candidates are determined to lose. Last week, it was Richard Davis' turn to be embarrassed. The Mortgage Bankers Association sent out a fund-raising letter for the Democrat. One of the surprised recipients was Anthony Valanzano, a Republican staffer with the House Agriculture Committee. Since the letter was mailed to him at his office in the Rayburn Building, Valanzano somewhat gleefully pointed out that this is a violation of a federal statute making it unlawful to solicit contributions from a government employee in a federal building.

The White House isn't winning any popularity contests either. All Republican candidates for the Senate were invited to write their own endorsement letters, which President Reagan would sign. The idea was to provide each candidate with a strongly worded letter that he or she could use to solicit campaign contributions. However, Reagan aide Mike Deaver thought this wasn't "presidential" and had all of the letters rewritten in a more bland fashion. Deaver told his staff that they must not let Reagan get tainted with the inevitable losses.

Those "inevitable losses" were on the mind of Terry Michael, press secretary to Democratic Rep. Robert T. Matsui of California. In anticipation of last Friday's announcement of double-digit unemployment, Michael wrote to all Democratic press secretaries in the House of Representatives. "Arrange for your boss to appear at the local unemployment compensation office to talk with those who are the ultimate victims of Republican policies" he urged. "Your local TV stations and photo editors for your local newspapers can replace their stock shots of unemployment lines with pictures of your boss talking with the unemployed..." Nothing like the misery of others to prop up a sagging campaign.

### Hero worship

A new political hero may be in the making. The New Right has discovered a fundamentalist minister in Nebraska who was taken from the pulpit to jail because the church school he runs refused to hire teachers certified by the state. You'll soon be hearing how the Faith Baptist Christian School in tiny Louisville stands padlocked and how Rev. Everett Sileven sits in his cell as a matter of principle.

Conservatives are quite serious that this is going to spark a fresh look at religious freedom in America today.

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# ALICE IN POTOMAC LAND



## Divine intervention fails

Those of you who have followed the saga of Senate confirmation of Robert Gray and Norman Terrell for top jobs at the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency will be interested to learn that the drama isn't over, merely postponed until Congress returns in November.

Only a few days ago, they were saying it would take an Act of God to get the two gentlemen confirmed, and then something very close to that occurred. Sen. Paul Laxalt intervened. He contacted the 12 Republican senators who have "holds" on the nominations and who threaten to filibuster them to death. He worried that unless they cave in, ACDA Director Eugene Rostow might resign. Nine of the 12 reportedly said this was such good news they would redouble their efforts. All in all, a nice ploy, and since Rostow (like Gray and Terrell) is a liberal Democrat, it was no mean accomplishment getting the President's best friend to swing into action.

Next to bat came Jim Baker, White House chief-of-staff. He had his aides calling Republican senators in the waning hours of the session, urging them to get Majority Leader Howard Baker to roll the holds. Well, as any crap-shooter can tell you, 12 is a difficult number to roll. So, the whole matter was left on the back-burner until November.

Meanwhile, someone up there may be looking out for Mr. Terrell. Friends say he has been quietly promoted to a level 6 in the Senior Executive Service and given an \$11,000 bonus. Not bad for someone in an "acting" position.

## The gentlemen from Ohio

Some of the boys down at the office were betting last Tuesday how Sen. Howard Metzenbaum would try to delay Congress from going home this year when word arrived that they should get over to the Energy and Natural Resources Committee to watch their hero in action.

The committee was trying to put finishing touches on Sen. Hatfield's timber bill. Having arrived late, Mr. Metzenbaum tried to make up for lost time by using every dilatory tactic in the parliamentarian's book to delay a vote on a bill that apparently was part of the American tragedy. At one point, he walked out the door shouting, "Now, you don't even have a quorum." Nya, nya, nya.

Alas, another senator entered the room. A quorum was again present and a vote was taken on the Hatfield motion to cut off the Metzenbaum filibuster. It was a measure of the Ohio senator's popularity, one assumes, that no dissent was heard, not even from his fellow Democrats.

Afterward, one worried committee aid warned that Metzenbaum staff that Republican senators were so angry they might take it out on the Portsmouth, Ohio, nuclear project, the biggest nuclear facility of its kind. "If it were located in another state," he added, "Metzenbaum would call it a boondoggle anyway."

## Closing down shop

As the 97th Congress ground to a halt last week, several adjournment stories may have escaped your attention.

- When it came time for the House to vote on the balanced budget constitutional amendment, the halls of Congress were quite literally so clogged with labor union lobbyists that members of congress could hardly get to the floor. The unions were out to kill the amendment. And when the House reached the magic number for defeating it — 145 — the cheers outside were so loud they could be heard in the chamber.

- The way most of the media treated it, you probably got the impression that the only amendment offered to the continuing appropriations resolution in the Senate was the Kennedy jobs proposal. Actually the Senate adopted 28 amendments and rejected seven others. One particularly interesting amendment was proposed by Don Nickles of Oklahoma, to reform the Davis-Bacon Act. Davis-Bacon is a creature of the Depression and permits the government to determine the prevailing wage rates in any community where federal construction is underway. For years, Republicans have been trying to change the law, insisting that it forces construction costs up and is inflationary. The Nickles amendment lost, but won a moral victory nonetheless, getting a surprising 44 votes.

- Sen. Warren Rudman may have saved his country a cool one billion bucks. That is what the Viper anti-tank weapon would probably cost over its life cycle. Rudman, a pro-defense senator who is dedicated to eliminating useless and ineffective weapons systems, made a clean kill in the Senate Appropriations Committee. However, in the House, Congressman Joseph P. Addabbo, who is heavily supported by General Dynamics (five grand the last time around), continues to push for the system.

## Jimmy's birthday

Alice confesses to letting Sept. 28 slip by without reminding you that it was the 10th anniversary of Jimmy. You remember him, the 8-year-old heroin addict whom Janet Cooke said in the Washington Post "lives for a fix." Since Jimmy turned out to be a figment of Janet's imagination, it might be argued that Jimmy is really only 2, having actually been born on that September morn when his story hit the streets.

Since then, a lot has been said about public trust in the media, and surveys show it to be at or near an all-time low. The Cooke story contributed a lot to those statistics, of course, but so did many others. The Post lost a libel suit to the president of Mobil Oil. Two CBS documentaries — one on former Vietnam commander William Westmoreland, the other on the effects of the Reagan tax cuts on the poor — came under particularly heavy fire. We've learned that John F. Kennedy wasn't a saint after all and that three consecutive presidents sought Richard Nixon's views on foreign policy, despite Watergate.

However, it was Jimmy who somehow tied it all together. So, Sept. 28 was a day to celebrate the truth, a day worth remembering.

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# ALICE IN POTOMAC LAND



## A meeting of gentlemen

Reed Larson is the mild-mannered director of the National Right To Work Committee. Howard Baker is the mild-mannered leader of the United States Senate. Jesse Helms is the mild-mannered senator who authored legislation to prohibit the use of compulsory union dues for political purposes.

One can imagine how courteous a meeting of these three gentlemen would be. Such a meeting did take place a few days ago, but we regret to inform you that it wasn't pleasant.

For background, you should remember that the prohibitions on political activity for unions aren't as strict as they are for the rest of us. Senator Helms wanted to attach his proposal to a bill extending the life of the Federal Election Commission. And Larson wanted to help so much that he persuaded Congressman Jim Jeffries to send a letter to top Republican contributors suggesting that they urge Senator Baker to schedule the FEC bill.

The letter was written in Right-To-Work's usual style: "...one of the people preventing freedom-loving citizens from reducing the inordinate special power of the union elite is Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker..." Well, you get the picture, and evidently so did those who received the letter.

The three men met in Baker's office, and the majority leader got things off pleasantly by wondering why there was so much concern over "a trivial matter." It went rapidly downhill from there.

After 20 minutes, Senator Baker had become so angry that he uncharacteristically stomped out of the room, which is a shame because Larson was just getting to the part about Republicans living up to the promises made in their platform. Well, perhaps he can save that one for another day. And it will probably take another day, because the Senate adjourns this week and the FEC bill isn't on the last-minute agenda.

With the fall elections only a few weeks away, there are signs that President Reagan may be ready to talk with leaders of the New Right on election strategy. During a recent meeting of conservative leaders, Paul Weyrich, director of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, was called from the session because Mr. Reagan was on the phone. Weyrich had sent the White House a memorandum on possible tactics for the election, and Reagan was so pleased with it that he had to call Weyrich to tell him they were going to use much of it.

Weyrich returned to the meeting understandably pleased. Other conservative leaders, however, are worried about a showdown with the administration just the same. They sense that the sudden cooperation with the New Right on such social issues as school prayer and abortion is really a set-up. They figure it this way. The senior staff has finally let Reagan get out front on these issues so that they can blame conservatives for whatever goes wrong on election day.

One put it this way: "Conservatives live in the worst of all worlds. If we help the administration win some elections, they will take the credit. But if a lot of their candidates lose, the New Right will get the blame."

## Bottom Lines

State Department officials have found a novel way of promoting the nomination of Richard Burt to be assistant secretary of State for European Affairs. One of them has threatened to finger a Senate aide as the leak of classified information Burt once printed when he was a New York Times reporter if the aide doesn't call off the dogs.

House Minority Leader Bob Michel's little-noticed break with President Reagan over pipeline sanctions is dictated by hometown election concerns. Unemployment at Caterpillar evidently outweighs loyalty to the president, and Mr. Reagan told Michel he understands. Which is why you heard more about it in Peoria than Washington.

Organizers of the School Prayer Day rally on the Mall last weekend put part of the blame for the disappointing turnout on Gary Jarmin of Christian Voice. His public statements downplaying the event gave the impression that prayer advocates were divided on how best to overturn the Supreme Court decision banning prayer in schools.

Senator Bob Kasten has made the decision. He will challenge Bob Packwood for chairmanship of the Republican Senatorial Committee. White House aides, much in the manner of Winston Churchill upon hearing that the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor, considered passing around cigars and opening the champagne.

You've got to hand it to the environmentalists. As soon as ecology stops bringing in the dollars, the liberals turn their attention to something that will. This year it's the nuclear freeze. So, Friends of the Earth have scheduled a Fate of the Earth conference in New York City, subtitled "Conservation and Security in a Sustainable Society." The usual will be there — Father Drinan, Richard Barnett, and the rest. If successful, look for future conferences on such topics as "Conservation and Reaganomics" or "Conservation and Abortion."

In Mississippi, a joint appearance between Senator John Stennis and his Republican opponent, Hailey Barbour, was originally billed as "the first in a series." The debate only served to raise the age issue, so all future meetings were cancelled. One official at the Democratic National Committee told us that as far as he is concerned, the only way Stennis can hang on to his Senate seat is by spending the fall in Washington.

Staff changes: Analeise Anderson is leaving the Executive Office Building where she was a top aide to OMB Director Dave Stockman and will join husband Marty in what they call the real world. Impending motherhood, not the tax bill, is the reason given by Jan Olsen for departing Jack Kemp's staff. Les Rosen, longtime administrative assistant to Senator Dan Quayle, is also folding his tent and slipping silently away.

Why on earth is Drew Lewis naming calves, born on his Pennsylvania farm, after White House staffers? Is this the first clue that he might replace Jim Baker as chief of staff?

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### Congress go home

Around this time of the year, the office pool suddenly surfaces. On Capitol Hill, however, they aren't wagering on the Redskins. There, the guessing game is when Congress will close up shop and go home.

House Majority Leader Jim Wright and Speaker Tip O'Neill are simply no help this year. Wright wants the house to adjourn October 2, while O'Neill predicts it will be October 8. The Majority Leader reflects the desire of his colleagues to get back to the campaign trail. Redistricting put many of them into unknown territory that they haven't had time to visit yet.

Speaker O'Neill, on the other hand, wants that extra week to pass a parcel of bills aimed at the unemployed, the aged, and those other special interest groups that the Democrats like to pamper. Of course, it would be too late for the Republican Senate to pass any of them, thereby staking out a few issues for the congressional campaigns.

Besides, Tip reasons, the longer Congress stays in session, the less the chances of President Reagan calling a special session to force passage of a constitutional amendment to require a balanced Federal budget. Evidently, he got wind of the senior staff meeting at the White House last week during which a legislative strategy was devised to make the amendment a major issue in the campaign.

Over in the Senate, there is also talk of a special session, only in this case it is Howard Baker suggesting that it begin January 3 and be devoted to the solvency of the Social Security System. Some tactless Baker associates note that Congress reconvenes then anyway and wonder what is so special about that. Phony as it all may sound, Baker has at least succeeded in putting Tip O'Neill in a bind. The Speaker can't fight congressional attention to Social Security without damaging the Democrats' ability to use it as a campaign issue.

As chairman of the Finance Committee, which has jurisdiction over Social Security, Bob Dole is free to say whatever he wants on the matter of a special session. At the very least, it adds to the image that he is running things anyway.

If Alice were a betting girl, she'd probably wager a day's pay that Congress will still be in session in December, interfering with the Christmas spirit as usual.

### Overriding the veto

Don't expect recriminations in the wake of the House and the Senate overriding the President's veto of a budget-busting (sort of) appropriations bill last week. The White House will round up the usual suspects, but frankly the President's men are relieved that Congress got revolt out of its system.

But they spell relief differently on Capitol Hill. Through some perverse sort of reasoning that only they really understand, a few House conservatives — still smarting from arm-twisting of the tax increase bill — voted to override as a way of sending a message to the President that in the future defense has to take its share of the cuts, too. Now, let's see — if conservatives are voting to increase taxes and cut defense, what on earth is there left for the liberals to do?

In the Senate, Majority Leader Howard Baker may have finally gone one step too far in his efforts to appease everyone. Baker scheduled the vote at the convenience of Senator Mark Hatfield, leader of the anti-administration forces. The trouble is that Hatfield's convenience turned out to be a time when many other Senators who normally support the Administration were away, Senators like Lugar and Quayle (attending the funeral of Congressman Benjamin), McClure (constituenting in Idaho), and Tower (attending the Texas Republican convention).

The Majority Leader's hopes of sustaining the President's position rested on a belief that Democrat Senator David Boren would vote with him. Some Senators feel that Baker's reliance on the opposition to bail out the President was just poor judgment, but more of them will tell you that the Leader didn't really care which way the vote went. "Let them get it (the vote against Reagan's position) out of their system," he said as the vote was being taken.

The only sour notes came from Baker's press secretary, Tom Griscom, and from the President's Director of Congressional Relations, Ken Duberstein. Griscom tried to put the blame for the President's defeat on the absence of Senator Tower, ignoring all of the other Republicans who were also away. Duberstein thought sustaining the President's veto was so certain that pressure on the Hill wasn't necessary. So, he spent part of the week at the Farnborough Air Show. Ironically, with Tower.

### The weekly Jim Baker story

Jim Baker has been job hunting. No, not that Jim Baker. This is his son, fresh out of law school and wanting to find a position "on his own." Well, as if it weren't confusing enough with two Jim Bakers to sort out, young Jim had to go and join Howard Baker's staff. It doesn't stop there either. Of the five men who already served on the staff of the Senate Majority Leader, three bear the name of "Jim." One of them said it was getting so confusing that each will now be required to wear dog tags with name, rank, and serial number to help sort out which is which. What with all of the John Smiths available to him, one can only conclude that there must be some special reason why the Senator wanted a Jim Baker around.

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### The laboring man at ACDA

Alice wanted to be topical this week and bring you a working man's story for Labor Day. So, we trotted down to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to see what is going on. You remember, of course, that some of the old Carter Gang is holed up there, forced to put the word "Acting" in front of their titles because the Senate keeps forgetting to confirm them.

Well, the situation grows tense. Only one month remains before Congress adjourns for the year. Confirmation seems no closer than it did last spring. And, as everyone knows, failure to confirm means that the boys at ACDA won't even be "Acting" after Dec. 31.

So, Norm Terrell has decided to do the only sensible thing under the circumstances. He assumes the worst and will devote his few remaining days there to feverish completion of the agenda. He has started by trying to abolish the technology transfer division, thereby thumbing his nose at those who wonder if an "Acting" can abolish anything.

Norm may tell you that technology transfer as an issue is about as passe as Billy Beer. Strange that the word hasn't reached President Reagan, who seems to be steamed up about Dresser Industries helping the Russians build that pipeline.

It has become Sen. Roger Jepsen's lot in life to keep an eye on ACDA, to scrutinize those named to its highest posts and to try to maintain some semblance of the Reagan agenda in its activities. He is likely to be especially hurt that Norm waited until the senator was in Iowa for the August recess before moving to shut down the tech transfer division, all of which may mean that we are in for a lively September after all.

### Moynihan reports home

The congressional newsletter is always a source of controversy. Chances are if you like the congressman, you like the way his newsletter says he is living up to the promise. If you don't like the congressman, you probably see his report as an abuse of the franking privilege and "why isn't something done about it?"

Over in the Senate something may be done about one of them. Newsletters there are printed in the service department. A recent report to constituents by Sen. Daniel Moynihan had the whole place up in arms. They claimed that the mailing labels were supplied by an outside organization that looked suspiciously like a PAC. In an unusual move, a complaint was lodged with the Senate Ethics Committee by service department personnel.

Since we aren't on the senator's mailing list, we can't speculate on the legitimacy of those labels. But if Moynihan has to pay the postage for what went out on the frank, the cost could be considerable. Mailing to constituents in a big state like New York can be a lot more expensive than mailing to constituents in, say, Delaware.

Meanwhile, two Republican primary candidates for the right to oppose Moynihan in the November election may file complaints of their own. They say that the newsletter sounded a lot more like campaign fodder than a legislative report.

If nothing else, the current edition of Dan Moynihan Reports is well on its way toward being a collector's item.

### The isolation of RR

"It gets lonely in the White House" is the first line in an old Irving Berlin song. The tune is being revived at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue this year.

It all started in the spring when Chief of Staff Jim Baker issued a memo to those working in the West Wing who might be tempted to say more than a cheery "Good morning" to the president. The notice complained that staff "have been stopping the president as he moves to and from his office" and worse still, "engage him in conversation."

The memo went on about the inappropriateness of it all and implied that steps would be taken if it continued.

Now, word reaches us of a new development. The same Baker has supposedly drawn up an access list of those allowed to walk into the Oval Office without being buzzed in. This list of the elite includes Secretary of State George Shultz, Dick Darman, Dave Stockman and, of course, Baker. Those who have to be approved first are said to be mostly the long-time Reaganites, including Ed Meese. Everyone will deny it naturally.

We hate to speculate on what might happen next. Security checks for the First Family? Secret corridors known only to senior staff? Thank heavens friends still sneak in his weekly copy of Human Events.

### Bottom lines

The American Conservative Union wants President Reagan to bring Congress back into special session later this year for the purpose of taking final action on a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget. The amendment has passed the Senate, but is apparently stalled in the House. The ACU's ambitious plan is to get 200 members of Congress to sign a letter to the president requesting the special session.

For awhile, it looked as if Larry Hogan's Senator race would have to be waged without a campaign manager. However, they heaved a sigh of relief when George Nesterzuk signed on. The temporary chairman had been Mary Hasenfus, on loan from Sen. Bob Packwood. But Mary's political views were more in tune with Packwood than Hogan, and her background, prior to joining the Senatorial Committee staff last year, was mostly secretarial. Conservatives feared she might stay on and hire the staff, should Hogan win. As we all know, more elections are lost on the day the staff is hired than on the day we go to the polls.

Transitions: Deputy Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci has decided that the Executive Office Building is not for him and will go instead into the world of business when he retires from the Pentagon at the end of the year. His letter of resignation has already gone to the president. And Robert D. Hausenfluck will soon be exiting the White House Personnel Office. It has been his task to bring bona fide Reaganites into the administration. Now, word has it that the job is being abolished. Which reminds of that Pen James and Jim Cavanaugh, former director and deputy director of the personnel office, still return frequently to the scene of the crime as "consultants." If everyone who leaves the administration gets to be a part-time consultant, no wonder they have such a hard time balancing the budget.

# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND



### The way we were in '72 and '82

Shades of Ehrlichman and Haldeman! Just look at how protective Mike Deaver and Jim Baker are getting of their boss, the President!

Dave Fischer, a nice young man who works in Mr. Reagan's outer office, clipped Stan Evans' article — the one in which he hinted that some presidential aides were out to embarrass Ed Meese — from The Washington Times and took it into the Oval Office.

While the President was reading it, Deaver walked in. Reagan wanted to know who is doing all of those horrible things to Meese. We don't know how Mike replied, but we do know that he marched out to Fischer's desk and ordered him never to give the Chief Executive another piece of paper unless he, Deaver, approves it first.

The following day, Baker called Fischer into his office and said, "There is a right-wing plot in this town to get me," adding that if this incident with the President were to occur again, young Dave might find himself looking for employment elsewhere.

If all of this has a familiar ring to it, chances are you've been in town for at least a decade. You might even be tempted to remark, "This is where I came in."

### Post tax mortems

Never has the tax structure inspired so much merriment as it did after the House and Senate voted to increase our taxes last Thursday night. Yet, in the hours before the spirits were consumed, when the outcome was still in doubt, a more sobering drama took place:

• Congressman Trent Lott, the Republican Whip, made a fervent plea to the White House to delay announcement of the communique with Red China regarding the future of Taiwan. He didn't want to anger any of his colleagues unnecessarily. But administration officials, bewildered by the connection between China policy and taxes, went ahead and issued the text of the communique anyway. Rep. Gerald Solomon immediately jumped into the "no" column.

• Lott knew what he was doing in other respects, too. He solicited — and got — a presidential letter containing a threat to veto the supplemental appropriations bill, another measure before Congress last week, and one that was nearly \$1 billion over budget due mostly to Democrat pork-barrelling. This air of frugality on the part of the chief executive was sufficient to convince a number of wavering Republicans that the President really meant it about holding the line on spending, so they stuck by him on the tax vote. The only trouble is that the White House was also working the other side of the street, promising Tip O'Neill that the appropriations bill would not be vetoed if a majority of the Democrats in the House supported the tax hike.

The Tip-off came right after the vote when a Republican asked Majority Leader Jim Wright what the House would do if the appropriations bill were vetoed. The prospect of a veto, Wright replied, "contradicts my understanding of the situation."

• The administration even got Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker into the act. Maryland's Rep. Marjorie Holt said it was Volcker's 11th hour phone call that persuaded her to cast her vote in favor of higher taxes. One colleague noted ruefully that there are laws to protect the Fed from congressional interference, but unfortunately there are no laws to protect Mrs. Holt from the Fed.

• Congressman Bob Badham, chairman of the Republican Study Committee, originally opposed the bill and directed the staff to prepare a paper listing arguments against it. Later, Badham had a change of heart and came out in support of higher taxes. So, Congressman Mickey Edwards stepped in and asked if his American Conservative Union could publish the staff report. When Badham found out that the report had gone to Edwards, he fired the study committee's staff director, Richard Dingman. Well, news of this sort travels faster than a page on an errand for Senator Proxmire. Soon, many on Capitol Hill were wondering if passage of the tax bill was to be a prelude to civil war. Other Study Committee members were so outraged that Dingman was rehired a couple of days later. But the committee, which supposedly coordinates conservative activity in the House, has been torn apart by the passions generated by this bill.

Not everyone in the administration is happy over the outcome. One high presidential appointee said, "The cretins who sold the President this poison are fighting for their political lives and will sacrifice anything and anybody to win another victory."

The next "victory" may well be in the planning stages already. Immediately after the tax vote, the Treasury Department's congressional liaison chief, Dennis Thomas, turned gleefully to a Jack Kemp aide and said, "Now, we go after indexing."

So much for the citizen presidency. So much for the independence of the Fed. And so much for supply-side economics.

### To pray or not to pray

Conservatives are planning a rally on the Mall in late September to demonstrate support for a legislative remedy to the Supreme Court decision banning prayer in schools. President Reagan is invited to speak and church bells across the country are invited to ring. Leaders, however, suspect it will be easier to coordinate simultaneous bell-ringing in thousands of communities than it will be to get the President to walk down the street long enough to address the throng.

Mr. Reagan's advisers are said to be of two minds on the matter. Some see it as a means of making amends to the conservatives who have been forced to swallow a lot of non-conservative ideology from their President lately. Others contend that Mr. Reagan has gone about 75 percent of the way toward getting the New Right off his back. A refusal to pray with them in September would probably terminate the relationship once and for all.

It is always a pleasure to report it when the administration is basing its decision on principle and the merits of the issue.

*The author is a political insider who must remain anonymous in order to tell tales out of school.*

# ALICE IN POTOMAC LAND



## Tax revolt in the House

All of the Republicans in the House of Representatives got together last Friday for a closed-door, slam-bang, get-it-all-out-on-the-table conference on the tax hike. It began with Jack Kemp's gentlemanly plea, "Let's not get mad," and ended with bewildered congressmen openly wondering if their leaders have lost touch with those they lead.

In between, it became increasingly clear that this is more than a debate over supply-side economics. Half of the Republicans in the House are serving either their first or second terms, and most of them are committed conservatives. They are saddled with leadership from the old school, leaders who may be conservative, but who learned over the years that the way to get things done is to make a deal. Minority Leader Bob Michel is as confused by talk of "commitment" and "principle" as the young turks are with his willingness to do the bidding of the White House. More than one congressman was heard to say, "We elected Bob Michel to be *our* leader, not Ronald Reagan's."

As the conference progressed, the pent-up emotion began to roll out. Congressman John Rousselot spoke of forgotten promises, Ed Bethune warned of defections by traditional Republican voters, Bill Archer accused the bill's sponsors of setting a booby-trap and Bob Livingston worried about the effect all of this dissent will have on Ronald Reagan's leadership.

Representative Newt Gingrich complained that the administration negotiates with the Senate and then forces their decision on the House. (Even Barber Conable, usually loyal to a fault, shares these sentiments. He tells colleagues privately that all decisions on last year's tax bill were forced on him by the White House-Senate coalition.)

Gingrich's biggest salvo was saved for the White House senior staff. They think of House Republicans as an extension of themselves, he argued, whereas House Republicans are actually the constitutional equivalent of the president. Furthermore, the senior staff is playing dirty pool.

As if to underscore Gingrich's thesis, at that very moment a memorandum was being distributed to all Cabinet officers instructing them that in accepting invitations to speak on behalf of congressional candidates they are to take into consideration how the incumbent voted on the tax increase.

The House Republican dissidents are particularly outraged by the attitude of Bob Michel and Republican Whip Trent Lott.

They warned Lott that if he uses his Whip organization to whip up support for the tax bill, he will pay the price in next year's leadership contests.

As for Michel, who apparently thinks the intra-party opposition consists of "three or four clowns," he has been put on notice that opponents to the tax hike want complete control over all debate time reserved for the Republican side when the bill comes up.

As one young turk put it, "If Bob Michel wants to drum up support for higher taxes, let him get his time from the Democrats."

If Michel doesn't understand that an uprising is in the making, Treasury Secretary Don Regan probably does. He spent nearly an entire day on Capitol Hill recently, met with nearly 100 House Republicans before it was over and found only 10 who would commit their support to the tax measure.

Where all of this will end is anyone's guess. If the White House twists enough arms to get the bill through, Gingrich and his compatriots still intend to wage all-out war against the arrogance of the White House staff, particularly Jim Baker.

Bob Michel is likely to be challenged for the position of minority leader next year. Most of the young Republicans will insist that position be filled by a solid conservative unafraid of White House pressure, like Gingrich or Michel's fellow Republican from Illinois, Henry Hyde.

For the president, a victory on the tax bill will probably mean a severe loss of credibility among House Republicans. They will note the irony of Ronald Reagan putting more money to jingle in the pockets of the Federal bureaucrat than in the private sector. And they will likely tell the White House to look to the liberal establishment in the House of Representatives if they want support for anything else.

## Bottom lines

Just when we all stopped laughing at those "Let Reagan Be Reagan" buttons, someone had to show up at the White House with a button which said, "Let Kemp Be Reagan." Even Ed Meese is getting into the act. He came to a senior staff meeting wearing one that proclaimed "Unmuzzle Rollins" — a reference to efforts to depoliticize Ed Rollins, the White House political adviser.

Bill Timmons, the congressional relations expert from Nixon-Ford days, says he knows where all of those ideas in the tax increase bill came from. Would you believe Lyndon Johnson? Well, not exactly. During LBJ's tenure, the Treasury Department put together a bureaucratic wish list of changes in tax policy. Lyndon found it too controversial to be taken seriously, as did all of his successors, until the Reagan White House in its desperate search for a way to cut the deficit stumbled across it. That, according to Timmons, is how the largest tax bill in history was written overnight.

You remember the joke that ends, "If it weren't for the honor, I'd just as soon decline?" Well, the punchline is still around, but it has a new beginning. Congressman Mark Siljander, won his primary with 56 percent of the vote. This, by the way, is the seat Dave Stockman vacated when he became OMB director. Siljander suspects that his primary opponent received a lot of aid and comfort from Stockman aides who hail from Michigan and find Siljander too conservative. Now, he learns that Eleanor Smeal has made him NOW's first post-ERA candidate targeted for defeat. As they say, "If it weren't for the honor..."

The White House will deny it, but some of its own estimates on the cost of the Federalism program show a budget overrun of \$30 billion in the first year alone, and growing rapidly after that. This is one reason why the final version won't be unveiled until next year. Some of those who have to administer it worry that Federalism could become the excuse for the next tax increase.

*The author is a political insider who must remain anonymous in order to tell tales out of school.*

# ALICE IN POTOMAC LAND



## Jewish community and the New Right

The New Right is everywhere these days. Yesterday, it was in Annapolis, conferring with some of the nation's most respected Jewish leaders. As if that weren't enough of a surprise, the biggest shock wave came when participants discovered they had so little to argue about and so much to agree upon.

Jewish leaders have been leery of the New Right for some time, most recently because of conservative support for the sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia. Any lingering hostilities were laid to rest when the conversation turned to mutual opposition to the United Nations.

The cast of characters included Gerry Strober, prominent Jewish writer; Harry Torczyner, past president of the Zionist Organization of America; Gary Ratner of the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee, and businessman Kenneth Smilen. From the New Right came Richard Viguerie, Paul Weyrich, Ed Feulner, Jerry Falwell and Interior Secretary Jim Watt.

If you harbored any doubt that the political landscape is changing, this meeting surely lays it to rest.

## Baker for president revisited

Is that the scent of 3-in-1 oil in the air? Must be time to crank up the old Baker-for-president machine again.

The word came tumbling down last week as Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker moved to alter some of the Senate leadership posts in the upcoming 98th Congress. The plan envisions Indiana's Dick Lugar heading up the Senatorial Committee and New Mexico's Pete Domenici chairing the Republican Policy Committee. Both are experienced hands in the Baker presidential dream, having been aboard in 1980.

There is more to these changes than merely keeping one's friends close by. There are also stumbling blocks, namely Bob Packwood and John Tower, present occupants of those posts, who might not be eager to sacrifice the title of leader or the weekly meetings at the White House.

Someone close to the M. L. reasons it this way: The Senatorial Committee is the campaign arm of the Senate Republicans. Its chairman must travel the country far and wide on behalf of candidates for the Upper Chamber. Naturally, he comes into frequent contact with those local Republican officials who always end up as delegates to the party's national convention. Not a bad place in which to have a friend if one harbors presidential ambitions.

Of course, Sen. Packwood has always been a member of the Baker team, too. But everyone agrees that his public tiffs with the president make his re-election as chairman less than likely.

The plans for changing the Policy Committee are even more fascinating. The Tennessee senator sees balancing the federal budget as "the" issue in 1984, and he seeks to position himself as the man who finally whittled the deficits down to size. However, Baker also feels that the budget can't be trimmed unless you cut the defense budget. And you're not going to cut defense as long as Sen. Tower pleads the case for the military at those weekly leadership meetings with President Reagan.

Baker and company will be telling Tower to concentrate his efforts in the next two years on winning a tough re-election battle in Texas in 1984 and to forget about policy.

As chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, Domenici would be expected to turn the Policy Committee into a subsidiary, churning out position papers to justify its budget decisions. Another senator confirms to us that Domenici has already sought his support for the chairmanship.

Nevertheless, it will be highly surprising if Tower willingly steps aside for anyone whose commitment to rebuilding the nation's defense system is less than his own — especially if there is any truth to all of those rumors that Cap Weinberger may leave the Pentagon after the November elections. The Texas senator quite properly takes the credit for having held defense cuts to a minimum in the past few months. Besides, he has always been a closet Bush supporter.

So, the Baker presidential train pulls out of the station much as it did in 1980, with much the same crew and much the same sense of mission.

## A taxing time in the House

The journey of the tax reconciliation bill through the House of Representatives has been, well, taxing. And it isn't over yet.

A good way to measure conservative wrath there is to follow Congressman Newt Gingrich around the House floor. And he was knee-deep in wrath last week as the House tried to decide what to do about the Senate-passed tax measure. Then, Congressman Rousselot offered a motion, which Gingrich supported, to send the bill back to the Senate.

Rousselot's motion was proving a little too popular for nervous Republican leaders. Gingrich begged for an additional hour of debate, but was turned down. Newt, in his best Georgia drawl, yelled, "Fir you try to seduce me. Then, you want to rape me. I don't think I want to date you anymore."

Meanwhile, down at the White House, they are telling about another kind of wrath, this one being presidential. Mr. Reagan is said to be chafing at the bit, because none of his confidantes told him this bill, which the president publicly endorsed, would constitute the biggest tax increase in history. Communications Director Dave Gergen is getting the blame for neglecting to point it out.

And over at OMB, the early draft of the 1984 budget — the one that deals with big numbers and program direction — includes still another tax increase. This is why Treasury Secretary Donald Regan, who opposes such a notion, used "Meet the Press" as a forum for declaring there would be no more tax hikes in this administration. The real message was to OMB Director Dave Stockman — get off the tax kick.

## Only one per person

The Sacramento Union reports warfare on the White House grounds. Incredible as it may sound, the paper claims that each of the president's top advisers — Ed Meese, Jim Baker and Mike Deaver — has commissioned national surveys for their own private use. All want to know how the public really feels about Reagan policies. Elsewhere, we learn that the three pollsters are Richard Wirthlin, Bob Teeter and Art Finklestein. I suppose others would be taking surveys, too, only they ran out of poll-takers.

*The author is a political insider who must remain anonymous in order to tell tales out of school.*

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# ALICE

## IN POTOMAC LAND

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Washington Times  
July 13, 1982

### The Big Three

Discount those reports that Mike Deaver won't be leaving the Executive Mansion after all. He has found David Rockefeller's offer irresistible and will join some yet-to-be-named Rockefeller enterprise around the first of the year. Or he may function as David's Man in Washington. In any event, those who must remain behind in the White House chuckle at the thought of Mike setting up trilateral meetings.

Jim Baker has written a secret memo to the White House personnel office so hush-hush that Pen James was even forbidden to reproduce the document for Helene Von Damm. The memo waives political clearance procedures on any government employee detailed to the White House if that individual was recommended by either Mr. Baker or his aide John Rogers. Suddenly, the personnel office staff is scanning all lists of detailees trying to figure out just who Mr. Baker is sneaking in.

Ed Meese, speaking to Capitol Hill interns last week, promised flat out that the secretary of state-designate can replace every Haig appointee at the department if he wants to. And the feeling was strong that he might want to.

### Moving Up, Down, In, Out

Elizabeth (Mrs. Bob) Dole, head of the White House public liaison office, is now the leading contender to become the next secretary of energy. Around Labor Day... Gary Bauer is no longer under Ed Meese's watchful eye. He moves to a top spot at the Department of Education. His replacement at the White House office of policy development will be Steve Galeback, who wrote the original Human Life Amendment for Sen. Jesse Helms.

Not quite out, but certainly down for the count of nine, is former Conservative and Assistant Secretary of Education Don Senese. His crime was suggesting that the government figure out a way to computerize the classroom with a curriculum written, produced and directed by bureaucrats. That's not exactly what the president had in mind when he promised to close down the Department of Education. Don's plan for getting back into favor is highlighted by a plea to conservative brewery magnate Joe Coors to write the president endorsing the whole thing, a plea that remains largely ignored. Conservative hearts do mend slowly.

### The Rockefellerization of Reagan

Former Rockefeller aide, Joe Canzeri, who resigned from his duties in the Reagan White House after we all learned that he had inadvertently submitted identical expense claims to the Republican Party and the federal government, is back in Washington. And at the Republican National Committee, of all places. The Reagan people have put him in charge of preparations for the 1984 Republican Convention in Dallas. As Ear might say, watch those vouchers.

Bill Hyland, whom conservatives somewhat derisively label A Kissing Person, almost got the job of Bill Clark's deputy at the National Security Council. Actually, there are two deputy slots, the other one filled by Bud McFarlane, who got his appointment as part of the talent exchange when Clark took over the NSC. Hyland pals around with McFarlane. Bud thought having his buddy around the White House would be great fun, and even got Hyland's employment papers moving. But Clark quashed it. Now, other buddies worry that with Haig gone, can Bud be far behind?

Peter McPherson probably won't be going anywhere although just about every conservative one talks to grows misty at the thought. It's all over the White House that Peter may sacrifice his post at AID and move to the EOB as a replacement for the president's legal adviser, Fred Fielding. One hates to use such terminology in this instance, but the administration is said to be offering all of those involved in the Donovan investigation a deal they can't refuse.

### Dave's Sleight-of-Hand

Just why Dave Stockman is the man to balance the federal budget can be seen in his balancing act on Capitol Hill. Dubbed the Magician of Numbers, Stockman gave the House assurances that budget cuts in the Postal Service would not harm rural post offices or mailings by charitable organizations. Congressmen turned their attention elsewhere, only to find that charities and rural stations were affected after all. Confronted with the evidence, Stockman quickly added the needed dollars to the deficit. A few days later, when the supplemental appropriations bill was up, Stockman sent different signals to House and Senate leaders. The House, acting first, followed Stockman right down the line and then left town for the Independence Day recess. Meanwhile, Dave was telling Senators to change that awful House bill or he would recommend a veto, and of course they did. The Michigan Magician's pals on the Hill still have faith in their old colleague, but you'll notice they always keep their hands in their pockets when he's around.

### Smile When You Say That, Partner

The House of Representatives will soon give Sen. Proxmire its own Golden Fleece award. In gratitude for the Wisconsin Senator's success in killing the tax advantages which Congress voted itself in lieu of a pay raise, the House will now take a look at Senate-only "perks." There is the \$75-per-day that Senators get when home during vacation periods as well as limitations on outside earned income. One House leader says flatly that the Hart Senate Office Building will not open as scheduled in January in retaliation. It should be noted, however, in fairness to Mr. Proxmire, he has succeeded where Tip O'Neill failed. He has brought the House together at last.

### Who's Sorry Now?

Eyebrows rose when Democratic Congressman Ron Mottl opposed the administration's recent budget proposal. You see, only a few days earlier Mottl lost his bid for re-election when Ohio Democrats rebuked him for having supported the Reagan budget last year. Having nothing further to lose, why wouldn't Mottl support the president again this time? The congressman explains it this way: Facing a narrow defeat, he had asked the White House to help him get Republican signatures on a discharge petition to force his anti-busing bill out of the Judiciary Committee. But the president's aides thought that might risk a racist image for their man and they refused. So, Ohio Democrats taught Mr. Mottl something about loyalty, and he in turn taught the same lesson, in a manner of speaking, to the president.

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