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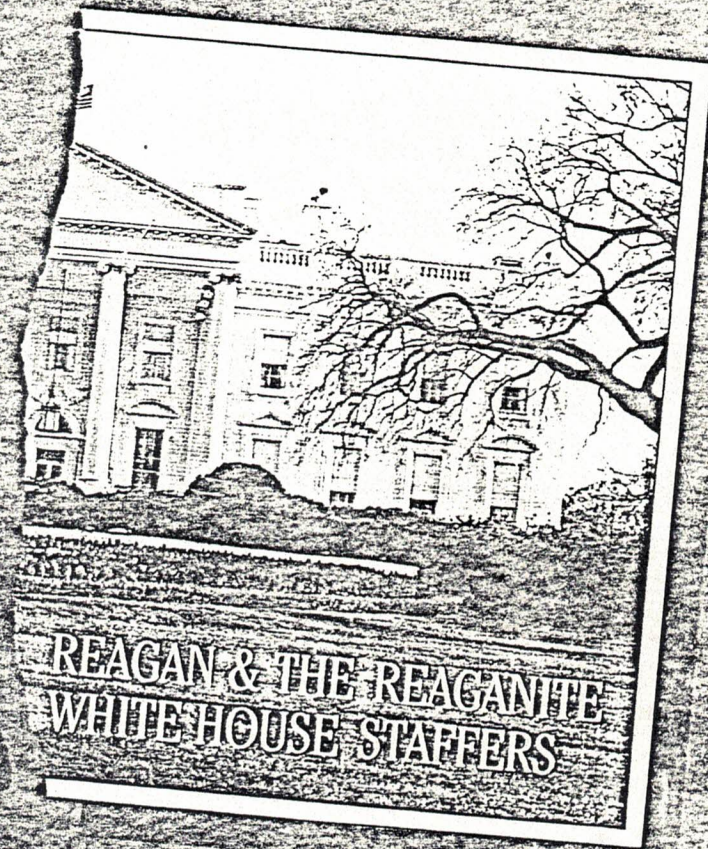
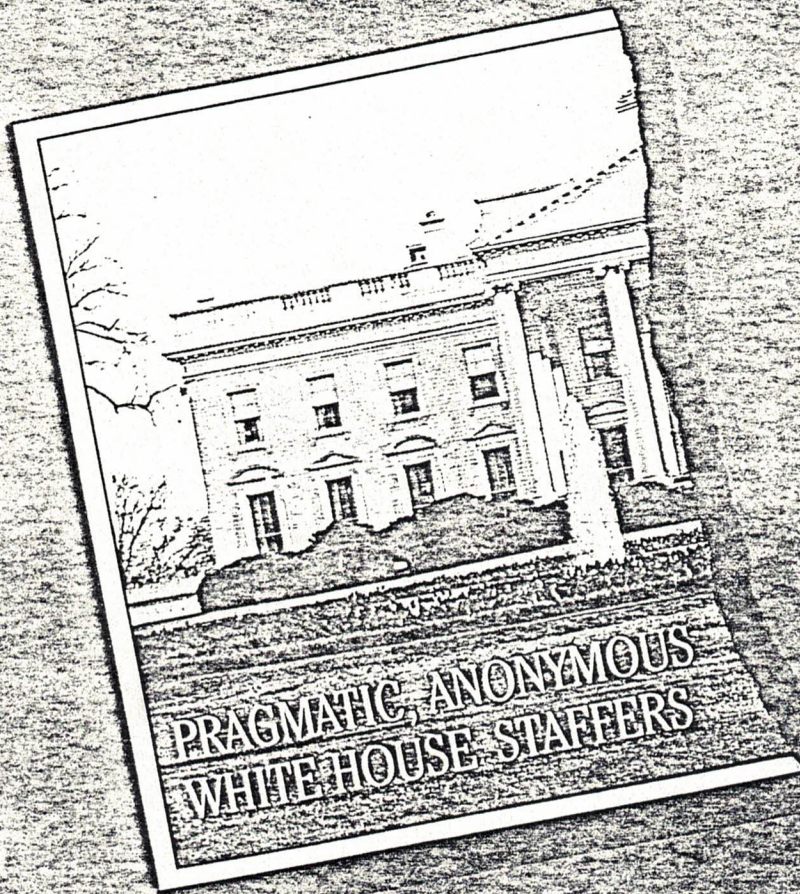
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Conservative Digest

MAY 1988

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**And if a house be divided against itself,
that house cannot stand. MARK 3:25**



“... Communication between the two sides
is virtually nonexistent.”

Lou Cannon
The Washington Post
April 25, 1983



NIXON-FORD RETREADS RETURN

The Republican Establishment Sets Up In Reagan Shop.

There is an intriguing pattern to the piecemeal reconstruction of the Reagan administration. With each additional change, the current government comes to look more and more like Nixon-Ford days reincarnated.

From George Shultz to William Ruckelshaus, almost every replacement Ronald Reagan has made for a vacated major policy post has been someone who earned his reputation in the earlier Republican administrations.

Such continuity is, in a sense, unsurprising. Jimmy Carter, the previous "outsider" president, reached back for such familiar Democratic Establishment figures as Joseph A. Califano and Edmund S. Muskie to help him govern.

But Reagan came to power as one who had campaigned against the "Washington buddy system" that he said characterized the GOP governments of the 1970s. Many of his enthusiasts believed he would transform the Republican Party on his way to transforming the country, by installing men and women who, like himself, were unencumbered by links to those clubby Republican administrations of the past.

It hasn't quite worked out that way. Consider the major changes that have been made. As secretary of State, the first choice was Alexander M. Haig, whose close ties to Richard Nixon and Henry A. Kissinger were mitigated (in the eyes of true Reaganites) by his outspoken anti-communism and his military background. Now we have Shultz, the ultimate team player, who filled almost as many top jobs in the Nixon-Ford years as Elliot Richardson. He is a Republican Establishment man—and, worse, has been known to consort with Democrats and labor leaders.

The first choice for secretary of Health and Human Services was former Senator Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania, who burned his bridges to the Eastern Establishment in 1976 to become Reagan's designated choice for



Many of President Ford's appointees are back in office.

vice president. To replace him, we have Margaret Heckler of Massachusetts, an Establishment favorite who tied with two other House Republicans in voting most often against Reagan's positions in 1982.

Some of my conservative friends see it as evidence of the "conspiracy" by White House chief of Staff Jim Baker and "the Bush network."

As secretary of transportation, the first choice was Drew Lewis, who abandoned his ties to the Ford wing of the party to organize Pennsylvania for Reagan, in 1980, when that was hardly the popular thing to do. To replace him, we have Elizabeth Hanford Dole, who was a White House official under Nixon, was appointed to the

Federal Trade Commission by him, and whose husband, Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas, was Ford's running mate in 1976 and Reagan's opponent for the 1980 nomination.

Finally, and most recently, we had the resignation as head of the Environmental Protection Agency of Anne M. Burford, an early and enthusiastic Reagan backer from Colorado. As his choice to succeed her, Reagan reached out to Ruckelshaus, the man Nixon picked to set up the EPA, the man who worked with Richardson at the Justice Department and was fired for disobeying Nixon and Haig during the Watergate mess.

In almost every one of these switches, the movement has been eastward and leftward—not very far left, to be sure, but into the heart of that pragmatic Republican center the early Reaganites so despised.

You can see the same pattern in other changes. When Washington University of St. Louis' Murray Weidenbaum left his post as chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, he was replaced by Harvard's Martin Feldstein. When the Hoover Institution's Martin Ander-

David S. Broder is a columnist for the Washington Post.

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son left as domestic policy coordinator on the White House staff, he was succeeded by yet another alumnus of the Nixon-Ford White House, Edwin L. Harper.

I'm not sure what the explanation is for this. Some of my conservative friends see it as evidence of the "conspiracy" by White House chief of staff Jim Baker and "the Bush network" to infiltrate their moderate allies into Reagan's government.

Others, less conspiratorial in outlook, see these simply as unrelated steps to buttress the operations of the Reagan administration and put politically attractive people into place before the reelection campaign.

Still others suspect that it shows Reagan has abandoned any notion of revolutionizing government and is content with anyone who will help him mind the store and avoid scandal until he is ready to retire.

I can't say which—if any—of these theories is right. All I know is that the pattern has been consistent. A few more resignations, a few more explosions, and they will be sending out for Don Rumsfeld, Mel Laird and—who knows?—utility infielder Richardson.

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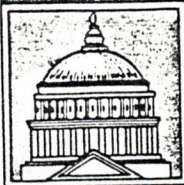


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FIDEL THE DOPE PEDDLER

Senate panel hears evidence: Cuba involved in U.S. drug smuggling.

Edward Cody

The State Department has strongly suggested that the Cuban government, including President Fidel Castro, has been officially involved in smuggling drugs to the United States to raise money and corrupt U.S. society.

The charges came at a Senate hearing called to draw attention to Cuban drug connections outlined by witnesses for a federal grand jury that indicted four high Cuban officials last November.

The hearings featured an unusually explicit public accusation by the Reagan administration of official Cuban ties to drug trafficking and were believed to be the first time administration officials have publicly linked Castro to the charges.

"We have a report that the Communist Party Presidium, and specifically Fidel Castro, in early 1979 considered a scheme to begin dealing with narcotics smugglers, using Cuba as a bridge and support base for the networks to the United States as a means to aid Cuba economically and to contribute to the deterioration of American society," said James H. Michel, deputy assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, in prepared testimony concurred in by eight other administration officials.

Michel said evidence from the November case and other sources indicates that the plan was carried out. Alleged contact between drug smugglers and ranking Cuban officials "clearly indicates more than a case of corruption by local or mid-level security officials in Cuba" and provides a "strong indication of official policy approval," he said.

In response to questions at the hearing, Michel made the charges of official involvement even more explicit, saying "the evidence is clear that the government of Cuba has, as a matter of policy, used narcotics trafficking" to advance its goals in Latin American

and the United States. Cuba has rejected similar accusations, which a recently editorial in the official Havana newspaper Granma called "wretched and cowardly tactics." The four Cuban officials indicted, including two members of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, were never tried, since they remained in Cuba.

"Cuban officials have facilitated narcotics trafficking through the Caribbean for at least the past two years."

—James H. Michel,
Deputy Secretary of State
for Inter-American Affairs

The State Department testimony was welcomed with smiles by members of the Senate Drug Enforcement Caucus, which sponsored the hearing under the chairmanship of Sen. Paula Hawkins (R-Fla.) along with Sens. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), Jeremiah Denton (R-Ala.) and Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.).

Helms and Denton expressed impatience with previous administration reluctance to say outright that Castro and his government are officially involved in drug running and with lack of public outrage over somewhat less explicit charges made in March, 1982, by Thomas O. Enders, assistant secretary of state of inter-American affairs.

Denton also expressed regret at the caution expressed in a television interview in April 1983 by FBI Director William H. Webster, who noted that most evidence of official Cuban involvement comes from one set of sources and should be viewed with care.

Denton linked the drug charges to what he portrayed as a determined effort by Cuban and Cuban-allied leftists to subvert Latin American governments, especially El Salvador's.

Since last year, Michel said, U.S. intelligence has obtained evidence beyond that brought before the grand jury "confirming that Cuban officials have facilitated narcotics trafficking through the Caribbean for at least the past two years." He did not say what the evi-

dence is or how it led to a charge that the Cuban government, rather than corrupt Cuban officials, has cooperated in drug smuggling to Florida.

But he said the intelligence confirms in new detail a link between drug smugglers and suppliers of arms to the Colombian M19 leftist guerrilla movement, with Cuba allowing use of its waters as a haven for drug smugglers and with the smugglers taking arms from the United States to Colombia for M19.

Most of the charges center on Jaime Guillot Lara, an alleged drug smuggler wanted by the United States and Colombia.

Five persons indicted by the Miami grand jury last November were convicted last February 25 of participating in a drug-smuggling conspiracy organized by Guillot with the cooperation of Cuban authorities.

Three self-confessed participants in the conspiracy, the main government witnesses in the trial, testified today, wearing hoods to hide their identity despite previous appearances in open court. All three expressed belief that the Cuban government cooperated officially in the conspiracy in which they were part. They cited contacts with high Cuban officials and signs of government sanction, such as a Cuban navy escort for their drug boats.

But Stanley Marcus, the U.S. district attorney here who prosecuted the case, resisted the senators' efforts to elicit a conclusion that, based on evidence he marshaled for the trial, the Cuban government is participating in drug smuggling as a matter of policy.

"I think it is a fair and accurate statement to say that some of the major organs and institutions of the Cuban state and some high-ranking officials of those organs and institutions of the state are involved in drug-running to the United States," he said.

Francis M. Mullen Jr., acting administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration, also used careful language in his testimony, saying that when all the evidence is examined, "it is difficult not to believe that the government of Cuba remains cognizant of the movement of drugs through its territory, and may be facilitating this movement."

Pressed to say whether in his opinion the Cuban government is indeed part of the drug running, he responded, "Yes." □

And if a house be divided against itself,
that house cannot stand. MARK 3:25

WHITE HOUSE STAFF UNDERMINES REAGAN POLICIES

ore than halfway through its four-year term, the Reagan administration has been largely converted into the James Baker-Richard Darman-Michael Deaver-David Gergen administration. Key members of the White House staff have effectively undermined the conservative goals of President Ronald Reagan, replacing them with their own moderate-to-liberal policies.

Early on, *Conservative Digest* warned in the February 1981 issue that the seeds of a liberal takeover of the Reagan administration had been planted.

In an open-letter to the President, then-editor John Lofton wrote, "Your mandate for change is in danger of being subverted . . . The success of your presidency depends directly on the views of those who hold the top jobs in your administration. People make policy. And if the key individuals in your government are not dedicated, demonstrated, energetic advocates of your positions on the issues, your views will not prevail. There will be no Reaganism without Reaganites."

Regretably, our fears have become reality. Dr. Joseph Churba, a former official of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in the Reagan administration and one of the principal foreign policy advisers to Ronald Reagan during the 1980 campaign, said, "the President has been co-opted by those in his own bureaucracy; that we have Reagan without Reaganism."

Doug Badow, former assistant to President Reagan for policy development, writing in the November 1982 *Inquiry*, said, "Chief of Staff Jim Baker and his aides, nonideologues to a man, have grabbed operational control of the White House and, with that, effective control over policy making as well, through such vehicles as the legislative strategy group."

It is important to fully understand the vital role that staff members play in governmental operations. Because of the multitude and complexity of issues, public officials must depend on their staffs to do much of the actual work. Even in Congress, staff members are very powerful. Michael J. Malbin, in his book *Unelected Representa-*

tives—Congressional Staff and the Future of Representative Government, writes that congressmen "cannot possibly keep track of all or even most of what goes in their name."

You can imagine how much more acute this situation is in the executive

"It is important to fully understand the vital role that staff members play in governmental operations. Because of the multitude and complexity of issues, public officials must depend on their staffs to do much of the actual work . . . But for subordinates to effectively exercise authority in the name of the President, they *must* function in every respect as his alter ego."

branch. With only a limited number of things that a president can do in any given day, he must rely on his staff extensively.

Jimmy Carter is regarded by most observers, both liberals and conservatives, to have been a less than successful president because he tried to do too much personally. Carter's total immersion into trifling particulars distracted him from the broader policy considerations of his administration. As *Newsweek* put it, "Jimmy Carter

gave hard work and attention to detail a bad name."

During the 1980 campaign, Ronald Reagan properly criticized the poor management practices of President Carter. "Show me an executive who works long overtime hours and I'll show you a bad executive," he said. Counsellor to the President Edwin Meese expressed similar sentiments in an interview in *First Monday*.

"I think we need to get away from the idea, which was too prevalent in previous administrations that the President has to be involved in detailed day-to-day work which ought to be performed by ambassadors, by assistant secretaries of state, or by the Secretary of State. Otherwise, we denigrate the office of the President," Meese said. "In a corporation, for instance, rarely does the President or CEO (chief executive officer) do actual labor negotiating, or marketing strategy, or work on the production line. We've come to the point where presidents have literally exhausted their energies doing 'pick and shovel' work for which we have very competent people on the front line, as opposed to developing the strategies and approving overall policies—which are the real presidential duties. And that's what this President has tried to do so that he can look at the many things that a President has to give his attention."

This philosophy of delegating as many things as possible to the White House staff was confirmed by longtime Reagan adviser Lyn Nofziger in an interview with *White House Weekly*. "As far as Baker, Meese, and Deaver are concerned, he lets them handle the things that don't need presidential decisions. There are a lot of them, believe me."

But for subordinates to effectively exercise authority in the name of the President, they *must* function in every respect as his alter ego. As Tom Pauken, director of the ACTION agency, put it in an interview in *Human Events*, "I don't believe that you can execute the President's policies without a corps of people truly committed to his agenda."

Indeed, the bright, highly-competent, non-ideological problem solvers just won't move the federal government in a conservative direction. They might administer the status quo efficiently. But they will not make the dramatic changes that are desperately needed.

The selection of James Baker as chief-of-staff of the Reagan administration is the ultimate in irony. Baker, of course, was a major strategist in President Gerald Ford's 1976 campaign against Ronald Reagan and was the manager of George Bush's 1980 campaign against Reagan.

Lou Cannon, in his book *Reagan*, points out that, "Many conservatives were understandably skeptical about Baker's loyalty to Reagan. And selecting a former opponent's principal strategist as one's own chief of staff was unheard of. Would Lyndon Johnson or Richard Nixon or Jimmy Carter have selected as a White House chief of staff the man who had managed the last two campaigns of their principal intra-party opponents? To ask the question is to answer it."

White House Weekly also observed that "the suspicion persists among all hands that his loyalty is with Bush, not Reagan . . . He never has fully shaken the aura of being Vice President George Bush's man . . . and is viewed as sort of getting things ready for Bush's expected accession in 1985."

Deputy Chief of Staff Michael Deaver has longtime personal ties to Reagan. But Deaver openly describes himself as a moderate and is allied closely with Baker.

Another deputy chief of staff with enormous influence is Richard Darman, who determines what reading material is funneled to President Reagan. Darman, a protégé of liberal Elliot Richardson, supported Ford over Reagan in 1976 and was not involved at all in the 1980 primary campaign.

White House Communications Director David Gergen is another powerful White House official. He held the same position in the Ford administration and was a speech writer for President Nixon before that. In the December 1982 *American Opinion*, Gary Allen states, "Indeed Gergen is believed by some to be the 'Deep Throat' of Watergate fame. His roommate at Yale was Robert Woodward—later of the Woodward and Bernstein team at the *Washington Post* which broke the Watergate scandal. And the six-foot-four Gergen was nicknamed 'Giraffe' while at Yale. What has a deeper throat than a giraffe?" Allen also reports that it is Gergen "who coined the phrase 'voodoo

economics' for George Bush in the campaign against Ronald Reagan."

National Security Adviser William P. Clark and Counsellor to the President Edwin Meese served with Reagan in California during his tenure as governor. Both Clark and Meese are conservatives who have frequently battled against Baker, Deaver, Darman and Gergen.

In the following pages of this issue, many of the things are listed that various members of the White House staff, the Cabinet and other administration officials have said and done to undermine President Reagan's programs and conservative allies.

Perhaps the most prominent case of how the White House staff conspired to pressure the President to do something contrary to his philosophy was in regard to the tax increases. In late 1981 and early 1982, Baker and Company tried a full-court press to convince Reagan to endorse various tax hikes.

According to Cannon, "Deaver would remember the time on December 4, 1981, when (Budget Director David) Stockman and Baker had tried to win Reagan's support for 'revenue enhancements'. Reagan stubbornly shook his head. 'Revenue enhancements' were by any other name a tax increase. Stockman and Baker left. Deaver lingered behind in the gathering gloom of the Oval Office, talking with the President he both protected and admired about the administration's dwindling economic options. Reagan reviewed what had been said to him, then shook his head. 'You know, Mike,' he said, 'I just don't think that some of my people believe in my program the way I do.'"

While these proposed tax increases were initially discarded, Baker proved that he was down but not out. With continued persuasion and presentation of data favorable to his case, Baker ended up selling Reagan a \$228 billion increase in taxes in August 1982.

Likewise, President Reagan pledged last September to oppose any additional increase in taxes, including gasoline taxes. In a nationally televised news conference, he flatly ruled out such taxes "unless there's a palace coup and I'm overtaken or overthrown." But after being subjected to the arguments of then-Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis, President Reagan reversed himself in November and successfully pushed for a five-cent-per-gallon tax hike.

Baker's role in plotting for tax increases and cuts in defense was mentioned by Taylor Branch in the May 1982 *Texas Monthly*:

"Above all, he leaks things to the press. Many regular correspondents are agreed that Baker is the most adroit leaker in the White House. Late last summer Baker spent a few days with the president's entourage in California . . . One evening an unusual mood settled over the traveling press corps. The reporters seemed smug, close-mouthed, and evasive. They did not try out tomorrow's stories on each other, which meant that somebody was hoarding a scoop. As the last deadlines passed and it became safe for the reporters to boast about their stories, they discovered to their astonishment that nearly a dozen of them were running the same exclusive: that President Reagan had almost certainly decided to cut a whopping \$35 billion from the Pentagon budget. Baker had leaked the story to every one of them. As it turned out, Reagan rejected the Pentagon cut. Similarly, he rejected the idea of proposing tax increases in his 1982 State of the Union address, in spite of a prolonged pro-tax-increase leaking campaign by Baker and his allies."

Conservative Digest and other conservative periodicals have tried repeatedly to alert President Reagan to what his aides were doing, but with negative results. Since Baker and Darman control the flow of all paper work to the President, they can influence what he knows and, therefore, what he does.

The December 1982 *American Opinion* relates a story by Congressman Larry McDonald, a conservative Democrat from Georgia, that spotlights President Reagan's isolation:

"A wealthy Texan—one of the big-buck contributors to the Republican Party—was at the White House at a meeting with the President. At that meeting," reports McDonald, "Baker and Deaver were also present. This gentleman began talking with the President, and asked him, 'Mr. President, have you read the latest issue of *Conservative Digest*?' The President replied that he hadn't seen it. This gentleman said, 'Mr. President, I think you need to read it,' and flopped a copy out on the desk. President Reagan took it and began glancing at it—but before he could get very far, Baker rushed over and grabbed the copy of the magazine and said, 'Mr. President, this is published by Richard Viguerie and he, as you recall, supported John Connally. These are your enemies. Don't read this trash.' The President said, 'Yes, you're right. Connally was on the other team, and we're not going to go into this.' And that's where it ended and the magazine was taken out."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 33



Official White House Photograph

JAMES A. BAKER III
White House Chief of Staff and
Assistant to the President

- ☐ Prior to 1970—"Apolitical" but nominally a Democrat
- ☐ 1970—Managed George Bush's *unsuccessful* Senate Race
- ☐ 1976—Worked *against* Ronald Reagan in Republican Primary
- ☐ 1976—Managed Jerry Ford's *unsuccessful* Presidential Race
- ☐ 1978—Lost his own race for Texas Attorney General
- ☐ 1980—Managed George Bush's *unsuccessful* 1980 Presidential Bid *against* Ronald Reagan
- ☐ 1981—Hired by Ronald Reagan to be White House Chief of Staff

• • •

"At one point (Baker) so nettled Reagan by pressing for excise taxes and defense cuts that the President took off his glasses, glared at his aide and asked, 'If that's what you believe, then what in the hell are you doing here?'"—*Time* magazine, December 13, 1982

• • •

"Amazing. Yes, I do find it amazing . . . considering where I was coming from . . . Nobody was as shocked as I was . . . Shocked. Surprised . . ."—Jim Baker commenting on his appointment as White House chief of staff, quoted in the *Washington Post*, January 18, 1981.

• • •

Baker said: "I'm not as conservative as *those* people are when it comes to social [issues] stuff."—*Dallas Morning News*, January 9, 1983

• • •

"The President will be able to lead this country effectively over the next two years," said Baker, [but] "he may have to compromise some more."—Associated Press, November 3, 1982

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"Baker, in the January 9, 1983 *Dallas Morning News*, took several swipes at administration conservatives, revealed he was disturbed by the President's call for higher defense spending, said he was 'alarmed' by the 'continued paring of social programs,' remarked that he was 'unconvinced on the wisdom of Reaganomics,' emphasized that he was 'considerably more moderate than [Reagan] is.'"—*Human Events*, April 23, 1983

• • •

A year ago, according to *The Wall Street Journal*, Baker "set about fashioning a consensus behind the need for higher taxes." At this time, the President rejected this advice—which, in the words of White House (presidential assistant) Michael Deaver, "nearly destroyed Ronald Reagan" as a credible leader.

• • •

"As Jim Baker told one reporter, 'I'm just simply adjusting (Reagan's principles) to realities'."—*Inquiry Magazine* November 1982

• • •

"... there is evidence that within the White House—and on occasion on Capitol Hill—Baker is a strong advocate for positions that are not yet the President's."

"Baker continues to be recognized as an advocate of deeper defense cuts down the road."—*The Washingtonian*, October 1982

• • •

"It is no secret, for instance, that Mr. Baker sympathizes with Senate Republicans who want to cut military spending. One presidential aide said Mr. Baker recently wanted the President to make a strong signal of 'flexibility' on military spending."—*The New York Times*, March 31, 1983—

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In September of 1981, Baker was identified by "UPI White House reporter Helen Thomas as the source of information alleging that the president was ready to slash his '83 and '84 defense budgets by \$20 billion to \$30 billion. The President made no such proposal."

• • •

In February of 1982, a front-page *Wall Street Journal* story fingered Baker as the 'conductor' of an orchestrated effort to get Reagan to raise taxes significantly.

• • •

"Baker decided Reagan had to switch from tax-cutting to tax raising."

• • •

New Right Leader Howard Phillips explained it this way to an interviewer: "Baker only understands negotiating and compromise. What he is doing is destroying Reagan's reputation for integrity and principle."—*White House Weekly*, August 23, 1982



MICHAEL K. DEAVER
Deputy Chief of Staff
Assistant to the President

- 1966-67—Reagan Campaign Staff
- 1967-74—Assistant to Governor Reagan
- 1976 —Chief of Staff—Reagan Presidential Campaign Committee
- 1974-81—President of Deaver and Hannaford, Inc., Los Angeles public relations firm
- 1981 —Appointed Deputy White House Chief of Staff and Assistant to the President

• • •

"President Reagan has publicly stated his support for deregulation, but close Reagan aide Michael Deaver holds different views and has exercised his influence over trucking policy. Deaver's public relations firm represented the California Trucking Association, which vigorously fought deregulation of intrastate trucking in the late 1970s. Deaver has consistently opposed the appointment to the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) of strong deregulators opposed by the trucking industry." —*Reagan's Ruling Class*, Pantheon Books, 1982, by Ronald Brownstein and Nina Easton

• • •

"Deaver, at a senior staff meeting, had said this regarding a request by the Rev. Jerry Falwell to meet with the President: 'Maybe we can invite him over to the mansion for a drink with the President.'" Ha-Ha.

"But since Falwell, head of the Moral Majority, doesn't drink, this flip comment wasn't very funny. In fact, it angered Falwell and many of his supporters across the country. . . .

"When Falwell finally met with the President, just prior to this get-together an anxious and agitated Deaver took the Baptist preacher aside and apologized for his loose talk. Deaver basically confirmed what he had been quoted as saying, noting that his remark was meant to be a joke.

"Even though Falwell has accepted Deaver's apology, he remains angry over what was said. He resents being

considered a joke by anybody. And many of Falwell's backers are also angry, believing Deaver's crack to be in poor taste and an affront to the views of Evangelical Christians." —John Lofton, *The Washington Times*, May 6, 1983

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"... longtime Reagan aide Mike Deaver has said that Reagan was always a 'moderate,' despite his rhetoric." —*Inquiry* magazine, November 1982

• • •

"As for Howard Phillips, Viguerie and the rest," Deaver has run out of fraternal feeling. 'Screw 'em,' he says, 'and you can quote me'." —*Time*, February 28, 1983

• • •

"Ronald Reagan isn't right-wing," Deaver was quoted as saying. "I like to think of him as more of a moderate man." —Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, August 9, 1982

• • •

"Mike Deaver declared: 'I learned something from the process. Never try to talk any man who holds deep convictions out of them for reasons of political expediency because it would destroy him. We almost destroyed Ronald Reagan, and I was one of the people arguing for this.'"

—*The Washington Post*, February 1, 1982



Roger Sandler/UNIPHOTO

RICHARD G. DARMAN

Assistant to the President and Deputy to the Chief of Staff

- ❑ 1971-72—Assistant Secretary, H.E.W. under liberal Republican Elliot Richardson.
- ❑ 1973—Assistant to the Secretary of Defense under Elliot Richardson
- ❑ 1973—Special Assistant to the U.S. Attorney General under Elliot Richardson
- ❑ 1976-77—Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Policy, under Elliot Richardson.
- ❑ 1977—Vice Chairman, U.S. delegation, United Nations Conference on Law of the Sea—a treaty strongly supported by his mentor Elliot Richardson.
- ❑ 1980—Hired by James Baker as Executive Director, White House Transition Team.
- ❑ 1981—Hired by James Baker as his Deputy Chief of Staff

• • •

"You say, 'Are you apolitical?' and I'll say, 'Okay, I think so.'"—*The Washington Post*, October 21, 1981

• • •

"Asked by columnist John Lofton if he considered himself a Reaganite, Darman candidly admitted that he wasn't, that he had backed Ford against Reagan in 1976, and had not been involved at all in the Reagan campaign of 1980."

"And there can be no 'Reagan Revolution' unless those in control of the levers of policy are themselves committed Reaganites. Yet, Richard Darman is not a conservative, nor was he even a supporter of Mr. Reagan in the campaign for President."—*American Opinion*, December 1982

• • •

"I'm the last stop in the process of sending papers to the President," Darman said. "I determine if they have been fully and fairly staffed, whether they are substantive and complete, whether they take into account all points of view."

And, as the late Arthur Hays Sulzberger said, "*Obviously, a man's judgment cannot be better than the information on which he has based it.*"

• • •

"Baker was my sole entry into the new administration," said Darman, . . . —*Boston Globe*, January 25, 1981

• • •

Darman has "Eastern Establishment ties" and is a "mainstream moderate" who "instinctively seeks out compromise."—*Business Week*, October 4, 1982

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"Even more than Baker, he is associated with the Republican Party's moderate wing, having once been a protege of Elliot Richardson's. Says one wary colleague: 'Darman is the brightest guy in the White House. Philosophically, he is not where the President is!'"—*Time* magazine, August 23, 1983

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"White House insiders say that Richard Darman, Baker's shrewd chief aide, has become a conduit to one major East Coast newspaper of internal White House secrets comparable to the famed 'Deep Throat' who spilled sensational revelations to the *Washington Post* 10 years ago."—Evans and Novak, *The Washington Post*, May 9, 1983



White House

DAVID R. GERGEN

Assistant to the President, Communications

- ❑ 1960s—Managing Editor—Liberal *Yale Daily News*
- ❑ 1960s—Civil Rights Activist—Registered Democrat
- ❑ 1968—Supported Hubert Humphrey against Richard Nixon
- ❑ 1971—Hired as speech writer for Richard Nixon (still a Democrat)
- ❑ 1975—Directed President Ford's office of Communications
- ❑ 1980—Consultant to George Bush's Presidential Bid Against Ronald Reagan
- ❑ 1981—Hired by James Baker as Deputy Director of Communications

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"He is also a former southern Democrat and civil rights activist . . . who supports . . . the Equal Rights Amendment and 'personal choice' in the abortion debate . . . Gergen was drawn into the southern civil rights movement by Allard Lowenstein, the late liberal activist."

"I told him, 'Look, I'm a registered Democrat, and I didn't vote for Nixon in '68, I voted for Humphrey.' . . . I was really surprised they'd hire a Democrat."—Gergen recalling a 1970 conversation he had with Nixon's speechwriter, Raymond Price.

"Ziegler wanted to know if there were any 'weak sisters' on Gergen's speechwriting staff who should be gotten rid of. . . 'I'm probably the weakest of all,' Gergen replied. . . . Yes, he had talked to reporters. . . ."—Excerpt from *The Final Days* by Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward.—*The Washington Post*, July 15, 1981

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"Lesser aides claimed that Gergen had . . . leaked the flood of news accounts of imminent tax increases, whether the President wanted them or not."—*The Washington Post*, January 8, 1982

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David Gergen was "virulently anti-tax cut as a speechwriter and adviser in George Bush's presidential cam-

paign", and is "the clearest anti-tax cut figure in the White House."—*The Reagan Revolution*; (E. P. Dutton Publishers, 1981), by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

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"Just hours after he had conveyed the president's unwillingness to go back on the tax cuts pushed through the 97th Congress, White House communications director David Gergen expressed doubts about the fiscal and monetary course his boss is committed to. . . .

"Mr. Gergen said he didn't feel it would be politically damaging for the President to renege on tax relief by signing into law partially offsetting tax increases. . . . Steven K. Beckner, *The Baltimore Sun*, January 4, 1982

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"Gergen's affinity for journalism and journalists—including the fact that he had been at Yale with the *Washington Post's* Bob Woodward—led some to believe that he might have been 'Deep Throat' the anonymous source claimed by Woodward in the Watergate expose.

One of those who thought so was John W. Dean III, who came close to naming Gergen as his candidate for Deep Throat in his book, *Blind Ambition*. As Gergen tells that story, his name did appear 'in an early draft' of Dean's book."—*National Journal* July 25, 1981



ANONYMOUS HIGH-RANKING WHITE HOUSE SOURCE

(This is not a photograph of a real White House source.)

“... One **top administration official** told me shortly after the November election, ‘We’ve got to negotiate corrections in a flawed set of policies in a manner that makes it appear that the President has not reversed himself and so that it does not appear that the President has lost control’.”—*The New Republic*, January 31, 1983

A **high-ranking presidential aide** “talking about how the president would have to accept cuts in his 1982 defense budget and a delay in his 1982 tax cut: ‘It would have to be shoved down his throat, but when it’s done, I don’t think he would have any choice but to accept it.’”—Reported by Saul Friedman, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 18, 1981

Referring to the above article former presidential adviser, Lyn Nofziger said, “If he found out who said that he ought to fire the guy. I think it’s outrageous and I have said publicly that this is the leakiest White House that I have ever run into. There are people in this White House and in this administration who are not serving the President well by talking and giving their own views, and who are trying to force their own views on the President by talking off the record to the press. I think it’s outrageous.”—*Conservative Digest*, February 1982

“**One top Reagan aide** has been quoted as saying of Kemp: ‘No one listens to him anymore’.”—*White House Weekly*, November 15, 1982

“Tip’s [O’Neill] the only one [actually fighting us],” said **one White House source**. “He’s really a hero, you know.”—*White House Weekly*, October 18, 1982

“... a **White House aide** who had no use for the pro-life militants warned me not to make judgments until I saw what the Moral Majority and its allies were actually

given by the administration. ‘What do you want to give them?’ I asked. ‘Symbolism,’ he replied. He then offered an analogy drawn from the popular film, *The Godfather*, in which the criminal leader advises, ‘Hold your friends close, hold your enemies closer.’ That, the aide said, was the tactic which the administration would follow with its friends on the fringes of the right. ‘We want to keep the Moral Majority types so close to us that they can’t move their arms,’ he concluded.”—*Reagan*, (G. P. Putnam’s Sons, Publishers, 1982) Lou Cannon

“... President Reagan, through a spokesman, voiced ‘full confidence’ in the beleaguered Burford ... But **presidential aides** reported growing sentiment at the White House for Burford’s removal ...”—*U.S. News & World Report* March 14, 1983

“White House Chief of Staff Jim Baker and **the rest of the President’s more ‘pragmatic’ crew** may be in serious trouble because they are suspected of helping to leak the many ‘insider’ stories about how EPA chief Anne Burford was forced out of her position, stories that portrayed the President in a highly unflattering manner while glorifying Baker & Co.”—*Human Events*, March 26, 1983

“President Reagan’s efforts to rally support for his embattled defense buildup may have revived fears that he is a ‘warmonger’ and a ‘cold warrior’ too willing to risk confrontation with the Soviets,” said **White House official**.—*The Washington Post*, April 7, 1983

(A few weeks prior to release of the first Silverman report exonerating [Sec. of Labor Raymond] Donovan), an unidentified **“White House aide”** [was quoted] as saying: “Even if he is exonerated his effectiveness as Labor Secretary may be damaged beyond repair.”—*U.S. News & World Report*, May 31, 1982

WHAT OTHER STAFFERS & APPOINTEES ARE SAYING



MALCOLM BALDRIGE
Secretary of Commerce

"Days after the President estimated a \$115 billion deficit for fiscal 1983 (starting October 1), Baldrige contradicted him, saying the deficit would be \$20 billion to \$30 billion higher."—*White House Weekly*, August 9, 1982

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MALCOLM BALDRIGE
Secretary of Commerce

"Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige acknowledged yesterday that last year's \$350 billion tax cut was too large and that new revenues must be raised to reduce the record deficits forecast for 1983 and beyond. . . . Baldrige's position, however, appears to contradict that of President Reagan."—*Associated Press*, August 9, 1982

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TERREL BELL
Secretary of Education

"I've been raising my voice for a moderate position with respect to the budget and with respect to the federal role" in education.—*Washington Times*, April 14, 1983

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TERREL BELL
Secretary of Education

"... But I haven't been for abolishing the federal role, as many people feel to abolish the department means— "... And those conservative factions that are for that, I'm battling them on it because I'm against that."—*Washington Times*, April 14, 1983

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TERREL BELL
Secretary of Education

"Bell testified in favor of Carter's proposal to form the Department of Education, saying flatly, 'We need a U.S. Department of Education'."—*Reagan's Ruling Class*, (1982), Pantheon Books, by Ronald Brownstein and Nina Easton

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ELIZABETH DOLE
Secretary of Transportation

"Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Dole is actively promoting automobile air bags. . . . One of the Reagan administration's first acts threw out the Carter administration mandate on air bags, which were to have been required on new cars beginning with the 1982 model year. . . . Asked if she thinks the bag is a good idea, she said, 'Yes, I do, I do'."—*The Washington Post*, April 10, 1983

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MARTIN FELDSTEIN
Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers

"I think the administration hurt itself by a series of unbelievable statements, starting with those optimistic forecasts about the growth of the economy."—*Time*, September 21, 1981

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MARTIN FELDSTEIN
Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers

"At year's end, Feldstein was urging postponement of the 1983 portion of the tax cut."—Lou Cannon, *Reagan*, 1982

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FORMER REP. MARGARET HECKLER
Secretary of Health and Human Services

"I have already voted against the President many, many times," she said. [during her 1982 congressional campaign] "I would not stay the course as the President suggests . . . he's putting too much into defense. And I feel the social programs have to be funded."—Columnist John Lofton

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SAMUEL R. PIERCE, JR.
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

"In fact, Pierce has begun to challenge administration policy with greater regularity. His most public battle came in a draft of HUD's response to budget director David Stockman's proposals for cuts in HUD's fiscal '83 budget. The memo, written and leaked to the press by HUD staffers, accused the administration of trying to balance the budget on the backs of the poor and warned that further cuts at HUD could lead to 'rent strikes, riots, vandalism, and irreparable damage to HUD housing projects.'"—*Newsweek*, January 25, 1982

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DONALD REGAN
Secretary of the Treasury

"Treasury Department officials confirmed yesterday that Treasury Secretary Donald Regan had suggested further tax increases to reduce budget deficits, but White House comment lent no support to the idea."—*The Washington Times*, December 28, 1982.

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DONALD REGAN
Secretary of the Treasury

"President Reagan was as surprised as anybody else when he learned that his near-namesake, Secretary of the Treasury Donald T. Regan, had disclosed to a group of reporters a vague idea about creating some sort of international agency that would protect private banks against heavy losses, particularly through defaults by Third World Countries."—*White House Weekly*, December 20, 1982

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LORET RUPPE
Director of Peace Corps

"The Peace Corps, with Ruppe giving the go ahead as director-designate, was a prime sponsor of [a] conference, which turned into a forum for 'virtually every anti-Reagan freak around,' said one observer. Not only was it used to voice

anti-Reagan policies and disseminate radical and Communist literature, but it became a vehicle for forging a left-wing network to oppose the Reagan policies both internally and externally."—*Human Events*, July 11, 1981

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LORET RUPPE
Director of the Peace Corps

"Peace Corps Director Loret Ruppe, a very lukewarm Reaganite at best, won a handsome victory last week. In opposition to stated White House policy, the House, in effect, voted 258 to 155 to totally separate the Peace Corps from ACTION, headed by a tough, no-nonsense presidential loyalist, Tom Pauken. . . . 'What this means,' said a close observer of the Corps, 'is that Ruppe will find it far easier from now on to do her own thing. It proves that loyalty to the President doesn't really pay'. . . . While the White House officially opposed separating the Peace Corps from ACTION, Mrs. Ruppe strongly indicated to everyone she discussed the subject with—either directly or indirectly—that she favored separation."—*Human Events*, December 19, 1981.

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DAVID STOCKMAN
Director of Office of Management and Budget

"But, I mean, Kemp-Roth was always a Trojan horse to bring down the top [income tax] rate."—*The Atlantic*, December 1981

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DAVID STOCKMAN
Director Office of Management and Budget

"Just like they said if you cut taxes 6 percent growth would appear. I don't think he (the President) ever believed that."—*Reagan* (G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1982), by Lou Cannon

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WHAT OTHERS SAY ABOUT THE STAFF

Joseph Churba, a Reagan campaign adviser, [was quoted as saying,] "the President had been co-opted by those in his own bureaucracy; that we have Reagan without Reaganism." —*Washington Inquirer*, May 28, 1982.

"Within the White House, the only member of the ruling quartet who favors (defense) cutbacks is Chief of Staff James A. Baker III. Counsellor Edwin Meese III and National Security Adviser William P. Clark are backing Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger in his arguments for the huge military buildup." —*White House Weekly*, November 22, 1982

"Let's quit talking about George Bush's takeover of this administration," says John Lofton, "and start talking about the Jim Bakerization of the government." —*Newsweek*, February 1, 1982

"The news stories you're seeing are all based on what people around Ronald Reagan may or may not think," said a top Reagan adviser. "What you're getting is a debate inside the administration, with people putting stories out to influence the debate." —*The New York Times*, April 25, 1983

"The conflict arises because the White House's ruling triumvirate—Chief of Staff James A. Baker III, Deputy Chief of Staff Michael K. Deaver, and Counsellor Edwin Meese III—figures it can run the country better when Ronald Reagan is not ad-libbing answers to questions that come upon him suddenly." —*White House Weekly*, June 21, 1982

"What is known is that Stockman talked to several senators, including Majority Leader Howard H. Baker, Jr. (R-Tenn.) and Budget Committee Chairman Pete V. Domenici (R-N.M.), in mid-December on behalf of his plan to bring the deficit down by imposing higher excise taxes. The proposal was discussed extensively in the eight-member legislative strategy group, where it was pushed by Stockman, Baker and another key aide, Richard D. Darman . . . The excise tax proposal emerged from the legislative strategy session . . . After awhile, the plan had a momentum of its own and just kept building," said one source. "No one was looking at what it would do to the President; we were just looking at a set of numbers which kept changing." —*The Washington Post*, February 1, 1982

"A reputedly conservative administration taken over at the top by non-conservatives; a President surrounded by people who have bitterly opposed his candidacy and

principles; a phalanx of White House advisers who shield him from his loyal backers and steer him toward their own agenda." —*Columnist M. Stanton Evans*, August 25, 1982

"Publicly and on-the-record, Jim Baker—who heads the president's legislative strategy group—has portrayed himself as a loyal Reaganite who has worked tirelessly to see that what the President wants done becomes law. But, behind the scenes and through anonymous leaks to the press, Baker and Company have worked overtime to undercut Reagan and water down his program." —*Columnist John Lofton*, April 11, 1983

"Since last September, he [Baker] has stubbornly pressed upon a resisting president the doctrine of budget director David Stockman that only tax increases and defense cuts can cure the economy." —*Evans and Novak column*, April 23, 1983.

"The Baker people regard Clark and his aides as too ideological and unwilling to confront the consequences of rigidity. Some on the Clark side suggest that Baker and Darman have pursued agendas of their own and created a problem for the President by leading Republican senators to believe Reagan is more willing to compromise than he really is." —*The Washington Post*, April 17, 1983

"Sources close to President Reagan report he feels he is not getting enough support from his staff, both in the White House and out among Cabinet departments, as controversial issues arise." —*White House Weekly*, April 19, 1982

"Except for the President himself, almost everybody in the Reagan White House stopped believing long ago in the promises of supply-side economics as conveyed by the Administration in 1980. . . .

"The operators who have worked so skillfully on the President (moderating him), Congress (maneuvering in it), and the press (manipulating its impressions) comprise the Legislative Strategy Group, the White House's elite inner action group of top aides that is empowered de facto . . . to devise tactics to get the President's program through Congress. In the process, it often alters the program itself. Invented by Chief of Staff James Baker, the L.S.G. is coordinated by Presidential Assistant Richard Darman, and consists of Counsellor Edwin Meese, Deputy Chief of Staff Michael Deaver, Communications Director David Gergen and Chief Lobbyist Kenneth Duberstein, . . . almost all the advisers think Reagan needs

to raise revenues again and trim defense to close his yawning deficits.” —*The New Republic*, End of Year Issue, 1982

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“The advocates of tax increases—including James A. Baker, III, Edwin Meese, III, and Michael K. Deaver, the President’s three top advisers—were described as certain that as long as Mr. Reagan held out, there was no hope of convincing the President to abandon his own instincts. Mr. Reagan’s public comments last week signified a victory for them, even though they may have embarrassed the President.” —*The New York Times*, January 10, 1982

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“One way to describe the contending factions would be the Pragmatists (Baker and Deaver) versus the True Believers (Meese and Clark) in the ideas that got Reagan elected. Some White House insiders believe the major difference between the two sides is the ambition and desire for power of the Pragmatists versus Clark and Meese for whom money, power, and prominence have little interest.” —*Washington Times*, April 25, 1983

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“The presidential personnel office maintains that close to 10 important Peace Corps posts are filled by individuals who have not been politically okayed, (i.e., not Reaganites).” —*Human Events*, October 24, 1981

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“Darman exercises ‘quality control’ over what goes in to the Oval Office. He says he rejects material ‘not of proper intellectual quality to go to the President.’ In other words, this acolyte of Elliot Richardson decides whether mis-sives from loyal Reaganites get through to Ronald Reagan.

“Quality control” by the Baker-Darman axis was an important factor in pushing through the tax hike . . . “the Baker-Darman group excluded from the meetings those who opposed the . . . tax bill, . . .” —*Columnist M. Stanton Evans*, August 25, 1982

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“Now, because of the terminal timidity of Jim Baker and Company—because of their preference for fighting the president and not the Congress on this issue—Reagan’s mandate to substantially increase military spending may be going down the tube.” —*Columnist John Lofton*, April 11, 1983

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“Forget [Reagan’s anti-leaks] policy,” suggests one senior aide. “Just tell Gergen he can’t talk to Cannon, tell Williamson he can’t talk to Novak, tell Deaver he can’t talk to Plante and tell Darman he can’t talk to Stahl.” —*Newsweek*, April 4, 1983

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“A White House aide made the mistake of carrying in to Reagan a column by your servant, discussing the torrent of ‘leaks’ attacking Meese and glorifying Baker. For daring to bring this matter to the President’s attention, the aide

was reportedly chewed out by Baker among others—and told that if there were any recurrence his job would be in danger.” —*Columnist M. Stanton Evans*, August 25, 1982

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“Highly-placed Reagan administration officials suspect the White House itself as the source of ruinous leaks about plans for Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) covert operations against Nicaragua, reflecting corrosive mistrust at top levels of the government.

These officials hold responsible posts dealing with national security in the State and Defense Departments and the CIA. They privately point out that published reports of the covert anti-Nicaragua plans have been far too detailed, refined and complete to have been given to the congressional intelligence committees and leaked from there. Only the White House could have done it, they say.” —*Evans and Novak column*, March 17, 1982

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“During [a meeting with senior economic and political aides, one] participant said, the President ‘forcefully expressed the view he has held’ against proposing significant new tax increases to help narrow huge projected budget deficits. But after the meeting, White House spokesman David Gergen said, ‘It may be’ that Reagan administration aides and congressional leaders will press such proposals on him anyway.” —*The Wall Street Journal*, February 2, 1982

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“Jim Baker, Mike Deaver, Richard Darman, and Dave Gergen are communicating their innermost thoughts about their problems and somehow those thoughts find their way into the *Washington Post*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and CBS News . . . [as] observations of ‘top aides,’ ‘one long-time adviser,’ and ‘one Reagan official.’ Right now the subject of these innermost thoughts is [National Security Adviser] Bill Clark, . . . The problem with Bill, it seems, is that he . . . thinks that Reagan should be allowed to be Reagan. That infuriates those who think that Reagan ought to be more like George Bush or even Jimmy Carter. So Bill comes out in the media as ‘inexperienced,’ ‘inflexible,’ and ‘inept.’” —*Washington Inquirer*, April 29, 1983

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“For his senior advisers, an overriding, though unstated, responsibility is to protect Reagan from himself.” —*Reagan’s Ruling Class*, 1982, by Ronald Brownstein and Nina Easton

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“The White House staff under Baker, and much of the administration otherwise, is trying to play politics-as-usual inside the liberal framework—which they define as ‘reality’—rather than trying to change that framework.” —*Columnist M. Stanton Evans*, February 23, 1983

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“Deaver would remember the time on December 4, 1981, when Stockman and Baker had tried to win Reagan’s support for ‘revenue enhancements.’ Reagan stubbornly shook his head. ‘Revenue enhancements,’ he said, were

by any other name a tax increase. Stockman and Baker left. Deaver lingered behind in the gathering gloom of the Oval Office, talking with the President he both protected and admired about the administration's dwindling economic options. Reagan reviewed what had been said to him, then shook his head. 'You know, Mike,' he said. 'I just don't think that some of my people believe in my program the way I do'." —*Reagan*, by Lou Cannon, 1982

"[T]op aides (especially White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III and his deputy, Michael K. Deaver) pressed the President to abandon the rigidity of his approach to Congress during his first two years (that is, to be more pragmatic) and to work out compromises." —*White House Weekly*, January 24, 1983

"Mr. Reagan's top three aides—Edwin Meese, III, James A. Baker, III, and Michael K. Deaver—have urged him to approve increased excise taxes on gasoline." —*New York Times*, January 22, 1982

"Bruce Herschensohn, a former Nixon speechwriter and now a conservative television commentator, called on Reagan to fire Baker, Communications Director David Gergen, Stockman, and three other staffers he said are leaking information to the White House press corps. In addition to Baker, Gergen and Stockman, the commentator named Richard Darman, Martin Feldstein and Mark Weinberg as being responsible for leaking information from the White House." —*United Press International—Los Angeles*, January 13, 1983.

"Baker, Deaver, congressional liaison director Kenneth Duberstein, and Richard Darman are actually hoping that Reagan's [defense] speech will be a flop, White House sources said . . . For weeks there has been such a steady drumbeat of criticism of Clark and Meese—which [Baker and company] have encouraged—that the two men are on the verge of wanting to get out of the White House altogether.

"Leak after leak has portrayed both as men without an agenda [except for the president's] who are standing in the way of what [Baker and company] like to call 'progressive compromise'." —Niles Latham, *New York Post*, April 27, 1983.

"Good question, Mr. President. What the hell is Jim Baker doing there? And Darman, Duberstein, Dave Gergen and all those other folks who think they know more than you do about everything? I'll tell you what they're doing, Sir. They're causing you to lose. And the only way to stop this is to fire them all. Now." —*Columnist John Lofton*, April 11, 1983.

"... the Reagan White House did little to assist the 'social issues' campaign, while sparing no effort to belittle Helms. The President's oft-repeated concern about these issues was apparent, but, in the usual pattern, the follow-through of those 'highly talkative White House aides' left much

to be desired." —*Columnist M. Stanton Evans*, October 1, 1982

"Ronald Reagan's offer to touch his untouchable third-year 10 percent tax cut by delaying it for three months as a part of a \$122 billion tax increase drove his most loyal supporters in the administration and on Capitol Hill close to despair. . . . That Reagan would offer so much is testimony to the persistence and determination of his remarkable chief of staff, James A. Baker III, to revise the basic shape of the Reagan economic program." —*Evans and Novak column*, April 30, 1982.

"Three times in the last eight months, Baker and Stockman and their staffs have campaigned through the media and in Congress to persuade Reagan to cut military spending sharply or raise taxes to get growing deficits under control." —*White House reporter Saul Friedman*, writing in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 25, 1982.

"Baker represents the strangest ideology in Washington: the ideology of Republican 'moderation', according to which you enhance your chances of victory by adopting Democratic camouflage. . . . But the greatest mystery is why Reagan lets such losers overrule his own tremendous political instincts. It is as if Louis Armstrong had toned down his trumpeting style so he could fit into Lawrence Welk's orchestra." —*Columnist Joseph Sobran*, August 8, 1982.

"Presidential aides James Baker and Edwin Meese are butting heads over the fate of the Department of Education. Meese is determined to abolish the agency, but Baker objects, on the ground that it would be politically foolish to alienate hundreds of thousands of schoolteachers. —*Washington Whispers column, U.S. News & World Report*, November 15, 1982.

"The conductor, aides say, was James Baker, the chief of staff. But he had lots of help, from Budget Director David Stockman and others. Slowly, and with great care, Mr. Baker set about fashioning a consensus behind the need for higher taxes. He signed on Edwin Meese and Michael Deaver, the President's other two aides. He bagged Mr. Regan, the Treasury Secretary, after initial resistance." —*Excerpt from a front-page story in the Wall Street Journal naming Baker as the leader of the orchestrated effort to get the President to raise taxes*, February 2, 1982.

"The president has been deliberately isolated by staffers who fear strong opinion from Reaganites will make it more difficult to get Reagan's support for Baker's budget compromises." —*Evans and Novak column*, April 18, 1982

"The fear that the administration has been too heavily populated with non-Reaganites, and that the President's mandate is accordingly in jeopardy has spread to those who supplied his political base in the Republican pri-

maries and general election. Rather than being the property of armchair theoreticians, it is a predominant concern of those who fought in the trenches for Reagan in 1976 and 1980, and who continue to be his most loyal backers." —*Columnist M. Stanton Evans*, March 3, 1982

"Whenever you read in the Washington press that a Reagan appointee is 'independent,' it customarily means he is free of the ideas of Ronald Reagan, and in conformity or proximity to the views of the Washington establishment . . ." —*Columnist Patrick J. Buchanan*, March 24, 1983.

"It's simply too much to expect either Gergen or Jim Baker or Darman to investigate the flood of leaks gushing out of the White House. There is a clear conflict-of-interest here. What is needed is a special prosecutor. And please: no plea bargaining or insanity defenses, as plausible as the latter excuse may seem." —*Columnist John Lofton*, May 2, 1983

"After one year in office, Reaganites on the White House staff and elsewhere in the administration are starting to finger Baker and his two lieutenants, Richard Darman and David Gergen, as uncommitted to the Reagan revolution." —*Evans and Novak column*, December 25, 1981

"Part of the problem is the typical conservative critique of Jim Baker and others is to attack them for being disloyal. I think that's wrong. I think they're very personally loyal to Reagan. The problem is they're not loyal to any philosophy. So their personal loyalty to him is one of compromising, accommodation, of looking presidential, one of satisfying pundits." —*Doug Bandow*, Editor of *Inquiry* magazine, and former Special Assistant to President Reagan for Policy Development.

"Now is the time to make your move, to talk to the President about the need to replace Jim Baker as White House chief of staff. . . . How, we continue to wonder, can the administration really hope to pass its agenda if the key strategist is, at best, only lukewarm toward achieving the President's objective?" —Excerpt from open letter in *Human Events* to William Clark, President Reagan's adviser on national security affairs, April 23, 1983.

"Baker should resign. He should never have been in the post he occupies to begin with . . . he is spectacularly ill-fitted to a crucial role in an Administration allegedly seeking conservative revolution in our politics. . . . If this administration is to have a prayer of fulfilling its original mandate, he should step down." —*Syndicated columnist M. Stanton Evans*, January 29, 1983.

"Ronald Reagan's quick about-face in endorsing a \$4.3 billion 'jobs' bill produced disbelief within his Cabinet and even White House staff. . . . White House Chief of

Staff James Baker and budget director David Stockman carved out the unReaganlike serving of pork without the knowledge, much less concurrence, of their colleagues." —*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*, February 16, 1983.

"Baker strongly denies any scheme to exclude conservatives (from the 1984 campaign), but he has fanned such suspicions by endorsing political consultant Stuart Spencer for the job of supervising day-to-day operations at the re-election committee. Although Spencer worked for Reagan in the final months of the 1980 campaign, conservatives remember that he masterminded the Ford victory against Reagan in the 1976 primaries." —*U.S. News & World Report*, April 28, 1983.

The White House staff—especially the ruling triumvirate of Chief of Staff James A. Baker III, his Deputy Michael K. Deaver, and Counsellor Edwin Meese III—were confident they could talk the President into a tax increase. The numbers, after all, were convincing. . . . The White House staff put its numbers all together and moved confidently through meeting after meeting with the President. He was jolly and good-natured, as always, but, every now and then, he would fall silent and his lower lip would stick out—almost as if he were testing his teeth, to prepare them for biting a bullet. Which bullet would it be? . . . Reagan's staff was convinced, as the President and Mrs. Reagan prepared to go back to California for the Christmas holidays, that he had reluctantly come around to the inescapable result of their arithmetic: taxes had to go up. . . . Back in Washington, Reagan argued again with his staff. Again, the figures were trotted out. Again, the arguments were made. . . . On Jan. 21, stories based on news leaks disclosed some of the taxes Reagan was considering raising. The President was furious, for it was clear the leaks came from his highest-ranking staff people. . . . As a result of all this, the top White House staff succeeded in outsmarting itself. —*White House Weekly*, February 8, 1982

"On Dec. 13, 1982, *Time* magazine ran a cover story headlined 'How Reagan Decides'. But, this story should have been headlined 'How Reagan Is Rolled By His Aides'. *Time's* story was awash in information supplied by anonymous presidential aides, information that detailed how the president is tricked—how he is told one thing but is actually maneuvered into doing something else. Says *Time*, based on its unnamed sources:

'In foreign as in domestic policy, Reagan can be persuaded to change his mind on major issues only if advisers convince him that he really is not doing so.'" —*Columnist John Lofton*, January 14, 1983

"In the budget negotiations, James A. Baker III, his chief of staff, has supported the idea of a 'fairness package' that would include a minimum tax on corporations, an income surtax on upper bracket Americans, cuts in military spending, and repeal of some corporate tax benefits enacted last year." —*New York Times*, April 28, 1982.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 23

"A Jan. 11, 1983, story in the New York Times—based on information from "administration officials—says the president will "probably accept a special package of contingency tax increases to be put into effect in 1985 and thereafter if federal budget deficits are not declining sharply enough.

"The ugly fact that Mr. Reagan must face is that he is surrounded by senior aides who think they know more than he does, and who are going to try to save him from himself come hell or high water (yes, even if this flood-tide of leaks has now reached the nation's First Kiester). What must be said must be said: Many—perhaps most—of President Reagan's senior advisers neither love nor respect their boss, which is why the leaks continue." — *Columnist John Lofton*, January 14, 1983

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"With Mrs. Reagan out of town, the president was idly flipping the TV dial the evening of April 26 and by chance turned to the congressional rebroadcast over WTVT-TV in Annandale, Va. At a moment when he was being pressed to compromise with Democratic leaders by White House advisers who kept contrary opinion away from him, Reagan was delighted to hear Rep. Newt Gingrich of Georgia and other junior Republicans call for a conservative coalition budget.

Reagan telephoned Gingrich the next morning to tell him just how pleased he was. That immediately started tongue-in-cheek speculation in the House Republican cloak-room: Would Reagan's senior aides censor the president's future television viewing—or even take out the White House sets?"—*Evans and Novak Column*, May 16, 1982.

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This escalating Leftist effort to cripple or neutralize conservative influence in Washington is being supported by anti-conservatives within the administration itself, including members of the White House staff. In his remarks to the Conservative Political Action Conference, February 17-19, 1983, columnist M. Stanton Evans said he had talked to Reaganites in "every Cabinet department in this government today, and I can tell you from what they tell me that every one of them feels isolated, under attack, surrounded by Bush people, moderates, Carterites, holdovers. These people in every case feel that they're on the defensive, fighting a holding action, not able to implement the President's policies because they are surrounded by people who do not believe in those policies."

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"When President Reagan quoted Andrei Sakharov that 'everything (in the Soviet Union) is as it was under a system of power and economy created by Stalin,' the Soviet dissidents at lunch in the President's upstairs family dining room were getting an increasingly rare message of undiluted Reaganism.

That is a commodity that seems to have been declining since the first days of the Reagan presidency. Undiluted Reaganism is not the product of White House fine-tuning; it does not reflect the strong, sometimes antithetical views of White House chief of staff James Baker III, and it contradicts the strain of caution in Reagan's closest aide, Michael Deaver, caution that helped deny U.S. citizens the right to read what Reagan told his Soviet guests."—*Evans and Novak Column*, May 14, 1982.

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In a letter to Chief of Staff Jim Baker, dated February 25, 1982, Congressman Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), wrote: "Your appearance on 'Face the Nation' last Sunday, as well as some disturbing signals we House Republicans are getting from you and other administration officials, prompts me to write you this lengthy, and candid, letter.

Your recent performance with the freshman Republicans was a disaster. Eight different freshmen specifically used the words 'outrage,' 'disaster,' 'despair,' 'infuriating' and 'disillusioned,' to describe that meeting.

Further, your TV appearance last Sunday hurt the Republican Party; aroused new candidates, money and energy for the Democrats; and sent precisely the wrong signals to the party and the country."

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"Virtually all of the Reagan aides, with the exception of Meese, confided to reporters that they were working to change the President's mind on his budget priorities.

"On the journalistic side—elbowing each other for access and exclusives—are reporters like Lou Cannon of the *Washington Post*, Steven R. Weisman of the *New York Times* and Bill Plante and Lesley Stahl of *CBS News*. Cannon, who regularly covered Reagan when he was governor of California, has close ties to Meese, Deaver, and Clark, which may give him the best of sources in the Reagan White House. Weisman chats frequently with Gergen—so frequently, Baker jokes, that Gergen's title should be 'assistant to the *New York Times* for communication.' Plante is close to Deaver, a relationship that dates to the 1980 campaign; Stahl and Darman are longtime personal friends."—*Newsweek*, April 4, 1983

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"President Reagan's security budget is due for heavy pruning, confides a 'White House aide.' 'There will be cuts in the defense budget whether we like it or not. That's the message we're getting from Capitol Hill and I don't see how it can be avoided.'

Well, it might be avoided if the President went 'to the mattresses,' as they say in *The Godfather*, and fought, but the politics of confrontation seems alien to the laid-back men who surround this conservative President."—*Columnist Patrick J. Buchanan*, March 11, 1982

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"So intense have been the efforts of top White House aides and 'loyal' allies in Congress to force a capitulation on next year's tax cut that Reagan, on more than one occasion, has exploded in anger over administration officials' unattributed criticism of his tax stand.

'The President is getting more and more suspicious of his own people trying to massage him through the press,' one official was quoted as telling the *New York Times*, a view confirmed by knowledgeable White House insiders."—*Columnist Donald Lambro*, April 5, 1982.

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"Equally clearly the White House chief of staff James Baker, and the already discredited Budget Director, David Stockman, are for tax increases. And, it seems, no matter what the President decides, they are determined, like querulous children, to get their own way, even to the extent of orchestrating damaging media leaks diluting the strength of the President's determination."—*N.Y. Post*, April 17, 1983.

TIME FOR JIM BAKER TO RESIGN

By M. Stanton Evans

White House Chief of Staff James Baker thinks Secretary of Labor Raymond Donovan should resign. Donovan, says Baker, "should do what's right for the President."

I have a better idea: Baker should resign. He should never have been in the post he occupies to begin with. Now his open sniping at a member of the President's Cabinet—coming on top of other transgressions—makes him even less well suited for his job. Baker should do what is right for the President, and clear out.

These comments arise from no personal animus toward Baker, who is a likable fellow. It's simply that he is spectacularly ill-fitted to a crucial role in an Administration allegedly seeking conservative revolution in our politics. Baker is about as qualified for such a job as I would be to play left tackle for the Dallas Cowboys.

Say what you will about Ray Donovan, he is a long-time Reaganite. The same is emphatically not true of Baker. In 1976, he managed the campaign of Gerald Ford, and in 1980 that of George Bush—both times against Ronald Reagan. It was only when Reagan had the nomination sewn up in 1980 that Baker finally came aboard. Hardly the credentials of someone who should be calling the shots in a Reagan government—and reading other people out of it.

The deeper issue here is not who was for Reagan when, but the kind of outlook that would lead someone to back both Ford and Bush against our current President. The kind of person who would make that choice would not, in all likelihood, be a Reaganite conservative. He would more probably be a business-as-usual, don't-rock-the-boat, "pragmatic" Republican—precisely not the sort of person you need to make a conservative revolution.

Lest it be said that such a deduction from Baker's past is unfair, it should be added that virtually everything we know about his conduct in the White House has confirmed it. The appointments he has made, the general administration posture he has favored, the legislative strategies he has charted, all fit his previous history to a "T." As everyone in Washington knows, Baker has been just as "pragmatic" on the Reagan payroll as he was promoting Ford and Bush.

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This wasn't supposed to make any difference, since Baker was merely going to implement policies devised by others. It never works that way, of course, and didn't this time. Baker rapidly placed his key lieutenants, "pragmatists" to a man, at major choke points inside the White House, and accordingly seized control of legislative policy. By all accounts, his principal aide in this endeavor is Deputy Chief of Staff Richard Darman—a follower of ultra-liberal GOPer Elliott Richardson.

As previously noted in this space, one of Darman's functions is to exercise "quality control" over what the President reads. In last summer's battle over the \$228-billion tax increase, this "quality control" was extended even further. Baker and Darman were stren-

gotiating the Social Security package that would add tens of billions of dollars in payroll taxes to pay the bills for this insolvent system. The White House team that worked on this one, along with Budget Director David Stockman, included Baker, Darman, and Kenneth Duberstein, another Baker lieutenant. With Baker's "moderate" cadre nailing down three out of the four positions on the negotiating squad, the tax-hike outcome was virtually inevitable.

Now, we are informed, Baker is at it again—working in concert with tax-hiking senators to push through still other tax hikes in this session. This consistent history of supporting higher taxes would be most peculiar for a Reaganite conservative, but perfectly natural for a "pragmatist." It is also



Chief of Staff Baker briefing President Reagan

uously promoting the tax hike, and as *Time* reported, "excluded from the meetings those who opposed the . . . tax bill, including presidential assistant Richard Williamson and key congressional conservatives."

Indeed, Baker has been maneuvering to get Reagan off his tax cut stand for many months before this. A year ago, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, Baker "set about fashioning a consensus behind the need for higher taxes." At that time, the President rejected this advice—which, in the words of White House adviser Michael Deaver, "nearly destroyed Ronald Reagan" as a credible leader.

More recently, Baker has thrown his weight behind the gas-tax hike that was adopted in the special session of Congress, and was a major figure in ne-

completely destructive of any possible "Reagan revolution," which would seek to balance the runaway federal budget by cutting back domestic outlays, not by constantly raising taxes.

Nor, it might be added, is Baker's potshot at Ray Donovan all that unusual. He was among the first suggesting that Richard Allen be dumped off the sled, and the White House staff under his direction has been a Niagara of "leaks" impugning Presidential Counsellor Ed Meese and others, while glorifying Baker.

Jim Baker is not the sole cause of the many problems afflicting the Reagan government. But he is certainly the leading symbol of them. If this administration is to have a prayer of fulfilling its original mandate, he should step down. □

WHAT A WAY TO RUN A BUSINESS

By Paul Weyrich

Ponder this scene for a moment: Lee Iacocca, president of the Chrysler Corporation, calls a press conference and says that Chrysler, in a bold and dramatic move, is lowering prices substantially on its new car models for next year. "This move will contribute to the recovery of not only our company, but the automobile industry as a whole and it will be the cornerstone in the nation's economic recovery," Iacocca tells the media.

As word of the news conference is broadcast on all of the leading networks, Iacocca's vice-president for administration meets with a few reporters in the privacy of his office. "You will have to understand the old man. He gets carried away with these things. There is no real way that we can lower car prices, given the state of our company. He means well, but we don't let him make the substantial decisions in the company. We make those decisions and we tell him what will and won't fly. I don't understand what happened this time—he was awfully stubborn about cutting prices. I assure you, however, that prices won't be cut."

The next day the *Detroit News* carries a front page story contradicting its story of yesterday. "Iacocca Dead Wrong on Price Cut, Aides Explain" was the headline. The story quoted liberally an unnamed source "high up in Chrysler management circles" picturing the chief executive as "out of the decision making loop."

The competition reacted with glee. A spokesman for General Motors said Iacocca's remarks proved that he shouldn't be running the company. "Everyone knows that it is impossible to lower prices in this economy. He was foolish to adhere to such outdated notions. We know we can't lower prices and neither can Chrysler," the spokesman continued. He insisted that prices must be raised, not lowered.

When Iacocca found out about what his people had done, he was furious. He called a meeting and expressed his displeasure. Various assistants and senior management people looked at the ceiling. They were clearly impatient. "Look, we had to do this for your own good. Prices cannot be cut. It is impossible. This sort of voo-doo thinking will only cause us to lose the declining share of the market we now

have," the senior press spokesman finally admitted.

"Who do you think is running things here?" Iacocca asked. Several sighed. They knew who was running things. They were. Still there was the problem of the public perception of Iacocca as the C.E.O.

This called for a special meeting. "I know," said the bright young budget officer. "We'll bring in every expert we can get our hands on to convince him of the folly of his ways." The vice-president for administration thought that was a splendid idea.

During the ensuing three weeks, every advocate of the higher automobile prices in America who had any credentials at all was paraded before Iacocca. Meanwhile, 567 Chrysler dealers reported that when Iacocca's original statement was carried on the news they were flooded with inquiries from people who wanted to buy new cars. The dealers were demanding to know what was going on. They wanted to sell new cars. A group of them from the Detroit area even made their displeasure known in a leaked story to the *Detroit Free Press*. "We think that President Iacocca's original instincts on this question were sound. People want lower prices. They will buy if we cut prices. We think the president should stick to his program," the director of the Detroit Area Chrysler Dealers Association was quoted as telling the media.

When that story appeared on the front page of the paper, the vice-president for administration dispatched agents out to buy up all available newsstand copies. One agent even removed the paper from Iacocca's front porch. The story did not appear in his reading file. Thus Iacocca, who it seems had broad support in the countryside for what he was doing, never learned of that support. Attempts by dealers and dealers associations and even customers to reach Iacocca were all cut off by the vice-president for administration. Instead, Iacocca was subjected to all of the "expert advice" money could buy.

The *Detroit News* carried a story, obviously leaked from the inside of Chrysler, picturing a stubborn and isolated Iacocca resisting the excellent advice being given him by the experts. It was clear from the story that he was beginning to wear down.

No one not programmed by the vice-president for administration had talked with Iacocca about this issue because his schedule was kept busy. But quite by accident, a reporter who was sym-

pathetic to the embattled chief executive encountered him in the hallway and asked him if he was going to hang tough. "You bet I am," Iacocca told the reporter. "There will be a palace coup around here before I give in to such nonsense. I know lower prices will sell cars." Poor Iacocca. His having said that only meant that he was further isolated by his staff. "We have to be careful that unauthorized reporters don't get in here," the vice-president for administration was heard to shout at a staff meeting.

Finally, after six weeks, Iacocca announced his surrender at another press conference. "I was wrong. I'm sorry I said it. I am hereby announcing a price increase for next year's models," Iacocca told the press.

There was rejoicing at Ford and General Motors. Their efforts had been successful. Unfortunately for Iacocca, higher prices sold fewer cars and Chrysler began to go under financially—whereupon a dissident group of stockholders forced a meeting and successfully engineered not only the firing of Iacocca but all of his senior staff.

Of course all of this is totally fictional. No private business could be run this way. If Iacocca or any other chief executive were contradicted publicly on his executive decisions, he would fire everyone responsible.

Unfortunately, the largest business in our country, the U.S. government, is run this way. The Chief Executive's instincts are indeed correct. He had best take decisive action lest dissident shareholders in America decide to force his replacement, along with all of his "high-level sources" who know better. □

Baker The Mole

He may not be a conscious mole,
But mole he is and takes his toll,
Adulterating what his boss
Tries every day to get across.
Another year and we'll be like
The folks who pinned their
hopes on Ike.

—W.H. von Dreele, in *National Review* magazine, May 28, 1982.

Paul Weyrich is director and founder of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, Washington, D.C.

TITLE THESE GUYS GREAT EQUIVOCATORS

By John Lofton



OK. So, now it's unanimous. Even the *Washington Post's* Lou Cannon has finally conceded that conservatives have a "valid point" when they say the White House staff has attempted to prevent the president from indulging in his own best inclinations and from saying what he really means. Says Latecomer Lou:

"On nearly every issue of consequence that arose on the president's eclectic California trip last week, there was a signal, or a series of signals, from communications and press officials that undercut Reagan's position."

Well, it's bad enough that one great American—Ronald Reagan—is being undercut by his senior aides. But, can you imagine how history would have been changed had other great Americans also been infected by a similar staff infection?

Memo To: Patrick Henry.

From: Jim Baker

Subject: Liberty and death.

Your upcoming address to the Second Revolutionary Convention meeting in Richmond is an important one. But the idea that you should say want either liberty or death is too simplistic, too confrontational. Besides, everytime you talk so openly about death, this makes many women think about war and your support among females drops. I suggest you announce the formation of a bipartisan committee of experts to study both liberty and death and what connection there is, if any, between these two vitally important subjects.

Memo To: John Paul Jones.

From: Richard Darman.

John Lofton is a CD contributing editor.
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Subject: Fighting.

I realize that you have indeed not yet begun to fight. This is good! I understand what you are trying to say. In fact, as a concept, there is much to be said in behalf of fighting. But, then again, perhaps fighting at this particular moment is not really what's called for. Nonviolence in some situations is preferable. In addition, there is the question of just precisely how one ought to fight, if fighting is something you should not yet have begun to do. Don't misunderstand me. I do not believe the fighting option should be ruled out. But, at the same time, fighting per se is not something that you should endorse categorically.

Memo To: James Otis.

From: David Gergen.

Subject: Taxation.

I feel exactly as you do that taxation without representation is tyranny. But, you should not appear to be an inflexible ideologue on this issue. There must be room for compromise. Clearly some form of revenue enhance without total representation is an undesirable combination, but it is *not* tyrannical. Remember: Discretion is the better part of valor. Be realistic! And never forget this: Nothing is worse than you being perceived as a man who is overly concerned about keeping his promises.

Memo To: FDR.

From: Mike Deaver.

Subject: Fear.

I, like you, abhor fear. Fear of economic catastrophe, fear of losing weight but being unable to write a book about it while a White House staffer—all these things are things to be fearful about. But, I am not at all sure that fear is the

only thing we have to fear, Sir. In all honesty, I must admit that perhaps a greater fear than fear is the fear of having only fear to fear. I just don't know. I'm not at all certain. Is it really the fear of fear we should fear? Or the actual fear itself? Quite frankly, I believe you will look much more flexible on the fear factor if you would—for the time being—go no further than announcing a blue-ribbon, bipartisan presidential commission to study fear. The commission should be composed of psychiatrists, psychologists and average citizens many of whom *must* be women, minorities and union members.

Memo To: Capt. James Lawrence.

From: Kenneth Duberstein.

Subject: The ship.

I am in complete sympathy with your desire to say: "Don't give up the ship!" This is a noble sentiment. But, the reality is that we simply do not have the votes in Congress to sustain such a black-and-white position. We should not appear fanatical about this. Yours is not the last ship in the Navy. Furthermore, there are, perhaps, some situations in which a ship should be given up. Maybe, upon reflection—with a little more study—we will conclude that this is such a situation. For now, I suggest that we poll the crew of the ship—if they are bipartisan—tally the votes, see if they want to give it up and proceed from there.

Memo To: President Reagan.

From: Larry Speakes.

Subject: My situation.

I have a lot of recommendations I would like to make to you, Sir. But, Jim Baker and David Gergen won't let me.

POLITICAL TREACHERY IN THE WHITE HOUSE

The conduct of President Reagan's chief aides raises grave questions about their political loyalty, about the way the White House is being run, and about the sense of collective responsibility which the President's chief advisers owe him.

Managed leaks

Take, for example the events just before Christmas. Reagan instructed Baker to announce that he was not prepared to countenance tax increases, selective or otherwise. Straightforward enough, you would think? Not so. Baker briefed his acolyte, White House communications director David R. Gergen, to add the following cryptic paragraph to what should have been an unequivocal announcement:

"It may be that proposals for selective tax increases . . . that would not conflict with the stimulative nature of this economic program will be presented by him to his advisers or by others, including the leaders of Congress."

New York Post (April 27, 1983), copyright © 1983 by the N.Y. Post Corp., 210 South St., New York, N.Y. 10002. Excerpted with permission.

That sounds and reads more like an attempt by the conspirators to prevail than a signal that all the President's men are now in accord.

Figure fiddling

How many times must Baker and Stockman be told the President's policy by the President himself before they stop leaking to his demagogic opponents their distorted versions of what should be a confidential process?

Reagan has persistently refused to do so and, in the process, has been virtually unanimously supported by his economic advisers. This, specifically, was the position of those advisers at a White House meeting on December 10.

It was not the position which Baker and Gergen leaked to "trusted" reporters. Indeed, the *New York Times* report of the Baker-Gergen version was that "the more traditional economists" urged Reagan to increase taxes. In fact, only the long-retired Arthur Burns and Herbert Stein did so; all the others were opposed.

Reagan took the first opportunity to correct this distortion at his December 18 press conference, saying:

"I sure can promise the American

people that . . . I have no plans for increasing taxes in any way."

Not a man to give up easily, Baker promptly retaliated. Within minutes, he instructed White House spokesman Larry Speakes to announce that Reagan had not meant what he said and did not mean to rule out all forms of "revenue enhancement"—a dreadful euphemism for tax increases.

Outright lies

The day after Reagan's press conference, Baker and Stockman, having made the President look foolish, proceeded to deliver the coup de grace.

Again declining to be identified, they leaked to their favorite snappers-up of ill-considered trifles that the tax increase was by now favored not only by Baker but also by the President's two other senior advisers, Michael K. Deaver and Edwin Meese.

Time to end it

This damaging diversion has gone on for too long. It should never have gone on at all.

Baker and Stockman are not running this administration. How long before the President tells them their time is up? □

THE PRESIDENT'S AIDES ARE LOSING THEIR BOSS IN TRANSLATION

Lou Cannon

It is time to acknowledge that the right wing, despite high-pitched overstatements of the case, has a valid point. On nearly every issue of consequence that arose on the president's eclectic California trip last week, there was a signal, or a series of signals, from communications and press officials that undercut Reagan's position.

This is true on the controversy swirling around Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Anne M. Burford. But it is equally true, or more so,

Excerpts from an article by Lou Cannon, Washington Post, March 7, 1983

on the even more vital question of U.S. policy in El Salvador.

After a senior administration official early in the week told this reporter that the president was prepared to take "all necessary measures" to see that El Salvador does not fall into leftist hands, White House spokesman Larry Speakes came forward the following day to term this comment an "unfortunate remark" and leave the impression that Reagan is more conciliatory than he actually is.

In fact, the senior official was understating. When Reagan was asked about El Salvador at a luncheon forum in San Francisco two days later, he responded with a militant declaration that expresses his true views, saying that El Salvador "is on the frontline in a battle that is really aimed at the very

heart of the Western Hemisphere and eventually at us."

Before the luncheon, Speakes told reporters that Reagan had made no decision on whether to increase the number of U.S. advisers used for training Salvadoran troops. It may be true that Reagan hasn't signed any formal decision memorandum, but there is no question about where the president stands on the issue of advisers.

In his answer to the question about El Salvador at the luncheon forum, the president said "we may want to go beyond" the present limit of 55 advisers.

In private, Reagan is determined "not to lose El Salvador on his watch," as one official put it. It is the same message Reagan also gives in public when the signal is not filtered through his communications apparatus. □

BAKER AND GERGEN GREATEST LEAKERS

By Bruce Herschensohn

The President, who is getting sick and tired of leaks to the press that are coming out of the White House, has now entrusted James Baker, his Chief of Staff, with the duty of sealing off those leaks with a set of guidelines. And James Baker, in turn, has assigned the White House Communications Director, David Gergen, with the responsibility of seeing to it that White House staffers let Gergen know when they talk to the press.

To the President, this is serious business, and I agree with him. To the White House Press Corps, this is a comedy, and I agree with them, too. They're laughing. Because James Baker and David Gergen, who are assigned to seal the leaks are the ones who have been doing the greatest leaking. You add four other names: Richard Darman, Martin Feldstein, David Stockman, and Mark Weinberg. But the irony is that James Baker and David Gergen—the Leakers First Class—are assigned the duty of sealing the leaks.

I so believe that the President is right, but he has been taken for such a ride for so long and one of his assets and liabilities is that he just doesn't want to hear things like that about members of his staff. And because of that, it is with real regret that I tell the names, after wanting to burst with them for such a long time.

Now the reason you won't hear members of the Washington Press Corps tell the names of the leakers is because that, naturally, they won't reveal their sources. But by not revealing their sources they are really covering up a valid news story. A very valid news story.

Since the rule of the news media is not to reveal their sources, I won't reveal mine. But I will reveal theirs; they're not mine! (It's the public's right to know, and First Amendment, and all that.)

I've had these names confirmed, confirmed, confirmed, and confirmed. And I'll just mention this: one of my sources—and I feel silly in saying that phrase because I sound just like Jack Anderson, who I never want to sound like—but one of my sources is a mem-

ber of the Washington Press Corps itself! That person, knowing that I am a Commentator on TV and radio, just assumed that I must be a liberal. How could a conservative have a job like this? Just assumed it and by a weird set of circumstances confirmed the whole thing from the press side that I already knew from the other side. That person will never talk to me again, which is fine.

Now, what have Baker, Gergen, Darman, Feldstein, Stockman, and Weinberg been leaking? By and large, what they think the President should do regarding budget priorities. But let me ask you this: what does David Stockman know about Soviet missiles and the balance of power that he dare try to pass his judgments on defense spending over the President's? And does David Gergen have to deal with Yuri Andropov over world decisions? The

President does! Does Mark Weinberg know anything about policies? Does Martin Feldstein, who is the newest and might well be guilty only because he is new and naive, does he know what is on the President's mind? Do Richard Darman and James Baker, who are anything but new and naive, place their judgments above the President's? Yes! What's going on with these arrogant and non-elected appointees?

As Daniel Schorr and Bob Woodward and Jack Anderson would say: I will go to jail before revealing my sources. That is uncomfortable company to keep, but this time I will seize it.

The President should fire James Baker, David Gergen, Richard Darman, Martin Feldstein, David Stockman, and Mark Weinberg. And then he *won't* be up to "his keister" in leaks! □

JIM BAKER'S STRATEGY GROUP PUSHING PRESIDENT TO THE LEFT

"In the eyes of right-wing critics, the eight or so aides, [James Baker, Edwin Meese, Richard Darman, Michael Deaver, David Gergen, Kenneth Duberstein, David Stockman, and Craig Fuller who comprise the Legislative Strategy Group (L.S.G.) and] who meet almost every day in the White House, have diverted the President from his ideological principles and led him down the primrose path of moderation and compromise . . .

What has made the L.S.G. a lightning rod for the Right is not its effectiveness in executing strategy but its success in moderating Reagan's policies . . .

This is not necessarily a bad thing: In many cases the L.S.G. has blocked the excesses of overardent Reaganites . . .

Another tactic of Baker's group, one that particularly irks right-wing activists, is to place on the backburner programs they are not anxious to pursue for political or ideological reasons. Among them: dismantling the Department of Education and passing a constitutional amendment to ban abortion.

By far the most important policy initiative shaped by the L.S.G. has been the tax increase passed by the House in August . . .

Having set Reagan on a course of increasing taxes, the L.S.G. has put itself in an extremely vulnerable position. Some right-wing congressmen, in fact, have labeled the tax-increase measure 'the Baker-Darman-Stockman exit bill.' . . ."

Time, August 23, 1982

Bruce Herschensohn Commentary on KABC-TV, Los Angeles, Cal. January 12, 1983.

THIS IS PRAGMATISM?

By Patrick J. Buchanan

Perhaps the most common charge laid against the Reaganites in the President's entourage is that they are too ideological, too confrontational, too obdurate. They do not know when to compromise; they rarely see or seize the moment at which tactical retreat leads to partial victory. Rather than surrender a single inch of questionable ground, these True Believers prefer to go down, guns blazing, flags flying.

The Pragmatists in the White House, on the other hand, led by James Baker and deputies Darman and Duberstein, are credited with serving up one victory after another, by not insisting on 100 percent of every loaf.

In light of the debacle on interest and dividend withholding—91-5 humiliation in the Republican-controlled Senate on an issue on which the President had been persuaded to invest his prestige—the convenient theory of the ever-triumphant Pragmatists stands in some need of revision.

Let us retreat a bit. That 10 percent withholding provision was a central feature of the infamous Dole Tax of August last, wherein the Pragmatists convinced Mr. Reagan a \$99 billion tax increase was just what the economy needed to pull out of the recession.

In return for signing on to a tax hike that repealed a huge chunk of the Reagan Revolution, the President was told the nation would appreciate his new flexibility, his new bipartisanship.

What followed was not in the script. The President's coalition was shattered; his True Believers were demoralized two months before the election. His basic message was contradicted; his reputation as Mr. Tax Cut compromised. The private sector upon which Mr. Reagan had bet the ranch was saddled with \$99 billion in new taxes; and, contrary to prediction, the deficit expanded. The President was seen by many who admired his consistency to have suffered a loss of faith, ironically, just before the dawn of recovery.

Following the Republican defeat November last, however, thousands of smaller banks and savings and loans organized a nationwide campaign for repeal of the withholding provision. In a matter of weeks the tax revolt had gathered the support of millions of small

savers who inundated the Capitol with an estimated 18 million pieces of mail. The outpouring of public sentiment dwarfed the protest over the Panama Canal Treaties.

At this point, one would think that the White House Pragmatists would have moved hastily to cut Mr. Reagan's losses, to align the President with a genuinely popular movement, to get out in front and take credit for repeal of a hugely unpopular provision of the August tax hike that was a direct contradiction of the platform on which Mr. Reagan had run.

But, no. Egged on by the Big Media, Mr. Reagan planted his feet in concrete, undertook public vilification of the organizers of the repeal, and threatened to veto any legislation that came his way carrying a repeal rider.

What was so exasperating is that interest and dividend withholding is exactly the sort of issue that made Ronald Reagan President.

The Big Banks, Manny Hanny and Bank of America, have no problem with it; they simply re-program their computers to nick off that 10 percent of their savings accounts. It is small banks, savings and loans and credit unions, for whom the imposition is onerous and costly. As Senator Sam Ervin notes, what withholding is about is the punishment of the innocent to catch the guilty, the dunning of honest savers to catch tax cheats, the laying upon small private institutions of the responsibility for tax collection that rightly belongs to the IRS.

On April 14, Senator Dole, who got

the President into this, issued a press release announcing "a coalition of Senate leaders and people's groups in support of *President Reagan's plan to withhold 10 percent of dividend and interest income* for tax collection purposes."

The first leader Dole produced behind "Reagan's plan" was Senator Edward Kennedy; the first of the "people's groups" listed was the NAACP, followed by the AFL-CIO, Common Cause, Nader's Congress Watch, the National Organization for Women, and Americans for Democratic Action. What the devil is Dutch Reagan doing horsing around with a crowd like that?

Later in April, the President was rolled in a vote as lopsided as any taken in his term. Yet, the following morning, he was hinting publicly that he might yet prevail on keeping the withholding provision in the House, and castigating the Senate for allowing "people to go on cheating on their income tax rather than making them pay their fair share."

With Tip O'Neill and the high tax Democrats controlling Ways and Means, the President may "win" in the House. If he does, he will be accorded full credit for the most pestilential and unpopular Mickey Mouse tax of the postwar era, enraging and alienating millions of small savers, and for what? To collect an annual sum which, according to the latest figures from the Office of Management and Budget, adds up to something on the order of three-tenths of one percent of federal revenue. This is Pragmatism? □

Lemon-aides

Sen. Pete Domenici's Senate Budget Committee just approved a 5 percent increase in the defense budget for fiscal 1984. President Reagan wanted 10 percent. So they're both mad. But not at each other. They're mad at White House aides James Baker, Richard Darman, and Kenneth Duberstein.

For weeks before the committee slashed the president's defense request, Baker and his sidekicks were promising the Republican senator from New Mexico that the president would gracefully accept the 5 percent half-a-loaf. Because that's what *they* thought he ought to accept. They told the president he'd have to take it, that he wouldn't

get any more.

Of course he wouldn't get any more, not after his aides had told Domenici that the 5 percent increase was OK. They didn't reckon on Ronald Reagan sticking to his guns. And they didn't have the brains to see that it was their promises—on Reagan's "behalf"—that decided the committee vote against the president.

Although their boss wanted one thing, Baker, Darman, and Duberstein decided that he should have something else, "for his own good." If they'd only done what good subordinates should do, accept the boss' decision and fight hard for it, the president would have gotten a lot more than 5 percent from the committee. But they're not good subordinates. This isn't the first time we've said that. The president should fire them. This isn't the first time we've said that, either.

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CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

It is ludicrous for Baker—who engineered the Ford and Bush campaigns against Reagan—to engage in name-calling. But, of course, Baker's real rationale may have been to prevent Reagan from reading a critique of Baker's performance as chief of staff.

The outcome was the same in another incident when a prominent conservative tried to do something to help the President overcome the anti-Reagan activities of the White House staff. Last year, Clymer Wright of Houston, who had played major leadership roles in both the 1976 and 1980 Reagan campaigns in Texas, privately wrote to some other key Reagan supporters around the country to suggest that Baker ought to be fired. The White House staff obtained a copy of the letter and leaked it to the press, along with a blistering letter that the President wrote to Wright.

"This should take care of those 'extra-chromosome conservatives,'" White House aide Lee Atwater chuckled. Columnist Pat Buchanan explained, "For the uninitiated, 'extra-chromosome conservatives' are those kooks who fought their hearts out to save Ronald Reagan in the New Hampshire primary two years ago when Jim Baker and his friends were trying to shove over the lid of his political grave."

Apart from the philosophical considerations, it is becoming increasingly clear that Baker, et al. are serving President Reagan poorly on a strictly managerial level. *White House Weekly* reports, "Sources close to President Reagan report he feels he is not getting enough support from his staff, both in the White House and out among the Cabinet departments, as controversial issues arise . . . (Communications Director David) Gergen has been described, in anonymous quotations in media assessments, as 'a disaster.'"

Thus, Baker, Darman, Deaver, Gergen, etc. cannot justify their continuation in office on even a non-ideological, pragmatic basis. Not only have they taken advantage of the "long leash" that President Reagan has given them to push the administration away from conservatism, but they have failed to perform their duties in the top-flight manner that is needed.

It has been reported that Ronald Reagan, a kindly and good natured person, intensely dislikes firing people. But just as his 1980 campaign was rescued by discarding his campaign manager, John Sears, so it is that moving his administration into high gear will depend on casting off the moderates and liberals that do not share his conservative philosophy. □

THE SMEARING OF JUDGE CLARK

By M. Stanton Evans

Ronald Reagan's tolerance for savage conflict among his aides—and with it his ability to govern—is currently being tested to the limit.

In recent days we have seen a violent onslaught against the President's trusted national security adviser, Judge William Clark. The theme of these attacks is that Clark, a long-time Reagan loyalist, is ignorant, inept, a hopeless ideologue—indeed, an all-around "disaster." Stories to this effect have surfaced in *Newsweek*, *Time*, the *Washington Post*, and a report on CBS-TV.

Quite clearly, this disparagement of Clark is coming from the White House itself—specifically, from the "pragmatic" wing of the official family headed up by Chief of Staff James Baker.

Thus, the anti-Clark effusion in the *Post* tells us the national security adviser, along with Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, led the President into a budget ambush by refusing a timely Baker-sponsored compromise on spending for defense. This alleged stupidity by Clark and Weinberger is contrasted with the shrewd counsel of Baker and his deputy, Richard Darman, depicted as brilliant masters of the legislative process.

The other media have played variations on this vicious theme. *Newsweek* rips into Clark for "dismal lack of expertise on foreign affairs," allegedly leading the President into a quagmire on the issue of the Siberian pipeline, unwisely pushing Kenneth Adelman at the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and urging the President to be "confrontational" on Central America. We are then told that "pragmatic" staffers think ill of Clark and one "top-level" aide is quoted: "There's an attitude to let him fall on his face. . . . It's going to be all the rest of us against Clark."

The pattern of these attacks is almost identical to that emerging last year when leaks and anonymous quotes from "White House aides" zapped another Reaganite, Presidential Counsellor Edwin Meese. In these stories, Meese was portrayed as an indecisive bumbler with poor staff work who was

rapidly losing influence in the White House. The Meese ineptitude was contrasted with the smooth efficiency, brilliant staff, and rising influence of—Jim Baker.

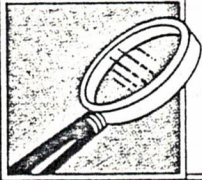
You don't need an advanced degree in criminology to figure that a high-level "White House aide" continually blasting Meese and Clark, while glorifying Baker, isn't Meese or Clark. Obviously, this stuff is coming from the Baker shop—if not from Baker personally, then from people who work under him (who include, significantly, the press operatives of the White House staff).

Indeed, Baker's penchant for dumping on other members of the administration is well-known in Washington, and was displayed for all to see in the famous interview he gave the *Dallas Morning News*. In that conversation, Baker grandly opined that Labor Secretary Ray Donovan (another long-time Reaganite) should resign, lamented that he could not fire members of Meese's staff if they fouled up (purely an example, of course), and voiced his doubts about "Reaganomics" into the bargain.

What we have in these three episodes is an all-out, ongoing propaganda war conducted by Baker and/or "pragmatic" leakers in his entourage against the most loyal backers of the President. The process is immensely harmful to immediate targets such as Clark, Meese, Donovan, or Weinberger, but it is also ruinous to the government of Ronald Reagan. The spectacle of this brutal infighting at the White House conveys a picture of almost terminal disorder.

Perhaps the most intriguing question raised by all of this is how the Baker "pragmatists" have gotten away with it—and how long they can continue to. None of them has any track record of supporting Reagan or Reaganism, and in fact this group did all they could to prevent his nomination. Yet somehow they have managed to worm their way into key positions in the White House, and to use these posts to make continued grief for the President's steadfast supporters.

It should be obvious by now to all and sundry that Baker has to go. If a house divided against itself cannot stand, still less so can a White House. © L.A. Times Syndicate □



LEFT-WING CHURCH GROUP RAIDS FEDERAL COLLECTION PLATE

Pro-Marxist National Council of Churches grabs your tax money.

Michele N. Rossi

Thanks to recent exposés, millions of Americans who faithfully contribute to their churches each year are at last realizing that some of their donations have been used to finance Marxist governments and support anti-American causes.

But, do they, and other U.S. citizens, understand that their tax dollars have also been used to support the radical National Council of Churches (NCC) through grants by the National Endowment for the Arts and the Departments of Energy and Labor?

Founded in 1950, the National Council of Churches is an organization which includes 32 Protestant denominations. Affiliated churches claim a membership of 40 million. The NCC is led by 57-year-old Bishop James Armstrong, who has criticized the Moral Majority and attacked Rev. Jerry Falwell for his fundamental stands on the Bible, the Equal Rights Amendment, the family, and abortion.

A 1980 grant to the National Council of Churches by the Department of Labor in the amount of \$435,775 supplemented a \$500,000 award made in 1978 for a Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) program to "develop and coordinate incarcerated veterans outreach projects" to provide "educational and training opportunities during the period of incarceration, eliminate barriers to future employment posed by adverse discharges, carry out extensive follow-up services with veterans upon release from institutions, and to seek to offer alternatives to incarceration both prior and subsequent to incarceration."

The Department of Energy granted at least \$438,000 to the NCC during 1979-1981, \$428,000 of which was for an energy education project to "provide energy related learning experi-

ence to the National Council of Churches' constituency through coordination with other organized groups."

The NCC's grant proposal states that "energy is a social problem with a profoundly moral dimension" which affects "values." It is further asserted that the Council's Energy Education Project "is unique in approaching energy production and use as a social, rather than . . . a technical or economic" issue.

"Churches will be active participants," the proposal continues, in the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition (C/LEC), a Left-wing group organized by Heather Booth (who has also been President of the federally funded, radical training school, the Midwest Academy) and led by William Winpisinger, the self described "socialist" president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.

Lenin urged that church leaders and the young be used to advance the ends of international communism . . .

A \$15,000 grant to the National Council of Churches from the National Endowment for the Arts in Fiscal Year 1980 funded a 50-minute color documentary, to be produced in association with the United Nations, on Zimbabwe's "history and . . . early resistance to British imperial expansion."

Interestingly, the NCC's project money from the National Endowment for the Arts was never used for production of the film described, but was instead used for a sympathetic film on Marxist Mozambique "tying in Zimbabwe and South Africa, as well as Namibia, in . . . treatment of social change and evolution in Mozambique."

Lenin urged that church leaders and the young be used to advance the ends of international communism in creating pacifism and resistance on the part of those in the Western world to defend their own countries. Lenin's philosophy, as reported by Capt. G.

Russell Evans, USCG (Ret.) and Dr. C. Gregg Singer in their book, *The Church and the Sword* (St. Thomas Press, Houston, Tex., 1982) 'n states that "powerful organizations of non-communists can be created for this purpose, particularly liberal minded ministers . . ."

It is difficult to accept the U.S. government's involvement in the financial support of a group which claims to "bring churches into life-giving fellowship and into common witness, study and action to the glory of God and service to all creation," but which instead supports abortion on demand (NCC *Temp Newsletter*, October 1973), the Equal Rights Amendment (NCC statement, March 1975), homosexual rights (Religious News Service, March 1975), and forced busing of school children (NCC statement 1974).

The Federally funded NCC contributes to its parent organization, the World Council of Churches (WCC), with which it shares offices on Riverside Drive in New York. *The Presbyterian Layman* reports that in 1981 the NCC contributed \$2,754,055 to the WCC.

The WCC uses contributions to support such radical organizations as the Soviet-backed South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO), (\$125,000—1981) headed by terrorist Sam Nujomo; the Marxist African National Congress (\$65,000—1981).

Methodist evangelist Edmund Robb explained, in a "60-Minutes" segment dedicated to exposing the radical, political tendencies of the NCC and WCC, that "in every geographical area of this nation people are concerned . . . aroused, about the radical Left-wing views of the National Council of Churches . . . I noticed a pattern of support of totalitarian [sic] leftist regimes across the country, . . . world . . ."

NCC leader Armstrong also appeared on "60-Minutes." When Morley Safer challenged him, saying, "A great deal . . . of the National Council would seem to, not exactly belong to the Marxist system, but speak in much the same language," Bishop Armstrong responded, "Well, you're asking me to speak in the language of the United States Government. I won't."

Churchmen should wash their hands of the NCC's politics. Elected representatives and government leaders should guarantee that the NCC is never again funded with U.S. tax dollars. □

Michele Rossi is research director of The Conservative Caucus Research, Analysis and Education Foundation.

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It's CD's 8th Anniversary:

THE DIRECTION IS OURS TO CHOOSE (AGAIN)

I believe that this framework will be of a populist/conservative nature . . .

Eight years is a short time, but a long while in political history. Two Presidential terms to be exact. I was pondering how to approach this eighth anniversary issue to put things in perspective.

On the one hand, I could point to the enormous growth in the movement since 1975. Many groups have grown to be 10 times the size they were back then. Others which are very important to the movement had not even been thought of. We have many more legislators with whom to deal than we did 8 years go, and now their voices count because in some cases they are committee and subcommittee chairmen. And while the administration is not what many of us would like, there are friendly voices at the other end of the line in many quarters and that is a first for conservatives.

On the other hand, I am mindful of something which my mother reminded me of some while ago, when she said that things had gotten a bit worse every year that I had been in Washington. That is 17 years now, and sadly the decline of America has not been arrested. Many great tragedies have occurred over the past 8 years and they continue to happen. We could dwell on the negative.

In reality the picture we face as the *Conservative Digest* begins its ninth year is neither rosy nor bleak. We are at a crossroads. Where we go from here depends entirely on us.

For years it was the objective of the conservative movement to curb the excesses of liberalism. Not only were liberal ideas bankrupt but the liberal coalition had governed for 50 years and many of its components were drunk with power for power's sake. America in 1980 was the picture of a nation which was feeling the effects of decaying liberalism, with its advocates grabbing for still greater power.

The election of Ronald Reagan did change that situation to some extent, but the major shift in direction which some of us had hoped would occur did not. It did not because the administration peopled itself with the Country Club Republican set who do not understand the middle class.

There were two strains of conservatism out there in 1975. There was that

represented by the traditional economic conservatives who wanted to reconstruct Herbert Hoover's memory the way Stalin is now being resurrected in the Soviet Union. Then there was the populist/conservative strain which is rooted in more cultural, family and neighborhood issues. This group suffered from lack of credible national leadership and eventually got absorbed into the Ronald Reagan movement, particularly after he took up the Panama Canal issue in 1976. This group provided the margin of victory for Reagan in many states and certainly helped to elect some of the conservative Senators who were swept into office in 1978 and 1980.

This common vision must be advanced regardless of who occupies the Oval Office in the White House or how well they love us for doing it.

Since that time, the administration's policies have fractured the coalition and while I have seen a little movement in a populist/conservative direction in recent weeks, it remains to be seen if a new crowd takes over who will draw out Ronald Reagan's latent populist instincts. More likely, the administration will not move in that direction and many potential coalition partners will sit out the dance.

Meanwhile, the common cause we all shared from 1975 through the 1980 elections, and for most of the first year of the Reagan administration when hopes still existed, has vanished for many. Some conservatives believe we are, in fact, governing. Others believe that we are not governing to any great extent with this administration and that therefore loyalty to its policies is the surest road to political perdition.

My own view is somewhere in-between in that it does appear to me that we are governing in some areas and not at all in others and this leads to a split personality on my part when I deal with Pennsylvania Avenue. That split personality causes confusion among the troops because they don't know from one day to the next who they are for or who they are against.

Clearly, this situation must be changed or the movement will not

progress. I believe we must construct a common vision which the majority of us can share and which will provide a framework within which we must operate. I believe that this framework will be of a populist conservative nature, and that both of these terms need redefinition under the circumstances. One columnist recently suggested that the administration was indeed conservative because it was for preserving the status quo. That makes a great many of us non-conservatives if that is really the case. And of course the populism we identify with is an anti-elitism, not to be confused with the non-sense spouted by former Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma. We are latter day descendants politically of, for example, William Jennings Bryan. In all of this I do not suggest abandoning matters of principle (as has been suggested in some of the media that we are doing, because some issues such as right to life are not negotiable).

This common vision must tell the American people how we would behave if we were even given the change to govern. We must pour forth our proposals which need not be locked into the precise structures of the pro-big business conservatism of the 1920's. We must also advance our proposals legislatively, knowing that they stand little chance to be approved in this or even perhaps the next Congress. We must support and advance candidates who communicate to people in the neighborhoods. We must rid ourselves of some of the baggage which we have been carrying, unfairly, because of our perceived association with the Fortune 500, an association which has never existed, at least not on my part. We must not be afraid to ally ourselves with new innovations such as computer technology, and we must relate these innovations to our values which include, among other things, strengthening the family.

This common vision must be advanced REGARDLESS of who occupies the Oval Office in the White House or how well they love us for doing it. My guess is that what we do will prove sound enough with the people that in due time politicians will be falling over themselves to get on board.

If we know what we want and where we are going, we'll have a good shot at influencing others. There-in lies our challenge as CD lights eight candles.

□

AMERICA'S MOST ADMIRABLE CONSERVATIVES 1983

Once again, we are proud to announce the results of
CONSERVATIVE DIGEST's annual
Most Admired Conservative poll.

I. The Ten Most Admired Conservatives in Congress

1. U.S. Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.)
2. U.S. Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.)
3. U.S. Sen. William Armstrong (R-Colo.)
4. U.S. Rep. Phillip Crane (R-Ill.)
5. U.S. Sen. Jeremiah Denton (R-Ala.)
6. U.S. Rep. Larry McDonald (D-Ga.)
7. U.S. Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah)
8. U.S. Rep. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.)
9. U.S. Sen. John East (R-N.C.)
10. U.S. Rep. Ron Paul (R-Tex.)

II. The Ten Most Admired Conservative Men Not in Congress

1. Dr. Jerry Falwell
2. President Ronald Reagan
3. William F. Buckley Jr.
4. Secretary of Interior James Watt
5. Patrick Buchanan
6. Paul Weyrich
7. Howard Phillips
8. M. Stanton Evans
9. Lewis Lehrman
10. William Simon

III. The Ten Most Admired Conservative Women Not in Congress

1. Phyllis Schlafly
2. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick
3. Nancy Reagan
4. Anne Burford
5. Connaught Marshner
6. Dr. Mildred Jefferson
7. Martha Rountree
8. Beverly LaHaye
9. Judie Brown
10. The Hon. Sandra O'Connor

Top Three Congressional Winners



1. U.S. Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.)



2. U.S. Representative Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.)



3. U.S. Senator William Armstrong
(R-Colo.)

I. Conservatives in Congress



Rep. Philip Crane
(R-Ill.)



Sen. Jeremiah Denton
(R-Ala.)



Rep. Larry McDonald
(D-Ga.)



Sen. Orrin Hatch
(R-Utah)

Chase Studios, Ltd.



Rep. Phil Gramm
(R-Tex.)



Sen. John East
(R-N.C.)



Rep. Ron Paul
(R-Tex.)

Top Three Men Not in Congress



1. Dr. Jerry Falwell
Pastor of Thomas Road Baptist Church,
Lynchburg, Va.; founder of Moral Ma-
jority, Inc.



White House

2. President Ronald Reagan
Our first conservative president in more
than 50 years



Christopher B. Kuhn

3. William F. Buckley Jr.
Editor of *National Review* and syndi-
cated columnist

II. Conservative Men, Not in Congress

James Watt, Secretary of Interior
Patrick Buchanan, syndicated columnist and
political commentator

Paul Weyrich, director and founder of the
Committee for the Survival of a Free Con-
gress

Howard Phillips, national director of The
Conservative Caucus

M. Stanton Evans, nationally syndicated
journalist and editor

Lewis Lehrman, 1982 New York gubernatorial
candidate and drug store magnate

William Simon, former U.S. Treasury Sec-
retary, now chairman, Wesray Corp.,
president of U.S. Olympic Committee, and
president, John M. Olin Foundation



James Watt



Patrick Buchanan



Paul Weyrich



Howard Phillips



M. Stanton Evans



Lewis Lehrman



William Simon

Top Three Women Not in Congress



1. Phyllis Schlafly
Mother of six children, syndicated columnist, member of the Illinois Bar, author



2. Dr. Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations



3. First Lady Nancy Reagan

III. Conservative Women, Not in Congress

Anne Gorsuch Burford, former administrator of Environmental Protection Agency

Connaught Marshner, director of the Family Division of the Free Congress Foundation

Dr. Mildred Jefferson, past president of National Right to Life Committee

Martha Rountree, president of the Leadership Foundation

Beverly LaHaye, president of Concerned Women for America

Judie Brown, president, American Life Lobby

The Hon. Sandra O'Connor, Supreme Court Justice



Anne Gorsuch Burford



Connaught Marshner



Dr. Mildred Jefferson



Martha Rountree



Beverly LaHaye



Judie Brown



The Hon. Sandra O'Connor



PAGANISTIC EXECS PUSH PORN

Jesus distorted, cables clogged, FCC and establishment churches do nothing.

A recent poll by George Gallup shows that what Americans are and what they see on television are vastly different. Mr. Gallup's polls shows that 87 percent of Americans say that they have been influenced by Jesus Christ. Only 7 percent of the adults questioned said Jesus has had little or no impact on their lives, while the others had no opinion. A total of 81 percent considered themselves Christian. More than 75 percent say that Jesus is now alive and "lives in and cares for you," with 84 percent saying that "His spirit is alive in the world."

This is in sharp contrast with the leading Hollywood and network people who are responsible for our programs. Ninety-three percent of those people say they seldom or never attend worship.

And while Americans attend worship, pray and seek to take serious their Christian faith, network television gives a completely different view. Not one single network program set in a modern day setting has one character depicted as a Christian, and in more than five years of monitoring network television yours truly hasn't seen a single person on a program set in a modern day setting who was depicted as being a Christian and was shown as a loving, caring, intelligent, compassionate person who contributes to society. Censorship, the thing the networks and Hollywood always cry about, could not be more complete against Christians.

□ □ □

Hollywood keeps rewriting the Bible. Paramount Pictures, a division of Gulf & Western, plans to produce a new movie entitled *The Last Temptation*. It will present Jesus "as a man who fought against being accepted as the Messiah," according to critic Marilyn Beck. Gulf & Western also makes No-Nonsense pantyhose.

A previous attempt to rewrite the Bible was the CBS production *The Day Christ Died*, shown again just prior to

Easter. When the broadcast first ran in 1980, Jim Bishop, author of the book from which the movie was made, was so upset with the movie he asked that his name be removed from the credits. CBS selected Edward Anhalt, a self-professed agnostic, to write the script. Peter Boyer, then TV critics for the Associated Press, wrote concerning the roles of Judas and Jesus. "Judas is no cheap traitor here, selling his Lord for

Not one single network program set in a modern day setting has one character depicted as a Christian, and . . . Yours Truly hasn't seen a single person on a program set in a modern day setting who was depicted as being a Christian and was shown as a loving, caring, intelligent, compassionate person who contributes to society.

30 pieces of silver . . . If anything, this movie suggests (that) Christ betrayed Judas." Don't look for the image of Christians to improve much on network television. Just remember that the programs reflect the attitude of only a handful of network and Hollywood officials.

□ □ □

Marriott apparently is trying to eat the cake and keep it too. Company President J. Willard Marriott, urged by a customer to remove pornographic magazines from chain hotels, replied "our guests continue to request and

demand these publications" and stated Marriott would keep selling them. Meanwhile, according to *U.S. News & World Report*, Marriott's leaders are backing Morality in Media's fight against pornography. Marriott is maintaining friendship in both camps, selling porn while fighting porn.

□ □ □

Cable porn is exploding, and the FCC will do nothing. During the past few days we have received reports of hardcore porn being shown on cable and on over-the-air stations. From Baltimore, Dallas, Chicago, Washington, New York and other areas come letters telling of viewers switching the dial and discovering hardcore porn. Legitimate businesses are getting into the act, money being the motivator. WHT, channel 68 in Newark, is the latest reported to us. The station is owned by Wometco Enterprises of Miami. Wometco also owns KVOS in Bellingham, Washington; WLOS-TV in Greenville, South Carolina; WTVJ-TV in Miami and WZZM-TV in Grand Rapids.

Wometco owns Coca-Cola distributorships in Nashville, Columbia, Dickson, Springfield, and Lebanon, Tennessee; Winslow, Arizona; Plattsburgh, New York; Roanoke, Virginia; and Beckley, West Virginia.

Chairman Mitchell Wolfson and his partners at Wometco are equipped to push porn even more, owning cable systems in several states.

CBS is getting into the act, distributing *Playboy* video tapes. And Warner-Amex Cable is now offering the *Playboy Channel*. Warner-Amex is a joint venture between Warner Communications, the people who make Atari, and American Express.

From the Federal Communications Commission, headed by Mark Fowler, no action. Not a word. Fowler intends to let porn grow despite laws clearly forbidding obscenity on the airways.

No outcry from the mainline churches, either.

I remember reading years ago about a meeting the Marxists were having one night in Moscow planning the communist revolution. A few doors down the street a group of leaders from the Russian Orthodox Church were meeting. The subject? They were arguing about what color robes should be worn on what Sundays.

History can, indeed, repeat itself.

□

Voters will reject this latest version of "tax and tax, spend and spend..."

By Warren Brookes

No wonder Ronald Reagan is smiling these days. Even as his own presidency seemed to be slipping away, the Democrats have apparently decided to give him another chance.

Up until their Joint Economic Message in February, their budget in March, and their assault on indexing in April, the Demos were having a grand time beating up on "Reaganomics." Now, it's Reaganomics compared to what? And the "what" can be summed up in three words: Tax. Spend. Inflate. If that strikes you as old-time New Deal religion, you're right on target.

The Democrats' alternative in the 1983 Joint Economic Committee report was assembled by Jamie Galbraith, a chip off the old Keynesian block (John Kenneth Galbraith). Its proposals were unambiguous: Easy money to inflate the economy with the Fed specifically instructed to monetize the federal debt (print money); jobs programs a la CETA; substantially expanded social welfare spending; stepped up "fiscal assistance" to state and local bureaucracies; the bail-out of the big banks through the International Monetary Fund (IMF); and a veiled return to old-fashioned Republican protectionism with "reciprocity" trade agreements.

How to pay for all this? Easy. Cut defense spending growth to 3 percent. Get rid of tax-indexing so the poor and middle-class can be exposed to inflationary bracket creep again, and "cap" the third-year tax cut at \$44,000.

Then, to replace the private savings such a proposal would wipe out, they propose to allocate credit to "emerging industries." That's shorthand for the kind of central economic planning which has worked so well in France and Poland.

One of our readers, Roger Hoffman of Ipswich, Massachusetts, has described all these policies in his own delightfully pejorative ways as DEMO-

NOMICS.

He says DEMO-NOMICS was "ratified" in the Democrats' budget in March with its \$265 billion in new taxes over the next five years—the largest increase in U.S. history, just the thing for double-digit unemployment! It would cost the average family a minimum of \$1,000 in new taxes in 1984-85.

At the same time, DEMO-NOMICS cuts \$15 billion from defense spending, while putting \$25 billion back into social programs. This would lay off at least half-a-million defense workers to create even fewer make-work jobs, two years from now!

It is now clear that had it not been for the president's tax-cut program—as delayed as it was—we would have been in much worse shape."

No wonder the *Wall Street Journal's* Norman Miller found "a surprising amount of support for Mr. Reagan's economic policies" in Johnstown, Pennsylvania (unemployment rate 24.8 percent)? As one steelworker told him, "He's doing the right thing by getting rid of inflation, and after he gets that under control, then he'll work on unemployment."

The Common Market countries checked in last March with 11.1-percent unemployment and 8.1-percent inflation, for a "misery index" of 19.2 (Table). Canada sported unemployment at 12.6 percent, and inflation at 8.8 percent for a misery index of 21.4 percent. The U.S., by contrast, showed a 10.1-percent unemployment and 3.5-percent inflation for a 13.6-percent misery index. The U.S. now has 40-percent less economic pain than liberal Europe.

This would suggest that Reaganomics, far from being a failure, may have been a stunning achievement in ameliorating a deep worldwide recession caused by a combination of OPEC, inflationary government spending, and taxing of the 1970s.

This is the conclusion of H.C. Wainwright, the only economic forecasting service that pinpointed the 1982 recession. In July 1981, when the other fore-

casts (DRI, Chase, OMB, and CBO) were predicting 3.5-percent real GNP growth for 1982, Wainwright predicted "the worse recession since the Depression, with a 2.1-percent drop in real GNP (it dropped 1.8 percent), and over 10-percent unemployment." Now, Wainwright is forecasting almost 6-percent growth this year, and over 99 percent in 1984 with declining deficits.

"What's more," David Ranson, one of Wainwright's economists, told us, "it is now clear that had it not been for the president's tax-cut program—as delayed as it was—we would have been in much worse shape." One key indicator says he's right: unlike any previous recession, disposable personal income (after taxes and inflation) actually rose 2.3 percent in 1981-82, compared with drops of 1.7 percent in 1980 and 3.2 percent in 1974-75.

"Given the conditions which Reagan inherited, and the tight-money policies of the Federal Reserve, the economy actually performed better than would have been expected from past experience in the face of 1981's record interest rates," Ranson said.

Without the tax cuts and the defense spending (which his analysis shows is having a very positive effect on the economy) "we could be looking at 11½-to-12-percent unemployment, and a much less promising recovery." (Europe is in this position now.)

Ranson does not even worry that the Fed might tighten monetary policy. "In the short run, that should actually make the economy grow faster as companies and individuals, perceiving higher rates ahead, would spend and consume more now."

Reaganomics—Compared To What?
(March-April '83 Data)

	Inflation Rate	Unemployment Rate	Misery Index
U.S.	3.5%	10.2%	13.7%
Canada	8.8%	12.4%	21.2%
Common Market Countries	8.1%	11.1%	19.2%

Source: Dow Jones—BLS

The only thing that worries him is that Mr. Reagan might still compromise on either the tax cut or indexing. "Repealing those cuts, especially indexing, could be very costly to the economy over the next four or five years."

In short, DEMO-NOMICS would be a disaster. □



A DIVIDED WHITE HOUSE HURTS CONSERVATIVES

The old saw about a chain only being as strong as its weakest link came to mind several times this month as I read news stories which included statements by President Reagan and accompanying "clarifications" by unnamed "White House sources."

To say that the President has some weak links in his White House staff would be a gross understatement. Many top administration officials never were or never desired to be a part of the Reagan "chain."

Ronald Reagan is clearly the *strongest* link. When he gets to talk directly to the American people without the distracting clatter of apologetic aides and the network seers, he is right on target.

But the bulk of what this administration should be accomplishing is not done in prime-time broadcasts but in the political trenches of Washington by the President's staff.

And it is in this routine, day-to-day business of running the federal government, and preventing it from running us, that the President's views are distorted by the unelected technicians of big government.

While some of the staff squeamishness can be laid to inexperience, the bulk of it must fall squarely on top White House management which is plainly out of step with the Boss and the vast majority of Americans who support Reagan.

In every bend of his political career, Ronald Reagan has had to contend with one breed or another of "seasoned Capitol observers" and political wizards. Whether in California or Washington, they made the same noises.

"Reagan is an extremist," they chorled. "He's too strident, too dogmatic without room for compromise."

The pragmatic approach favored by these all-knowing observers always

came in various sizes and colors but, stripped of its deceptive wrappings, it always amounted to one thing—more of the failed government growth policies of earlier pragmatists.

Today, these same voices are being heard but this time they are using White House telephones to spread their message that things can't possibly be as good as they seem.

Almost before the President completes a sentence, key members of the White House staff are on the phone explaining "what he really meant" to reporters and columnists.

The day of the President's address on Central America to a special joint session of Congress, White House staffers and their assistants on Capitol Hill contacted members of the Senate and House to get a "reading" on legislative sentiment. Their tone and manner made it clear that they felt the President was venturing into dangerous political territory.

Of course, President Reagan's speech was brilliant. An ABC phone-in poll showed that five out of six callers agreed with what the President had to say about Central America and the activities of the Soviet proxies there.

While some of the staff squeamishness can be laid to inexperience, the bulk of it must fall squarely on top White House management which is plainly out of step with the Boss and the vast majority of Americans who support Reagan.

Time and time again, White House Chief of Staff James Baker and presidential aide Michael Deaver have shown that they do not share the President's vision of American government.

Even unsympathetic members of the Washington press corps are surprised at the undercutting that goes on between the President and his staff.

What one reporter calls "The Baker Telephone Network" has been credited with helping along the departure of EPA administrator Anne Gorsuch Burford. While President Reagan was giving public assurances of his support for the embattled Burford, Baker's operatives were on the line telling the press it was just a matter of days.

The Baker phone-a-thons have given the telephone company's slogan, "Reach Out and Touch Someone", a special and sinister twist.

Rumors of United Nations Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick's resignation and the almost-daily predictions of the

demise of Interior Secretary James Watt are coming from the same source.

Presidential aide Deaver plays a key role in the Baker effort.

"I think of Reagan as a moderate and myself as a moderate," Deaver told the *New York Daily News* recently. But Deaver was anything but moderate in ridiculing an early and faithful supporter of the President.

Many top administration officials never were or never desired to be a part of the Reagan "chain."

Syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak reported earlier this year that Deaver had the following derisive comment on the request by Dr. Jerry Falwell for a meeting with the President: "Maybe we can invite him over to the mansion for a drink with the President."

Of course, Dr. Falwell doesn't drink. But he has supported Ronald Reagan and was among the first to encourage his pro-family and pro-life followers to back the President.

The White House pragmatists have many problems—a critical one being their short memory.

In earlier Republican administrations, attempts to "broaden our political base," "promote outreach to new constituencies" and generally neutralize the loudest, liberal Democrat activists have always had disastrous results.

Gerald Ford gave us increases in taxes and government spending. The American people got nothing. And Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale got the White House.

It was the promise that the Reagan administration would be different from earlier Democrat and Republican presidencies that got President Reagan elected.

In these final pre-campaign hours of the President's first term, the fewer decisions left to the Washington pundits and survivors of earlier GOP Titanics the better. □

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 16, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD DARMAN

FROM: JIM JENKINS 
SUBJECT: Anonymous Sources

Your remark this morning about me being quoted in John Lofton's column consitiutes a clear implication that you are laboring under an impression that I provide information to John Lofton or to someone else on the TIMES staff. I do not.

I have talked to John Lofton only twice in the 19 months I have been on the staff. Both times I insisted, as I always do with all newsmen, that our comments be on-the-record and for-attribution. Presumably that is why he doesn't contact me anymore.

Certainly, if I was the source of the anonymous quote you attribute to me, he would have named me.

I never go off the record, or on background, with any newsmen. Without doubt, that is the reason they call me so seldom (once every 10 days to 2 weeks).

If you persist in suspecting that I am the anonymous source of published information about you, you owe it to yourself to find out if I have ever talked off-the-record, or on background, to any newsmen. This should be very easy for you to do, considering the magnitude of your media relations activities.

My insistence on this practice is, without question, the basis for anonymous published charges that I am ineffective in using White House newsmen for destructive purposes. But at least it gives me the perfect defense from charges that I am the un-named source of any kind of criticism of you or anyone else on the staff.

I have followed this policy for 30 years, and have over the past year urged both Meese and Deaver to impose the same discipline on all the White House staff. But, so far as I can tell, I am still alone in eschewing anonymity.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 16, 1983

Deaver
FYI
Copies
to
W.D.C.

Dear Mr. Davies:

Your letter to Judge Clark has been referred to my office by Mr. Deaver's office. I know that the President is as grateful as we are for your support and appreciates the time you have taken to give us the benefit of your suggestions on how to better communicate his views and policies to the Nation.

You can be sure that when the matter of scheduling the President's television appearances is discussed, your thoughts will be considered in determining the timing of his addresses. Regrettably, in view of the President's heavy scheduling requirements and the programming needs of the networks, we cannot assure you that it will be possible for his appearances to be on nights other than Wednesday. In any event, please be assured I will keep your valuable comments in mind during discussions with my colleagues at the White House.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

David R. Gergen
Assistant to the President
for Communications

Mr. John M. Davies
The Tennessee Conservative Union
4744 Beavercreek Drive
Powell, Tennessee 37849

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 11, 1983

Dear Mr. Davies:

Judge Clark has passed along your letter to him of April 28th regarding President Reagan's Wednesday night speeches.

Your point is well taken, and I have taken the liberty of forwarding a copy of your letter to David Gergen, White House Director of Communications.

Thank you for your concern and continued support.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEEVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. John M. Davies
The Tennessee Conservative Union
4744 Beaver Creek Drive
Powell, Tennessee 37849



the tennessee conservative union

April 28, 1983

MAY 1983

The Honorable William Clark
National Security Advisor
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Judge Clark:

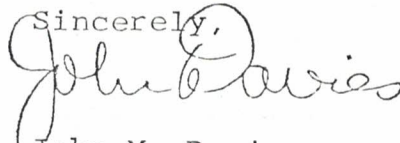
As a loyal Reagan supporter, I am concerned that the President's recent televised speeches on the Soviet military and Central America have not received the largest possible audience. The reason for this is that both have been held on Wednesday nights.

As you may know, many churches throughout the South hold mid-week services on Wednesday nights. Among the denominations that hold such services are: Methodist, Presbyterian, Churches of Christ, Church of God, Church of the Nazarene, Assemblies of God, and Seventh-Day Adventists.

The type of people who attend such services tend to be on the fundamentalist side and are natural Reagan supporters. Unfortunately, they miss the chance to hear the President on Wednesday night.

I hope that you will consider changing the time of the President's speeches. Surely a switch to either Tuesday or Thursday is warranted.

Sincerely,



John M. Davies

JMD/lk

4744 Beaver Creek Drive
Lloyd C. Daugherty, Chairman

Powell, Tennessee 37849

MEMBER: 118-938-0112
John M. Davies, Secretary/Treasurer

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April 15, 1983

Mr. Michael Deaver
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20200

*Dear
Walker*

May 4

Dear Mr. Deaver:

I have the message from your assistant, Shirley Moore, that she has tentatively scheduled as appointment for me to see you on Wednesday morning, May 4, about 10 a.m. We are delighted that you will have some time to begin your participation in the oral history project we are conducting on the President's years as governor of California.

Because your time is so valuable and my time in Washington is filling up, attached is my appointment list as of today. Several appointments are in the White House complex and perhaps could be shifted if you need to change the time when you can talk with me. My Washington phone is on the list.

For this first session of your narrative, I would like to ask you to recall your early interest in politics and your field work for the Republican party on the Peninsula in 1965 and 1966. Win Adams has outlined the workings of the Cal Plan in his memoir, and it would be very valuable to fill in the detail of what it was like at the grassroots, what you learned about how voters and communities function that has been helpful to Mr. Reagan. If there is enough time, perhaps we could go on to the period of transition into the governor's office. Then, as your schedule permits, we hope you will be interested in continuing to discuss your work with Mr. and Mrs. Reagan at length.

I look forward to meeting you on May 4th.

Sincerely,

Gabrielle Morris

Gabrielle Morris,
Project Director

GM/s
enclosure

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April 15, 1983

PRELIMINARY SCHEDULE: Gabrielle Morris, Project Director
Ronald Reagan Gubernatorial Era Oral History Project

Washington, D.C. Tuesday, May 3 - Thursday, May 5, 1983

Washington phone number: (202) 547-1058

Tuesday, May 3:

10:30 a.m. Herb Ellingwood

3:00 p.m. Ray Procunier (Richmond, VA)

Wednesday, May 4:

10:00 a.m. Michael Deaver

11:00 a.m. Melvin Bradley

1:00 p.m. Marie Allen (Presidential
Libraries)

2:00 p.m. Florence Randolph

Thursday, May 5:

9:30 a.m. James Jenkins

11:00 a.m. Verne Orr

5:00 p.m. Robert Carleson

Friday, May 6:

Possibly still in Washington.

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BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

March 24, 1983

Mr. Edwin Meese III
Counselor to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ed Meese:

I thought I would let you know that I am planning a trip East early in May to continue interviewing for the Ronald Reagan oral history project-- in hopes that Merilee Melvin might be able to find an hour in your schedule when we might be able to record another session of your interview.

A flock of inquiries is going in the mail to see if I can line up appointments with five or six of your Sacramento colleagues between May 3-13, in which case I will be in Washington for a three or four day stretch during that time.

Would any of those days, or evenings, work for you? If not (or if so) do you suppose that Mr. Deaver or Mr. Jenkins would be able to begin their interviews for the project?

Sincerely,

Gabrielle Morris
Gabrielle Morris,
Project Director

GM/s

May 4

1 hr. ?