

# The liberals' darling

*Kathy Murphy identifies the Fabian Democrats, past and present, who have boosted Alexander Haig's career.*

Using methods reminiscent of his patron Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State-designate Alexander Haig has moved swiftly to establish his control over the Reagan administration's foreign policy apparatus. Within days of being named to head up the State Department, Haig took some obvious muscle-flexing steps designed to convey the message: "I'll be running foreign policy."

One of the first actions Haig took, after his nomination was announced, was to summarily fire all but two members of Reagan's State Department transition team, many of them conservative opponents of Kissinger. Haig reportedly told the group, "don't call us, we'll call you," when the subject of possible jobs in the new administration came up. Adding insult to injury, the former NATO Supreme Commander then held a tête-à-tête with State Department career officers to compliment them on their services, apologize for the transition team's behavior, and to assure them that Reagan will only drop a few rotten apples from the department.

Haig's action directly defied efforts by Reagan's inner circle to place some limits on Haig's freedom of movement. Transition sources had earlier reported that under Ed Meese's direction, a list of names, most of them Reagan loyalists, had been prepared and handed to Haig with the message that he had to select his State Department assistant and deputy secretaries from it.

It is also known that Haig has been working very closely with the Carter State Department to "coordinate policy toward Teheran and to ensure continuity between the two administrations"—an approach that would prove disastrous to the Reagan presidency.

An expert at manipulating Presidents—one need only refer to the operation he and Kissinger ran against Richard Nixon—Haig seems committed to setting up his new boss in similar fashion, and appears to have no compunctions about working openly with Democratic "doves" to do so.

At the same time, Haig gave his official blessings to a Kissinger "fact-finding" junket to the Middle East, thereby responding positively to a recent request by Carter special Mideast ambassador Sol Linowitz that Reagan employ Kissinger's talents.

Haig's actions were ominous on several counts. First,

should Haig succeed in asserting his control over the State Department, it would ensure that the Kissinger-Carter foreign policy mess would be continued in the new administration. Such a development would make it almost certain that the left-right destabilization of the Reagan administration now under way would be achieved. Second, by shoving to the sidelines conservative input into the Reagan foreign policy team in favor of Kissinger and Carter holdovers, Haig is creating a situation in which Reagan can be increasingly isolated from his nationalist base and persuaded to embark on foreign policy initiatives that he might otherwise reject.

In fact, Arab sources report that Haig has already drawn up plans for a U.S. military rescue of the American hostages in Teheran by no later than February, and it is highly probable that Reagan's recent statements condemning the Iranians as "barbarous" and "criminals," reflect advice from Haig.

Despite Haig's media-bolstered image as a rough-and-tumble, hard-bitten soldier, his ball-playing with the Carter team is by no means out of character. While it is well known that Haig's entrée into a position of influence came through Henry Kissinger, who hired him as a special assistant on Nixon's National Security Council in 1969, the people who originally engineered his rise through the military ranks and then into the White House were three Democratic Party liberals: Joseph Califano, Cyrus Vance, and Robert Strange McNamara. These three individuals played key roles in introducing the "cost-benefit analysis" methodology into Pentagon planning that has all but destroyed the United States' strategic planning capabilities.

## **The Califano connection**

When Haig revealed recently that he had hired Califano to represent him at his Senate confirmation hearings, some eyebrows were raised. But Haig was merely turning to an old friend and mentor. It was Califano who got Haig his first important job at the Pentagon, as military assistant to then-Secretary of the Army Cyrus Vance, and it was Califano who recommended Haig to Kissinger for an NSC staff post in 1969.

Given Califano's role in promoting Haig's career, it is worthwhile examining Califano's background. Like Haig, Califano is a product of a Jesuit education, but where Haig generally pursues a "right-wing" Jesuit track, Califano has a "left-wing" Jesuit profile—precisely paralleling the right-left setup now being engineered for Reagan in Central America.

Known as the "deputy president of the Great Society" because he developed and implemented most of President Johnson's social experiment programs, Califano was first brought into government service in 1961 by Cyrus Vance, then Army counsel. When Vance was named secretary of the Army, he took Califano with him, and in 1963, the year Califano got Vance to hire Haig, was promoted to Army counsel.

In 1964, Haig and Califano worked side-by-side as special assistants to Vance, who by that time was deputy secretary of defense under Robert McNamara. In that post, Califano became McNamara's chief troubleshooter, working on the Pentagon chief's cost-reduction and reorganization programs (which later achieved notoriety as the Vietnam "body count" method) and supervising the use of federal troops in civil rights confrontations in Alabama. Califano early on earned the reputation as one of McNamara's top whiz kids, a term derisively applied by military traditionalists to the accounting-oriented systems analysts who had taken control of the Pentagon.

In 1965, Califano was named Lyndon Johnson's special assistant for domestic trouble-shooting and proceeded to initiate and implement key Great Society programs including legislation on consumer protection, auto safety, civil rights, water pollution, as well as creating the Office of Economic Opportunity and Model Cities. He also helped crisis-manage the Watts ghetto uprising in Los Angeles, which had been deliberately provoked as part of the British-inspired scenario for destabilizing the United States' political structure.

When Califano left the White House in 1968, he worked briefly for the prestigious liberal Democratic law firm Arnold and Porter and then established himself at Edward Bennett Williams's law firm, where he represented Coca-Cola and the *Washington Post*. In 1977, Jimmy Carter named Califano secretary of health, education and welfare to applause from Ralph Nader, among others.

There is no evidence whatever that the Califano-Haig relationship has been based purely on personal friendship. On the contrary, the two have functioned as political allies, albeit from superficially distinct standpoints, during the last two decades.

In fact, according to John Lehman, a Reagan defense adviser who is personally close to Haig, Haig consulted continuously on policy with both Califano

and Vance during his tenure as NATO Supreme Commander. "That shouldn't surprise anyone," says Lehman. "They share the same policy viewpoint, even though they may seem to be different."

That policy convergence, most efficiently described as the "controlled economic disintegration" laid out by the Council on Foreign Relations in its *1980s Project*, explains why liberal Democrats in the Senate who have been making loud noises about Haig's involvement in Watergate may let Haig get through his Senate confirmation hearings with a light slap on the wrist. According to an aide to Paul Tsongas (D-Mass.), the Kennedy protégé who is leading the anti-Haig Hill forces, "The senator has never said he opposes Haig. In fact, he'll probably end up voting for him. We just want to show that the Democrats didn't roll over and die when Carter lost the election."

It may also explain why three top Democratic Party spokesmen, all members of the Carter administration—Secretary of State Ed Muskie, National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, and special adviser on Soviet affairs Marshall Shulman—have all publicly endorsed Haig for Secretary of State.



*Jeane J. Kirkpatrick.*

## Allen and Kirkpatrick: a foreign-policy problem

If Secretary of State-designate Alexander Haig succeeds in steering Ronald Reagan into a no-win foreign policy track, it will no doubt be with the compliance of two other key Reagan appointees: National Security Adviser Richard Allen and United Nations Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick.

Kirkpatrick and Allen, whose paths have crossed at various times in the past, have both recently made statements that implicate them in the overall attempt to destabilize Reagan through a Central American blowup.

Allen, who functioned as Reagan's chief foreign policy adviser during the 1980 presidential campaign, is generally credited with talking Reagan into adopting the North American Accord idea—i.e., a common market