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White House, Agencies
Lobby Heavily on Hill

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At 9:30 each morning the Senate is in session, a huge black chauffeured limousine rolls up to the Capitol.

Out steps a beefy, barrel-chested man with thick glasses, wiry salt-and-pepper hair and a black briefcase. Striding rapidly, he heads for the office of Vice President Gerald R. Ford, just off the Senate chamber, or of Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania.

His name is Tom Korologos, and he is the White House's chief lobbyist in the U.S. Senate. His business, as he puts it, is "passing the President's program."

If an impeachment trial reaches the Senate and the vote is close, his powers of persuasion, his ability to count votes and his tactical

sense could have an impact on whether President Nixon is removed from office or not.

Korologos is just one of the battery of lobbyists every President maintains, at public expense, to help pressure Congress to pass his program. Although few people outside Congress realize it, the White House and federal-agency lobbying operation is one of the most powerful and expensive in the capital.

The White House operation, headed by William E. Timmons, numbers only seven persons including Korologos, but every federal agency has at least one "legislative liaison" or "congressional relations" of-

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ficer who spends much or all of his time lobbying Congress for passage of administration proposals.

All told, there may be as many as 75 agency lobbyists, virtually all of them political appointees whose work is coordinated by Timmons.

Timmons is the best-paid administration lobbyist, at a reported \$42,500. Korologos, an his House counterpart, Max Friedersdorf, get about \$37,500 each. Assistant Secretaries for Legislation who head up the lobbying operations in the departments, like Fred Webber at Treasury, Steve Kurzman at HEW and ex-Rep. John Kyl at Interior get \$38,000, their chief deputies \$36,000.

Counting salaries, office expenses and clerical and second-line aides, the Executive Branch's lobbying operations probably cost the taxpayer well over \$1 million a year, possibly as much as \$2 million. In normal times, this apparatus has terrific clout.

"The foremost lobbying organization in this country is not the National Association of Manufacturers, the AFL-CIO, the Chamber of Commerce or the veterans' lobby," said Senate Democratic Whip Robert C. Byrd, of West Virginia. "It is the White House and federal executive branch, hands down.

They are the most potent, influential, active lobby.

This power derives from two things.

One is the President's prestige and his power to do favors for a friendly member of Congress. In normal times, the White House has favors to dispense, such as

appointments, approval of projects or grants, rulings on matters that affect a district or state.

Knowledgeable insiders say there is virtually no direct vote—buying almost no time when a flat deal is made to trade a project for a vote. And they say there aren't as many favors for the faithful as most people think. There are rules and regulations that it is hard to break.

The lobbyists "have little flexibility and they often can't deliver anyhow," said one GOP aide. But they can look into legitimate problems at the request of a member, and push a grant or a project his way when his state or district is just as qualified as other applicants.

There are rumors that one senator cast his vote on a weapons issue with the White House a few years ago in return for approval of an irrigation project, but an ex-lobbyist from one of the executive agencies said the project "probably would have been okayed anyhow, it had Reclamation Bureau approval, and the senator was inclined to vote that way anyhow."

What many members of Congress respond to best, however, is simply the feeling that they are somehow getting in good with the President, without hope of specific immediate reward. Since President Nixon's prestige has dropped substantially as a result of the Watergate scandal, this leverage is far less.

The White House lobbyists' clout "depends on the President's clout to a great degree, and there's virtually

none in the White House now," said Byrd.

Still, what little clout is left is reinforced by what may be an even more important function of White House and departmental lobbying—providing leadership, staffing and tactical expertise for administration supporters on the Hill. This second form of influence has been impaired little if at all.

In bodies as diverse and disorganized as the House and the Senate, doing simple things—like taking vote counts, developing strong position papers, making sure everyone knows what the White House position is, finding senators and congressmen to offer amendments in committee or the floor for the White House at the right time or stall when necessary, reminding people when their vote is crucial and they shouldn't be absent, maintaining liaison between different members backing the White House position, helping draft legislation—is crucial.

The White House and the agencies have formidable weapons for this kind of battle.

To rush a senator to a vote from out of town, they can get an Air Force plane, as when Treasury's Fred J. Webber, then an aide to Korologos, summoned a plane to bring Oklahoma Republican Sens. Dewey Bartlett and Henry Bellmon back from a quail hunt to vote against cloture on campaign financing last year.

The White House regularly writes speeches for members of Congress, usually praising the President and his program, and offers

them around for someone to read into the record as his own.

Most important, perhaps, is the staffing the White House and agencies can provide to develop arguments, statistics and position papers.

The 25 top liaison men, one for each department or agency, are backed up by lower-level liaison people and virtually numberless federal bureaucrats. In the White House, Timmons can turn to the OMB and aides at the Domestic Council and other White House offices for all sorts of aid in presenting the administration position.

Timmons, chief of the White House's seven-man liaison operation, is 43, a graduate of Georgetown who worked six years for former Sen. Alexander Wiley (R-Wis.) and six years for then-Rep. Bill Brock (R-Tenn.) before joining the President's staff 5½ years ago.

Korologos, a 41-year-old former newspaperman, is a graduate of the University of Utah and former Pulitzer journalism fellow who worked as administrative assistant and press secretary to Sen. Wallace F. Bennett (R-Utah) from the early 1960s until joining the White House staff in 1971.

Patrick O'Donnell, 37, son of famed World War II Air Force hero Rosie O'Donnell, has worked for the D.C. Corporation Counsel and was with Dean Burch at the Federal Communications Commission; he recently joined the staff as second man in the Senate.

In the House Timmons has Max Friedersdorf, in his



TOM KOROLOGOS

... "passing the program"

early 40s, from Indiana, a former newspaperman who worked at one time for ex-Rep. Richard L. Roudebush (R Ind.) Roudebush is now congressional lobbyist for the Veterans Administration.

Vern Loen, one-time assistant to Rep. Albert Quie (R-Minn.), and Gene Ainsworth, a former administrative assistant to Rep. Gillespie V. (Sonny) Montgomery (D-Miss.), complete the House staff.

Powell Moore, 36, a newspaperman from Georgia who was press secretary for the late Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) from 1966 to 1971, then worked for Justice and the 1972 Nixon campaign, is an inside aide to Timmons.

In January, 1973, the President agreed to a Timmons request to upgrade each of the departmental lobbyist top slots to assistant secretary rank. Many of those

holding the jobs now are Timmons' choices, and he must coordinate their work with that of his own staff at the White House.

The days start early for Korologos, Friedersdorf and other White House lobbyists: At 7:30 they meet with OMB and Domestic Council aides to get a fix on the day's problems and get policy positions set. Timmons usually doesn't attend this meeting, but the White House lobbying group meets with him at 8. Half an hour later, the senior staff of the White House meets to review the day's problems and prospects—Alexander Haig, perhaps Budget Director Roy Ash, Ron Ziegler, Peter Flanigan, possibly even the peripatetic Henry Kissinger or other top officials. Of the lobbying staff, only Timmons attends this meeting.

White House legislative positions are developed in the department and refined or altered in the Domestic Council and OMB; when he needs to know about the Timmons needs guidance he talks to the Domestic Council's Kenneth Cole, Kissinger, Ash or even the President.

His office is right down the hall from the President's, and he sees him or talks to him by phone several times a week—sometimes several times a day. Tactics are worked out between Timmons and the other lobbying staffers in the field.

Timmons says he gets up to the Hill only a few times a week—his real functions is to stay downtown and coordinate the activities of his

troops, while channeling up to the President the things he needstoknow about the mood on Capitol Hill.

Korologos is widely liked and respected in the Senate. He has close contacts with GOP conservatives, naturally, but also quite good relations with such Democrats as John Pastore of Rhode Island, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana, and Armed Services Committee Chairman John Stennis of Mississippi, Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Russell B. Long of Louisiana.

Every Tuesday afternoon, he goes to Sen. Scott's leadership office off the Senate chamber, where he is available to any Republican senator who has problems that the wants the White House to know about.

"I like him, he's conscientious, honets, does a job for the White House," said Mansfield. "Korologos does a very good job," said Senate GOP Whip Robert P. Griffin of Michigan.

While the Timmons crew works on big issues and big floor fights, liaison men from the departments are usually evident mainly at the committee level, working on the details of legislation. "They don't come up here enough. They just aren't around enough to have real influence," said one GOP aide.

"But Tom is terrific. On the veto-override vote on the energy bill, it never would have happened without Tom beating up and down the halls" rounding up votes, he continued.

Another victory for the White House lobbying staff

was on the Senate's vote last year to slash NATO forces. At noon the administration looked beaten and lost the first key vote. Then, going all out, and using some high-level extra manpower, the White House reversed defeat by two votes within four hours.

They lose some, too—as in the Senate's recent vote; despite all-out White House lobbying, to kill added funds for aid to Vietnam. Even good lobbying can't substitute for having a popular position.

Will the White House lobby heavily on impeachment? "Sure, but I don't think it will be effective," said Rep. John B. Anderson (R-Ill.). "I think it'll be resisted."

Byrd made the same assessment. Timmons refused to discuss the matter, except to say, "Information will be made available to members if needed."

Korologos also refused to discuss impeachment, but veteran Senate insiders say it's clear that the White House will try to lobby, though in a discreet, careful way, and that it will seek to concentrate its efforts on moderate-to-conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats, who together make up half the Senate and have cooperated with the White House in the past. The President needs only 34 votes to beat impeachment conviction.

"Korologos is about the finest thing Nixon has going for him up here right now," said one veteran Democrat. "But the real defense of the President will have to be made by [Presidential lawyer James D.] St. Clair."