

*He may be strongest ex. of man
who stresses his world view by the
He does it for you - but it's his personal
commitment or a commitment in Utah
that is measure of his 6 years.*

ORRIN HATCH

October 18-19, 1982

Kelly Murdock, Bill Loss, Elaine Hatch, Chris Little, Carol Nixon, Paul Smith

Sign on freeway on way in to Salt Lake City "America Has A New Direction:
Stay on Course Orrin Hatch."

Got in Sunday afternoon--Called Paul Smith, Carol Nixon, and headquarters.
Cant' get any of them. Go to Headquarters in morning, Carol Nixon comes in,
takes me to hotel where Dole is speaking to health administrators. She
introduces me to Kelley Murdock the young driver. He introduces me to
Hatch. Hatch thinks I've come to listen to health talk. I tell him who I am,
he asks me to write my name down. I do. He grabs me by the arm, says I can
come along with them. I hop in the van they use and we go to campaign head-
quarters. He tells me to go sit in his office. And from then on, everything
is fine.

I'm writing all this on the way home, so it's going to be mostly
retrospective, not prospective. The thing that most impresses him is my AEI
stint. That morning, at the University of Utah Medical Center he says "Do
you mind if I introduce you?" I say no if he wants to. "I think I do." He
didn't. But on the second day, at BYU Pi Sigma Alpha, he introduced me as
Professor of P.^g U of R and said I was an AEI fellow. "AEI is the moderate-
conservative answer to the Brookings Institution." And he introduced me to
Bob Schieffer as "from AEI." And immediately, that first day, at lunch, he
talked about the liberal bias of the press and said how important it was
that "people like you write from a different perspective" and that gives
conservatives a fairer shake. When we went to dinner at the Cafe outside
Gunnison on the last evening, he introduced me as "one of the best political

scientists in the United States." and when we parted he said "I admire you." I think the AEI connection was the cement of the relationship. He did say that if he had a chance he'd love to get a Ph.D. and teach philosophy, that he writes metaphysical poetry (100 poems now) that he ~~is~~ keeps a journal etc. So, my point is that he does like academics. But he likes "moderate to conservative" academics best. Praised Walter Berns. He liked to talk to BYU students, too, and was very good with them. Said he loved to talk to them, and gave up 1/2 of U-calls (undecided calls) to go overtime with student group. "You should never ^{ne} schedule ~~one~~ for 3/4 of an hour with students. There's no way I can do a good job in that time. As it was I couldn't answer those questions adequately. I felt as though I was being very superficial. Whoever scheduled me for that did a lousy job. I love to talk to students... Students, the elderly and the handicapped--those are my three favorite groups to talk to."

He would like to be known as an intellectual I think. He's a very interesting man. He is intense, driven, aggressive, self confident, zealous, smart, tenacious, quick, self-centered, verbose, ideological, tough, cold (my semantic differential!) --all this in his public, political side. Personally he is very considerate, kind, decent, friendly, helpful, solicitous and boy scoutish. In a strictly personal sense one on one, with me, he is as nice as any Senator or congressman has ever been. He took me in immediately, on little or no notice, kept asking me if I wanted to talk some more, let me sit in on most everything. That's what makes him so interesting. In politics, you would have to say he comes across as a not particularly nice man. In private he comes across as a very nice man. And in both cases, he is near the extremes. As I write more, I may have more to say on this side of it.

Since I'm writing late, my plan is to go through the personal quotes

in pretty much chronological order, citing context where useful; and then later pick up his public remarks in his speeches.

After the health speech - How's it going? "Very well. We are ahead in the polls by anywhere from 10-15 points. But it could change. We have to be very careful. My opponent is a very engaging person, but his campaign is dishonest."

"The day he beats me in debate, the government is gone." They've had 11 debates.

On job training - "Danny Quayle was a problem. He had a thing on about the administration. But everyone has a problem--Quayle, the administration, Hawkins, Perkins. I told Danny: you get the parties together and I'll see that we get an acceptable compromise. Some of the administration points are good. We wouldn't have had a bill if it hadn't been for my compromise."

He referred to himself as a "citizen activist who wandered into politics" and said there was a book about him by BYU political scientist - Vederly. (Later) This man read Orrin's journal in doing research ("that was a dangerous thing to do, wasn't it?) and Orrin says it is very accurate book. "It's not all complimentary; but back there they would call it a puff piece." "He captured the abortion question better than it has been captured anywhere."

He looked at the Salt Lake Tribune and commented on fact that they oppose him. "The paper opposed me. It's a terrible paper, its reporting is so biased."

The publisher is a big supporter of my opponent. I always feel I have to see what's in this rag before I start the day."

Later when he was looking at Al Hunt's article on the Texas Governor's race, "I'm sure it's not favorable to Clements. Those reporters can't write

about conservatives without cutting the gizzard out of them. Al Hunt is a perfect example. He's not all that liberal. But he never writes a complimentary article about a conservative. That's the way it is." A constant theme--the liberal press and how much you don't hear because of it.

Again, talking about Ted Moss. "Given the liberal that he was, if he was never called an intellectual--and he wasn't he must have been dumb. There's a bite to that comment. In the press, liberals are always called intellectuals, conservatives never are." I mentioned Barber Conable and OH said what a great guy he was, liked him, etc. I said he was treated as an intellectual and he asked "At AEI?" I said yes. This was at lunch at Sizzler Steak.

He started talking about Labor Law Reform Act. (written up in an article I have.) "You may have noticed that my voice is going. It has never been the same since then. I spoke for nearly 600 hours on the floor, 8-10 hours a day for six weeks. The opposition tried to break me by breaking my health. I was determined not to show any weakening on my part. They didn't know how determined I was to win. It was the biggest free enterprise vote in the century."

"I led the fight because no one else would do it. No one else thought we could win. I knew we could win. Most of the business organizations came to me and said 'Orrin you've got to take this on.' But they didn't think we could win. I remember when we had a meeting of all the CEO's of the major businesses and a couple of the weak ones started wavering--Bethlehem Steel was ^{one} ~~me~~. I told them 'I'm going to be here for 30 years, and if any one of you doesn't stick with me all the way, I'll never forget it.' They got into line fast, because they didn't want to be pariahs... I can

remember the President of General Motors coming to see me trembling and shaking. 'If we keep up with this, the unions will strike GM.' I told him not to quit, that we would win and that the unions would have a lot more respect for him after we won. If we lose, the unions will socialize this country. I made 300 speeches around the country to drum up support on that issue." (He's a natural "stay the course" person!)

OH plays ideological hard ball; whereas MA plays non-ideological hard ball.

He's very conscious about style. He's been told that he comes off too strident and aggressive and cold. So he holds back. After the medical student talk, "Was I a little too aggressive with that woman on the abortion question? 'Isn't it a matter between the woman and her body?' 'No!' Maybe I shut her off too quickly. I just said 'I think it's an important public question, No!' I could have talked with her for three hours on it. I know all the arguments. I'm a little jump~~ing~~ right now."

"The abortion issue does not help me. It's a liability for me. But I believe so strongly in it that I won't drop it. It's one of the greatest evils in the world." (Then he ticks off figures 1.5 million abortion, 500,00 in U.S., 20,000 in third trimester, etc.)" (said later)

They talked about a brochure that the Pro Life people have just sent out on his behalf. "The problem is: how do you save yourself from your friends. We told them to stay out of here and we thought they had. Then they came out with this brochure. The text is accurate. It has some inaccuracies, and we pointed them out in a press conference. The press knows we had nothing to do with it. But what effect it will have, is hard to tell. The text is pretty accurate, but then they have two awful cartoons in it--totally unnecessary.

Whatever effect it has, it will not help us. They think they are being helpful. But the real reason they want to get in is because they want to take credit for our victory--and they want to use me to raise money for themselves. We don't need that kind of help. The little creep, son of a bitch that did it will not be welcome in my office. Your friends can kill you."

"Senators know that if I'm on the other side and I decide to fight; they are going to have one miserable time... Joe Biden once came up to me and said 'Orrin, if I'd known you were going to be on the other side, I never would have taken this on.' He was carrying on, making an ass of himself the way he does."

"I'll never quit until this country is turned around. I'll die first."

He talked about his fund raising efforts for candidates in 1978 and 1980 and for RR in 1980, how he was one of biggest fund raisers. (later talking about how Ray Donovan got the Sec. Lab. job over his candidate Betty Murphy, he said, "Donovan raised 700,000 for Reagan and Reagan promised him a job. I raised 2 million for Reagan--at least my signature was on the letter--but maybe he didn't notice.")

"Agree with them or not, right or wrong, Jack Kemp, Arthur Laffer and Jude Wanniski accomplished one very important thing. They gave the Republicans the ideas that turned the Democrats into the 'me too' party. For 50 years we have been the 'me too' party. They want the same thing, only more. Now the shoe is on the other foot. What those people accomplished was a miracle."

I asked about Utah. "It's a state of opportunity--very rich in natural resources, oil, coal, minerals. It's got a hard working, well educated population--the best work force in the country. I can say that objectively because I came here from out of state."

Strongest supporters? "Conservatives." That was all.

Re outsider idea being used issued by Ted Wilson. "There's an inferiority feeling here. The fact that I can still be called an outsider after 6 years as a Senator from Utah shows some feeling of inferiority I think."

Why run? "I didn't run because I was attracted to the job. I ran because I didn't like the way things were going. Ted Moss was a liberal representing a conservative state. And he was one of the weakest people in the Senate.... I thought was the only one of the 5 candidates who could beat Ted Moss. I was probably crazy to think that. But I did. I ran because I knew I could make a difference. I didn't know I could make as much of a difference as I did in my first year."

I asked re cycle. I can't recall the words exactly. But he was adamant that he felt no such thing. "It's been constant, intense and all out since the first day." That's an ideological comment, since, after all, his labor law, situs picketing crusade started the first year--300 speeches in 1977, etc.

*It strikes me that Hatch's enormous good fortune is that he is a conservative who has found himself in the most conservative state in the Union. His base is ideological conservatism and there it is in Utah. He does not have any of that feel for Utah that Mark Andrews has for N.D. No sense for fine grain of the state. Though he does have it for the Mormon tradition there. Maybe that's enough. But, as far as secular Utah is concerned, he came from outside and found the one state that was most likely to support his conservatism.

When did you start thinking about this campaign. "The day I got elected in 1976... We have been organizing for about two years." His campaign manager, Mike Leavitt managed Jake Garn's 1980 campaign.

We gossiped and he gave his opinions pretty freely--Moynihan--'the biggest demagogue in the Senate. Bumpers - "the biggest *mouth* in the Senate... The papers love him because he's a liberal... Not a sincere bone in his body." Kemp - "no guts. I can say that because he's my friend." D'Amato - "he's a gutsy guy. He takes ~~sd e~~ tough stands. But no more than he has to." Wanted Jack to run for Senator in 1980. Conable - he thinks he's great. Heinz - "the gutless wonder of the Senate...thinks of nobody but Heinz... no one respects him...gave word on balanced budget and broke it when unions got to him."

He does not have intellectual respect for his opponent. "He's a nice guy; but he's getting bad advice." Most of their debates have had no rebuttals. On the one that did. "I ate him for lunch." The Wilson people want no rebuttals. The Hatch people want a real debate. "I'm a devastating debator" says Hatch. They tried to get the BYU debate on the ~~1~~²⁰th changed from 8 prearranged, fixed questions without rebuttal to debate form, and failed. But Scruggs approved the form of the debate and OH was upset. At one point, he said "tell them if they don't change the format, we aren't coming." But then he immediately started talking about his stand on the 8 questions. "Not one of these questions is about the real issue of this campaign. Not one of these questions is favorable to us. The format is not favorable to us. I'd love to clobber that little bugger. We've ^{given} ~~had~~ him ~~in~~ 11 debates. Not one of my colleagues has given more than one debate to his opponent. This is the last one--no more." I think Scruggs and the others want the "debates" to be non-debates. They are afraid that Oren's worst side, personality-wise, will come through if they tangle one ^{on} ~~to~~ one. But Oren ^{rin} feels he can kill Wilson and wants at him.

At lunch "One of my problems is that I'm seen as too aggressive. Some of it is even physical. I'm 6'2". He's a little guy. And, let's face it I'm not dumb. So there's a natural tendency for some people to resent me. But I'm getting better. I'm a lot nicer person than my image. But I won't do foolish things just to appear nice. I might not do as well before crowds as Wilson. But one on one, I'll beat him any day of the week for personality. I can kill him on the issues. But style triumphs over issues every time."

"I get so I just want to clobber that little bugger."

For two days there was talk of "negative campaigning" by Wilson. On a TV ad, Governor Matheson (most popular politician in Utah) says he can work with Jake Garn and Ted Wilson, but "regrettably" he can't work with Orrin Hatch. When asked directly Orrin says that he was "upset" by it, that he didn't like it. But he doesn't go after Matheson. In private he calls it "the cheapest shot you'll ever see in politics." And in small groups he notes that "Howard Baker (who visited here) called it a cheap shot." He says there was never a time he didn't help the governor--but Kelly says Matheson never made a request of him - that all the initiatives were Orrin's. But in all his public talks, he preempts it and treats it lightly, in the first minute of his speech, with the "little old lady" story. (later)

I asked him why Wilson thought he could make hay by painting Orrin as someone who doesn't spend enough time on Utah and too much time pursuing a national reputation. Wilson's ads say "Wilson for Utah" or "Wilson full time for Utah." I asked why wouldn't Utahns be proud and pleased to have a national Senator.

"Utah is a small state and a parochial state. They don't think a person from their state can become a national Senator. The last national Senator from this state was Reed Smoot. You haven't had one since--maybe

Aruthur Watkins during the McCarthy censure. Wallace Bennett was in the Senate for 20 years and he never even chaired a subcommittee. I travel and lead fights. There's a feeling of inferiority there. The other thing is that their attacks on me for neglecting Utah is a way of saying 'He's not one of us. He's an outsider.' I wasn't born in Utah, I was born in Pittsburgh. They used that argument against me in 1976. It didn't work then and it won't work now. Let me tell you why. Number one, people here are fair minded. Mormons have a maxim that the 'glory of God is intelligence.' People try hard to use their intelligence. They split their ballots all over the place. Maybe some people will buy the argument--4% or so that are unchangable. But a lot of people will look at what I've done and won't buy the argument.

Number two, a lot of people have moved here recently from out of state. They won't like the argument and many resent it. Number three--and I say this humorously--my relatives were some of the biggest polygamists in Utah. I run into people all over the state who come up and say 'Aren't I related to you?...' I remember when I first ran in 1976 and I had my first debate with Senator Moss. I had never even met a United States Senator before. That's how naive I was. Senator Moss started in by looking at me and said 'Who is this young man from Pittsburgh. Who is this outsider?' I was really shaken. But I said to him. My great uncle George Hatch and his family settled the Vernal Valley in NE Utah. My great uncle Eph Hatch settled Reber City and my great uncle Samuel settled Cedar City in Southern Utah. They were all polygamists. So if you don't watch what you say, my ancestors will rise up and bite you in the ass. Well the Rotary Club just loved it. Moss was knocked off balance and I don't think he ever recovered."

"Jake Garn is an excellent Senator. But he's not the workaholic that I am. He doesn't tackle issue beyond his banking committee work. He's learned

that the less work you do back there, the more popular you are at home. My goal is not to be popular. It's to be effective, to turn this country around. I've been out front leading all the fights. I'm an effective Howard Metzenbaum. He doesn't win. I do. That's why the Democrats go after me and not Jake. I'm more effective than he is. My problem is that I may spread myself too thin and try to take on too many fights at once and not be as effective on each one as I should be."

"One of my problems is that I'm a devastating debater. My people want me to go soft. I've been doing that. But I want to eat him up. I almost did when he made his charges on Social Security. I was very angry inside. But my people said it didn't show. 'Like good Mormons, they want me not to hit back.'"

There's a lot of talk that Utahns don't like negative campaigning and acrimony and hard campaign politics. Kelly says that's so of Mormons--that politics should be reflection of personal values, that politics should be conducted honorably. Garn says negative campaigning hurt ^{Wayne Owens,} ~~against~~ against him, in 1974 and that it might have decided the election. So, toning Hatch down is in keeping with a strong cultural tradition.

I asked if Senate was every man for himself or whether there was a sense of community. He said there was a sense of community, that he liked nearly everyone in the Senate. Only person he "despised" was Church. "no good SOB" not good for country, not good for West, talked out of all sides of month, / ^{distorted} ~~distorted~~ truth. No backbone" etc. Vehement, though I don't know why. Called him "most effeminate member of Senate." By the time he got through his anti-Church tirade, the Senate as community idea got lost.

But he said a couple of times, that he liked his colleagues and thought they liked him. The Dems want to get rid of him, but that's ideological, not

personal. But I think the Dems sense an intensity in Hatch that's lacking in a lot of other equally conservative Senators.

I asked re reaction to 1980 takeover. "My first reaction was, how can I get enough conservatives on that committee to make something out of it. I was happy. But I knew it was a tough committee. I think we've done things much better than anyone thought we would. We've been more moderate than people thought we would be."

Said he had seven reliable conservatives. He thinks East will leave and Humphrey. Calls East "a pain in the ass...to the right of Jesse...diarrhea of the mouth...not always a team player." Says Stafford "has carried water for 18 years for the unions and now they have dumped him for his opponent. I hope he comes back. He'll have to be with us now. I don't see how he can help but be." He wants 2 good conservatives to replace those who leave and will ask Baker for help.

On Judiciary. "They know that if anything is going to go through this committee, it has to go past me. If I'm against it, it won't go through."

Armstrong. "He cost us the balanced budget amendment. I wouldn't say that publicly. He's a very bright, good person, but when he gets his mind made up on something he won't budge."

He often says of people--whom he likes to talk about--as "was a good friend of mine" or "I like so and so but...."

Strom Thurmond insisted on talking credit for balanced budget. "He deserved the credit. But I was the one who pushed and pushed it out. He didn't lift a finger."

After we left BYU on second day he talked a little about the religious side of things. First about himself and then started explaining the religion, we got to Temple at Manti.

Leaving BYU "I had a good time here my first two years. I got a B average. You used to have to be 20 before you went on mission. Now it's 19. After two years here I went on mission. That's when I learned good mental habits, and discipline. I learned that life isn't fun and games. Those two years on mission (in Michigan, Ohio, Indiana) were the greatest learning experience of my life. That's why I'm doing what I am. They were two years of altruistic service. I was called an exceptional missionary--or what is known as 'a consecrated missionary.' We all believe that we have a mission in life--that there's more to it than just making money. Our mission in life is our family, our home, our country."

I think this has a lot to do with explaining why he's doing what he's doing. He has a sense of mission. Maybe I should look into the concept of "mission."

"Almost as soon as I got elected people started asking me if I wanted to be President or Vice President. When I travelled in the *fight* against labor law reform, as soon as I got off the plane some reporter~~s~~ would ask me that. I didn't know how to cope with that. So I started saying 'That's something my opponents are saying because they knew it would defeat me.' That helped end it."

"I don't want to be Vice President or President. But there is one thing I really do want and that's to be on the Supreme Court. I won't ever get it because I've taken too many strong, ideological stands. But that would be my ultimate goal."

"I'm the guy the Democrats most want to beat in this country. That's because I've taken the lead in so many of these fights and won."

The reason the labor unions don't like me is because I've got their number. I'm one of them. They won't let me speak to any of their meetings

because they know I'd get half of 'em. I've got their number."

These last few things were said as we neared his house on the last night.

He said, at the end, that he thought they'd win by 10 points; that he thought some dirty negative stuff would be coming out (they are blasting him on social security now); that they had called 200,000 homes and were working on these undecideds; he said their debate strategy was not to win but to stay even and that they had done that; that they had a big direct mail operation going to the undecideds; and they were mailing to 36,000 people telling them to watch for the last minute blitz and to tell their neighbors not to be taken in; he said their TV was 'good enough', again, to stay even, though he didn't think it was great. "If we end up even in the polls, we'll take him." "We've never dropped below 49% in the polls."

Paul Smith told me that they dipped to a 7-8 point margin when the Matheson ads came out, but that after a few days, the campaign went back on track again. This happens quite often in campaigns--Broder reports.

On Tuesday at Pi Sigma Alpha meeting, he made some off-the-record comments. I'll start with these, because they were more interesting.

He was introduced, here, by a series of quotes by his enemies on how influential and effective he is.

"I ran because I cared about America. I could not stand the direction in which it was going. I couldn't stand it. I ran because I thought I could make a difference. I'll make more of a difference next year. And I'll continue to run until they beat me."

"I know the filibuster rule better than anyone else back there. I may get beaten on cloture, but people know it will be a knock down, drag out fight, that there will be blood all over the floor. Besides that, I know my colleagues. I spend a lot of time sitting on the floor learning their

strengths and weaknesses." (Particularly, I would guess, how 'tough' they are, their 'guts,' 'back bone.'

"I was the co-author of the Jobs bill along with Senators Quayle, Kennedy and Hawkins--all good friends of mine. I was the author of the compromise that passed. The jobs bill would not have been passed in the form it was, if I hadn't been chairman." (To Dave, his issues guys, he had said "I'm the author of the Jobs Bill." But in public he always modified that. Did his knowledge of my interest in the bill affect this? I'll bet it did.)

"I was a liberal Democrat when I was at BYU. I changed my philosophy. Why? I read the two platforms; and I saw who was in charge of the two parties. I didn't change to the Republican party til 1960-- You should go read the platforms."

He knows he's controversial. After the meeting, as he had his picture taken with one of the students, he said "This will spoil your reputation."

Said that shortly after his election he saw "a wanted" poster somewhere.

"I looked at it and it was me! There was my picture and it said 'Wanted:

Dead \$500, Alive 2 1/2 cents, Bleeding \$400."

On the way to Gunnison that evening. "Don't see these rural people short. They are pioneer folks. They believe in the church maxim that 'The Glory of God is Intelligence.' The definition of intelligence is applied to knowledge."

Then leaving. "Those are great people. I love to be with a group of people like that. They are today's pioneers. They are willing to sacrifice. They are willing to wait even if they are being hurt."

In Gunnison, it became clear he was not as knowledgeable about farm matters (even tho he's on the Agriculture Committee) as he is about military matters. He tried to answer a dairy farmer's questions and admitted he had a lot to learn. He didn't rattle off the answer the way he did when talking military hardware.

"I lost a brother in World War Two. I can still remember when my mother got the letter. I still remember how awful I felt--I lost another brother in Viet Nam... You think I don't personally know the pain of war?" But we have to be prepared.

"It was no fun to be the leader of the sagebrush rebellion." He sees himself as a leader. But sometimes he'll get carried away on this theme and rein himself in rather self consciously.

He laughs a quick brittle, facial laugh, but not a belly laugh. He laughs and then gets serious very quickly. He's basically a very serious man. Said, at the restaurant at Manti that he'd like to get a Ph.D. in philosophy and teach it. And he'd like to study comparative literature. He keeps a journal. And he writes "metaphysical verse." Has about a 100 poems--for his family, not for public. Says he writes verses in boring meetings.

In Gunnison he got by far the biggest applause when he said "My experience is that whenever the federal government pokes its nose into something, it screws up."

"I'm chairman of the Steering Committee of 35 conservative Senators and that puts me in charge of foreign policy for 35 Senators." Said that a couple of times during my stay.

"I can control the entire agenda of the Labor Committee. You don't

see any unbalanced labor legislation coming out now. We've killed hundreds of programs. I don't have to look at them. It's the largest authorizing committee in the Congress. We've got 1500 programs under our jurisdiction."

Said he gave 300 speeches against labor law reform. "If we had lost labor law reform, we would have had socialism. We would have been England... Doug Fraser is a winning personality. I know. I take him to lunch. A lot of winning personalities that's all you need to con a Senator. But Doug Fraser is a socialist. He hates this form of government."

Re his speeches "I'd do it again. It's been a heavy cost. If you think it's fun to stay in beat up Holiday Inns and miss your family... Anybody who thinks Utah's interest ends at Utah's borders, has got another thing coming. He won't be an effective Senator."

He tells em what he promised when he ran in 1976. "I came to Gunnison and Ephraim and Manti when I was running in 1976. I told you that I would go back then and protect against situs picketing. I promised you I'd work for a balanced budget amendment. I promised you I'd change it so that the surviving spouse wouldn't have to sell the family farm to pay taxes. And I did all those things."

"I'm the first committee chairman to look into the Cosa Nostra, the Mafia." Told how he gets threats. "Ted Kennedy and I probably get the most threats of anybody. I've thought of keeping my wife here (in ^{Utah} ~~Tuach~~), but I can't live back there without my family, without my two remaining children." Shows the audience his deputy U.S. Marshall's badge to he can carry a gun. "I do, too, sometimes."

"Dennis DeConcini took 'em all on. He was called a traitor to his party. He stood up there and took it all. He was the real hero in the balanced budget fight. He and I stood side by side. We were the two who pushed it from the beginning." Another example of his kind of hero--one who shows guts in a conservative cause.

"You can tell the men from the boys and the women from the girls by who voted for that amendment." Said a couple of times that they won because a lot of senators were "gutless" and afraid to vote against it.

"Jake and I are brothers up there. It took some time for me to get used to that. We had some trouble at first which was my fault."

"I had a field day back there. I got 10 bills passed in the last week and I settled the railroad strike. I ~~did~~ ^{don't say} I did it all by myself, but it was my bill that settled the railroad strike." Good example of exaggeration and pull back.

Ticks off all his accomplishments last week in barrage.

"I worked my tail off." said that often, too.

Re A Specter. "He's a good little guy. He goes off on some funny things sometimes... I knew I had him on the balanced budget amendment."

The first event I went to was the joint Dole-Hatch appearance before hospital administrators.

Dole tells story that on election night 1980 H. Baker calls and tells him he's going to be chairman of Finance Committee. "Fantastic, but who's going to tell Russell Long?"

Said that first change was in the exposure to TV cameras ~~were~~ ^{demeanmy} very ~~demanding~~ for the Democrats when they came in."

First Committee vote is on Regan as Sec. of Treasury. Long votes Aye and when, at the end of the vote the clerk said "Mr. Chairman" Long voted "aye" again. Says Dole. "I'd waited twenty years for that vote and that's what I got... I said, 'I vote with my chairman and for my chairman.'" Speaks of bipartisanship.

Dole - "It's not impossible to do the right thing in Congress--close!"
(laughter)

He places his hand over his head and says "We always sat below the cameras. They went right over our heads. We thought we ought to get up where the TV cameras were."

Hatch is introduced for his willingness to stand up and be counted on controversial issues, such as abortion."

M.C. says. National Journal voted OH one of top ten junior senators; Jack Anderson called in one of 10 most effective, Almanac calls him one of most influential in future. Says OH first came to prominence in labor law reform and that bill "was inimical to small business in Utah." Then he talks of Utah-related things he's done--as if there is a list they hand out to MC's.

Hatch comes on and tells the story he told at beginning of every speech. "I suppose you've all seen the TV ad by our Governor. (laughter). Well a little old lady called in the other day and said, 'you know, I saw the ad in which Gov. Matheson praises Senator Garn. And then I saw the ad in which Senator Garn praises Senator Hatch. Isn't it wonderful to live in a state where all the politicians love each other so.'" (laughter)

Then he goes to one he used once more I think. "After we passed the legislation ending the railroad strike, I was standing outside the Senate with this labor leader. One of them said to me "I understand you're becoming one of Utah's favorite sons." And the other one said, "Why don't you finish the sentence?" When the crowd laughs, Hatch says, "You caught on! It took me two days to catch on." He used this with the medical students, too.

Then a third joke, which he used afterward, more often than the second, but not as often as the first, "The other day I was talking with Ted Kennedy and he said 'Orrin you look tired. Is the race getting to you?' I said to him, 'Ted, you don't look so good yourself. But yes, I am a little tired, and I've got a migraine headache.' And Ted said 'Here, Orrin, let me give you a little extra-strength Tylenol.'" (laughter) "I could go on and on in that vein." (Actually those were the only jokes I heard him tell. I think he just wants to portray self as a loose joker.

He reads a speech on health care. Hospitals are inefficient. There's a profligate wasting of resources "We see hospitals in Mass. and NY and elsewhere that are very inefficient, and they may come out better than some others across the nation." No incentives to be efficient.

He argues for preventive health care. Re the latter "You can't get Congress to look at the long run even if it saves money.

Talks of threat of hospital "cost containment threat," that pressure is building and that in 1985, total health care cost will be 107.Billion to federal government.

Talks about prospective payment as idea that needs, still, to be tested.

Says how much he needs their viewpoints. Wants to eliminate "tortuous regulatory strangulation." Talks about national health insurance and says "The energy is advancing by small stealthy steps. That's the way they do things back there."

Speaks often of "Secy Schweiker and I" or "My good friend Sec'y Schweiker" especially in context that they worked together on a health competition program; and how they cooperate closely. Then he says he's not sure he likes that program, but that we will have to produce competition somehow. Yet he doesn't think the fed. gov't should mandate competition. Ironical if that should happen, he says.

"I pledge to you that when the decisions are made, I'll be in the center of the fray, a force to be reckoned with. I give you my word on that."

"I'm aware of how much I have to learn, and how much you can help me."

"We will allow that system back there to bankrupt if we don't speak up... Senator Garn and I will do all we can."

He says that "the Hatch point of view is getting across back there... I think of myself as an extension of you... I'll be there helping you when the cows have gone home."

He ends by ticking off a lot of the things he's been pushing and what he accomplished at the end of the session--Orphan drug bill, radiation effects, animal welfare problem, FTC bill, minimum wage. "I have never been enamored of the minimum wage (3.35) and neither has anyone else who is cost conscious." "It's a fiction." It pushes up from the bottom so union leaders at the top can make bigger wage demands and fringe benefits."

Says Senate is 55 liberals and 45 moderates and conservatives. Often states the problem "back there." this way.

Talk to medical students. They do not applaud him when he walks to podium after a very standard-vita-type intro.

He tells his 3 stories and ended by saying "I make a big hit back there, I'll tell you." Health care alternatives are "Ted Kennedy's national health insurance--from the sperm to the worm;" cost containment, cost competition, voucher or co-payment system.

"I have to admit, I don't like my own bill" on competition.

Talked about getting an increase for National Institute of Health and getting an Arthritis Institute going.

Doesn't like federal gov't managing "certificate of need." "There are two approaches to that back there right now." Waxman-Weicker and Quayle, Hawkins Hatch bill that states operate programs.

Talked about orphan drug bill, radiation compensation bill, (it got enmeshed in Judiciary Committee politics), home health care bill, (bogged down in CBO and by Rivlin, who said it would be too costly) speaks of importance

of Univ. of Utah research on radiation. Hill Air Force Base toxic chemical study and its importance to future.

Goes to student loans, the problem of excluding middle and lower income students from medicine and that geographical distribution can't be remedied when students have debts." "I've been instrumental in maintaining the availability of these funds."

Essentially, he takes credit for anything and everything the Lab. Com. did this past congress.

S799 - "That again was my bill." re HEAL(?) loans.

Questions come, and they are heavily weighted toward the military, nuclear, war, peace themes.

1. Nuclear freeze and START "Give us your thoughts on the subject, if you have any."(!)

"There are two approaches...Kennedy-Hatfield and Reagan's START."

Says Russians will never agree to verification. OH says we are behind the Russians, that he's seen the secret documents that prove it and he wants to reach parity. "It's not a question of sincerity; it's a question of security.... If I have to choose between Ted Kennedy and Ronald Reagan on security, I'll take Ronald Reagan any day."

Ques. - Explain our inferiority. On this one, he goes into enormous detail. "They have a dramatic ICBM capacity that we don't have." Goes into back fire bombers vs. B52, all kinds of aircraft, camera; we lead only in submarines. Talk re briefings.

Ques. - "Isn't the correct analogy that of two men in a room, one with an M-16 and one with a bazooka?" (In the car the next day, Hatch recalls this. "I'd rather have an M-16 any day--if it doesn't jam." Ted Wilson's analogy was "two men standing up to their waists in a room full of gasoline, each with a box of matches." In the car later, Hatch said "What a terrible analogy that is. He uses that in every speech.") With students, Hatch rejects the

analogy, says we are inferior and says "Take my word for it." We are slightly inferior."

Calls for hands on who thinks Carter was ^{big} ~~pushing~~ booster of military (few) and how many think RR is (many). Then says that Carter's 5 year plan was 1 Trillion, 70B and RR is 1 Trillion, 74B, that military budget as % of budget and as % of GNP have been declining. "That's the story you're being told. If we are going to send our sons off to war, we ought to give them the best equipment possible (groans)." "Talks about how he drove an M-1 tank all over Aberdeen, firing at targets, hitting them - M-1 a great tank, has only an oil leak problem.

Ques. - There are no technological solutions, are there? Ans. They are going to keep building no matter what we do. And their behavior determines ours. He talks about Russian problems (he thinks we can "put them to the wall" economically). Says they have untrustworthy Mongolian troops, alcoholism, energy shortage, food shortage, *stagnant economy etc*

"Instead of rolling over and playing dead or being slaves, we should take it to them."

Ques. - B1 bomber vs. backfire! U.S. is a 2 ocean country - B1 can hedgehop, can't be detected. *stealth* only a technology so far, B-52 older than pilots, etc. Need Nimitz-class carrier.

Ques. - Would you trade military position with Russians? "That's a tough question." Jt. Chiefs say they wouldn't, but they wouldn't last long as Jt. Chiefs." "There are some aspects I would trade and some I wouldn't." Goes into superiority of our submarines. "Our military is not being massively built up."

Ques. - FTC regulation of AMA "I don't like it. I just don't like it. It deteriorates the professions and puts you in litigation you ought not to

be in..(but) where there are predatory practices we ought to regulate them."

Ques. - abortion amendment; is it dead? (applause) "Ooooh" says Hatch. "There are two shrill extremes 15-17% of the people want no abortions. Another 17-20% support indiscriminate abortions on demand. The rest are in the middle. They are concerned about the hard cases... That issue is chewing America up in many ways... (my amendment was) federalism in human life, amendment to solve the issues on the hard cases... I succeeded in making everyone mad."

He said his amendment was "the only legislation in history to come out of the committee. I listened to 60 people on all sides... Bob Packwood the leader of the pro abortion side said it was the fairest record ever."

"There are good arguments on both sides... We have got to resolve that problem. The two shrill extremes will never be satisfied. We should solve the hard cases for the 60%."

"Yes, there will be similar amendments brought up". Said they had 61 votes. Said he didn't agree with Jesse Helms.

Ques. - Why should the legislature deal with it? "It's a major issue in a society; and it deserves a debate. The legislature is much better prepared to deal with it than seven (sic) justices."

Ques. - "Isn't it a matter between a woman and her body?" And. "That's a good argument. That's a good argument. My answer is, No." That was it! And afterward he said a couple of times that he might have been too abrupt with her. But he also said he knew all the arguments and could have taken 3 hours. And he wanted to get off it. He had voted his position and didn't want an argument.

Balanced budget amendment. Said it would make Congress more accountable. Now, they can do whatever they want and don't have to stand up and vote on these issues. The idea is to let people know who's doing what.

Ques. - Why tamper with the constitution on balanced budget and not on equal rights for women?" He didn't go at it directly. "You're talking to the only Labor Committee Chairman who ever held hearings on sex discrimination, on pregnancy disability benefits, on the HEAL program, on education for nurses. You're talking to the guy who got a federal study ^{about} ~~out of~~ equal rights(?) I think they are downtrodden and mistreated. And I am going to be working for something that does make a difference instead of moaning and groaning."

"There are tough issues. I thought they were black and white issues in 1976. I was mistaken. I can only promise to do my best, to be honest and forthright, to work hard, study hard and do what the majority want me to do."

*emph. again,
on 'in learning'.*

"My opponent says I've spent a year out of Washington. I have a 95% voting record. It was 90% in 1977-78 when I spoke against the situs picketing bill all around the country. I missed some votes back then. In 1978, I traveled in 44 states, in 1980 in 40 states for candidates in other states. I may be wrong, but I think a Senator has to be willing to stand up for what he believes. I've always tried to do my best... Our door is always open."

He got a good robust round of applause. It seemed heartfelt - and it surprised me. The questions had been mostly antagonistic - anti military, abortion, balanced budget. He said afterward that it was the work of the few.

"There was a big silent majority in there."

After the session with the medical students, we went to a Sizzler Steak place for lunch and talked. Then we went back to the volunteer headquarters where he spent an hour or so making what they call "U-calls". They have pinpointed 200,000 undecided voters and have been sending them materials. When Orrin has time, he sits down and calls the undecideds, in whatever area he's in. I sat in the office while he did this in the SLC area. Three volunteers kept the calls coming in and would tell him who they had on the phone. Garn was doing it in the next room.

"Is this Betty? Hi Betty. This is Orrin Hatch. How are you? I had a few minutes today and I thought I'd call you and thank you personally for letting me serve as your Senator back there; and, of course, I'd sure like your vote in November, Betty, if you can.. That means a lot to me. Have a nice day now will you."

This was the spiel, varied only occasionally, usually when someone said something more than 'I'm with you' or 'I'm thinking about it' or whatever.

Several times. "I'm the one guy who has to take on Ted Kennedy everyday."

"I'm a major committee chairman and it's important to keep Jake and me in those major committee spots."

"Jake and I are one of only two pairs of Senators from the same state who are major committee chairman." (other is Oregon)

We went to Provo for a Howard Nielson rally that was built around a nationwide hook up to Reagan. OH was introduced as "a man of devotion, courage and principle--and the people of Utah understand this." OH praised Neilson and the ticket. And we left for the West Jordan candidate night.

West Jordan Candidates Night with Ted Wilson. He and Wilson alternate in answering questions. No rebuttal.

Hatch begins by talking about Matheson→Garn→Hatch story.

"I've worked hard since day one back there. I've got a 95% voting record. I've been in Utah one out of fifteen days and made 150 round trips. There is not one issue of this state that I haven't been in the forefront of. The Governor has, too, and I'll work with him."

"This is the most important election of this century. It will decide whether we go forward or go back to the program of tax and spend and promise..."

It's the Congress that's running this country into the ground."

~~He~~ talks about "big spending Congress." "My balanced budget amendment was the first to come out of the subcommittee, the committee and the Senate. We lost it in the House because of politics... It's the first time we put the screws to the Congress to make them live within their means."

On the military, he said we cut the military 8 billion below Reagan request. "Military is not a sacred cow, but it should not be made the scapegoat."

He asks for hands, (as he always did) on how many think Carter was big defense man and RR and shows that budgets were same over 5 year plan "after Jimmy Carter learned in Afghanistan that the Russians weren't as nice people as he thought they were." Says, again, that in 1962 we spent 45% of budget on military and in 1981 we spent 29%. Social welfare went from 24%-53% from 1962-1981. We went from navy of 1000 ships in 1962 to a navy of 400 ships today.

"I've flown in a B52 bomber. I wouldn't send my son up in a B-52."

Ques. - grain sales - it helps the farmers and we should make USSR pay highest credit costs - agrees with RR on pipeline.

Ques. - nuclear freeze. "There are two approaches to freeze--Senator Kennedy's which has 25 supporters in the Senate and President Reagan's, which has 63 Senators supporting it. "Senator Kennedy and his allies are very sincere...but I'll take President Reagan over Ted Kennedy any day of the week."

He's running against Ted Kennedy! Wilson says "I have to remind Orrin that he's running against Ted Wilson, not Ted Kennedy."

Ques. - is the gov't out of control. Ans. - "Almost." "State and local government can do things better. National security, the FBI, the Post Office

are better done by the federal government." Ronald Reagan is taking people back there who think government should be better. He praises New Federalism. Ted Wilson says New Federalism will mean "shift and shaft." And "the property tax will go up."

Ques - soc. security. Ans. - The elderly and the youth are both upset by it and there's lots of demagoguery on it. We have to improve the integrity of the fund. I voted for 7 1/2% raise, we'll solve it.

Ques. - Why did you go on Labor Committee (idea is that Wilson has been pounding Hatch for not going on the energy committee and has promised to do that). "I was 98th in seniority and didn't have much choice." But then he launches into the list of programs the committee handles. Said they did good job of making cuts in reconciliation - had to make the most cuts.

Afterwards, people gather around to argue with him. He talks and talks. He can't stop! He doesn't stop! He will go as long as they go. And he meets antagonism. But he plows along. "Let me mention one more thing..." "Let me say this..." "Now..now..." "Let me finish, my friend.." "Let me give you another example..." "All I'm saying is..." "I'll tell you this..." "I'm the guy who..." He keeps right on going, toe to toe, never conceding, but never chopping off the dialogue. He's a buzz saw. He's a man of the system, however.

He talks about his deputy US Marshall's badge, and how his life was threatened.

"I'm the only guy who has been taking on the mafia."

"I worked for 10 years in construction unions. I understand situs picketing...I can stand the anti-Hatch drumbeat from the unions and the educators... I saved the handicapped, black lung, RR Retirement, Job Corps... You want social security reform. Let me work on it."

Said he had endorsement of United Transportation Union (whatever that is).

"That's what the media doesn't tell you" is one of his favorite themes.

With him and Garn "They can't get anything past us. They have to deal with us."

"What's bad with being a national senator?"

"I was the guy who cut 32B in the Budget Committee.

The reason they have to deal with us is because we are committee chairmen. If you give those up, you lose billions of dollars."

Gave 300 speeches his first year in the Senate. In 1978, he spoke for 46 candidates in 38 states. In 1980 he spoke for 44 candidates in 40 states. He spoke in 36 states for RR.

"You think it's fun staying in those Holiday Inns...(but) we've got to turn this country around."

"There are heroes back there," he says of Phil Gramm and Ed Zorinsky.

"I love the boll weevils."

When lady asks about people losing homes and real estate people buying them up at low prices and what to do about it, he says: "Bring inflation down." Abstract answers.

"We can't go back to the old ways; we'll go straight to socialism."

"I've stood up when it takes guts to stand up."

Re soc. sec. "I was willing to bite the bullet, but not many others were."

"I was wrong on Title 9 and I admitted it."

"I call a spade a spade. The Tip O'Neill's and the Ted Kennedy's control that party. It's a party that is spending us into bankruptcy. I was a Democrat all my life. I left in 1960."

"I'm not as bad a guy as you think I am."

"Don't you think I could put what I want for Utah in energy from the position of two committee chairmanships."

This guy who has been ~~wait~~ing, comes up to Orrin after the discussion stops and says "I voted for you last time. I don't know what I'm going to do this time. Ted Wilson is my brother! I like what you've done and I may vote for you."

Orrin calls this "the highlight of the evening." He can't mention it to anyone. "I told him to call me afterwards. He's such a nice man."

Part of OH's self-image is that he's fair. "If I find anyone on my staff lieing or dîstorting, I'll put the screws to 'em."

He often ticks off the number of liberals and conservatives in the Senate. He sees 14 lib. Repubs. and 38 conservative Repubs. and a few Dem. conservatives. But as he sets up the Senate, it's the conservatives that are the underdogs. 55-45 or thereabouts.

He was a leader in fight vs. direct election of President. He sees the electoral college as a great protection for the minority. Worked with Walter Berns on that.

As we went to West Jordan, he said "They won't treat me very well here. It's union territory. We'll see." Unions are the enemy for him--along with Ted Kennedy.

He got a coal contract from Taiwan to buy Utah coal. Union mines can't make it profitable for Taiwanese, non-union mines can.

I ask him to describe Utah and he says it's "a lot of small areas and not much concentration" it's a non-description compared with the way Mark Andrews would escribe ND, say. He says "The Wasatch front" has two-thirds of Utah's population. We went up and down the Wasatch front while I was there.

Garn speaks for absent Goldwater at BYU. Orrin sits there after introducing Garn. We start and end the session with a prayer--in big auditorium. Orrin says how beautiful it is and how he'd forgotten that since he'd been a student there.

Garn "wonderful wizards of the Potomac called Congress" are to blame for fiscal crisis.

Says we've had 5 balanced budgets in 50 years. Took 174 years to get to a 100 billion budget, and 20 years to get to 800 billion. RR program has been in effect for 1 year and 18 days he keeps saying and asks how he could solve problem in that time.

He gets his biggest applause when he says "If Ted Kennedy is so darn benevolent, why doesn't he cough up some of his own bucks? (applause) He probably doesn't even pay 10%." (applause).

(Garn) "To hear it said that Orrin Hatch is ineffective reminds me that two years ago, I was charged as ineffective. This is Orrin's year to be ineffective."

Garn speaks again at Provo Chamber of Commerce Lunch. I ride to the lunch with Garn and he talks about how familiar he is to people in Utah and how familiar he was as mayor of Salt Lake City. It's a different idiom than Hatch, more down home, "call me Jake."

At Provo's, Garn says "The issue is, are we going to support RR who has taken on the Congress in great style." He talks of the "team" that is the Utah Delegation.

We go to the rally at Recreation Center - Orrin speaks amid hoopla and balloons. "It means so much to me. I can't begin to tell you how much you mean to me." It's "most important election" and we have "a great president." (applause)

Garn speaks again for Orrin. Says he's spent a month speaking for

Outside, Garn talks to Bob Schieffer about dislike of negative campaigning in his contest with Wayne Owens. Says Owens hurt himself and that the Dems are making a mistake doing it. Kelly picks it up later and talks about ethics of the Mormons. Politics should be a reflection of your personal values, he says. Mormon impact is important in attitudes toward negative campaigning.

Garn says Wallace Bennet served 20 years and never had even a subcommittee chairmanship. Now Utah has two. He makes a strong pitch for the west and western policies and says that if Repubs. lose, chairmanships will move from west to east.

"70-75% of the people in Utah would have voted the way your delegation voted. You'd be amazed in politics. A lot of delegations have petty bickering. They hate each other. There is jealousy and competition. The measure column inches to see who gets the most publicity and the most credit. That doesn't happen in this delegation." (Garn)

Hatch is "a remarkable freshman." "There is no one who has a keener mind or who has worked any harder than Orrin." (Garn)

Hatch says in car... "I have spread myself too thin. That's a problem for me." Calls self a "workaholic."

"I wouldn't do this for two seconds if I didn't believe it was worthwhile."

We rode to Gunnison and stop at Manti for a radio interview. Manti has great Mormon Temple, too.

"We came from poverty. I worked all my life--in the construction trade as a janitor at BYU.

"What do people say to me? 'We love Reagan. How is he?' We know he's taken on the big spending Congress. Are we going to continue in the new direction?"

"Our people are a very informed, intelligent electorate. We know things are wrong. We want people to stand up and have courage. Reagan is that person."

"There is a liberal bias to the media. When was the last time you saw something favorable about RR?"

"It's a grand fight. It's a fight for the life of this country. We've got to win it."

Re unemployment. "My father lost his job when I was a very young boy and we lost our home. I can remember not knowing where we would live. My father got some lumber from a burned out shell of a home and built a home for us in a wooded lot on which he made a \$50 down payment. I know what it's like to go hungry. So my heart goes out to people without jobs... I'm particularly proud of the most popular bill passed in the last session-- the training for jobs bill. That was my bill. Four of us worked on it; but the ultimate compromise was mine. I was the Vice Chairman of the conference and I brought together the two sides, House and Senate... (he goes thru the bill). Those funds will train a lot of people who have lost their jobs. It is a compassionate bill, carefully drafted. It's a taxpayer's bill.... I'm particularly proud of that."

On balanced budget, pictures himself as key person there. "When I ran in 1976, I said I'd fight for balanced budget amendment. We lost on committee 9-8 in 1980. After RR was elected, we won 11-5. We lost it on the House floor. I'm ~~going~~ going to go back there and do it all over again."

Re negative campaigning. "Let's face it. We have a lot of people upset by those pretty severe personal attacks."

"I represent the vast majority of Utahns. Jake and I vote the way 80% of Utahns want us to. Therefore they don't have an issue. So they get negative."

"A vote for Sen. Hatch is a vote for Utah. Senator Garn and I are major committee chairmen. There isn't anything that doesn't have to run by us. And if we don't want it to happen, it won't happen. I believe in the constitution and I am chairman of the subcommittee on the constitution... "free enterprise supporter" "give government back to the people"... "I have worked every minute for Utah." He ticks off General Steel, Kennecott Copper - *wood* growers help, radiation compensation, etc.--strong on national security... When you vote for Jake Garn and me, you vote for a team."

Gunnison High School - 25 people came.

"Being chairman of the Committee, it fell upon me to settle the railroad strike." *It was my bill that settled the RR strike.*

"It's tough to be targeted as number 1 by the DNC and the labor unions; but that makes it an important race."

Says he's raised 2 million, he has 20,000 Utah contributors; and "We can't turn the money off."

Talks of his direct mail operation.

Says "I've been on the front line for the last six years."

When he talks--more of his perpetual motion fillers "Let me tell you" "Just one more point" "I might also add" "Let's face it" "I might mention" "Let me put it another way." "By the way" "The fact of the matter is" "I can tell you."

He talks about trends and indicators re unemployment, but the only

"case" he cites is himself--not instances of hardship "Unemployment is too high--10.1%--and that's a tragedy." is something he always says. He rattles off figures without evident compassion.

He often says in concluding a point "That's the story you haven't heard!"

Called Watt. "The Best Secretary of the Interior we ever had. He's got more guts. And he takes more abuse."

Specter "good little guy"; Heinz "gutless"; Bumpers "biggest mouth"; Thurmond "did no work on balanced budget; Bradley "big disappointment."