DAVID PRYOR . ARKANSAS

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United States Senate WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

FORESTRY GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

COMMITTEES:

AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND

ARKANSAS OFFICE:

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SENATOR'S SCHEDULE (AND DICK FENNO)

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1982:

5:00 p.m. - Leave Washington - Delta #767

7:50 p.m. - Arrive Little Rock

Hilton (664-5020) Call Clinton 371-9061, 661-1298

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1982:

9:30 p.m. - Channel 11 - Re: China (Rob-376-1111)

10:15 a.m. - Leave for Russellville (Skip driving)

11:45 a.m. - Russellville Rotary Club- Brown's Country Inn

Dale Brown - 968-6005

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1982:

Office Appointments:

8:45 a.m. - Jack Cox - FmHA

9:00 a.m. - J. B. Smith and Dick Ed Thomas - 295-2588

9:30 GOIDON MATTEROW

10:00 a.m. - Guy Proctor (633-1661) - Forrest City

10:30 a.m. - James McArthur (378-9724)

Noon - Bum Atkins (372-2222) will pick you up

2:00 p.m. - Tour of Farmers Home Administration Tour of Corps of Engineers

6:00 p.m. - Disarmament Conference - Winfield Methodist Church 1605 S. Louisiana (375-1266)

Drive to Harrison (Carmie driving) Holiday Inn (741-2391)

DAVID PRYOR

October 28-29, 1982

Marsha Byrd, Carolyn Kegley, Jeannete de Lach, Graham and Meredith Catlett, Fred Allen.

Russellville Rotary - introduced by State Senator who said that his father had told him that "DP has something most politicans do not have-humility." David gets up and says. "Senator the reason your father -- and I know Luther very well having worked with him for a long time said I had humility is because I have a lot to be humble about. So perhaps that humility is justified."

He introduces me with fanfare.

He talks about "the things that worry me"--non voting, polls, negative campaigns.

Is Reaganomics working? All countries in trouble. Trudeaunomics, Thatchernomics, Schmittnomics not working.

"I suppose a politican shouldn't say this. But I know I'm among friends. "I'm very frustrated with Congress today and you would be too. if you could see a report done by our graduate student on how the alledgedly greatest deliberate body in the country—I say allegedly—spends its time. Here is what we did, I'm ashamed to admit to you...one third of the time was spent not on debate or votes but on quorum calls..."

Vote on whether this country shall reintroduce and begin the production of nerve gas occurred at 4:30am when most of us were too tired to think through such an issue."

"I've proposed that Senators who don't attend meeting, don't receive salary." (applause)

"When I was governor I would call Luther Hardin and it got results.

In the Senate today it's impossible to get results. I've seen responsive government and I'm very worried and very frustrated."

In old day f - 2 day train ride to Little Rock - work 4 months and come back to live with people. Now every weekend Senators come back. I like to do it and I do it more than most. But the system has become very frantic and I'm worried about it... I'm concerned about filibuster rule in the Senate... One Senator, if he doesn't like a bill, he can hold up the Senate and bring the session to a halt simply by talking under the filibuster rule for two weeks.

"I went on the record vs. a lame duck session—invite; "Chief, people in too much of a hurry... Never seen one that is constructive...I think major issues will be matters in area of defense...our pentagon is wasting about 15-20% of their budget... MX missile, spent 20B on it "to study it, to test it and we still don't have one...don't know what it will do with it when we get it...Maverick missile—it's a heat seeking missile (6B cost now) that can't distinguish between US and USSR tanks — "fantastic waste of money."

Ques. revenue sharing - "will continue"

Ques. foreign aid - Voted vs. the last three bills, would like to see foreign aid cut back by 10% per year for next five years.

Ques. China - long discussion.

That was it. Then he sat at table and chatted with Pope County

White Coordinator Sharon ______, Dale Brown, Rotary President and several

others. He told story of meeting the "little old chinese man," "that high,"

"in this little old shap in Hong Kong, who has been in Arkansas and was made

An Arkansas Traveler by Gov. White. Great laughter gets out card with Mr. Woo's name on it.

Old man comes up to me to say hello. "I'm Frank Rose, just a local boy. We're glad to have you here. I remember talking to a New York man once. He probably thought people in Arkansas were hillbillies, corn cob pipes and all that. I told him that we have magic mountain over here—the only mountain in the United States tall enough so that you can touch the Democrats in heaven and low enough to stomp on the Republicans in hell."

"It's people like Sharon, Whites Pope County coordinator, who have never been in politics before, that you don't want to alienate by attacking Frank White."

Skip: "I think we've found your 1984 Pope County coordinator.

David - Sharon? Skip - No, Dale Brown.

Skip you ought to call Luther Hardin and tell him you met his son today. <u>David</u> - Yes I will. Put that down on the call list. When I tell him I talked to his son, he'll go crazy.' When I was governor I saw Luther every day, every single day. And every day, he would come in and say 'I'm Luther Hardin.' I'd say to him 'I know you're Luther Hardin. I talked to you yesterday and every day before that."

We stopped at Cogswell's Ford dealership to see owner, who had a rally for David in his show room in 1978. Hadn't seen him for 4 years.

"I'm not sure I'll recognize Keith Cogswell." He did, they talked and Skip was pleased. "He did a lot for us. And he never asked for anything. This is all it takes. He would have read that DP was in town and would have felt bad if we hadn't stopped by. It's better, sometimes, if they aren't in. Then you can drop a note and leave. But this is good for Pryor."

* I think I should note that in one sense, everything that happened during my trip was related to 1984 in some way. The Clinton headquarters visit, the Cogswell visit, the speculation re Pope County coordinator, the Tommy Robinson encounter, then Catlett's talk re. raising money, all Skip's phone calls, the office gossip, Skip's car--everything. They are thinking 1984 all the time.

When I got into the car the first morning Skip talked about how he had been to Warren the day before and told the story about how a lady brought her pig to jail and, under the law, they had to feed the pig.' (It's on the front page of the Gazette and I have it) David turned and said "Welcome to Arkansas." Skip went on: "Did you know old Wayne died?" "No, I didn't know that?" "We went to Wayne's drug store and I told everybody that this is the place you used to come and make all your calls when you were campaigning in Gradley county." "Wayne's drug store wasn't really a drug store. It was more like a dry goods store. In the back was a pool hall. Everybody in Bradley county came in there for coffee. If you sat there from 9:00 till 11:00 in the morning you would see everyone who was influential in that county. I love Bradley County. I always get 80% of the vote there. Warren is one of the most beautiful towns in Arkansas—old brick streets....

I'm sorry I had to miss the Tomato Festival this year."

Wayne's Drug Store played a role in the 1966 primary fight, too, as it turned out, when DP started to talk about the '66 primary.

He was in it with 5 opponents. One was Henry Haney--whom he described as a poor boy who had worked way up in Horatio Alger fashion and whose theme song was "Honey in the morning, Honey in the evening, Honey at suppertime."

"Everybody was singing it. Even my kids were singing it." His run off

opponent was Richard Arnold. "He was one of the smartest people in the state, first in his class at the University, Phi Beta Kappa, first in his class at Harvard Law School, Rhodes Scholar—but a bad campaigner." He was trying to picture me as a tool of organized labor. He circulated a story late in the campaign that I had received a 50,000 contribution from the Teasmster's Union and that an agent of Jimmy Hoffa had flown the money into some remote air strip in Arkansas."

"Also late in the campaign a bunch of us were sitting in Wayne's drug store when someone came in with a flyer that had been placed in every rural mail box. It was a big picture of Stokely Carmichael, who was all the rage then, saying that he supported David Pryor for Congress. There he was with his beads and his shark tooth necklace. Pretty soon, other people started coming into the store with the same thing. We decided right there that I had to go on TV. I could feel myself slipping fast. We needed 6 or 7 thousand dollars to go on the three TV stations; and we had no money left. So we scratched around, went to people three or four times, and got about 3,000. We could not raise another penny and how he'd almost run out. We were sitting around headquarters wondering what to do--I will never forget it as long as I live -- we looked out the plate glass window, and up drove Santa Claus. Old Mrs. Murphy--one of the richest women in the area (whose husband was supporting Richard Arnold) drove up in this big limousine; ber chauffer got out, she got out with her cane, came into the headquarters and said 'My husband has gone crazy supporting Richard Arnold. I'm supporting you and I want to give you 3,000."

Talked about how they scrambled to get this done. "I knew that we had so little time that my first taping of that speech was the final one.

I went into the back room all by myself and wrote it. We sent people to the three stations to put down the money, and found the only time we could get was 6:15-6:30. In August, in Arkansas, there is no worse time to be on TV than 6:15. Everyone is outdoors doing something. We had to take it. At 6:10 one of the worst thunderstorms in Arkansas history hit. everybody was indoors. I gave what I call my Poor Richard speech. It was very corny. I started by saying, 'I hope no one will mind if I speak directly to an old friend of mine, Richard Arnold. Richard, I have known you for years. I know that you have placed this Stokely Carmichael flyer in every mail box. I know you have circulated this Jimmy Hoffa story. I know you didn't mean to do that. It isn't like you. Why did you do it?' It was the greatest speech of my career. Arnold told me later that that speech broke his back. He said that before the speech he thought he was going to win. He said those two charges were the greatest mistakes of his life, and that he took bad advice and that he was ashamed of them. he was in first garde, they used to take him around to schools where he would recite roman numerals from one to one thousand, backwards. He was a child prodigy. He's now a federal judge--and some day he may be on the Supreme Court. That's where he belongs."

Later in the day, DP told another story about that first campaign. They
to emphasize DP's commitment to civil rights
have a meeting of all the black reverends"/in the district at someone's
restaurant and the owner insists on opening the meeting." He said. The reason
we've gotten all you niggers together...' And Dooley Warmeck turned to me
and said, 'David, it's lost, all lost.'"

Skip - talking about his new Caprice Classic. "It's an '83 model, so by 1984, it won't look like a new car. It will have 30,000 miles on it; and

people won't start asking us why we're driving such a fancy new car.

But it will be big enough to carry a lot of stuff and comfortable enough for long trips."

On Friday morning, as we talked about the various effects of DPs visit to Clinton's headquarters, we talked about staff intensity in these situations. Clinton's staff is paranoid; DP's staff is paranoid. And they have influence on their respective candidates. Skip says staff is influential. "Staff may not always win, but they get the last word. I get my say just before he steps out of the car. In the long run, I can't have that much influence but in the short run I can." (nice)

Re Russellville. "I've never been able to establish a base in Russellville. If I wanted to get a group together in Pine Bluff, I'd call Charlie Murphy and ask him to get some people together. He'd have 100 people on the court house steps. I can't do that in Russellville." Later, as we went into the Rotary Club, "This guy is very very conservative."

Re Luther Hardin's son, who introduced him at the Rotary, DP called Luther the next day to tell him that he'd met him at the Rotary, what a great introduction he'd given him, how well he spoke "Did you teach him to speak that well?" how proud he should be, etc. "Luther nearly cried over the telphone, he was so pleased." It's a lot like Jack Flynt. And he commented in the bar that everybody you meet in Arkansas has some mutual connection. (I recall the dinner at the Pulaski bar with the sorority sisters.)

It's not homogeneous—says DP. "Every little town has its own character. You go thirty miles away and that town will be completely different from the one you are in." Only if you cherish each little town do you see that.

In the Arnold campaign in 1966, Arnold accused DP of being in favor of gun control because he sponsored a bill in the Arkansas legislature making it illegal to carry a loaded shot gun on the rack of a pickup truck. (after some kid had blown his head off.) NRA called and wanted to know what he was up to. Very suspicious. But he's just been flat out against gun control ever since he's been in Congress.

On the first morning (Thursday) DP gave an interview to one of the TV stations—on his trip to China. Pitched it heavily toward Arkansas. Which is interesting, because when I was thinking of coming here I thought it would be a bad time because of his preoccupation with China. But even in this interview, he gave it a home twist—agriculture.

"We were the first delegation from the Senate Agriculture Committee to go to China. It was a signal to China that we want to sell them our farm products."

"Our aim is to set Arkansas farm products to China."

TV man suggested that "It might make an Arkansas farmer, old Joe Blow, feel good to have one of his own looking out for him."

Then he said "Let me put my horns on and ask you, was it worth it?" "It's important to establish a one on one relationship. We followed a Canadian delegate there and the Brazilians were coming in next. It was not a junket. The mission was successful for the long range. The only way the American farmer can survive is by exports. China could become our number one trading partner."

"I will propose—in the next session—that an advocate of agriculture be placed in the State department. It's the State department people who impose embargoes as an instrument of foreign policy."

After we stopped at Keith Cogswell's, DP said in the car, "That was a good stop." Skip said "It sure was." DP said "It was a great stop."

I asked DP why Keith Cogswell, a Pryor supporter--and people like him--supported White and not Clinton. Why didn't they like Clinton?

"First, they think he's too liberal. Second, they think he's immature.

Third, Despite the fact that he was born in Arkansas, they just have that feeling that he's not one of us."

At dinner with the Catlett's, that night, Graham said that his manicurist said whom she was going to vote for in the governor's election and then, totally spontaneously, said "The only person I really like is David Pryor. He's one of us." David turned to me and poked me on the arm and said, "See, one of us, one of us."

Then, the next day, DP dalled an old time political guy Arch Ford.

He came back where I was reading his old newspaper and said "Arch says

Frank White will win. When I asked him about Clinton, he said "His credentials are not verifiable. That's what I was telling you yesterday." And Shirley spoke up and said, "The people just don't trust him."

The real preoccupation of the two days was David's behavior in the Clinton-White race. Pryor's supporters are split. Pryor has known White for years, and White worked for him as governor. All this leans him to White. Plus fact that it's an open secret that Clinton has always wanted to run against DP. Yet DP is a Democrat and owes an allegiance to the party. White was scheduled to run an ad in the papers suggesting Clinton was going to run against Pryor. Clinton denied it and called Pryor to ask him to appear with him onTV, if not travel around with him on Monday before election. The latter is what they wanted most. Bumpers did 14 rallies with Clinton; DP did two. DP was scheduled to go to Montana for Melcher on

Monday and told 'em he couldn't travel around. Then they asked him to come to the Clinton Headquarters. "All he wants is for me to go on television with him to let people see us together." Skip felt White put DP in the box and that Clinton asked him and that they had Clinton's word that he would support DP in 1984 and that a trip to the headquarters to "wish him well" and congratulate the volunteers on their work would be the lesser of two evils. The other people in the office said there was no reason for DP to do anything at all--that any move at all would make White people mad. DP -"It's a real downer for me." "I wish I'd stayed in China." The office was split -- with all for White except Skip. They do not like Clinton and don't trust Clinton and think he'll run against DP no matter what he says. Skip thinks maybe Clinton will go after Bumpers. Anyway, they got Clinton on tape, now, that he won't run vs. Pryor in 1984. Skip thinks the whole thing helped because they've got Clinton pinned down. DP's comment on the effect of the visit was typically self-deprecating. "I told him it will probably cost them 4 points in the polls." Next day Skip said 'DP is having second thoughts." But Skip says, "we did the right thing." The staff thinks Skip influenced him. Skip won't deny it. They are all looking out for DP!

DP's picture of Clinton is that "If he wins, his mind will not be on Arkansas. On Wednesday morning, he'll be accepting congratulatory calls from Yell County and Mountain Home and Harrison, but his mind will be on the Vice Presidency."

DP also said of Clinton. "He has a propensity to screw up. He'll have the same people around him he always did. They may shave their beards but they will be the same people. And they will get him in trouble --soon."

It was said often that "He knows all about ____;" "when Skip or PD talked to others and referred to me.

David's incredible accessibility was demonstrated Thursday in the Hilton bar and that evening at Coy's steakhouse.

David said "If I had to self-critique myself I'd say that I'm not senatorial enough. I don't act--you know--like Senators are supposed to act. But you can't teach an old dog new tricks."

First, he spies a former police captain in the highway patrol. He sits there for a while. "I wish I could remember his name." The guy is going through the taco buffet line. Finally, he goes over to him to say hello and brings him back to meet one-Buren . Buren goes back to his table. A little later he comes back to introduce his wife. Then a woman from a nearby table comes over and asks for his autograph for her daughter, Miranda. He asks here where she's from, etc. Then a young woman comes over and introduces herself and says she works for a doctor that DP knows. DP decides to write a note of thanks to the doctor for something he did. But before he gets a chance to do that, another man comes over and shakes hands and says he and DP have a mutual friend, mayor of some small city in Arkansas. They talk about the mayor. Davids asks the man where he works-Equitable Life. Then DP says "Let me tell you a funny story about the President of Equitable Life. Some employee of Equitable life in Arkansas wins a contest and gets trip to D.C. She writes DP and asks if she can have lunch with him when she comes. He writes back and says yes. Then she writes back and asks if she can bring the President of Equitable Life with her. DP says yes, fine." I took them to lunch in the Senate diningroom--this little ole girl from the claims department and the President of Equitable Life. The President had never been in the Senator's diningroom, I'm sure. He had brought with him his lawyer, and an accountant. I'm sure he thought we were going to conduct an investigation. He was

sitting there all tense and erect and looking nervous. The little ole girl was having the time of her life. I told him to relax and enjoy himself, that we were just honoring the winner of the contest." (Typical big guy-little guy Pryor story). Then he remembers note to doctor; writes it; and carries it over to the girl at the other table. All this took place in 40 minutes. And we were sitting in a dark corner of the room. When we first sat down, he had exclaimed, Isn't Arkansas a great state? Aren't the people here just great!!" After all these encounters he said, "That's what makes Arkansas so great. Everybody you meet knows somebody that you know." I said "It's manageable." "You're right. I never thought of it that way, but it is manageable. People don't want to make any trouble if they can help it. Very seldom does the state get so inflamed it's not manageable. In 1957 it was not manageable--but very seldom. That night at dinner with the Catletts, we were interrupted between 10 and 15 times while we were eating. David keeps his eyes open for people passing by. He doesn't want to miss anyone he's supposedd to know--if he can help it. But among the people who came by were Sheriff Tommy Robinson (the most significant because later in the men's room he told DP that he was not going to run against him in 1984. (When I call Shirley after the election she says they'll have to watch out for Tommy), guy who took pictures from which the painting was done that hangs in the capitol, two doctors and their wives, Bill Murphy -- a Fayetteville pal he sits down to talk. It's all single issues now; being a good ole boy isn't enough anymore," the former mayor of North Little Rock, a mail man who delivered mail to the governor's mansion, a young man who roomed with the son of a friend of Pryor's at Arkansas University, etc.

David's assessment of his Clinton headquarters visit. "I made a few Clinton people happy and I made a lot of White people unhappy. I hope they forget in two years. Frank White will understand; but people like Keith Cogswell will not."

At the lounge, "Well, I've done my duty today."

Staffers say that DP has been friends with White for 20 years, that White was a Democrat and that DP was shocked when he changed to Republican.

Re his trip to Cinton headquarters. "I don't think a politician can transfer his allegiances to other politicians. The Clinton people are paranoid. They think I talk to Frank White every night before I go to bed. They want me to cancel my schedule tomorrow."

His Montana trip is cancelled. He says it's the best of all worlds.

He can go home to DC, where his wife is getting out of the hospital after a

China trip illness. (Maybe! He did not seem all that concerned, so it

may have been a cover story.)

At dinner, he says "The Clinton people want to suck some of my blood." Story of Frank White ad-the trigger.

At the lounge, he talked about his committee assignments. "I can't get off Agriculture, politically. It would be considred a slight by the farmers. It should be a B committee. It meets so seldom. Governmental Affairs is a very weak committee. I could be the most important Committee in the Senate. It can do anything. If Tom Eagleton becomes the Chairman, it will be a strong committee. It suits me because I'm a generalist."

You're right. I don't have enough to do. I'm thinking of making a run for the Finance Committee. There will be stiff competition—from Howell Heflin and others—but I may make a run for it."

Said, again, that the office of governor was more important to people of Arkansas than the office of Senator.

(from back of book)

DP was editor of the <u>Ouachita Citizen</u> (Washataw). I have 1959 papers only. From 1st job out of college.

It was called "An independent newspaper devoted to the best interests of the people of Ouachita County and South Arkansas." he wrote the head-lines, took the pictures, a weekly paper.

anti-Faubua.

David, Barbara, his mother and 4 workers put it out.

Editorial 2/5/59. "About the most encouraging bit of good news heard from his session of the Arkansas General Ass. has been that the 'old guard' leadership of the House is being hotly contested... There comes a time when the old professional politicans, who have been in complete power far so long, can be made to realize just how powerful they aren't. The two repressions of the most encouraging bit of good news heard from Park the realize of the session of the Arkansas General Ass. has been that the 'old guard' there's aren't are anti-old guard.

Pro city manager for Camden in March & April 1959 - April, Camden became 3rd Arkansas city to adopt city manager plan.

May 1959 - attacking Little Rock's purging of teachers - ringing defense of teacher freedom.

He was watching national politics, and counting the cuts being made - especially applauding reductions in spending.

September 3, 1959. "One of the most unbecoming Supreme Court Judges in Arkansas' long history now is sitting on our highest tribunal. He is of course, Jim Johnson... His most vehement blast on US Senator John McClellan

for voting for the Landrum Griffin Labor Bill is typical of the Johnson branch of political shenanigans. The profanity used in his letter to McClellan castigating him for his vote is indicative of his own lack of respect he has for his position, his own name and the State of Arkansas." Some day the people of Arkansas are going to tire of the Jim Johnsons. Come that day, we can hold our heads a little higher and breathe a little deeper." (This is the guy they heard was going to run vs. DP)

American boosterism misplaced - predicts that American small cars are on the way and will prevail. "Detroit will show our friends overseas how compact automobiles can be built at no sacrifice of the spirit, dash smartness and glamour that 3 generations of Americans have learned to expect." 8/6/59.

On Kruschev trip, DP wants him to see real America--the Ramsey-Looney store at Holly Springs", eat a watermelon, hot dog, watermelons, etc.

Protest against "increased local taxes."

Attacks pork barrell bill passed over Ike vteo 10/8/59. "There is nothing new about congressing wanting to bring hom the bacon when they go home to do their vote cultivating. And the authorizing of worthless or unnecessary projects will doubtless continue until constituents realize that they are only getting some of their own tax money, back—less the stiff Washington 'handling charge'; and that there is no greater obstacle to tax reform than this unsavory—of time honored—abuse of public funds for private advantage."

Defense of spitoons in Senate against attack by "a lady from Staten Island" "It is plain the lady does not realize the demands of government on the saliværy glands. Nor has she stopped to think of the traditional respect and restorative function of the ever filled Senate snuff boxes... a chance to expectorate comes mighty close at times to the right of free speech." Some fun here in a long editorial. Some sense for tradition here 10/15/59.