

1688 - Hughes - Summit - 86

ARLEN SPECTER

5/26/82  
11:30 a.m.

June 21, 1982

MONDAY, JUNE 21, 1982

6:00 - 8:00 a.m. Drive to Harrisburg

8:00 - 9:15 McIlheny breakfast  
Harrisburg Marriott Inn  
4650 Lindle Road  
717-564-5511

9:30 -10:45 Hearing on dairy subsidies Contact #: 717-787-4751  
Capitol Annex - Room 22

10:45 -11:00 Press availability

11:00 -11:15 Drive time

11:15 -11:45 T.V. Taping with Marsha Kaplan  
  
WHTM TV  
3235 Hoffman Street  
717-236-2727

11:45 -12:00 Drive time

12:00 -12:35 p.m. Address Chamber of Commerce  
  
Host Inn  
4751 Lindle Road  
717-939-7841

12:35 -12:50 Drive to airport

1:15 Depart U.S. Air Flight #725

1:59 Arrive Washington National Airport

ARLEN SPECTER

June 21, 1982

I went up to Philly on the 20th, by train, in order to catch AS for a half day in Harrisburg. Got to his house at 5:45AM--Gordon Woodrow was driving.

DA  
me  
He started talking to Gordon about some guys in the party in Philly-- someone named Witkin and his exploits. It developed into his description of a case he tried as DA that eventually ended in his putting some guys in jail--including Witkin, I think, and some teamsters. "It was the longest case in the history of Philadelphia. It lasted ten weeks and a day."

He never tires of reliving his cases, the people he indicted and convicted, etc. It's irretrevably vivid. Well, he's 50 years old and he has a past in the way Dan Quayle does not. Quayle is all future, never talks about the past.

used  
party  
I used the party talk as an entree to remind him that he had said during the campaign that a Senator could nourish the party. Had he done that now that he's in? "It's very difficult. I have tried to mediate the running feuds between Bill Meehan and Charlie Dougherty. Charlie would like to be party leader, and Meehan knows it. Charlie's a good man; but I told him he ought not to push Meehan. Meehan is a very stubborn man. On redistricting Meehan wanted to hurt Dougherty; I told him if he did that I would side with Dougherty. I've been trying to keep them quiet. There are other things I've done. I invited all the Philadelphia ward leaders to Washington for dinner. All the black leaders came--33 out of the 46. Bob Dole spoke to them. Later he told me he didn't think there were that many black Republicans in the whole country. I've tried to put the party on the map. I got Sam Hayakawa to speak to the city committee dinner. I'm trying to get George

Bush to come. Joan has been an important force for good in the city. Everything I do helps her; just as everything she does helps me. I think a Senator should be visible to the party people. I go to their dinners. I went to the State Committee meeting Saturday. But it's hard going. Parties are declining everywhere and it's hard to hold them together now. Chicago and Philadelphia may be the only cities with party organizations left. Philadelphia may be the only big city Republican organization left in the entire country."

His idea of party--the party he should help--is the Philadelphia Republicans.

1688  
I asked him how 1688 was going. "It's going well. It's been on the committee docket for two weeks. We have finished the report and it's circulating among the members' staffs. It's 200 pages. I think we'll get it out of Committee; and Howard Baker has promised to schedule it."

"Promised," I asked--how did you sell it to him? "I personalized it, presidentialized it, party-ized it and dountry-ized it--in that order. I told him it was something I had been working on for a long time. I told him the president was in favor of it. I told him it would be good for the party and good for the country. I told him it was a narrow issue. He said that it shounded to him like something that should be scheduled and that he'd find a window for it."

It's been hard going. I've had to convince guys like Laxalt and Hatch who are afraid that the federal government will encroach on local jurisdiction. And on the other side Metzenbaum is against it (for a reason I can't recall). Kennedy is opposed to it, too. It's criticized from both sides.

Income, to Coltrane, is called self serves it took a paid by self image.

But I think I can do it. The report is very impressive. I want them to see it, to pick it up, to feel it, so they will know how much we have studied it and how serious it is. We'll bring it up on a Monday. I've learned that that's the way to do it when you have a narrow issue. Bring it up on Monday when no one is there and no one is interested. You can debate the issue on Monday and vote on Tuesday. Of course, you have to have clearance from both sides of the committee. Anything Baker can do is limited by the fact that you need clearance. I'll need that from Thurmond and Kennedy."

10/88

Later, he said "It's very slow in the House. I've been talking to Bill Hughes And I've met with Rodino. A lot depends on which subcommittee the bill is referred to. If it goes to Conyers--he's a black Congressman from Detroit--that will be bad news. He's opposed to all anti-crime legislation. It may go to Hughes. I'm working on him and making some progress. I've worked out a relationship with him. I'm helping him with his bill over here. He's mildly negative--but not immovable. There's no point in doing more until the bill passes the Senate."

Later, at the Marsha Kaplan interview, her last question was about 1688. He answered. "It's making good progress...I'm optimistic that it will be passed in the course of the next three weeks."

After the cameras went off, she asked him if it didn't mean building more prisons. He nodded and said "Ultimately we are going to have to face up to the problem of prison space." But he emphasized that his was a pilot program, to take 500 worst cases and deal with them, and that this could be done under current conditions.

Riding away in the car, he said "There's a lot of interest in 1688. If I can get that bill passed, it will be a hell of a deal. That's the



first time I've put a definite time limit on its passage--three weeks. I did it deliberately. People are tired of vagaries. 'We'll try to do it as soon as possible, but on the other hand we aren't sure.'

When I left him at the Russell Building door, he said "I'll keep you posted ~~posted~~ on 1688."

On the ride to Harrisburg he talked about his Summit Res.

"It was a learning experience. It was the first thing I have pushed on the floor since I've been here. I have moved very slowly. Some of my colleagues have taken flyers and have come back with egg on their faces. I have spoken very little--only when I knew a lot about the subject like crime or on matters of interest to my state. I have felt that when I did move I would want to be sure I knew what I was talking about. It has helped my rapport with my colleagues that when I did move, I was serious, had studied hard and was successful--and was successful."

This was an answer I probed for. The first answer he gave when I asked him about consequences of his fight concerned the effect on staff. Just what Quayle had said!

"It was good for the staff. They hung on every episode--like a baseball game, inning by inning. They all listened to it over the squawk box. It was 'our' gladiator against 'their' gladiator." (They had champagne afterward.)

He began the discussion of his summit resolution by ending his discussion of 1688. "I've learned how to do it. Did you follow my summit resolution?"

A couple of times, he said "I've learned how to do it." by which he meant he had learned how to bring up a fairly narrow bill or resolution on Monday--and tack it on as a non-germane matter on some other bill.

He said he was going to do that on his anti-dumping bill and on his International Conflict of Justice Solution to the Falklands.

In this vein he told me I should look at Paula Hawkins effort to add her Falklands issue to the Voting Rights Act and Baker's effort to get her to remove it or he would have "to take the whole bill down." AS and Hawkins both had Falkland Resolutions. She had called him to ask if hers overlapped with his. He said no. But she had brought hers up in the middle of a very controversial bill. He was planning to put his in on a Monday as he had with the summit resolution. I've learned how to do it. The way she did hers was not accepted form. I'll do mine the right way.

On the summit resolution. Another thing he learned "When you put in a bill, it's like spitting in the ocean. When you hold a hearing it's like wetting your finger and holding it to the wind (he does that). When you make people vote, then they pay attention. They really pay attention."

He talked about how his Resolution came up in the Policy Committee meeting on the Tuesday before the final vote. "I got up to speak and got off on the right foot. I said 'This should be very easy speech to make. I'm only opposed by the Chairman of the Armed Services Committee and the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.' Everyone laughed. It broke the ice."

He talks about the genesis of the resolution in Reagan's non-acceptance of summit and his belief (stated in one of his speeches today) that "There is no such thing as nuclear superiority. There is only nuclear inferiority. We are inferior to the Soviets because they can blow us away. They are inferior to us because we can blow them away. Pretty soon we will all be inferior when Khaddafi and the other nuts of the world can blow us away."

He just got worried about what he could do to nudge the President. And he talked again about the groups "competing for the President's mind"--he did that, again, at Chamber of Commerce lunch.

He said that once he decided to bring up the resolution he asked Tower if Monday would be a good time to bring it up. Tower says, "I don't know much about yours specifically, but Monday is a good time to bring it up." So he did, and thus started, I guess, his attraction to Monday as a day to introduce something.

They debated it for two days, and Tower got very opposed to it. "He didn't think it should be on his bill; he didn't think we should tell the President what to do; ~~he thought it should be on his bill; he didn't think we should tell the President what to do;~~ he thought it should go to committee first. And he didn't think a freshman should propose such a resolution. He didn't say that, but he felt it."

"All during the debate, I was going around proselytizing the members of my class. I didn't say Tower was being a bully, but they all knew it. Gorton and Rudman were outraged. Rudy Boschwitz came up to me and said, 'Specter, I don't know what you're doing but if Tower and Percy are against you, then I'm for you.' He doesn't like the way Percy handles issues concerning Israel."

He then talked about how seriously he had tried to study national defense matters, trips to Grand Forks, Charleston, California, Germany etc.

"Tower was trying to browbeat me. But I knew what I was talking about. I had gone to Grand Forks, ND to see the minuteman. I had gone to Edwards Air Force Base in California. I had been to Charleston, SC to see the submarine. I told Tower that you could communicate with a submarine that was

*Fixed  
his  
speech  
on June*

underwater. He had said you couldn't. I topped him on that one. I was enjoying it. It was a situation that was very familiar to me from my court room experience. Tower was tough. But I've seen a lot tougher. And I can be tougher than Tower once I get going. But I knew I had to be very serious and very calm. That won me points with my colleagues."

Warner asks him if he'll go talk to State Dept. "I'll go, but I won't back off" he says. Talk to McFarland(?) and Burt. They say summits require preparation and raise expectations. "That's just why I think we need it. The American people have a right to expect that we are preparing to talk."

"I told them I wasn't going to back off."

Then Haig calls him the day they are going to have the vote. "I was on the floor debating and I got a note that the Secretary of State was on the phone. I said "I can't talk to him now. I've got to stay on the floor. I wasn't being disrespectful; I just didn't feel I could leave the debate." John Tower came over and said he thought I should take the call and that he would ask for a quorum call. When I talked to Haig, he said the President was going to make his speech in Eureka, and said it would be catastrophic if we voted on this resolution before his speech. He used heavy words--catastrophic, overwhelming--the way Haig does and he asked me to postpone the vote. I asked - him if the President was going to propose a Summit meeting in his Eureka speech. He said he couldn't say that he would. I said 'If you ask me to postpone a vote, I'll have to do it. But I won't back off. I'm going to put in the record that I'm putting it off because you asked me to.'" Very concerned not to be seen as "backing off." That goes with his style. Then he goes into Policy Committee on Tuesday. Stevens says "We've got to stick together. We've got to act like a team and support the Specter resolution."

Then he goes into the story about the paper at the desk during the vote--

that AS and FR oppose it. That must have been on the 61-39 vote, because Arlen reports that FR and AS held ranks. There were actually 2 votes and the key one was the 61-39 vote.

Tower to Laxalt "You can't vote for that. He's telling the President what to do." Laxalt - "Everyone else is, why shouldn't he?"

Tower to Schmitt - "Jack, you aren't going to vote for that are you?" "I am. What do you think my constituents would say if I didn't."

Wallop. "He said he wanted to vote for it, but that he wouldn't be in town for the vote. When we postponed it, I went to him and said "Malcolm, we held it over just so you could vote for it. He didn't want to. But he had to." "All this is confidential," he said. They get very itchy when you name names.

*disappointing*  
"We got a nice story in the Philadelphia Inquirer. Surprisingly, neither the New York Times or the Washington Post picked it up at all."

He's got an anti dumping bill, on which he'll hold hearings (or someone) this Thursday. He's given notice that he's going to bring it up. He's discovered the lack of a strict germaneness rule. "You can bring almost anything up you want to on almost any bill under the germaneness rule." He talked about this anti-dumping bill at all his public sessions. It's steel; and that's PA.

He also talked about sending Falklands Dispute to the World Court. "I've been interested in the International Court ever since I was an undergraduate. My teacher, Philip Jacob, was a world federalist. I went to the Hague to see the Court and was fascinated by it. I had Paul Michele working on its possible role in the Falklands dispute, but then I forgot about it. That was a mistake. I should have had it ready. Jonathan Bingham introduced a resolution in the House."

Later, he said. "There's a lot of interest in my Falkland Islands proposal. I got several comments this weekend. It was the first question asked him by Marsha Kaplan on her TV show.

Re Kaplan. "She's the smartest reporter in PA. She's been at it quite a while. The trouble with the media here is that the turnover is so high. That's especially true of the TV people. They never stay long enough to learn anything about Pennsylvania."

AS - in Harrisburg - breakfast with businessmen. 50 there.

Wants to have dialogue. "Don't have all the answers in Washington, more accurately we don't have many of the answers; possibly we don't have any of the answers." That's not the way to talk to all gr-ups.

He lists what he'd like to talk about: nuclear disarmament, court jurisdiction.

But he takes up budget. Why the deficit - Kemp/Roth. "There are many of us who disagree with that. I voted to defer the 3rd year of the tax cut... It's a matter of a hard choice between the deficit.. My travels tell me there won't be profits to pay taxes on unless interest rates come down."

Take the Lugar Bill - his theme is "hard choices." Dick Lugar is one of the most conservative senators to come down the pike, and he came up with an ingenious plan... I debated long and hard and decided to vote for it-- with Dick Lugar."

Military - "anominous thing what has been happening with the Soviet buildup."

Kassebaum amendment on budget - story re Nancy - "I'd like you to speak for it. That's a sophisticated way of asking you to vote for it... I listened to her presentation... I rose and said I was going to support her amendment, because defense has to be modulated like everything else"... Got 44 votes. Has had correspondence. A hard choice.

Dumping - his bill - steel, textiles, leather, shoes, mushrooms -  
Steel Exhibit A - 108,000 of 450,000 out of work, 2.50 ton subsidies in 9B -  
it's vs. the law to dump and companies ought to go into court - Lot of  
opposition from Administration - Comm., Justice, Trade Rep., State. "An  
have been sacrificed to foreign policy objectives."

*an emphasis*  
"My plan is to push this to a vote." "No illusions...but courts should  
be open. His dumping and his Falklands solution are court related matters."

A major theme of this talk and his answers is "hard choices."

York - chain mfg. "I urge you to persist with the Comm. Dept... Their  
attitudes were formed when we had a trading surplus...common market countries  
are our adversaries." Their tariffs higher than ours.

"I intend to persist"... It's a very basic point.

He talks re trigger price mechanism and not working re. steel. "It was  
a modest improvement, if they had enforced it. But there has never been any  
enforcement of PM, as mild and as modest as it was."

They got into litigation technicalities on this.

User fee until I know where the money will go. I want to extract some  
specifics for PA before I vote for it." He talks about inland waterways in  
West - locks and dams. Port of Erie, port of Philly - highways, bridges.

Bob Dole and tax problem - Soc. Sec. etc. - real tough choices. If the  
Rep. lose control of the Senate, the Presidents program will be set on his ear  
if not on a more aggravated part of the anatomy" (only laughter session)

Bus. Until we address the deficit we're just doing cartwheels."

Pete D. has been working on budget since last Nov.

Story - Real Sen. saw W. Point. I saw story that We said  
Deficits don't matter. I thought I'd lost my mind, you've lost your  
seat. (laughter)

Have to deal with entitlements. Soc. Security commission is a way to go after it. "I think the country is ready for it. Senior Citizens are scared to death. They don't know what is happening."

He asks "What do you think we're spending too much money on?"

He calls 1 of these people by first name. I surprised at that. Gordon was too."

Contract out to private industry.

Look at all indexed programs.

Defense waste a navy guy says that. 10B cut can be absorbed. "If you think I'm capable of telling Casper Weinberg. where to cut the military budget, I'm not."

When I voted for Kass. Tower said Arlen, "Do you still want this Iowan in Philly?" I said "Yes, John." He said "If we cut the pork we can really cut back on def. budget." "There's no pork there," I told him.

"Let's get down to brass tacks and cut the budget... We've still got room to cut." This guy says just cut government.

Qu: re candor of Defense Dept. and Regan - "A number of us have urged them to tell us a little more." Regan: has been predicting an upturn... without the signs to back it up." "There's going to have to be a psychology of the long pull. I think the President is on the right track, but I don't think relief is immediately in sight. It isn't." And he criticizes Regan for being too upbeat.

RR - "has great guy to work with.

Bill Armstrong took Regan on. Jepsen says let gov't grind to a halt. Great laughter! Thurmond

He keeps saying we ask hard questions of admin. officials.

He asks them to keep in touch and says we'll do it again.



neel  
Gordon liked that session. "It's very important for him to establish a presence. He talked about just what they wanted to hear, not nuclear disarmament. They are with him on that, but that's not what they want to hear. They want to know what he's doing to help this company or that company. Those guys will become the core of the Harrisburg area fund raising committee for the campaign. Tom McI will probably be on the executive committee. They want to see him and they want to feel they have access. That's one of the things I learned in fund raising during the campaign. People would say to me 'We never see Arlen except when he's asking for money.' The magic of this weekend is that he went to the state committee meeting Saturday even though he wasn't running. And now he's met with the businessmen. He'll do it again next year. That will set them up so that they'll be receptive in 1985 when I really have to wring out the rag. They want to feel they have access--to the Senator or to the person closest to the Senator.

I asked Gordon how many people were in his own network of people he telephones and who telephones him. He said 400-500 corporation heads," 67 county chairmen' and 'the chief officer in every other delegation office.'  
"About 500-600 people in all."

We go to State Capitol for a hearing on dairy problems.

4 TV cameras were there and 4 press people

State Secy of Ag. starts in. He ends saying how glad they are that AS is on Ag. Subcommittee of Appropriations because "that gives us an opportunity for continuing input."

He has a series of witnesses on what to do about dairy problem - State Agric. Secy, Grange, FB, FW, etc.

To this point I note that he talks a lot about other Senators.

In Ag. hearing "Senator Dole put together compromise to get last year's farm bill." "Senator Eagleton tired to get tobacco into the farm bill." That indicates a certain comfortableness in Senate and a certain Senate-oriented view of the world.

Oftentimes in the hearing, he says "You and I have had extensive discussion on this subject." So he knows these guys, too. The Consumer's League guy says "It's important to have Sen. in state as large as they have a to understand problems. I've made pledges to stay deeply involved in agric. prod. of state. In an you're an anomaly. You've been keeping your campaign promises we don't understand you."

Specter News Conference. 4 TV stations.

These hearings were imp. on dairy problems - Congress looking at it - problem how far we can go re price supports - "We are in the midst of making modifications... testimony very helpful in this respect.

"I tink proposals to limit production have some merits."

"I'm opposed to tobacco supports because it's not the same as milk--a difficult line to draw where gov't uses supports - can't do it with Chrysler. Can't be abrupt changes in milk where it's been

Wants "wholesome and adequate" supply of milk. That's his goal.

"I came with mind set opposed to Admin. proposal to give Sec'y of Agriculture discretion... I maintain an open mind... When you come to question of how you limit products and how you direct federal help I'm going to have to study."

Some talk about what he'll tell Reagan re. FBF proposal - to get government out.

Thinks a bill "Will have a hard time getting on the agenda this year."

"It's very diff. to get something thru cong. especially in election year."

Taping by Marsha Kaplan for Good Morning, America.

She tells him she wants to talk about his proposal to settle sovereignty of Falklands. "I think it's a preposterous proposal, but I'll let you talk about it."

"Ever since college, I've been a fan of the World Court.

AS "I'm going to agree with everything you say."

MK "You never never have; you never never would; you never never could.

AS - Explains why 2 countries would go to court. Sov. is a legal question."

GB has won, vindicated position - "What is going to do next?" would be "sensible decision" to submit to Int'l Court of Justice. He thinks court should be used.

RR came home from summit. was it "more show than substance" - AS - helpful - showed he wasn't wild and wooly cowboy. "Wasn't perfect." "very charming man on personal level, infinite good will, tries very hard."

Dumping - "No realistic chance of voluntary stopping dumping - I have bill now pending in Senate to prevent dumping... Admin is opposed because they want to use trade for foreign policy. "It's unfair and We are going to have no steel industry." "It's against the law. Companies ought to be able to go to court get an injunction to stop it."

" trade requires fair trade which means no subsidies."

"If they want to have a trade war we ought to call their bluff"

Budget deficit. satisfied? - I'm not satisfied..it's too high...

Where will taxes be raised? His idea is concession on end year tax break.

4% limit on fed. employees and retirees. What about social security?

Study will be done.

Is Congress afraid to hit SS. "a political hot potatoe." "unfortunate" that thing is that way.

Abortion - PA law is toughest in the nation. Helms bill - won't be acted on favorably - religious - phil. matter. Hatch bill more likely.

He goes back to DA - Miranda Case to say he opposes constit. amendment to respond to a court decision. Court will hear it again.

He said AM meeting was good one. "It got good toward the end. When I started criticizing Regan, they really liked that. It's hard to get them interested. It's especially hard to know what to say when they ask you to cut back the size of gov't.

"Squash is a wonderful way to make friendships. For me the two best places to make friends in the Senate are the squash court and the steam room. I've met a lot of people in the steam room that I would not otherwise meet. You just sit there for five minutes and talk. John McClellan said that in 20 years, he'd never set foot in another Senator's office. That's how hard it is to make friends. When you play squash you talk all the way over and back. I even organized a round robin among the squash players. That led to further friendships." He plays with Chaffee, Packwood, Warner and Levin. Levin is best. Brady, he thinks, will be very good, but hasn't brought his racquet yet.

Is campaign gone - ever think about it. "The campaign is totally forgotten. When I think about campaigning again in 1986, I remember all the campaigns I've had and how easy a thing it is to do. It's easy to do; but it's hard to look forward to. I've had lunch with Flaherty twice--once in May of 1981 and once a couple of months ago. Then I think about the campaign. And at the state committee meeting last weekend, a little."

*reel*  
What did you learn today? "People are pleased to have you come around. That's not new, but it was reenforced. It shows them that you care. I'll want to go home and find out whether the social programs have really been cut and how much. I wasn't able to answer that question the way I wanted to. I leanred that there's a farm organization that wants to do away with price supports altogether."

When he ended his talk at the Ch. of Com. and asked for questions. "I've reached my time limit--imposed by me not you. If I talk anymore I may not learn anything either."

*copy*  
*reel*  
"It's a great job. I love it. It's still exhilarating just to be a United States Senator. And it's educational. You learn not only that you can't do everything but how hard it is to do anything. You see Howard Baker and his frustration. I don't see Ronald Reagan that much, but it's there, too. If anybody can do anything, the Senate can. But that raises the question: Can anybody do it?"

*reel*  
I asked him if big state was a problem to reach and to understand. He was emphatic. "No. I think my problem is that I've been around too much. When I go in to Harrisburg, or New Castle or Oil City or Hazelton or State College, I know the people, I know the roads, I know the restaurants. If you are going to be a Senator you have to get around and you have to like it. You have to show people you care. In a lot of ways today is a pain in the ass. I could have spent the day in relative ease--taken the train down, played squash. People appreciate it when you come around when you don't have to, when you're not running. A guy came up to me today and said spontaneously 'You didn't have to be here. I feel better about the government after hearing you speak today.' You have to do it and like it. Senators are a hard working group. It's like being a law student. If you aren't studying, you feel that you should be. I have an agenda. I'm going to go to Pittsburgh

so many times this year, to Erie so many times, to Wilkes Barre so many times. And I'll be there come hell or high water. They all do it. Grassley busts his ass in Iowa, Rudman makes speeches all the time, Gordon does too. They all do it."

"If we had had to vote today, I would have cancelled everything and gone back. I told everyone that in advance. I've missed very few votes. The ones I've missed have been absolutely unavoidable. That's our job--to vote. My voting record is 99.5%. It all ties in with: he cares, he's energetic, he works hard. That's the issue I beat Flaherty with. It was the only issue between us. I went to all 67 counties. He didn't. There was not any difference between us on the issues. I had a beautiful wife; he had a beautiful wife. I drove a foreign car; he drove a foreign car. He hadn't won anything in 1000 years; I hadn't won anything in 1000 years. We were twins. No one cared how we sliced up the issues--except for abortion, but it never became consequential.

Budget fight. "I was one of four who voted vs. Kemp/Roth, to postpone the third year tax cut. We had quite a to do. Howard used coercive psychology, in a very subtle way. He called us in and said if you are not going to stick with us on the budget, hold up your hand. I was one of 4 who held up his hand and said I couldn't go with the team. I complained to Baker later but he came back strong. He said we need the budget and that you have to do such things when you get to the end. I said I can't be with you on railroad retirement and thirteen weeks unemployment compensation. I said I wasn't adamant on Kemp/Roth. He told me to tell him when I couldn't go. I didn't campaign on Kemp Roth. I felt more freedom than a lot of the guys do. I didn't come in on Ronald Reagan's coattails. Our election patterns were completely different. I carried Philadelphia by \_\_\_\_\_; he lost Philadelphia by \_\_\_\_\_. He carried Pittsburgh by \_\_\_\_\_. I lost Pittsburgh by \_\_\_\_\_. In the

strong Republican South - eastern counties, I ran ahead of Reagan. In Lancaster county, the most conservative county in the United States in 1972, I ran ahead of Reagan. I was very proud of that. Those people knew me from my time as District Attorney. It's interesting how that affects your idea of the team. I don't feel I owe Reagan anything."

RR Retirement - "I <sup>as</sup> won the deciding vote on that. I voted early and I didn't budge. I told Howard Baker I wouldn't budge. But I stood right there. I didn't take a powder. I stayed so that he could have a chance to convince me if he wanted to. The vote was 48-47. Then some others changed when they saw it was going to win anyway. Howard Baker said "We need you. The budget will fail. If this amendment passes, all the others will pass." I told him it was wrong to give social security increases and not RR retirement. I said it affects too many people in my state."

In Ch. of Comm. Speech he said he had voted with RR 77% of the time and that highest in the House was Shuster at 76%.

Talked about his 48 hr. "junket" to Germany in a C-5 - riding on 15 helicopters looking over defenses etc. as part of his effort to take defense very seriously.