

GORDON WOODROW

August 10, 1982

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"I'm frustrated by the institution and by the habits of the man I work for. I'm amazed that the institution accomplishes anything. All it really does is preserve the illusion of stability. When you think of the enormous investments other countries have in this country, because they think their money is safer here than it would be anywhere else in the world. All we do when you stop and think about it is maintain that illusion of stability."

"You take the budget process. Nobody understands it. Some understand better than others; but nobody knows what's in those big books. They'll say this line shows this and these lines indicate that. You can't follow it. But whatever it is it's every man for himself. Everyone else is supposed to bite the bullet but me (FCC story)... Then there's the shadow government--the committees and their guys. Senators can agree with one another, but the staff has to carry it out. If they don't you are back to square one. There's an awful lot of high school student council politics in all that too--who gets along with whom. I suppose at 35, I shouldn't be surprised by these things. But it's very frustrating."

Re Arlen. "He doesn't delegate well. He likes to manage everything himself. And when he wants something done, he will tell whichever staff person is with him at the time. Sometimes that means that several people have been told to tell the others what he wants done on one subject. I could be the guy back in the state; it could be any one of ten people here. Then we have mixups in signals and we lose memos. His attitude when he wants something done is: "Do it." He doesn't want to go into details very deeply--just do it! But when something goes wrong then he goes into the minutiae of why it went wrong. When that happens, he intimidates the staff--sometimes we have public punishment. He'll stick

It's always someone else's fault. A lot of it is because he is such a poor manager. There is no chain of command in the office. There is an inner circle of from 3 to 5. Myself, Bill Willcox and Bill Loughery.

"Sometimes Bruce, and Jonathan, when we can find them. They are making the government work for them right now. But there is no leader in the office. And I think people need to have some staff member in charge. In our office, no one is in charge. No one knows what he is thinking or what his priorities are. When he says "Do it" to someone that means that priorities will have to shift. Other things won't get done. But he doesn't realize that. If we're having a meeting on one subject, we'll be going along and all of a sudden he'll say to someone in the room, 'Did you make that call to so and so' on a completely different matter. That's very disconcerting. And very upsetting to a lot of the staff. I can live with that hopscotching around. But a lot of the staff can't. Particularly because he doesn't always praise people for a job well done. It's just 'good, now on to the next problem.' When I talk with him about it, he sees the problem intellectually, but he's so used to that style of doing things that he can't change. He needs someone who can keep him organized and who he will listen to. There is no one on his staff who can do that. Only Shanin can do it. He'd better be around in a big way in 1986."

"There's only so much of this a staff can take. We've had very little turnover, because we were older and tougher when we came here. But the veterans are wearying. Bill Willcox will leave in January. Bruce Cohen will leave in January. I doubt very much if I'll be here in 1985. He talks of home, friends, Pennsylvania.)

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"When you accomplish something and you see the headlines, that's your reward. (What have you done?) "If all goes well, in about a month I will have concluded an agreement with EPA for Jones Laughlin Steel for a stretch out in some changes. It will be worth 100M to J & L; it will score points with the environmentalists; and it will put Arlen in good stead with the people back home. That will be my greatest accomplishment."

I then asked him what the accomplishments of the office have been. "To tell you the truth, now that you ask me, I can't think of a single one. Two of our bills are very important--the trade bill and career criminal. The bill allows steel companies to go to court over dumping is very important. And career criminal is very important. Right now, neither of them seems to be going anyplace very fast. I'm not sure why. Arlen gets angry when you say 'that's just the legislative process.' He doesn't believe you have to wait till you've been here a long time to move your bills through the committee. I'm not sure he's willing to do the amount of quid pro that you need to move those bills along. He thinks they ought to carry on the merits. And he wants the press to recognize the merits and do his work for him. You can't do it through the press. They won't do that for you. He still thinks the press is everything. It isn't."

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"His problem is how to channel that very powerful intellect. One day a little while ago when he was feeling particularly frustrated about his ability to get things done, I said to him 'Arlen you have got to put down on paper your agenda for the next few years--what you want to accomplish, what your goals are. You need to specify that for 1983, 1984, 1985 right up to 1986 when your goal is to be reelected. I don't care whether you tell me or keep it to yourself. But you have to write it down on a piece of paper.' He nodded. I don't know whether he ever did it or not. He needs a better sense of

219 direction. He does not know where he's going... Look at his voting record. He's trying to stay in the middle. That's very hard for a Pennsylvania Senator.

I said I thought he hadn't really gone to Judiciary Committee members and said "I need this bill. It's very important to me." "You're absolutely right. If he wants that bill, he's got to swallow his pride, go to Strom Thurmond and say 'Strom I want this bill more than anything else. My pants are down.'"

He's a proud person as well as an intellectual, I think. If he were Sparky Matsunga, he'd have his bill, I'll bet.

He doesn't think Bruce Cohen is well enough tied into the Judiciary Committee stuff. "We are alien to the Committee staff. Bruce is one of the most social people around. But he doesn't sit down and have a cigar and drink with the committee people. He's always too busy rewriting or correcting a paragraph in some letter Arlen wants done. Arlen can talk to Strom and Strom will say OK, I'll tell the staff to do it. Then we'll call the staff and say 'My senator talked with your senator and they decided thus and such. The staff says OK. Then nothing happens. The thing grinds along very slowly. If you want to move things, you have to spend time with the staff, become friendly with the staff.... We worked for 5 weeks--everyone in the office--on these energy hearings. Five days before the hearings, we called on witnesses. Not one of them had heard from the Committee since the original phone call. 'Will you testify?' 'Yes.' That's all they had discussed. Not when to come, where to park, where to stay--nothing. The committee did not want us to hold hearings. You can't deny a Senator the right to hold hearings. But

you can make things difficult or easy." Gordon contrasted his long cultivation of the EPA people.

The Specter office is not all that well plugged into the networks here. And Arlen can't carry a disproportionate part of the load, partly because he's not the most gregarious senator. Gordon described him as "an intellectual" and "a loner."

Re 1688 I talked to Bruce yesterday - he stressed that Baucus' guy didn't like the bill--didn't like added federal jurisdiction. Baucus' way you can get the bill out of committee--promise not to bring it up on the floor.' It would be better for us, next session, to be able to start by saying that we got it out of committee than to be able to say we pulled it out of one of the two subcommittees to which it was assigned, without even a discussion. That might be enough for us at some point, but not yet. We're still trying."

Arlen never gave it top priority, in fact as well as in word. Not like Quayle.