ARLEN SPECTER

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November 9-11, 1985

Saturday - November 9, 1985

Brookville 3rd	
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Monday - November 11, 1985

9:30-10:00	Wreath-laying with Senator John Heinz
10:30	Presbyterian Hospital - Organ Transplat Conference
12:00-1:00	Society of Advocacy for Victims Luncheon and Speech
3:30-4:15	Duquesne University Speech and Question and Answer
5:00-6:30	Packwood Reception
6:30-8:00	Christopher Dinner

Jim Wagner, Yvonne O'Connor, Vernon Jackson

I got in to Oil City Friday evening and met Arlen at an open house at the Oil City Holiday Inn at 8:00 the next morning.

He got questions on abortion, school prayer, EPA regulations affecting the oil drilling industry, enforcing trucking regulations, IRS snafus, the Walker spy case.

I have, on tape, answers to some of these questions, from the next open house, in Brookville.

I think the thing I took away from that session was the continued reference to his background as a prosecutor and DA. When the lady said that the trucking company was making its drivers drive more than the regulations allow. She brought the regulation book with her and read from section "295e" concerning the ratio of driving to rest that is allowable. She said she had complained to this board and that one and "everyone sends me to someone else. No on takes responsibility." Arlen said "Bring it to your United States Senator and he won't pass it on to anyone else. That's what I'm here for. As DA I prosecuted many cases--murder, robbery, rape. I've dealt with people like this before. We'll find out what these people are up to---unless they are willing to commit perjury." He said more than this, but I can't exactly recall it. The flavor was that here were some crooks disobeying the law, and he was going to deal with them the way they deserved. At a couple of other points, he appeared as the tough lawman. When he speaks about laws not being obeyed or carried out correctly, he really does sound tough.

The other thing, relatedly, is his use of legal procedure to cope with problems--like dumping, which he wants to settle through the courts, and conrail, which he wants to attack via anti-trust. In both cases, he wants to deal with a pressing problem by enforcing some law through the courts.

It might be that Arlen's education involves some changeover from the legal process to the political process. Was it hard for him?

We went from Oil City in Venango County to Brookville in Jefferson County for another Open House. Jim hands out cards to everyone there, asking them to fill out their names with their problems and comments and that someone will get back to them. (I have a sample card.)

I have this on tape.

Afterward, he gave the conventional defense of these meetings. I asked what he thought about them. "I think I have done them to excess. But seriously, I think they keep me abreast of what people are thinking and the intensity of their opinions about various subjects. We send out 30,000 letters to postal patrons telling people that we are coming. And there is usually a story and a picture in the paper. So people know their United States Senator came to their town."

One man came out and said "Do you suppose Thornburgh will come here next? I'm on the other side, but if it was between Thornburgh and Specter, I'd vote for Specter. He comes around here. Thornburgh never comes."

Another man said "When our Congressman comes, his aid sits at the table nearby taking down your problems. I thought Specter wanted only generalities on his cards. Maybe since he's from the East, I should take my problems to Heinz." I assured him that was not so; but he hung around until we left, wondering, I suppose, whether Specter was there to help or what. The congressman-Senator, East-West contrasts were both there.

One of the things I noticed all day was that Arlen is "in and out". He always worries about getting away on time and congratulates Jim whenever they meet the schedule. "Good job Jimmy." Jim had a tug of war with Billx Kegel at lunch when he tried to get Arlen out and move up the speech making. Kegel said to Jim afterwards "When you get these people here--on a Saturday--you have to give them something. Most of them would rather be out playing golf. You can't get up and leave. They'll never help you again." Jim allowed as how he had been doing this for 5 years and understood. But Arlen thinks he goes to give the way home to Ligonier, he said to Joan "In Point Marion, I said

no to a woman whose house had been under water. She wanted me to come see her basement. I said I just didn't have time. She was very discouraged. She said nobody wants to see my basement. I just wanted you to know that I did say 'no' today--once." Connegal of Fiduan he has sure of Jim for tolly some quy that und time of the meet of the meet of the file. Asken. Up to

A congressman would stay longer, both at the luncheon and at the fund raiser at night. But he has more territory to cover. And he tries to get out before diminishing returns set in. That seems to me to be the trick--to satisfy people, but just barely. But in both these cases, the conversation afterward had to do with whether he got out too early or what. Maybe there's a sequence problem here. After the lunch, he reamed Jim out for telling the Chamber of Commerce guy that Arlen had no time after the lunch. "Why didn't you ask me. I was right there, fon't do that again without asking me. Ask me!" And there was the *orgument* with Kegel. (Later Arlen said "I talked with him for 30 minutes in the conference room. And he was furious. He wanted more time. I invited him back later for lunch.") I thought me was very demanding.

After the evening fund raiser, Arlen said "I didn't hurry too much did I. I felt pressed to get out of there." Joan said "I didn't speak longer because I knew we wanted to get out of there." And Jim interpreted him duruing the speech saying "Senator, we're running late and we've got to leave soon." Arlen said "He gets paid to say that. I'll take a couple more questions." But they were all concerned to get out on time. Arlen: How long were we there? Jim: An hour and a half. Arlen: That's plenty.

It was very different from Mark Andrews at Valley City. He gave those people 3 hours.

I'm not sure that Arlen's sense of accomplishment is great--not like Andrews. And his introductions consisted mostly of his biography, before

to get to D.C. He calls MA "one of the shrewdest, most experienced" people in the Senate. He said--in Oil City and at the Indiana luncheon "Someone asked me the other day what I thought my greatest accomplishment as a Senator has been and I said, helping to get and keep jobs for Pennsylvania." And he mentioned bringing a high tech center to Carnegie Mellon, keeping the provision that US military installations must burn American coal overseas, Conrail, trying to enforce anti-dumping laws. It was not a very impressive list. But as he says, the battle in the Appropriations Committee to save the coal overseas idea doesn't get headlines, but is an important staying action. Given the Reagan efforts to hold down and cut back, success for Republicans is holding the line! They can't come back and say they did a great deal.

After the fund raiser in Uniontown Joan said to Arlen that he shouldn't say that he saved the Office of Juvenile Justice against the wishes of the administration. Her idea is that saying this pits him against the administration in a situation where his big problem is his lack of support for the Administration. At least, it is in terms of a Republican primary.

I said that he should call fund raising "the scourge of this business"--not at a fund raiser! He twitted me afterward by using the term "scourge" in several other contexts--at M's, where we ate dinner in Ligonier.

His great problem and the one preoccupying him now is whether or not Governor Richard Thornburgh is going to run against him in a primary. When the press people ask him; his answer is "Gentlement, I know just as much about it as you do." He says he does know and I think that is correct. Joan and Jim maintain that he will not run. "I'm going to think positively," says Joan. Arlen says he's been "dancing around" setting deadlines and missing them ever since the New Right got after Arlen for his Reynolds vote.

Arlen is very matter of fact about fighting a primary, in the sense that he'll fight one if he has to and he'll win. But he clearly does not want to.

"The biggest problem is fund raising. If we have to fight a primary, we will. And we will win. I think I can beat him. So does Bob Teeter. But it will take every bit of our money. Then we'll have to start all over again raising enough money to run in the general election. The other problem is that I'm afraid if I have to fight a primary I'll be pulled too far to the right and that will hurt me in the general election."

The point is not that he can't win the primary, but that in winning the primary, he will hurt his chances in the general election.

Re the money, he said later. "We started our reelection campaign right after the 1982 elections. We have signed up a lot of people. We have over 1500 people enrolled in the \$1000 for Arlen Specter Club. We've collected 3 million dollars. These people who have given don't want to give again. They don't want to have to finance a primary and then a general election. The money is the worst part of it. I'm sure a lot of those people are telling Thornburgh not to run."

The context of this comment was my question on the way "home" to Ligonier--taking off from a comment I heard at lunch to the effect that "a lot of people who would have been with Thornburgh are not going to be with him now. He's waited too long and it's too late." Both Joan and Arlen jumped in and said (after I inquired as to whether that was a valid argument and a visible one) "Absolutely. The party professionals think what he is doing is unconscionable. I have colleagues of mine--Democrats--come up and say 'I can't believe he's running against you. I'm going to conribute to your campaign. Not directly, but you'll get the money."

This came after we had been talking some about the advisability of using "negatives" if he ran vs. Thornburgh. And after we had decided that only ' naked ambition' was really driving Thornburgh.

The trigger was Arlen's vote vs. Reynolds. "Right after my vote vs. Reynolds, Paul Weyrich and other New Right groups came into Pennsylvania to denounce me. As soon as they did that, Thornburgh expressed his interest in running for the Senate. I think he had been lying in the tall grass for a long time. This gave him the excuse he was waiting for to jump in."

"He has been cloning Ronald Reagan for years, hoping for a federal appointment. He would love to be a Supreme Court Justice. His problem is that he has no place to go. He can't run for the governor again. It's the senate or a high federal appointment." If RR were really sympathetic with Arlen, he might give Thornburgh something to keep him happy. But he doesn't seem to be disposed to do that. When I asked Arlen if RR was having any part of the impending primary fight, he shook his head.

I asked him how RR is feeling about the Reynolds vote. "He's gotten over it. For him, it was just one issue among many issues passing across the screen. For Ed Meese it was a very important vote; Reynolds was his point man. For the New Right, it was the only vote they cared about. They could not wait to come I had built be as corry of into PA. to denounce me. The president wanted Reynolds confirmed we talked the form about it. He said that Reynolds was carrying out his views. We've had several good talks since; and I have tried to help him out. I backed him on his South African initiative. Politically, I would have been better off voting against him. But I thought he deserved support.. He had gone 90% of the way. And it is better to have the Chief Executive do something that is 90% effective, than to have the legislature make a 100% declaration that will never be implemented."

On the road to Point Mason, he talked a lot about his Reynolds vote. He called it "a very significant vote for me. It reflected my view of what the hearing process should be." He argued it on procedural grounds--that when Reynolds came before the committee earlier regarding a Georgia civil rights case--he couldn't answer Arlen's question as to whether he thought the Georgia case violated the civil rights law or not. All this is in the context of amending the civil rights law in 1982. The closest he came to answering was to say that it was probably a violation of the law. Later, Arlen discovered that Reynolds had written a memo saying that it was a clear violation of the law. (Hence the law needed to be amended) When he came before the committee for his nomination hearings, Arlen confronted him with the discrepancy between what he had been saying publicly and what he had been writing outside the public gaze. Reynolds apologized to the committee. "I didn't call him a liar, because I don't like to call anyone a liar. I didn't even use the active tense and say he misled the committee. I said 'the committee has been misled'--the passive tense. I wouldn't vote to confirm him. He's a very dangerous man for America. He's a very bright man, a very crafty man. That makes him even more dangerous.

I said I wasn't surprised by the vote given his civil rights background. But he didn't respond to that. He only said that it was procedural. But clearly it's the man's policies that make him dangerous.

In discussing Thornburgh, Arlen said that RT's recognition vote was 97%, while Arlen's was 93. But he said his favorable/unfavorable return was 70-13 while RT's was 65-21.

He asked me: "Assuming a primary race vs. Thornburgh, how would you run the race?" Then, he asked the question straight out about negatives, should he use them. I countered by asking him what negatives Thornburgh would use vs. him. He would have no choice if RT moved first. He and Joan went around

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and around on that one. They agreed that his lack of support for Reagan would be the main one. Joan: "Republicans hate the ADA. He'll take that score and wrap it around your neck." Arlen: "I don't know how he stands on school prayer. I don't think he's taken a position." Joan: 'He'll take a strong position on school prayer and take out after you all over western Pennsylvania." They agreed that his position on abortion was that he was for it in cases of rape or incest.

Arlen: "The pro lifers don't like his position. But as between me and him, they'll support him." And so it went--eventually ending up with fact that RT's only motive is naked ambition. Arlen "You can't say blind ambition, because John Dean ruined it forever. If you say naked ambition, it sounds like he has no clotheson." He likes to play with words.

The whole business of the negatives came up in the context of Tom Yezbak's story that he had urged Jerry Buss and Fugua Industries to bring a sporting goods manufacturing plant to western PA. and had assured them that he'd get them an appointment with the Governor just like that. Tom had been a big Thornburgh worker. He tried 17 times and couldn't get Thornburgh. Tom will cut a tape for Arlen telling this story. Arlen thinks that's the most damaging story he's every heard. He kept asking "Isn't that the most outrageous, the most demagging story you've ever heard." But I think it's an insider's story, and would not wash with the general Republican electorate. But the question was: Should I do this?

Arlen seems to have an advantage with the party pros. He has the endorsement of the State Committee when they meet in late November. "Do you think we should try for the state committee endorsement in two weeks? We're poised to do it. I think we should." Tom kept urging him to do so, saying that RT would never run if AS got the endorsement, and that if Arlen doesn't get it now, he

never will because people will start wobbling all over the place.

He asked me what I thought of Gramm Rudman and we discussed it. "Most people aren't interested in anything other than their own programs. Of those few people who are interested in broader issues, the deficit is getting more and more attention. The polls show that it is a growing concern to Americans. But for the businessmen with whom I must deal in a Republican primary, it is their number one concern. They want us to do <u>something</u>. That is why I lead with Gramm Rudman in every speech I make now. I know that not everyone thinks it will work. The Philadelphia Inquirer calls it a fraud. I don't do this very often, but I have taken to asking people who criticize it 'OK what would you put in its place.' I voted for it and I think it was the right vote. It gives some structure to deficit reduction for the first time. We have to do something. I don't think anything will come of it, though, because the President will not go to the met for it. Weinberger is against it, Schultz is against it."

When he was introduced at the Indiana luncheon, Bill Kegel called him "a fighter" and praised his "vigorous prosecution of criminals" as DA." He mentioned his career criminal bill, in passing, not especially and not by name. One constant of the trip was his wey take head of Heinz. "Senator John Heinz and I" was said over and over. He never failed to use Heinze name here in Western Pa. At the Indiana luncheon he said "I hope you'll be prepared to support John Heinz in 1988. I suppose I've just made John's reelection announcement. I can't do that. Then again, since I don't speak for him and he can deny it, I guess I'll go ahead and do it." "Complime'

At Indiana, in presence of oil and coal people, he told how as a boy in Kansas in the "oil patch" he had worked cutting up old oil rigs with an

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acetylyne torch. He talked about what hard work it was and said "It gave me a big incentive to be a lawyer." He tried to talk hard work and oil country. He recalled what it was like watching those huge derricks fall when knocked down "when those derricks fell, if you were in the way, you weren't anymore."

After the fundraiser at Uniontown. "That was a hard group. It was not a Republican crowd. Half of them were for Gramm Rudman, half of them were against. There were a lot of Jews in the audience; but maybe I talked too much about Israel. The idea that Hussein and Mabarak would try to rehabilitate Arafat really bothers me--that son of a bitch."

^u The hardest thing is to get "up" for each meeting. For thm it is the only time they will see you; and you are expected to step into the spotlight be bright and ready to talk. But for you it is the hundredth person you have seen that day. You don't everythink you can remember the organizers' names. I write them down on a card. I didn't have to use it, but I was ready. What was the name of the guy who introduced me?"

Joan asked Arlen what the Rudman's did for a living. He did not know. And he had just found out what Tom Yezbak did--construction.

We talked about reading the newspapers. "You read the sports pages because you don't have to get up and talk. I don't read the sports columns or any opinion columns at all. I've given up doing that. I read to get the facts. Today, I read the whole week's papers. I read the Washington Post, the New York Times, the Philadelphia Inquirer. I should read the Wall Street Journal and the Washington Times, but I don't have time. I have to read the papers to find out what's going on in Washington. I have to read to find out what's going on in the Senate. That's wrong but it's the case. The Post is a great paper for Washington; the Times is a great paper for the world; the Inquirer is toilet paper for the masses."

Re RT - "He is 14 points ahead of me in the polls. But his support is squishy soft." *Another example of praise for national papers and disdain for the local papers.

He said that he was mindful of the competition between east and west in Pa. and was trying hard to counteract it. But a small hint of how different that is came when Joan got one of her friends in Philly on the car phone. "We've just left Oil City and we're going to God knows where." Arlen said "Oh, wonderful" or something like that, like "You've done it now". But Joan clearly felt like she was in the boondocks. And, of course, they dress very city like.

In the morning on Monday, we went to a wreath laying ceremony for Veteran's day. We picked up the Pittsburgh Press writer Shirley Uhl. He wrote an article in the Sunday paper about the Republican State convention. I have it. And he wanted to ask Arlen about his strategy. Arlen said "We're just taking it day by day. We have the votes. But we'll have to decide what to do when the time comes. We're trying to just do what we ordinarily do. We know he's there, but we're trying not to let it change what we do."

I asked Shirley, at the ceremony, what he thought Thornburgh will do. "I think he'll run. If he doesn't, he's going to look very silly. No one likes to look silly. He's taken polls and said that the polls look good. So unless he has some very solid reason, I think he has to run. I think he wants to run. Frankly I don't think he knows what else to do with himself. He's come to the end of the line.'

At the ceremony, Heinz was introduced first (and spoke first) as "the senior Senator from Pennsylvania John Heinz" (and Heinz thanked the MC by name. The MC introduced Arlen as "our other Senator, Arlen Specter." And Arlen didn't know the MC.

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He called for rededication, "a clarion call, a rallying call to remember MIAS.

When we left the Presbyterian hospital after the organ transplant tour, Arlen immediately started free associating as usual about past trials. He had met Dr. Bronson 10 years ago when he defended a physician vs. manslaughter charges in death of 5 year old child. (He won) He started talking about how true it was that you get the justice you could pay for and talked about defending Frank Perdue vs. reckless driving charges by delaying the trial beyond the legal limit. "That's the system" he said, after detailing the way in which he did it. "You use the system anyway you can to give your clients a break. In this case I made the prosecution do its job. I gave them the laboring oar."

So I jumped in and asked about difference between legal system and political system and asked is it transferable. He worked it around alittle. "They are the same in a lot of ways. The legal process is a spider web. Every rule in the web has its purpose. You try to use each rule to give your client a break. The political process is a labyrinth, too. But the difference is that you have to do so much consultation and persuasion with your colleagues. So it takes such a long time to get anything done. With the career criminal bill, as you know we had to be absolutely relentless about it. We got it through and Reagan vetoed it. Then we had to start all over again. Then Bill Hughes and I met in the middle of the night; and we had to get Thurmond and Rodino involved. The bill was attached to an appropriation bill and that

required a special procedure. The Authonzy counties didn't go to conference. So it had to be handled by Smith in the House and Rudman in the Senate."

He went on "With my trade bill, I've been working on it hard recently. And I'm making some progress. I got Bob Dole to cosponsor it. He likes it. And several others. If I can get John Danforth to go along, I'll pass it. I've talked to John about it 30 times. I haven't presumed, but when an opening has presented itself, I've mentioned it. Last week he came up to me in the well of the Senate and asked to talk about it. It's the first chance for us to meet in his office or my office to talk about it. He's interested, but he wants to keep all the power with the president."

Intro at lunch "gained a reputation as a tough prosecutor". He's reading from formal bio--"humanity, dignity and compassion," he added at the end.

Victims' rights - he commends them for their work - constitution frowns on defendents' rights.

My own efforts were undertaken 2 years ago when I was an Assistant DA-as DA he insisted that assistant DA make recommendations re sentencing. Defense attorneys always allowed to speak re sentencing and he thought prosecution attorney ought to be able to speak "for other side of the case" -"it drew the wrath of a large no. of common pleas judges in Phil."

Idea that victim be notified of sentencing - he also put this through - that victim ought to be present.

Re rape - When I became DA of Philadelphia rape victims treated like anyone else - 15 desks and chairs - victim of rape sitting next to victim of robbery case. Everyone would listen when a woman reported a rape case--"humiliated and degraded by the practice" - he changed that practice and established a unit at the hospital, interviews by women, new procedures to maintain evidence by pictures, clothing, etc.

He praises the organization's rpae counseling procedure.

"Let me talk again from my own experience as District Attorney" he said this several times.

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Talks about child molestation cases

Victims compensation discussion

"Amendment I added was one of special consideration for women in rape cases and child molestation."

After the Dusquesne - "How did the speech go? Was I a little too cautious on Ed Meese? I don't think Meese read the speech with that interpretation of incorporation in it."

I have taped the Specter-Packwood remarks. But in the car, the two of them talked about fund raising, media, mail and press releases.

Arlen again said he had raised 2.8 million, with 1600 people who signed up to give 1000 over four years. "The day after the 1982 elections, people received our fund raising letter." He's done very little direct mail. "We've gone about it very conservatively. We've worked hard for what we've gotten."

Packwood said "Arlen, you're in the situation we all were in at the end of our first term. When I first ran for reelection in 1974, I would cross the county for 5,000. It's hard slugging, one by one by one, 5000 here, 15000 there. It's not easy."

Arlen raises more in Philly area than Pittsburgh. "Pittsburgh is tough. There are a lot more givers in the Philadelphia area. There should be--it has 5 million people whereas Allegheny county has 1 1/2 million."

Arlen said that Dole has been in for 2 fund raisers (Philly and Pittsburgh). Packwood the same, Bush in Pittsburgh, Laxalt, Stevens, he ticked them off.

<u>Packwood</u> said: "There are only 10-15 Senators who can come in, do a fund raiser in a city and make it worthwhile."

AS: "I'd say there are only two. Bob Dole...

Packwood: "and me."

AS: Yes, who else besides you two.

Packwood: Cranston, he's good.

AS: in the Jewish community? Yes. But

Packwood: Yes.

AS: But outside of that only you and Dole can come into any city anywhere and raise money. (4 + 6 + 6)

<u>Packwood</u>: "Maybe Mark can. And in certain places others can. People on the Interior Committee, Steve Symms, he can raise money in energy areas. And I was counting people who are good in the Jewish Community when I said 15. There are 10 Senators who can raise money in the Jewish community.

AS: But excluding them, not many more than two.

Packwood: The two of us can go anywhere and raise 100,000.

When Arlen ticked off his 2nd billion, Packwood said "That's very respectable" and Arlen said "I'd say it's damn good. I did it without any subcommittee or committee position. As I tell people, on my subcommittee, all the clients are either too young or in jail". Packwood: "But the ones in jail probably know how to shake other people down for \$50,000."

Arlen's media markets. "There are five major media markets--Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, Scranton, Wilkes Barre and Erie. Then there are some smaller ones--Johnstown, Altoona is one, Youngstown, Binghamton, Elmira, Hagerstown. The last three beam into Pennsylvania."

<u>Packwood</u>: "We're lucky. 92% of the money you spend on TV lands in Oregon." (Portland, Medford and Eugene gets most of it. A lot of Portland travels east via cable.) Langer Land

Packwood: Do you read most of your press releases?

AS: No, I read <u>all</u> of them. I read all my press releases and my mass mail.

<u>Packwood</u>: I'll bet I don't read anymore than 10% of my press releases any_more."

Packwood said at dinner "My problem is that I get 80 requests for appointments everyday--people who want to see me. And I get 200 requests for phone calls--people who want to talk with me. You need staff or friends to shunt them off."

Arlen again said at the table re RT. "I have no idea what his thinking is. We're just carrying on the way we always do, day by day. I would think that the longer he waits, the harder it would be for him to organize a campaign. We have the support of 5 of the seven Republican caucus representing 53 counties. We have raised 3 million dollars. But he could maintain his current position till filing time--early February to early March. I have no idea what he's thinking."

Packwood and AS each talked about what it takes to lobby them successfully. Packwaood said (1) mass mailing (2) expect lobbyists--there are 15-20 such (3) friends with access who know their stuff.

AS said (1) an industry with a consensus (2) a fellow Senator. "I get more lobbying from my colleagues than from all the pressure groups. We all have our special needs. And you can't beat the access."

After the Duquesne speech, he said to Yvonne. "Did I mention John Heinz too many times?" It was a joke but it shows he thinks of it. He must have mentioned Heinz name 2 dozen times in the 2 days I followed him. In every public utternace, he mentioned him.

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*One of the <u>adjustment</u> problems is to adjust to the <u>other</u> Sneator-the competition, the sharing, the companyion, the style. I <u>think</u> Arlen has <u>adjusted</u> to Heinz. He's sure hanging onto him in Western Pennsylvania.

One other observation. He's a very intelligent man.