

ARLEN SPECTER

October <sup>26</sup> 20-28, 1986

"I think I made a political mistake by voting against those nominations on the floor but voting <sup>in committee</sup> to send them to the floor, ~~in committee~~. I don't think the committee should be part of the bottling up process. Philosophically and institutionally, I think I'm right. But I've learned a lot about politics in the last six years. And one thing I've learned is that you have to worry about how and what you do can be explained or twisted. I always thought if you did what was right, the explanation would take care of itself. But I find you have to worry about the explanation of everything you do. That was a very new concept for me." i.e. Reynolds vote and some others. There's a larger problem here maybe, in that Arlen's strategy has been to give on procedure and stick on substance ~~and voters~~--when the challenger hits that as flipflop ~~and~~ won't credit his strategy.

"I voted for Rhenquist and got a lot of flack for that." This, in turn came up, because he talked about the black community and how he wouldn't do as well. He's being killed in black community for Rhenquist vote.

<sup>by challenger</sup> Campaign has taught him a lesson--like Quayle's <sup>second lesson</sup> attendance in 1980.

"We've tended to the concerns of the state and been all over the state for six years."

"Things are going very well. Our polls show us about 20 points ahead.. My opponent has run a hard campaign and a very negative campaign. Some pretty scurrilous things have been said by him and by others." Talked about <sup>Gray</sup> and <sup>the</sup> apartheid vote - "They have me killing black babies in South Africa."

I asked him about career criminal. "It's had a good reception--a limited reception, but a good one. I've been able to get a broadening of the definition of the career criminal in the drug bill so that we'll be able to make much more widespread use of it. Strom Thurmond was opposed to the original bill, but it's worked so well that he was in favor of the extension. We have a

very hard hitting TV spot on my crime fighting legislation running in Philadelphia right now. And it has run statewide. I voted for McClure-Volker bill, and <sup>the</sup> the NRA is running an independent campaign on my behalf. The gun control people have made me one of their ten targets in the election. I'm probably their number one enemy because they think I should have known better. They ran an ad in today's Inquirer. You heard me~~x~~ talking to David Garth about it. I want to answer back with an ad talking about what I have done to stop the criminals who handle the guns. I think you should strike back when someone attacks."

Joan said "Arlen, it's a one day wonder. Leave it alone. You'll just make it an issue. If you don't answer, it will go away."

Providence ~~Society~~ of Ukranian Catholics - <sup>his</sup> talk there.

DA - father came from Ukraine - south of Kiev. Found place where father was born - 1918, <sup>his</sup> father left - was in U.S. Army - but refused to serve in Czar's army - father wounded in Argonne Forest - carried shrapnel till day he died - strong for veterans.

Arlen sits under pictures of Pope and the Ukranians' metopolitan.

"I've worked very hard."

I've been very active in bringing funds to Pa--to bring fair share of contracts to Pa - navy yard one most important - 2M for bridge at 9th St., Logan problem.

"This has been a pattern we have followed across the state." He ticks off areas and cities.

Interested in hunger in Ukraine - "agitated about OSI and getting some ethnics...under apprehension that they could be called in on trumped up charges."

Want to get <sup>guilty</sup> quality and observe due process - he talks about photostatic ~~documents~~ discussants - hunt for Nazi criminals but can't let KGB make decisions.

They want witnesses brought to USA to confront people face to face. Soviet Union is hunting people and ethnics are scared.

Arlen finds protection in the courts. "We have to rely upon our courts." But we do have to guard against false documents.

I prosecuted people and I had people who turned state's evidence and they are cross examined and it's up to jury to decide....object is to see that guilty are found and due process observed.

"We are against any Soviet evidence...supplied there. If they are true witnesses, let them come here and be cross examined here."

Arlen raises question of their credibility here if they know they have to go back to Soviet Union."

AS - they think they are jury trial and they are not; not jury cases; tried before judge.

Easiest thing for me to do is sit down at this green felt table and agree with you. But I'm not going to do it." He's on Judiciary Committee and in Mengele case he went into OSI procedures.

"If they bring photostated document I wouldn't pay any attention to it. But if they bring witnesses...I would go into detail."

He ends with faith in judges. We want to improve our system.

Another outburst about KGB.

Drug program in Norristown "heroin problem basically eradicated" said DA; and officials describe the program. Seize cars.

Arlen asks about street crime and DEA, (I have a little of the back and forth on tape. It didn't go to career criminal.)

Arlen asks a whole set of questions based on sense of procedure--jail, bail--then they go to education, rehabilitation.

During this fairly substantive talk, local reporters stay and Washington reporters leave.

On tape about 420-430 is a small sentence that describes the career criminal drug bill relationship says that he authored the original bill.

How different from Edgar with regard to drugs. Edgar voted vs. committee to study drugs and vs. death penalty re drugs and vs. Foglietta, Gray, Baski.

"Effective deterrment"

3 young men when I was DA - one kid had <sup>revolver - Carter, Rivers &</sup> Williams <sup>grocer killed --</sup> ~~who~~ <sup>Williams</sup> had gun - was executed when I was DA <sup>Sentence was commuted because</sup> they didn't know Williams had gun - had 90IQ.

Talks about his big crime bill. "I hadn't planned to take him on on that issue. But since you raised it for <sup>my</sup> drug sellers ? death penalty.

I've always supported the death penalty - was on a committee and wrote minority report and that became basis for legislation."

Career criminal defined on tape around 440 - wants to reassure people that he wants to rehabilitate 2 time offender.

The reporters the next day see Arlen as "thin skinned" and they (Marsha and Susan) think Edgar has Arlen on the defensive answering all his charges and that Arlen shouldn't be doing that. They believe he should just paint Edgar as too liberal for Pennsylvania and stay with that line. They think Edgar has gotten under Arlen's skin.

He did just that at the Delaware County Dinner--and I have it on tape. Basically, he said Edgar was <sup>out</sup> ~~not~~ of the mainstream of his party and liberal wing of his party.

Monday evening he did a quick stop and testimonial for a State Representative candidate in South Philly. The man who introduced him (at Fiesta Caterers at 20th and Snyder) recalled his term as district attorney. (I have Arlen's little talk on tape). Then we went to Delaware County Dinner at Alpine Club--a

huge affair. But Arlen spoke and ran. It was on the way from one of these events to the other that I rode with Arlen. But he was on the telephone and arguing about the schedule must of the time. He said 'tomorrow I'll be able to give you better answers.' I asked him if he played squash everyday. He said 'Yes, I dragged my weary body onto the court today.'

The next morning we began at the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers Local 401.

The Philly building trades labor council split 8-8 in their endorsement meeting. So the unions that were with Arlen wanted to endorse him and that was what this was about. One of the officials said that the unions with the largest membership went with Arlen. "This meeting is to show that we have, as Arlen puts it, the bulk of Philadelphia labor with him. Situs picketing is the big thing. Edgar voted against us on that. Arlen supports us. He's been there for us and we support him."

The unions involved were Sheetmetal Workers, Laborers, Brick Layers, Steamfitters, Iron Workers, Painters, Glazers, Sprinkler fitters, Cement workers.

As he left he gave a nice example of ID. "When I was a boy in Kansas, my father operated a junk yard. When the tornadoes would come through they would blow over the oil derrick. And we would have to cut up the derricks for scrap. I learned, at the age of 15, to use an oxy-acetylene torch. And that convinced me to become a lawyer."

The news of the morning was that the KYW Poll was out and showed Arlen ahead 51-26. A week ago it had been 52-31. So Edgar had slipped. All day Arlen talked about how his lead in that poll had gone up from 18 to 25 points. He attributes it to Edgar's negative campaigning and to the fact that in their debate Edgar had been negative and even his own supporters thought he had been too negative.

In the Daily News Editorial Board meeting, he started in talking about this, and they had quite a spirited discussion about what was and was not negative campaigning. The questioners even went back to a Gulf Oil contribution ad of some sort that Arlen used against Heinz. Arlen defended it as reporting what was in the paper and he used as an example of negative advertising, ads "that show my head crumbling or my face twisted and distorted."

He's trying to claim purity in this matter as far as starting it, he said somewhere (Delaware County) that he had been forbearing for a while during the debate, but that finally "I took the gloves off and we went at it."

In the car I told him he had told me in 1980 that he was most at home with blacks; I asked did he still feel that way. "What you say rings true all except 'most comfortable.' I feel just as comfortable with several other groups. But I still feel very comfortable with blacks. We won't do as well with the blacks in Philadelphia as we did. Edgar is a liberal Democrat and that will help. Flaherty was much more to the right than Edgar. So the contours are different this time. Congressman Bill Gray is working hard for Edgar and is circulating some scurrilous literature amounting to an accusation that I'm responsible for killing babies in South Africa. That will hurt us in the black community. I don't know how much. But I don't think people in Philadelphia know who Edgar is. I don't think the blacks know who he is. And I think he's running out of money. He's making very small media buys this week."

I saw one Specter ad standing in front of navy yard, talking about competition among navy yards and claiming to bring in 2 billion to navy yard. Says "Senator Heinz and I" did it. The reporters say Heinz has an ad hitting Edgar for voting against two lock and dams on the Monongahela--and that ad is doing well in western PA. They think he should use Heinz more.

The day I got here, the gun control people put an ad in the Inquirer endorsing Edgar and blasting Arlen - (the one Joan and Arlen talked about)

At the Daily News that was the first substantive issue they went after Arlen on. They differ. Arlen defended himself by using his career criminal bill. "There's nobody in the country any tougher on the users of guns than Arlen Specter. It was my bill that made it a federal crime to commit a third time robbery with gun; and it throws the book at them--15 years in prison. The object is to go after the criminals; and I have gone after them with a vengeance...my career criminal bill goes after the criminal who uses the guns. I never believed when I was DA that lot more bureaucratic procedures are of any use as a deterrent to the possession of guns. I have never changed my position on gun control." And guy says "But no one ever offered you money before." The newspaper guys see it as pure sellout.

They accuse him of being afraid of NRA and he denies it. "When I voted against Reynolds I had twenty right wing groups in my office the next day threatening me. There weren't enough chairs in the room. I told them I disagreed with them. I wasn't afraid of them. The administration has asked me to do things. I've disagreed with them. I'm not afraid of them. I'm not afraid of the NRA." Assertion of his independence.

(ed. bd) <sup>that the</sup>  
On negative campaigns, they argued <sup>^</sup> challenger had to be negative.

When I campaigned against Frank Crumlish for District Attorney, I went out on the street corners and told people what I planned to do. I told people where I differed with Crumlish policy. It was not a negative campaign."

1. Use of DA's experience to defend his attitude toward negative campaigning.

Gordon Woodrow that evening made the observation, trying to explain the huge lead (which he believes will diminish) "Arlen Specter has not been campaigning for one year or two year or six years, he's been campaigning for 20 years. So maybe the story is the development of Arlen Specter."

There's a line in the Joe Paterno endorsement--that when a half back is running well you don't take him out unless he's tired and Arlen says "And I'm not tired."

There's also a Channel 13 TV interview which asks Arlen what he thinks of an ad that calls him 'chicken'--and I have his reply on tape.

They asked him about his reputation as a showboat and he attributed it to Wall Street Journal's opposition to him on other things--Reynolds I think. "Edgar can't use that against me because of all the dam things I've done. I've brought jobs and money to *Pennsylvania*. I've been in every county in the state at least four times. I've been the most visible senator PA ever had. I've been hardworking and successful. I've got \_\_\_\_\_; in yiddish, that means excessive energy". And he pulled out 10 pages of accomplishments, ticking off one or 2 on each page.

Dan says he ranks Career criminal <sup>bill</sup> with his terrorism and missing person bills. And then there is the Pennsylvania side of it. "Arlen is very proud of the money he's been able to shake loose for Pennsylvania from the Appropriations Committee. I should say dragged it out of his colleagues. He badgers them till he gets what he wants. He perseveres." One of the reporters referred to him as a pit bull, when he gets something in his mouth, he never let's go. Dan has always said this.

They talked about SDI, deficit and Bill Gray's literature re apartheid vote. He showed us a pamphlet. Said he'd been on trips with Gray and got along with him well and didn't know why he was doing it. Defended his vote on the filibuster--called "the Jesse Helms Filibuster" in the pamphlet. "by saying that Reagan's proposals had 85% of what he wanted and that 'you can't get anything done without the President on board.' The reporters make a big thing out of this "flipflop" as an example of how difficult it is to pin Arlen

down. Anyone who votes on both sides leaves everybody feeling "annoyed but not angry". He has something for everyone, makes no big mistakes, makes no enemies, is a moderate Republican, doesn't differ much *with Edgar* - no intensity of opposition. But they see it very much as the strategic trick of a man who vacillates or votes on both sides. They agree with Edgar; they think he has the right line; but it doesn't really move people.

The deficit issue moved Arlen to talk about the system. (A reporter - Susan - later said how Arlen always talks about how fascinating the system is but never tells 'em how he does it - a very private person - doesn't\* like caravans, etc.) - *I recall his remark about reporters in 1980! He really doesn't like them at all.*

"The system is chaotic. It only works under these conditions: if something had to be done, if there is no time or if everyone is worn out. It's a poor system, but still the best that has been devised. You have 230million people and 231 million ideas. You have 100 Senators and 100 different shows. You have 435 different representatives and 435 different shows."

When I got in car night before, Joan and Arlen wanted to know about Mark Andrews and were upset when I said it was a toss up. Arlen said "Mark Andrews is the last person I would ever have thought would be in trouble--Grassley yes, D'Amato yes, but not Andrews."

*(Arlen)*  
I said that a year ago I would have said he would have closest race among my group. He said "That was the conventional wisdom." That's all.

When he read off of his credit taking sheets, he said "I've been all over the place on crime."

"I think I have the best civil rights record in Philadelphia--that's too strong. I have as good a record as any. That goes back to my record as DA. I hired more blacks, I hired the first black chief of detectives, protection against consumer fraud."

When we went to the "drug event" in Montgomery County, he said "You have a fine courthouse here. I remember when I tried the John Doe case here, or I should say, when I sprung John Doe in this court house." He was an unsavory character, I gathered. But it was another of Sepcter's "DA days" reflections. Of course, he can't do that in other parts of the state.

The day was a real disaster for me--The Ukranian paper, the Victims Assistance program in Doylestown (Bucks County), the Drug event (talking with DA and County Commissioner) in Norristown (Montgomery County)--they all were non-events. The logistics were awful--Dan, David Marziale, Maida Odum and I got lost, Dan got mad at Jim for jumping ahead so we couldn't follow him, the reporters all mobbed him, I never got one word with him. It turns out they were all upset by the total disorganization, lack of scheduling. They call it the worst run campaign they've ever seen statewide. Egar's runs like a presidential campaign. There was a lot of talk about Edgar doing so poorly. Why hasn't he done better. Several answers.

- (1) He will do better "It's a sleeper campaign."
- (2) He got pinned down in Congress and that hurt him as a challenger.
- (3) Doesn't have enough money - But Ertol almost beat Thornburg with no party backing and no money.
- (4) They are close on the issues, in which case there's no big reason to throw Arlen out - he is the centrist.
- (5) No one is mad at Arlen - he hasn't made any real bad mistakes.
- (6) Arlen has worked hard around the state.

Dave M - a 10 year veteran of pol. reporting "I've never seen a statewide campaign as poorly organized and as totally messed up as this one."

Dan - "I talked to David Garth yesterday. He said all Arlen has to do now is relax." This was in response to my wondering why, with this lead, Arlen took on Edgar on the Omnibus Crime Bill (at Victims Assistance Center) and on the death penalty (at the Drug event at Montgomery County Courthouse.)

Met one of Arlen's honchos Steve Schockman in Coopers and Lybrand. He says Edgar is weak because (1) He never was as strong with Republicans as he seemed. He won his congressional seat in Philly's 40th ward, not in Delaware County. (2) He doesn't understand how to campaign. His primary against Bailey was "vicious and underhanded." Turned off many Democrats. (3) He's out of the mainstream--which is I guess what Arlen's speech was about at the dinner last night where Jim Baker talked.

He thinks Edgar is such a poor candidate that he'll be an embarrassment and a detriment to the Dem. party in PA.

He says money is pouring in now as a result of the polls. "Everyone wants to buy access--no more, no less."

Arlen gave a talk at Coopers and Lybrand. Then I got a little time with him in car on way to WCAV, where we were not admitted.

I asked him to put career criminal in perspective. "It was a major achievement. You know how hard I worked, how I had to persuade Strom that it would not infringe on state's rights. It took me four years to pass it and then two more years to get an amendment to it. I think the amendment will enlarge the scope and the usefulness of the legislation. I think of it as a landmark bill. For the first time, it brings street crime within the jurisdiction of the federal government. It was an issue that I was totally familiar with and one I could jump right into. It was my first big issue."

I asked him to rank it with other accomplishments. "I would have to rank my work on arms control first--my summit resolutions and the press I've made. Adelman mentions it whenever I see him. George Schulz knows about it. I've talked to the President about it. I think it's important that those resolutions came from someone like me."

"Career criminal would have to come right behind arms control. And we've done some worthwhile things on terrorism. They have been an outgrowth of my work and my familiarity with the criminal justice system."

I asked him about the kind of reputation he wanted and how career criminal fit it. He had hard time with it--slow and halting answer. "It depends on how the election shakes out. When you come in with a <sup>group of</sup> ~~good~~ 16 new men and women, you have situation where it's hard to differentiate. The second term will be more of a differentiating factor. But I don't pose that question for myself. It's not a question I ask myself. I just tend to business and go about the work of the Senate. I have a tendency to speak on a selective basis on the floor on matters where I have done my homework and am prepared. I think I have the reputation among my colleagues that when I speak I know what I'm talking about."

I asked him about the early decision to stay out of limelight and then the media-hog stuff. "We made a conscious decision in the first six months not to hold press conferences. We just didn't. After that we acted normally. We got media attention because we held some hearings that were very provocative \_\_\_\_\_ they involved sex, children and pornography. We developed those through the subcommittee. There were three stories written at that time--one by UPI about the hot dogs, one in the New Republic and one in the Wall Street Journal. I think the WSJ article was his reaction to my position on Reynolds, but I can't be sure. The hearings were provocative, that's all there was to it."

Edgar began by talking about the showboat thing, but it just disappeared. It didn't wash."

"The reason I've been able to withstand Edgar's negative onslaught--which is the way Apple put it in his Times article is because people know who I am. Even when Edgar was gaining in the polls, he wasn't denting my favorables or my unfavorables. I've been to Pittsburgh and Scranton and Wilkes Barre so many times in the last six years that I can't count. I've been everywhere in this state. People feel they know me."

I asked if this public recognition wasn't the product of many years of running. "Of course it is. I have a sharp eye for the media, and it's as simple as ABC. Maybe I have too much of an eye. But when I was elected district attorney I was the only Republican who succeeded city wide and I had a hell of a fight to do it. I ran a hard campaign against Heinz when he outspent me. I set the stage for the Senate campaign. I don't think you can run statewide without going through that and without money. I began with a strong base. The Philadelphia area casts 40% of the states votes. But the rest of the state doesn't like Philadelphia. And I had other liabilities. My political philosophy was not attuned to many Republicans. So I needed an underpinning--which I had developed by 1980."

*in 1980  
was going  
forward  
at times*

"I'm thought by some people to be too aggressive. But I believe that with the guy at home you cannot penetrate unless you work extra hard at it. I've been criticized as being ambitious but long ago I decided to agree with that, but rather to take the position that is what this country was founded on. The evaluators may raise an eyebrow but the guy in the street doesn't care about aggressiveness and you have to work like hell to make your case. I've done it by sheer dint of persistence. It's like digging into the side of a granite mountain with your fingernails. I had no money and I haven't played games with the political leaders. I've taken on a lot of long shot battles."

Re media campaign "Sure it's a media campaign. It may be even more of a media campaign than last time because we have more money. All campaigns are media campaigns."

"The Senate is a fascinating place. The best description I heard was James Kilpatrick said that the Senate is a place where the presiding officer is called President Pro Tem and when someone gets up and says 'Mr. President' forty heads turn. Jesus Christ, the elbows are so sharp in there. Everybody is jockeying to get media. It's not a snake pit. It's a rhinoceros pit. Believe it or not, I held back. I don't make very many floor statements"... He got out of car as he said that and walked into WCAU and that was the end of my interview.

On tape I have a nice succinct comment on Conrail--done over the phone in his car. He called the Senate recording studios and did an "actuality" which goes out to radio stations all over Pa. He claimed victory.

Daily News endorsed Edgar this morning because as Susan Bennett their Washington correspondent put it "They think Arlen has been on both sides of too many issues and that his explanations have not been good enough."

I guess I lost the tape on Conrail. No I didn't. It's at end of Side B. He called it "a great victory for Pennsylvania". "The end of a 2 1/2 year battle to keep Conrail in Pennsylvania and keep it out of the hands of Norfolk and Southern" will keep 15,000 jobs in Pa. Keep open repair yards in Altoona, Holidaysburg and ? and keep corporate headquarters in Pa."

In the Coopers and Lybrand talk, he touted the victory--I have that on tape--toward the end of the tape--Side B--three quarters of the way through.

When he mentioned his accomplishments he mentioned "arms control, crime issues, children's issues" --It's on tape anyway.

I went to Arlen's office to look at clips of campaign--xeroxed some and took notes from others.

I talked to Gordon about Arlen and his career. The caution at the early part of the Senate years Gordon sees as tactical and calculated and that the DA media oriented person was only temporarily submerged below the surface. He sees the long pre-career and the bruises as making Arlen distrustful of working with anyone else or delegating to them, that he wants to do it all himself to make sure no one makes mistakes. Gordon says that Arlen thinks some of his defeats resulted from his own mistakes as well as the mistakes of others. Gordon sees Arlen as not wanting to owe anyone anything, and, therefore, not as willing to engage in quid pro quo as he should. "I tell him, boss, you want an awful lot from other people. You have to be willing to give them something in return." I, too, see that independence, that lonersim, that self reliance that makes cooperation difficult. When I said I thought he had slowed up career criminal by his actions, Gordon agreed vigorously. "So many times his accomplishments have been slowed up by his difficulty in working with others." He and I agreed that Arlen hears what he wants to hear re. support of others saying "he's on board" when the other person only says 'I'll look at it' or 'I'd like to help.' Relies a lot on his family--Shannen<sup>in</sup> and Joan. Doesn't trust or enjoy reporters. Likes combat and "in the heat of battle" he just ~~bulls~~ ahead. He bulls ahead. He bulls ahead until something blows up right in his face, i.e., the letter from the President re Thornburgh or the MX missile promise. Gordon says the media is right, that he is a media hound, that he believes in the media as necessary to move people along. He also says that Arlen admits he would have done it differently with the pornography stuff, Linda Lovelace, that sort of stuff. So he admitted something to Gordon that he didn't admit to me. I've changed my view a little bit, I think. Now, I emphasize~~more~~ the I did it my way and I'll continue to do it my way, I don't owe anyone anything--the granite

mountain idea. He was in control of "the caution<sup>VS</sup> period" and wasn't gun shy because of defeat. Gordon said "there might have been a little of that, but most of it was calculated." So maybe I can eep some of it and emphasize a little more the self reliant part of it.

He's grown--I suppose everyone does--but not as much as I'd like to see. It's still hard for him to realize that you need to engage in a quid pro quo. He doesn't want to owe anyone anything. That's very basic for him. I wish he were more malleable: But that's like changing someone's batting stance after 20 years. That desire for independence was shaped in his early career.

Arlen still has the sam batting stance he developed as DA. He's a loner and a hard charger and he's sure he's right. He won't change "unless something to his detriment blows up right in his face."

In the heat of battle he's like a Sherman tank not one of the new M-1 tanks. Not a maneuverable tank, just one that keeps right on coming, and doesn't change course."

"His long career and his many failures have shaped a person who is very distrustful of others, a person who finds it very difficult to work with others. He's the Senate's Jimmy Carter in that he wants to put his finger on everything that goes on, right down to scheduling his squash matches. He wants to control everything. Nothing gets done without his approval. You can't work that way."

"I tell him sometimes that eastern religions and Zen tell you that there are circumstances when a rock can be surmounted by surrounding it with water. Let the water flow and envelop it. But for him it's always rock against rock." (He makes two fists and bangs them together.)

"Arlen is not an agenda person. He never sets out his priorities. So he never knows what he wants and what to give up, when he's in battle. He

just rolls along doing whatever interest him. I've told him for six years to set an agenda for himself, to write it down, but he never has."

Relations with Thurmond "I have to think they aren't good. I think Strom thinks of him as a Jewish Philadelphia lawyer and just says he's your guy, we've got our guy and he's your guy."

"When he's dealing with others, he's so sure he's right that he hears what he wants to hear. And he doesn't hear what people are saying to him. If another Senator says "I'll take a look at it" or "I'd like to help you," he comes back and says so and so is on board. Then the Senator's staff person will call and say my guy never committed himself. I don't know how many times he has slowed up what we were trying to do by not really listening to what people were telling him."

"David Garth is a genius at turning negatives into positives. Our slogan is Arlen Specter Out Front Fighting for Pennsylvania. In the polls, people saw Arlen as a media hound, a hot dogger, a glory boy. So Garth turned it around to make it an asset. OK, so he's a loud mouth, but he's out front and just look what he's done for Pennsylvania."

"He has a tremendous memory for detail when he wants to protect himself. If it's important for him to remember something that happened, where he was and who was with him 20 years ago, he'll remember it."

"The press was absolutely right about his drive for media. These are smart people. They can't be fooled--no matter how hard he tried to rationalize it. But that's one thing he said he would do differently. It's one of the few mistakes I've heard him admit--that he went too far with the pornography thing--Linda Lovelace and the rest. He stretched awfully hard to fit things under his subcommittee--the Mengele thing. Mengele experimented with children,

therefore it was under his committee jurisdiction. The press saw through that. But Arlen believes strongly that you can't get anything done unless you have the public with you and the only way you move the public is through the media."

*Thornburgh  
Specter tried to  
ask*  
"It's a matter of style with Arlen, the way he does things as much as what he does."

*Sykes  
"He said  
ok. thinking"*  
"He can explain anything he does or any vote he casts, soemtimes in the most round about, convoluted way. It makes sense to him and he can't understand why everyone can't see it the way he does. It's 'Now, I've told you. That's it. Of course you understand.' But people don't and they fee he is manipulating them."

He told story of Arlen going to see RR and asking him to write a letter ~~asking President to ask~~ <sup>asking</sup> Thornburgh not to run against him. President seems receptive. Arlen pulls out a letter for him to sign. Regan says, let's look it over. Arlen tells press that President is going to write a letter. Thornburgh reads it and calls White House and tells 'em what are they doing. They don't send the letter and Arlen is left hanging out there looking silly. Press thought he was manipulating them and "Arlen's fingerprints were all over it. One thing I've learned in politics is the importance of keeping your fingerprints off things like that." His staff--Gordon and Shanin told him to call Thornburgh and ask him not to run, or <sup>"</sup>see what his intentions were." The two met several times and danced around--it was strictly a macho thing. Arlen's view was "I'm not going to ask that SOB for help." <sup>saw it</sup> Gordon / as vintage Specter and a big mistake.

Another mistake was the MX missile. "Somebody in the White H0use said they would remember their friends, that ~~Pres,~~ <sup>Pres,</sup> could help, etc. and that got Arlen's back up so he said he didn't want the President coming in. "It was a silly, unthinking reaction and it cost us a million dollars. Shanin and I just died. Arlen thought his independence was involved. It wasn't. But

we are at 6 million and we should be at seven."

Career influence is that he's distrustful of others and he doesn't want to owe anyone anything. That makes coalition building hard. Maybe that's my point - he's a loner and his career has made him that way. And the business is not a loner's business.

"He's the smartest guy on the Judiciary Committee and that's the way he gets by there. But there's a lot more than IQ that goes into success in the Senate. I'm afraid with Mathias gone next year, he'll stand out on the committee as the one beacon for the right win to see. And he'll be vulnerable and a primary time around."

"They're all the same, self centered and hypocritical."

He started by talking about how you can help people with individual problems, but he thinks you pay too high a price. People lie, have no absolutes. He's "jaded" still.

He sees independence as a value for Arlen but he wonders what Arlen wants to do with his independence. Gordon wants values to be more prominent and feels they are lost. I think he thinks Arlen does flipflop and doesn't say "some things are sacred and I won't budge." Maybe he thinks Arlen is smarter by half in some things. He thinks Arlen's idea of ambition is fine, but ambition for what?

Re campaign, he stresses importance of money and media again. But we didn't talk much about it.

"The people of PA have a good commodity in Arlen. He works as hard for them as anyone can."

One of Arlen's ways of dodging the party bullet is to proceduratize to vote with party on procedure--filibuster, report out of committee. But when challenger, goes after this, it falls apart. It's credited on Capitol Hill,

where people see it a tough vote. But not at home, where people see it as

\* weaseling. *Publ. lms. of explanation credit in Wash + home. You must explain in both settings. But what works in Senate with colleagues won't always work at home (+ vice versa?)*

Gordon is clearly bothered, too. "He says he's for MX because it's a bargaining chip--fine. But then in the next breath he says he's against it because he worries about the basing mode. He really is having it both ways. He should take a stand."

AS, On Paul - "I'd like to see him as a federal judge. I'd love to keep him; but his career line is not the Senate, it's out and up."

Clips

Philadelphia Tribune 10/14 - Arlen opens headquarters in N. Philly, Gray's territory. "No amount of office opening in the Black community will eradicate the flip flop support that the Senator has given to our community and its concerns" Gray..."Last year he was with Reagan and Helms and this year he is with us." re South Africa. Blast on Rhenquist vote, and "deciding vote" on filibuster.

10/14 - Inquirer - pre debate - "Re Edgar "His message is that the incumbent is an opportunist who flip flops on the issues. Or, as the challenger has put it, "There are two Arlen Specters and I'm going to beat them both on Nov. 4."

"It is also likely that Specter, a former prosecutor and a skilled debator, will attack his opponent. X Specter has criticized the congressman for being out of the political mainstream, by which he means too liberal."

Arlen has not been naming Edgar - "My opponent", "other guy".

PI - "Lacking hot issues, candidates get personal" Thomas Ferrick 10/12 State unempl. rate 6.9 - lost 200,000 manufact. jobs in 7 years. "Economists looking at the Philly area, are reaching for superlatives to describe the region's booming economy. Meanwhile, in Western Pa., the steel industry continues its agonizing decline... The state's economy is doing OK--not great, but certainly OK. Translated into politics, it means that for the first time in years, and for the majority of the state's voters, the state of the state's economy is not a gut-wrenching, do or die issue."

AS poll - Oct. 15-17 = 57-29-14.

Oct. 8 Pitts Press poll 53-31-15.

<sup>circa Oct 8</sup>  
Delaware County News, i.e. AS attitude toward running hard "I like the old saying that you start off in a sprint and gradually accelerate from there...I don't believe you can wait for an election year to run. You have to run all the time."

They say "Specter's early advertising focussed on his own achievements..but there have been signals that Specter's campaign style is changing. A new Specter ad alleges that Edgar has a poor attendance record in the House."

AS agrees to one debate - Edgar wants more.

Oct. 3 - Mercury ~~Pottstown~~ - Edgar reacts to attendance ad - "in the gutter" but fact is that he missed 39% <sup>from</sup> 1/1-8/20. His record since 1979 has him 70th from bottom in House. Calls Specter's "dual record"

Daily Local News - West Chester Oct. 3 - "We think it's a scurrilous attack to deflect away from what we believe are two different Arlen Specters on the substance of issues."

NRA has 225,000 members.

Bucks County Courier Times Barbara Lampert story Oct. 6- WCAU-TV poll has Arlen 8 points ahead. Gordon says that they took Arlen's soft voters out and kept their own in--"a cooked poll that gave them 3 weeks of good press.

Oct. 6 same paper - Barbara Lampert, "Edgar asks area voters for support". Edgar - "The latest poll puts me eight points behind Specter. I'd put it more at 10 points, but Specter has dropped 14 points in 14 days in the polls."

Oct. 6 - Daily Intelligence Doylestown - Post Gazette - Daily News poll 56-33-10.

Oct. 3, 1986 - Valley News Dispatch, Tarantum, PA.

Edgar - AS "switches his votes and positions as often as Imelde Marcos switches shoes."

Other formulations "there are two Arlen Specters"

"He tries to be all things to all people."

Specter got pro life support on basis of Rhenquist vote.

US News and World Report, July 28, 1986 - AS listed among "possible upset victims" with MA, Kasten, Mattingly, Nickles and Gorton.

July 13 GOP poll - Harrisburg Patriot - 61-29-10.

Arlen wanted statewide AFL-CIO endorsement. You need 2/3 vote, Edgar got 40-15-3 abstain .

Harrisburg Patriot - Mick Road - "Heinz Avoids Stand, Specter changes Mind on Apartheid" 1985 - tough sanction bill, Sept. '85 kept it from coming to floor - then voted for tough package. Edgar "Arlen Specter's wishy washiness on this issue will be remembered...too often AS is putting his finger to the wind to see which way the pol. wind is blowing." idea is that White House is putting pressure on him--or was when he supported Reagan.

New Pittsburgh Courier July 19, 1986 - Reynolds vote to a group of black politicians "Specter Commands Black Politicians" Marty Willis. "I put my pol. life on the line..."

Philadelphia Magazine August 1986. "Off the Cuff" D. Herbert Lipson "Pol. News of 1986: Senator AS may be in trouble, big trouble."

Arlen opposes red tape regulations for ordinary citizens.

Patriot News - Kenn Marshall WTAE-TV Pittsburgh showed race 49-31 9/5/86.

Daily News poll Oct. 1, 53-31-15. Most likely to vote = 56-33.

Reporters comments on debate:

Susan Bennett - Daily News Oct. 15 - "This public venting of campaign venom did bring to the surface the nasty undercurrent which has dominated...the race. "No Happy Talk Format for Bob and Arlen."

Kenn Marshall - The Patriot - "Tension between the candidates which has been evident throughout the campaign...was apparent during the debate."

"Specter Calls Edgar's Campaign 'Destructive, Negative.'"

Post Gazette 10/15 "Specter Edgar Trade Harsh Charges in TV Debate" Gary Rotstein.

"a television debate tinged with testiness...pleasantries between them were barely evident...Specter accused the Methodist minister of 'the most vitrollic, destructive, negative campaign in the history of the state.'"

Edgar smiled along debate. Specter "solemn faced."

<sup>even 10/15</sup>  
Pittsburgh Press, Shirley Uhl - "Low blows" "an unusual degree of hostility between the two candidates."