

post elect.

Paul Michel

November 17, 1986

I went to see Paul Michel, and I met Mike Russell, a staffer since 1985, who had prepared a file of stuff on career criminal.

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Paul talked about the bill. "There was never any enthusiasm for the bill. No one loved the bill except Arlen. He did it all by himself until the very end when Dan Lundgren came up with the idea in 1984, in the middle of the night, I think, to attach the whole bill to the continuing resolution. That's what we did and that's how it went through. So, from A to Y, it was all Specter. Then Z was Lundgren. Nobody loved it...." "Bill Hughes was the closest thing to an ally we had, and he was wishy washy. His staff absolutely hated the bill. So one day he would be for it and the next day he wouldn't. Arlen would always think Hughes was for it. He would tell us Hughes is for it, but Hughes' staff would tell us he wasn't. Arlen heard "commitment" but, Hughes staff would say 'He said he'd do the best he could,' or 'He said he'd try.'"

Paul talked about how someone named Owen, a woman, on Thurmond's staff--because Thurmond didn't like the bill--changed the whole concept of it. She made it "a possession bill", which is what it now is. That is: anyone picked up with a gun and who is found to have had 3 previous arrests for robbery or burglary is career criminal. So you pick someone up for possessing a gun, then search to see if they had a criminal record and if they qualify, you nail 'em.

The way Specter wrote the bill it was a robbery or burglary bill. If you were caught robbing or burglarizing with a gun and if you had previous record you were a career criminal and you got the book thrown at you.

He said Arlen at first "didn't want to accept that" but Paul says he talked him into it.

He said K-Th. amendment cut 92% of the bill out by restricting the sweep of the bill to federal property and banks. The bill as it came out was free

of that provision. Something happened in conference.

He agrees with the persistent prosecutor idea. "You've got an awful lot of Arlen Specter in "those words" he laughed. He also agreed when I described my pitch in the Indiana talk. He agreed that career criminal was too small an issue to have much impact on Arlen's campaign.

Re the campaign he agrees that Arlen had it won a long time ago by "courting every group, going everywhere over and over and gaining an immense amount of credibility. Nothing Edgar could do could shake that credibility with the Republicans and independents and some Democrats."

Re the TV, he said "We stayed on top of him all the time. If he went on TV with 400 points, we went right on with 600 points; if he went on with 800 points, we went right on with 1200 points; if he ran an ad that needed answering we came right back with an ad, alluding to his. We believed we had to do that to keep the Democrats from coming to him. And we had the money to do it. We never let him get started."

He said he agreed that Arlen would be relatively well off in the minority. "He can still take over a hearing. Again, it's his prosecutor's background. No matter what the subject is, he'll study up on the facts, go in there and cross examine the witness and come out with the TV coverage." But, he admitted being in the minority is awful, terrible, etc. can't do anything.

So the learning goes on all over again.

He and Mike talked at length about how everybody loves the bill now--when it was expanded to include drug offenses it was popular. "a consensus" bill - DA Assoc. loves it - fears were unfounded, no conflict--only help!

Implementation is slow--manpower not available to BTAF in Treasury. The big job is searching background of people they pick up on a gun charge. Records not available across jurisdictions - much time searching. St. Louis is one

place where they did pilot, demonstration work and it was very successful.
Got arrests and big sentences.

Arlen also went around in Pa. trying to get US Attorney and DA together in various cities.

"Now everybody loves it"---since drugs are included.

Kennedy came in many times to campaign for Edgar. "It may be the final break between Kennedy and Specter." spoke of Newman Flanagan having influence with TK and not liking the bill.

He made point that everyone waffled on the bill "Thurmond liked it at first and later tried to gut it." "The justice department changed its mind, back and forth; the DA association loved it when I first went to Las Vegas, then when the internal politics of the Assoc. changed, they turned against it." The point I'd make, again, is that only Arlen was steadfast. And he saw it reduced considerably---tho less than I had thought when I talked in Indiana.

He said his thinking and Arlen's from beginning was that they would get more guilty pleas in local courts with threat hanging over them and would get more help from guilty people in finding others--again, using career criminal act as stick behind the door.

He said, laughingly, that now "I'm working against your thesis. I'm trying to get Arlen to change and not be so interested in crime and judiciary committee matters. I'd even like to get him off the Judiciary Committee; but I've given up on that. He'll keep the committees he's got."

He thinks AS was a player in summit matters because he got Nitze and others to believe arms control was not evil - but admits he was one of number of people in the field and he can't prove Arlen's influence - says it was "behind the scenes." Thinks his Intelligence Committee membership is helpful in this area.

Paul got a tape with some of Arlen's ads on it. It wasn't the whole tape, because career criminal was not on it.

- (1) Bombing of Libja - Ed. vs. and Arlen for Not shown
- (2) Agent identities - Ed. vs. - Arlen for talked about need for 'touch criminal penalties'
- (3) International terrorism - his anti terrorism bill "enough is enough"
- (4) His super power summits - "3 time the Senate passed my resolution asking for a summit" dates on the control and peace
- (5) DA from Lackawanna county (Scranton) talking about Arlen as Legionnaire and veteran and anti terrorism stand
- (6) Edgar's voting attendance record missed 588 votes, but voted self a pay raise. AS voting record 98%.
- (7) Heinze talk about Arlen fighting for western PA. Where was Edgar re bills for United Mine Workers and Lock and Dam "AS was right on those issues. BE was dead wrong."
- (8) of Monogahela - guys talking - Sen. Specter came and saw condition of bridges because he came to our meeting. We've got Charlera bridge and getting one over Monongahela. "To us a bridge is like a baby being born." We're cut off from each other, etc., etc.

(I thought the last two--western DA ads were the best.)

Then we saw 3 Edgar ads.

The cracking head -

AS on both sides. apartheid - "quality to get along" is one way to do it - but it isn't the way "in Congress or out".

Picture of two Arlen Specters and different issues flash on screen.

Sylvia said she feared Bailey much more than Edgar--that Edgar is too far out to the left for Penna. Bailey really didn't help Edgar. Bailey "hates" Edgar." Bailey would have cost them veterans, NRA, western PA, etc.

We talked about Arlen's hard work and perpetual motion and she asked if I thought he'd stop. I said no. She agreed. She said Joan is same way. She told "my favorite story about AS." He's worn out and asks Sylvia to make reservation for weekend in Boca Raton - don't tell anyone. He and Joan going to get away. Sylvia is delighted. "It's their first real vacation in 4 years." Arlen tells Paula Hawkins that he's looking forward to a weekend in Florida. Next thing Sylvia knows, someone from Hawkins office calls and says Hawkins asked ^{by} RR to go to Phillipines that weekend and she had several important engagements around Florida, would Specter mind filling in for her. Sylvia says she doesn't think so, but she'll check. She asks Arlen. "He says that it's OK with him if it's OK with Joan. I call Joan. She says if Arlen wants to do it, it's OK with her. So instead of lying in the sun they spend their first vacation flying all over Florida speaking at meetings. That's the way he is. And it helps a lot that Joan is the same way too."