## Rep. Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D/OH) October 13, 2001, Cleveland

- I got in on Friday, spent the evening at Embassy Suites and got a cab to CSU in a.m. to meet Stephanie Tubbs Jones at a "Peace Action Group" meeting.
- Re September 11<sup>th</sup>: Spent 1st day "glued to the television like everyone else." She showed me her message that day--she kept it--on her hand schedule. She's in SBC meeting with 10 members of CBC and they evacuated all buildings. Took her one hour to get several blocks away to her home. "There was no plan. We just stood around on the Capitol grass."
- On information: "you feel left out; but I'm not sure I want to know what's going on."
- Her vote vs. terrorism bill yesterday: "too many liberties to give up."
- Peace Action started a meeting vs. "Star Wars" anti-defense missile.
- As we sit, guy comes up to thank her for her vote against anti-terrorism bill.
- She gives a rip-roaring short talk that gets lots of applause at key points: (1) her opposition to Star Wars, "Nothing that happened on September 11th would have been prevented by a missile defense." (2) Her vote against the airline bailout bill because "there was nothing in it for the workers. father was a sky cap for the airlines for 35 years. They were making \$2.00/hr. And they had no sick pay. When one of them was sick, the other 10 would pass the hat." Airlinesattitude toward workers is in her gut. Says that airlines were in trouble before and that they got money in proportion to their "There was everything for the airlines and "capacity." nothing for the workers, nothing for those who had lost their jobs." (3) Her vote against yesterday's terrorism bill. "I'm a patriot. I wear red, white and blue. I have my red, white and blue scarf, but I worry that in the name of patriotism, we are going to lose all those liberties that we have worked so hard to establish and which make us the kind of country we are, and the kind of country people want to come to." bring you the greetings from my dearest friend, Barbara Lee." She tells how they met standing in some line, and have become

best friends ever since. Big spontaneous applause because she was the lone vote against giving Bush extra power. "Bush already has the power. I thought about it for a long time and finally decided that in the name of unity in the country, I would stand up." Later, she called this "my hardest vote."

- She spoke of how Barbara Lee now has a capitol guard that accompanies her everywhere. "I want her to have a guard, but it hurts me to think that we have a country in which she has to have one."
- It was a very loud, issue-oriented, emotional speech, with great appeal to liberal activists. Very different from her MLK talks.
- A rousing, standing ovation at the end. A CSU professor comes up to me afterwards. "That was some speech. I never heard Lou Stokes give a speech like that." There is a big energy level difference between Lou Stokes and Stephanie Tubbs Jones. Later she said, "I like to give speeches like that on the issues! Pumping up the crowd and then leave. I used to think I had to stay. But now I know it's expected that I'm busy with other things to do and I'll leave."
- Afterward, she dropped me off at the Louis Stokes wing of the Public Library and said she'd pick me up there at 12:20. "I have a private meeting."
- She greeted me with a hug. "Hi Doc," later it was "Professor".

  She introduced me to the Peace Action audience--numbering 125
  by my count. And to every other audience, too. At the Black
  Shield dinner, she even got me up on the stage to meet Police
  Chief and more Marcia Fulls, who was the Keynsti Speaks
  - Sitting before her talk, she talked a little about post September 11<sup>th</sup>--where she was and how she voted. "Did you see the story in the paper about my terrorism vote?"
  - Talk re Mervin and how when "he gets angry, I tell him that anger is the wind that blows away reason." She tells the story in her peace speech.
  - Then, on ride down the street to the library, she talked about the election. "I was going to stay out of the race. And my friends in Organized Labor jumped all over me when I changed

my mind. But when I talked to people from other cities, I learned that in a city where a black mayor is replaced by someone who is not black, the access of black citizens to the government drops immediately and precipitously. The paper says that I support Pierce only because of race. The other candidate made it a race issue first; and that's the way the paper is playing it. I'm not. I never have. I never campaign on race; and I never get personal. I want to campaign in such a way that when it's over, I can go up to my opponent, shake hands and give a hug."

- Then she went into who, among the candidates, is doing what.

  So far, four have gone to Campbell. Two are left; and shew a doesn't expect them to come to Pierce-Oaker (maybe and McCormick (all shook up). Nell a Report Company (Oaker)
- Before the meeting, one of the organizers struck up a conversation. A woman from Shaker Heights (Diemer). "I love Stephanie. She votes right on all the issues I care about. I didn't for her in the primary. I'm Jewish. I voted for Marvin McMickle. I thought he was better educated. Well, she was educated, of course, but I thought he was better on the issues. She was a prosecutor! They put people to death. I didn't realize how liberal she was. I supported her in the general election and I'm glad I did." That's the Shaker Heights, Jewish, McMickle, Plain Dealer vote!
- A small note about her personal touch. When we met, she asked what I was up to. And I answered, "Right now, I'm busy taking care of my wife whose had a couple of eye operations." We went on to something else, then she gave her speech and huddled with various people on the way out. We got to the care, drove out of the parking garage and the first thing she said when we got out on the street was, "How is your wife doing?" That's a skill and you can't teach it. You've got it or you don't; and STJ has it. When we parted, she asked, "Was this a good trip?"
- Incidentally, in her talk she called the President "Bush," not President Bush, and she said nothing nice about him at all. In fact her body language, with me, was still sort of I still can't believe he's there! "She sends a certain message to people in this speech before a very liberal anti-Bush crowd-that is not reassuring to most people--or, perhaps, I should say "a message that was very reassuring to these people, but

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wouldn't have much outside the liberal community."

It was, altogether, a satisfying day. But it was cut up early on and ended with a burst late in the evening. The itinerary was: I met her at 9:00 a.m. for the Peace talk. She left me from 10:00-12:30 at the library. Picked me up and went to Pierce headquarters. Said hello while she bustled about. She and I talked with campaign manager, Arnold Pinkney, for 20 minutes. Then we went to the Shaker Heights football game where we spent the afternoon. Husband Mervin joined us. Glorious football day (shirtless and sunshine). Mervin drove me and STJ home to change. Drove to Buckeye CDC dinner. She spoke: I whiled my time at a table with strangers. to black policemen's banquet and stayed late. Drove me to Embassy Suites. We had good talks in the car--to headquarters, to Buckeye, to police, home. When we talked, she answered all questions, but talked very voluminously and very fast. Her energy level is superheated! I got to hotel at 11:15 p.m. and was so overloaded and tired I couldn't write up notes! [The best part of my day was spent in the library!]

There was a lot of benefit from the trip because I finally did catch her in open politicking for mayor, and the one-two impact of bond issue and Raymond Pierce (RP) primary victory, plus her mayoral decision, has carried her to new political heights in the city. And I couldn't have captured it as well from the outside.

Mayor's race: "So many people asked me to run that I had to think about it. Their argument was that we had a black mayor and we had a black candidate in the race to protect the black community. In talking about it with people from other cities, it was clear that when a black mayor is followed by a nonblack mayor, the black community receives a much lower level of services than before. But when I thought about it, I realized that while I might not be able to do as much for the city directly in Congress, I could have a much broader impact in meeting the needs of the city see Especially 6h committees, Banking and Small Business, I was well positioned having an impact on housing, small business and the local economy. Because of the importance of seniority, I was well positioned to become more influential. I was building a foundation for greater influence. On my committees, I was building a foundation to move to an even more influential

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committee. I realized that being a judge and a prosecutor gave me an exposure that very few of my colleagues in Congress ever had, especially the newer ones, and I could be of real value in that way. And I realized that I liked being in Congress. I like the personal relationships, I like the kind of people there--like Nancy Pelosi. We discovered we had friends in common and we've become good friends. I was one of the early supporters and a whip of her team in the race for the party leadership. I'm building up personal relationships. My family was against it. They have gotten used to the arrangement -- four days done, three days home. My mother who always told me to go, go, go--she told me not to do it: 'Stay where you are." Besides, a lot of people who want to be Mayor do it for the ego and the publicity. They way to be in the limelight and they don't want to share it. I have a big ego, but I don't need to take the credit for everything. There's plenty of credit to go around. So, the publicity part of it was of no interest to me."

the sequence here was such that when she decided not to run, the question was "a black candidate or no black candidate." There a vacuum-what to do.

Pinkey was quite strong on this. "There were three black candidates in the race, but none of the office holders had any broad appeal, and the third a complete "It was clear that whoever Stephanie endorsed would be the candidate. The nomination would be hers for the asking. Only she could bring to a candidate—not the Tubbs Jones organization—but the Tubbs Jones 'force.' When she put her 'force' behind Pierce, he became the black candidate. But to one but us ever thought he would do as well as he did. When Stephanie endorsed him, no one knew who he was. And he finished second out of them candidates. It was Stephanie who made him our candidate. She is the leader of the black community. Right now, she can get anything she wants."

She said, "In the beginning I didn't know whether I wanted to get involved or not. But I knew that the black community could not give up without a fight. I knew people wanted a credible black candidate. They had a black mayor for eight years and they were worried about what would happen to protections they had won. The labor guys were all over me when I decided. 'Why are you doing this,' they asked. 'Why not support Campbell?'"

"Jane Campbell and I had many wonderful relationships. But some things bothered me. During Prop. 14, the 'school bond issue) she was for it, but she was very wishy-washy. She did not come out strongly and work hard. That bothered me. Then, when I announced that I would not run, she was the only candidate that was present. The paper interpreted that as evidence that I was supporting her and they played it that way. I made it very clear that I was not supporting anyone at that time. But the paper made it look like I had broken a promise. I did not like being sandbagged like that."

- Clearly, it was the community desire to have a credible black candidate, plus her personal desire to be a leader of home or, qwen to be a leader of home or, qwen to be a leader.
- "You're deeply involved in local politics, aren't you?" I asked. "Yes I am, and I have to be. My white colleagues have a choice. I don't."
  - For her, the Pierce campaign plus Prop. 14 have put her stamp on the district. When I asked her "How would you know when you had put your stamp on this district?" she said, "I think that the primary did it, the nominations victory of Raymond Pierce has done it--that plus our big victory on Prop. 14. Pierce had lost badly, that would have hurt me. But because his second place was such a surprise and because he was recognized as 'my candidate,' I think I've done it. result was as good for me as it was for him. The primary was of huge importance, huge importance. Pin fact, Lou Stokes and I have talked about it. How do you galvanize the community and bring them along so that they work together?" succeeded Lou, people just watched to see what I would do. They made me earn my spurs. No one gave me anything. to prove something to them. I have worked and worked and worked at it. And I think the primary victory following after Prop. 14 showed people that I could do it, that I can bring people along. No black politician would endorse Pierce until If Pierce had flopped in the primary, I would have been in trouble. It showed I could deliver. But a defeat in the general election will not matter. I have proven myself. I'll be fine." "Did you go to him or did he come to you?" "He came to me."
- At the CDC cocktail party: "Ordinarily, I would skip the cocktail party, come in time for dinner, speak and leave. But

this time, I want to wait for Raymond, walk in with him and help him meet people before dinner. She hustled him around with, "I want you to meet my candidate for Mayor, Raymond Pierce."

Later at the policemen's dinner, we got there late, but just before the ceremonies began. She went to the podium, hugged everyone (called me up to meet the police chief--a black woman--and Marcia Fudge). After the awards were mostly over, she realized that RP had not showed up at all. She was very upset, came up to me in the back of the hall and said, "We're not going home yet. I just found out that Pierce had not come here. He was supposed to; so I'm going to call him at home and tell him to get his ass over here. This is too important a group to miss..." When he did show up half-an-hour later, she got him up to the podium and said, "I want to introduce to you my candidate for Mayor of the City of Cleveland, Raymond Pierce. Whereupon he got up and said, "Thank you very much Congressman Stokes!" Then got very embarrassed and praised STJ effusively. "I would not be standing before you now. I would not have come in a close second in the primary if it were not for Congresswoman Stephanie Tubbs Jones." A not very impressive candidate. (I talked with him briefly and he kept asking me "What are they specializing in at the University of Rochester?" I said "medical research." That seemed to do the trick.)

Her answer to the "fight, bleed and die" question was different this time. Answer: "The people I went to kindergarten with, the people I went to elementary school with, the people I went to high school with, the people I went to college with—all the people I have touched in my life—every person on a jury whom I was a judge and all the people on grand juries when I was prosecutor. My mother and father and their friends."

There was essentially the same answer I got to the question. "Who can you count on to help you with the Pierce campaign?" And also when I asked her if there was a "STJ organization."

- That latter question puzzled her, as it would not have puzzled CF. Indeed, he boasts about it. And I used it to explain what I meant. She told me to ask Arnold Vinkney that question again, and she mentioned CF. That's when Pinkney came up with the idea of "STJ Force."

- I take from all these answers that her connections are, indeed, mostly <u>personal</u>. She does not jump to issue people. And while she does say that "I can bring some people with me if I support another candidate," there is obviously slippage. For example, she complained bitterly that she could not count on people helping out with the RP campaign. "They call and say 'I want to help,' but when I suggest phone banks, they say the can't make it. They want to help if they can be on the policy-making team. They want to be out front." So she can't tap into a Fattah-type organization and move it <u>as a group</u>. It's one-by-one. The same with the unions. "We'll get some," she says, here and there, but not the top ones, i.e., AFL-CIO.
- When I gave her (and Arnold) my thing about the <u>PD</u> forcing her to make her mark, it resonated and she wove it into her "stamp on the district" discussion via the gradual nature of it. <u>The black community was watching and judging</u>. But the <u>PD</u> was oblivious to that progression or <u>testing sequence</u>. Maybe that's best. It's a <u>very sequential</u> process in her growth--or learning.
- <u>PD</u> is forcing the process of "slotting" her and she's still slotting herself. AP, STJ and I all unloaded on the <u>PD</u>. He described them as "insensitive" to black community--wants to "control" it--"plantation mentality." Old conservative families. Braten sal won't take a Job Corps, in what is a perfect industrial spot, because <u>PD</u> president lives there in a rich enclave. No concern for the people who need help.
- In connection with her leadership agenda in general, she said, "health is the big issue on my plate now."
- She talked about publicity again. I asked if she had a press secretary. "I have two, one in Washington and one here. I had to because there is so much information I need to have. I use them to get me the information I need. I do not use them to speak for me. I have no spokesperson. I don't do that \_\_\_\_."
  - At some point here she criticized people who manipulate the media for their own advantage (DK mostly).
    - "I do not use the media to generate publicity. Some of my colleagues hold press conferences to say that something needs

to be done, but have no intention of doing anything about it. I was a judge and a prosecutor and my ethics are better than that. In those jobs, you do not use your position to generate publicity. It's too important."

- A nice touch. Speaker in black community always being with "good morning" or "good evening" and audience always replies in turn. I don't think I've seen that elsewhere.

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I got another tour, "Tour 2" when you take into account the trip around Hough with its three diversions and the trip to her new home, the ball game with her husband, etc. Maybe I can fit that in somewhere. Tour 1 was not an aberration. Speaks of her son during "star wars" speech, using her advice to Mervin as key to her attitude on civil liberties.

\*The trip to Hough gives me the sense that "this is her town" or, surely, her part of town. With LS, it was more of an abstraction "the community," but with her it's very concrete. "This is my town, see what we've done and let me tell you what we are going to do." It's the black part of town, but it's a gritty, down to earth view of it that she has. Her view of Hough and LS's view were very different. He took pride in the money he brought in; she wants me to see particular projects, particular streets, particular homes. The Plain Dealer operates on a plane that doesn't capture her deep personal connection to such a large part of Cleveland. We were on our way to the Community Development dinner, which may have triggered "the tour." But the point is that she wanted to She wanted to take me to the very street corner show me. where the shooting began and were a monument now stands. She has a personality connection and a personal connection with constituents, i.e., working class constituents.



My question about enjoyment and politically important sides of what she does fell flat for lack of specifics. She emphasized that constituents come first because they effect you. She stressed liking issues. "I like to talk about issues with my constituents." She emphasized kids and elderly--especially kids. I didn't ask her to rank the things she did, so I blew it.

- But she did make her own comparison between her two speeches.

Of the star wars--liberal speech. "I enjoy making speeches like that. I like to pump up the crowd and then leave. I

used to think I had to stay, but I learned that I'm not expected to." Of that group, she said, "The people this morning will be for me no matter what."

Of the CDC speech, "All of them are for me, but they are not as interested in what I am doing (as the other crowd). When I talk about my votes, I lost them. That's why I didn't read my speech. I said to myself 'the hell with it. I'll just stop now, and they'll give me credit for getting them home by 9:00. But my story of the goose was a good one."

In the middle of the speech, she started turning sheets of paper. "My staff has written a great speech, but I'm going to skip over all this stuff. Don't tell my staff what I've done."

- When I asked about the STJ organization, she went through the same litany of people from elementary school. In that answer, she said that "there are people who have been with me for as long as I have been in politics. I can call on them any time and they will come work for me." Just another version of the strongest supporters idea.

A picture of STJ--at the football game greeting people in the stands, sitting with her friends, screaming "deeefense" (her son plays defense), jumping up and down, getting hot dogs and cokes for her husband and me, clapping for every cheerleader routine, waving her arms, call to her son on the side lines, introducing herself to her son's girlfriend. "I had met her before." We agreed she was pretty.

- In all her discussions of her life in the House, there is the idea of opportunities opening up--getting to know Pelosi for example, and Murtha.
- "After I was elected, Lou Stokes told me that the one person I had to get to know in the House was John Murtha. As soon as I got there, I went to see him and I told him that Lou Stokes had said he was the first person I should get to know. He is a wonderful man, knowledgeable and kind and I love him. I have his support in my campaign for Ways and Means."
- "I was one of the earliest members of Nancy Pelosi's team. It was time to bring diversity into the leadership. All those white men sitting there convey the wrong image of our party.

Rep. Tubbs Jones (D/OH) October 2001-10

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I like Steny Hoyer, but his time has passed. And Dick Gephardt had better watch his step or he will be history. I worked hard for Nancy. She will support me for Ways and Means."

- Campaigning with Pierce at CDC dinner: "I want you to meet my candidate for Mayor."
- Eric Fingerhut came to the CDC dinner and we had a nice talk at the dinner table. He stopped by after "I did my rounds" of hand shaking. He talked about Stephanie's decision to support Pierce. "It's a curious decision. I don't know why she did it--picking someone without any experience in the community and going against a large part of her base. Of course, she can do anything she wants and it won't hurt her, but her suburban supporters are all supporting Jane. Jane will win, there's no doubt about that. And Stephanie will alienate her suburban support--not her city support, of course. All of Jane's money is coming from Stephanie's suburbs." I think that's the Shaker Heights view. He doesn't see her immersion in the black community and her desire to do something for them and, thus, for herself.
- In the Pierce campaign, she does <u>not</u> have the support of Caucus, BEDCO, AFL-CIO, Democratic Party. In that context, she was very much out front and vulnerable--<u>in the primary</u>. That non-party, non-organizational victory was more personal. She says that she brought Arnold Pinkney on board with her decision. Just as she had brought people on board for bond issue.
  - Her campaign has virtually all the black ministers. She and Arnold use anti-PD ammunition in their story after the primary, of the one minister who was not for Pierce!
  - When she got the endorsement of the Black Women's Caucus she was thrilled! It was a victory of race over gender. (My view.) And the idea was that they were pulling the black community together and every addition helped. The day after I left, Sunday a.m., she was scheduled into <u>five</u> black churches.
  - Then in the afternoon, she was driving (Mervin Sr. driving) to Columbus for the State Democratic Party meeting. She is now Vice Chair of the State Democratic Committee and a member of

the Democratic National Committee. She is making her way in the Democratic Party. Arnold mentioned her close experience in the Supreme Court race as helping her to bring to her local work a broader view. So her state and national work gives her a cachet in Cleveland. The question is: when will others in the black community begin to think she is sucking all the oxygen out of party jobs. She doesn't seem aggrandizing at all, especially in the media. She still compares herself to Dennis K., who is a media hog, and good at calling press conferences and doesn't follow through.

- She still drives herself around and she noted that at one point. When she missed a turn on the way to Embassy Suite, she said, "We'll have to get off at the next exit. That will give you time to ask more questions." It did.

- No sense, as with CF, that she cares when or if the book will come out. A couple of times I told her that I'd send her something by Christmas. And there was no response at all. Maybe a smile, but no comment.
- Her chair's job on CBC Housing Committee is a one-person job.

  Do you have committee help, I asked. "No. I can get individuals to help, but can do just about anything I want to do. It gives me a platform to talk about the issues I want to talk about. The issues Tead me to Ways and Means. And deals with my colleagues let me have a leadership title that is helpful to me back home."
- Re CBC: "I believe I have earned the respect of my colleagues in the CBC. I'm having a fund-raiser for Raymond in DC next week and I have 33 of the 36 members lined up--all that can come. I've got Gephardt, too. And Nancy Pelosi is checking to make sure she doesn't have some connection with Jane Campbell."
- Re votes and explaining: "My black constituents are smart. But they are not demanding. They do not call or ask me to explain my votes. Some of my white constituents are more likely to write or call."
- She has trouble, again, thinking of a hard vote. So I ask her about the vote Barbara Lee cast. "I almost decided to vote not, but I didn't. That was a hard vote. All the rest of my votes (since September 11) have been easy votes—no trouble at

- I asked about China vote--"No trouble at all on any trade vote."
- Re redistricting: She says she needs to get more people and thinks she'll get Beechwood and Lyndhurt (something like that). She will get some of LaTourette's voters and he wants to give them to her. She outlined her "dream district" and them said, "The Republicans will give me what I want because they're afraid I'll go after them for a civil rights violation."
- She sees some trouble ahead with votes on Israel. Told story about a resolution involving Israel and Palestinians on which she voted no, and against the pro-Israel position. "I've had good relationships with AIPAC and I've carried a lot of water When I couldn't vote with them, I told them so for them. ahead of time and why. I didn't want them to hear it from When I came off the floor, their lobbyist someone else. thanked me for my vote / I said 'I didn't vote with you. And I told your leadership why.' Again and again, we vote to support Israel and I vote with them. But it isn't getting us There are problems to solve; and I can see that anywhere. there may be some tough votes coming up in that area."
- Re her anti-trade votes: "It's thought of as a pro-trade committee. But I think there ought to be some anti-trade people on Ways and Means. The committee ought to reassure the membership that the issue has been massaged internally."
- At the Peace Action meeting, she recognized some Case Western people in the audience and asked them to stand up. Later, she said that she relied on them to bring her up to speed on various issues, that they were always there for her in a supporting role--not electioneering, but on issue education. She values them. "They make sure I sound like I know something about various subjects."
- Re tour #2: We're on our way to the CDC dinner. "I'm going to turn off here and show you what's happened in Hough, where the riots started in the 1960's. I want you to see the redevelopment that's transformed the neighborhood." We drove up and down streets with nice new single family homes, with well kept lawns and yards. "There are a couple of streets I

want you to see; and there's even a house with an indoor swimming pool I want to find." At one intersection, "Here is the exact spot where the shooting started. There's the little corner park with the memorial commemorating the events." was a large stone pillar with Hough in big letters running down the side in a little tiled memorial. Up and down the streets we drove as she explained the financing of each "There's one piece missing from the picture-businesses. You can't have successful redevelopment without business. The Clinton administration helped with the housing through federal-state partnerships. Now we need partnerships devoted to business... Integration actually hurt business in the black community. Before integration, people had to shop in the neighborhood, and black businesses thrived... But when integration came and black people could shop everywhere, black business suffered. I'm not saying integration shouldn't have been tried. But not all its results were good."

As we drove along, she hollered at two different people on the sidewalk. One woman was walking her dog. She used to work in the prosecutor's office. Stephanie stopped the car and yelled across the street. "How about doing a little phone banking? We need help next week. Good."

She's very much at home in the neighborhood--like Chaka Fattah--except that she exudes warmth and a human touch in her connections, and he is consumed with the issues. She talks about the issues, too, but the personal weight in the "connective equation" is much greater.

- I asked her how her relations with the bankers were going, reminding her of our previous meeting. "I learned something about them, the people who were there rotated to other positions. So that group was not goal oriented. We're planning to hold a conference with bankers and city officials and neighborhood groups to really do something about problems of credit and mortgages and lending practices."
- She joined her sorority after she started work.