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PETE DOMENICI

July 5, 1980 - July 8, 1980

Flew in from Truro on Saturday afternoon. Temperature in Albuquerque was 105°, a record high for the city! Same predicted for tomorrow, when I will tag along with Pete D.

It occurs to me, sitting here looking over my "questions" for PD, that I've never seen a quotation from a politician that was of such a nature that I couldn't get that same quote--with the exception, I guess, of what Davis Kearns dug out of LBJ. Which means that I'm as good as any reporter in digging out the material. Putting it together is, of course, a different matter.

Fran Langhoff picked me up at 9:20 and we drove to Pete's mother's house where he's staying. He has no residence in NM. (Talks often about his kids and how tough that is financially--in church and when he talked about honoraria. He said--appropos of Schmitt "I made 12,000 and he made 7,000. But I spend mine and he doesn't. I've got kids to educate."

When Pete came out he said "Hello Professor Fenno, I knew you were coming, but I forgot. If I had remembered, I'd have written a better speech. I didn't know I'd have a professorial critique." I laughed and said "Sure, sure," or something like that.

When I asked him how he was, he said "Weary and frustrated. My life in the Senate couldn't be better. But I'm very worried about the bastian of liberty--the Republic."

He asked how my book was coming and if I was following the Washington activities of the Senators I travelled with. I said I had been following the budget fight.

But he turned to the Reid Book. "Tom Reid of the Post really did me up fine in his book" or something like that. I reminded him that I and my students were in the preface and he said he remembered.

He said "he got a few things wrong. He said the railroads gave me \$30,000. I don't know where he got that number. It was close to five. Of course, they did get to know me as a result of that bill. Now, if I want some little thing--there's a little company up in northern New Mexico that makes parts that the railroads could use and I got them to look at this company. It may mean some business for them. I couldn't have done that before."

"About the only other effect it had was that my mother went out and bought me some new clothes. See this suit? She read where he said I looked like a refugee from a Woody Allen movie, so she bought me three new suits. The great New Mexico press didn't print a single word about it. The Washington Post did a nice review of it, though."

When I said that was taking in their own wash, he laughed and said "My wife noticed that, too. She said the papers are just like politicians, they scratch each other's backs, too."

He then went on to talk about an article in Yale Law Review on air pollution, where he was reported to be only person who understood the issue of cleaning up coal pollutants proportionally instead of having some nationally applied standard like 90%. I.E., if western coal has 90% less sulphur than eastern coal; why should both be required to clean up 90% of their existing sulphur content?

We went to church where he delivered a nice sermon--started with a joke about national prayer breakfast at time of Panama Canal. Said it was a

wonderful meeting, where "you could hear the holy spirit." Said two cabinet wives sat on one side of him and he thought they were planted--since they were for the treaties and he was against. One said "Can't you feel the holy spirit?" (Sec. Def. wife) Other said, Can't you hear the holy spirit and didn't he say that you ought to support the treaty. Lady on other side of him, who hadn't spoken, got up afterward and said "I heard the holy spirit, Senator" and the holy spirit was telling me not to support the treaty."

He talked about Juan Carlos' comment that "All significant human achievement occurs because a man or a woman is free." Said he wrote that down and it helped him to understand the nature and the greatness of the country. He went on at some length to the effect that we had turned everyone free in the country and had accomplished a great deal. He waxed eloquent about the constitution. "Never have a people been governed by a document so sacred as our Constitution." Ours is a great experiment in freedom. Yet freedom is a great burden. And here he brought in idea that Christians need help of Lord to shoulder that burden and keep freedom. We have responsibility to keep ourselves strong and free and need to follow the Lord in order to achieve these goals. "Knowledge puffs; love builds" he said. "To love requires planning. Love is an act of will". He spoke of value of love, the necessity of being "open" to the words of the Lord in learning how to love. On the way in to the church, he had said "I'm not going to give much of a patriotic speech. I'm going to give a religious speech." And he did, though he spent half the time on freedom and half on Christian duty.

All in all it was a good speech, delivered fluently and in a rich voice. It got a lot of praise, we all heard. Riding away Pete said he wished he had a tape of it. And the best evidence that he was pleased by it was the fact

that he returned to the freedom half of it in the afternoon at the graduation--completely ignoring the speech written for him in Washington.

"Several people said I had missed my calling, that I should have been a preacher. Maybe I should have been a priest and not a Senator. You have no idea the long hours I wrestled with just that question, whether or not I should be a priest. A lot of boys in my class did become priests. Two of my sisters became nuns. One is out now, but the other one has been in for 30 years. In my high school paper, where they predicted what we will all be doing later on, they predicted I would be archbishop-cardinal."

He asked me what I thought of his idea of freedom. I said I agreed, but that he'd have to make sure he could button up argument by showing that individual achievements in totalitarian societies were done because the individuals were free--he had said that governments left them free and I added "patrons." And he put "patrons" in his speech that afternoon. So--he listens. That happened again during trip. On way home from Clovis I talked about how I thought racial tension was biggest social problem and was boiling just below the surface. He used that on the talk show.

After church, he went home to lunch with his mother and Fran and I went out and had lunch.

When we got back, I went in the house and talked with his mother. She immediately gave me a glass of rose wine--asked me how I liked New Mexico and talked about how she wasn't feeling well. She had fallen recently. She talked of her garden out back, which started as victory garden in WWII. So I guess that was Pete's home growing up--yellow brick, red tile roof in older part of "country club section" of town. She had a good sized garden and Pete was going to take 3 crates of stuff home with him to Washington--garlic, onions,



beans, etc. She talked of her grandchildren. Peter, the second eldest grandchild has been with her for a year and she told story about how he had given her a mother's day present and how every time he wanted something from her, he reminded her of that present (bathrobe and nightie) he gave her. Pete repeated the story and everyone laughed. Throughout the stay Pete was in contact with garage that was fixing Peter's car. Her airconditioner had broken and she was "going to give that man a piece of my mind"--the man who was supposed to fix it. There was a determination there, of a tough woman. She had 150 rose bushes, too, which had gone by now. But there were grapes and potatoes and everything else in the garden.

As we went to flag dedication ceremony, he talked about his mother and her many many ailments and how "she's going to make it. She was recently "cured" of what appeared to be cancer of the lung. She had had masectomy, heart attack, cirrosis of the liver, lungs full of water, a broken leg, etc. and was still going. She wondered whether it was worth it, he said, because she couldn't have any salt and she was "a great cook" and loved spices. His sister, Mary, had been hard on her mother in sense that she made her observe her diet. Mother had gotten so mad at Mary, she told her to get out and not come back. Pete tried to tell her she had lots of things to live for, but said he wasn't going to "browbeat" her--if she wanted to "cheat" on her diet--which she had done. Well, point of all this is just that he did talk about some fairly intimate family details, about his mother, sister, himself. He said if his children lived nearer to their grandmother, it would help her attitude. There is an openness about him that's reflected in these comments about his family.

"My father came here from Italy when he was 14 years old. (His father came over to work in a store.) He never went to school, so he could not write.

He could read a little. But my mother came here when she was 2 1/2. Her father came here by himself, left his wife with a little child, my mother, and then sent for them when she was 2 1/2. She grew up here. But she preserved the old traditional ways because of my father. She lived 50 years with him! She could speak 3 languages, english, italian and spanish, beautiful spanish, even though she never went to college. It was a great family to grow up in to appreciate many different influences." He was just warming up to this subject when we got out of the car and went to flag raising ceremony at University Heights hospital.

After the ceremony, he was being interviewed by Channel 13 about VP (which gets on nightly news Ch 13) and grain embargo aid for prisons, etc. So when we started up again to go to the graduation ceremony, he started talking about the press. I asked him about relations with local TV.

"Relations with local TV are very difficult. For one thing, they have no coverage out of Washington. And the turnover here among TV reporters is so great, you never get to know them. We have difficulty getting anything on TV about what we are doing. Maybe when something is truly extraordinary or sexy, we'll get coverage. Last week, we were lucky because my work on energy made national television. There were local plug-ins on that. Sometimes NBC passes along unused footage to their local stations, something they think has local interest; and that may help us. AP and UPI photographers have played up energy and the local TV may use it. But for a small state, local TV coverage, weekly or monthly or just regularly is the most difficult PR problem we have. We have done all kinds of things to try and feed them from Washington, but none of them works. Transportation is difficult, it's expensive, nothing gets back here on time. When I come home, there's almost

no way to escape having a press conference for TV. There is no other way to get the message out.

Then I asked about print media. "Off the record, the Albuquerque Journal thinks they have the best Washington reporter in the whole world. But he's a cynical, lazy old guy and not of our persuasion. It's like pulling teeth. I don't think there's a paper in the United States with a circulation of over 100,000 people who has a reporter who works less than the guy who works for the Albuquerque Journal. I think the editor was coming to that view too. But when he went to Washington to check up on him, this guy held a reception and everyone came--the whole liberal establishment press, the guys he'd been hanging around with for years. The editor confused who he knew with the quality of work he had done. And he went home thinking everything was wonderful. They won't print anything he doesn't ok. We can give the Journal super press releases, but if Paul (Wieck) doesn't pass on them, nine times out of ten, they won't use it."

"It's frustrating. I want the people of New Mexico to know what I'm doing. In the Republican party in the Congress, I'm a player now. I don't go down there and vote 'no'. That synthetic buels bill is as much mine as it is the Democrats. I want people here to know that. I don't want any fru frus, any bullshit, an exaggeration, I don't want to say 'I co-sponsored such and such a bill' when I'm the 46th on the list--'the Domenici-Dole bill.' No bragging, just straight. For the first 3 or 4 years I couldn't do that. I was so far down on the totem pole. My Committee assignments were Environment and Public Works and the Space Committee, which was being phased out and District of Columbia. That's when you have to 'fru fru'. It's all you can do. But now I'm an important person in the Republican party. I want the people back here to know what my colleagues know. It's not easy. It's one of my greatest challenges."

This was a, if not the, major theme of the trip.

Said Peter Wellish was leaving to take a bigger job and he was taking on someone who knows New Mexico thoroughly - worked for Republican party in NM, got into trouble with party, went to DC, worked for a congressman--Martha Buddecke. "We're going to try it for 2 or 2 1/2 years to see how it goes." Not clear what the new leaf would be unless it's the fact that she knows NM better than Wellish. In looking over the schedules, I noted that Wellish normally came home with Pete. The reason he didn't this time was probably because Wellish was changing jobs.

The other subject he talked about at some length--I couldn't get it all--was his thinking about changing committees. Republicans will change rules that prohibited Budget members from being on Finance or Appropriations. This conversation grew naturally out of the earlier one because he sees his improving committee assignments as evidence that he's doing more--that he's "a player". That's what he wants NM people to know. This idea of being "a player" (more later) was new from the campaign period. He now pooh poohs stuff he used in the campaign--i.e., his amendments.

Re Appropriations. "New Mexico has App. covered. Jack Schmitt's on that committee. Well it's not covered as well as it should be in getting along better with Jack Schmitt, but he still doesn't think you have to be in touch with the home folks. He thinks some things are being covered when they aren't. He's too busy lecturing. But I can't get appropriations. That's a rule. If he were defeated I'd take approp to cover for New Mexico. I waited till the last minute in 1979 to make sure Jack would get it before I finally decided to stay on Budget."

Posed relevant committees as AS, Fin. and FR. "If I went on Foreign Relations it would be to broaden my scope of interests. I'm interested in

the world, but I don't know as much as I would like to know. And if I had national aspirations, that would be the committee to get on."

But the realistic choices seemed to be AS vs. Fin. (if he changed) or to stay on Environment and Public Works. He said "The staff is leaning toward Armed Services and I'm leaning toward Finance." Interpret that to mean staff more interested in his reelection than he is.

The appeal of A.S. is that "I'm interested in bringing our defense up" and that the AS is very important to NM. He said one-half of business at Los Alamos and Sandig is military and he listed the big bases in NM--Canon, Kirtland, White Sands missile range (4 major ones I think).

The appeal of Finance is that "Being ranking on budget and also on finance will put me right in the middle of the economic picture." Also--a lot of the energy matters--like passive solar energy, in which he's very interested--are tax matters. He seems to be seeing more, now, the implications of tax decisions for many other areas. He talked about taxes some bit off and on. The two drawbacks of Finance are that "I'll be at the bottom of the ladder" and "I'll have to study very hard. As you know, Finance doesn't just handle taxes, it handles the whole system of transfer payments, the health system (and trade)."

Then he said he might even stay on Environment and Public Works, that it had been a "lazy committee", that if there were activists ("the only one who pushed was Muskie") you could do things. He waxed enthusiastic on the water area--the changes he and Moynihan wanted to make, how they were meeting with Bennett Johnston and how, if they could get on water policy that would pump water into "replete" the Ogallahe aquifer that would be "exciting" - talked a lot about that. "They'll make Dallas a seaport before they'll worry about the second bread basket of the United States. Our water policy is crazy



and we don't replenish the aquifer, or will be a disaster for agriculture and the country." Said, too, that PW committee had broad jurisdiction. So he hasn't made up his mind.

He'll keep energy I assume--it's clearly his major interest. "I'm third ranking on Energy, but Lowell Weiker is number two and he doesn't do anything, so I'll be active there. I'll have 2 good subcommittees."

Then he went to the graduation ceremony of National College where he spoke briefly and mingled for a while afterward--at the Paradise Hills country club. It was a group of older people who took business administration at night. Pete told story about Lord and St. Peter where Lord helped a man pulling donkey out of mud but wouldn't help man whose mule was stuck but who was sitting under a tree praying A "Lord helps those who help themselves" type message. He said "each of you has been wrestling with your own mule" in trying to go back to college and study--then he drifted into a mish mash of freedom a la Juan Carlos and education. It was short and everyone then had punch and snacks. It was in a funny setting, with people sitting at tables. Pete called it "cute" and it was. He said he didn't know any of the people there beforehand--except the woman who graduated with him from St. Mary's high school, who had "bugged me" till he agreed to go--even though he could easily have refused--maybe 100 people were there.

A theme of Fran's, when we talked, was that Pete had grown. She said he spoke better now than he had and that people noticed it. She said that when he first decided to run for governor, she suggested he get in touch with John Davidson. "Why? Who's he" says PD. He was the State Party Chairman. "He was very naive" says Fran.

At lunch we talked about casework and how she screens people who want jobs and helps "maybe 50% of em with a letter or call. She says discrimination

cases are increasing and there isn't much they can do. She thinks most cases are "no win" situations and that it doesn't help as much as some think.

Pete got into this rather spontaneously on way home. "I've got a reform for you--abolish all casework from congressional offices. Make it illegal for us to take on Social Security, draft, veterans, pensions. Set up a government office to do it. Casework gets in the way of our legislative records. It's one reason why people don't know what you do... There are 70 or 80 Democrats out of touch with their districts philosophically who get elected by doing casework and running around in their mobile vans."

He sees it, again, as an impediment to getting any substantive message across. He agreed that congressmen would not give it up. Also said that it got around that Joe Montoya wouldn't help or couldn't and it hurt.

"Two things hurt Montoya. One was that he became so rich that people said, 'he isn't one of us anymore.' He was a multi millionarie. Another was that his staff are so inept that they botched things even when they tried to help. Those two things contributed to the idea that he had lost touch with the people."

We had a couple of beers in the club house after the graduation.

When Fran asked him how many U.S. Senators he thought would go to a little off beat graduation like he did, he said "None--well figuratively none. So the question is why did I do it. I don't think you can let a 4th of July recess go by without letting the people of your state, if they want to, see their Senator. They do want to see you. Sometimes I think large state Senators have an easier time of it than small state Senators." (I may have mixed some of this with what should have gone into the next segment.) (And I could blend them together without doing any violence.)

He returned to an earlier theme "Even if you can get media and even the media re favorable to you, the biggest challenge is to let people know what

you are doing. You have to see your supporters at least once a year to pull them up with your enthusiasm, and to show them that you have grown. You have to grow. The country is changing. Either you are Quentin Burdick or you grow. The job in Washington is so different that it will take all your attention if you let it. You have to keep pulling yourself back home--even when every temptation is to say 'screw it.' You tend to lose touch with the institutions of your state--its universities, its towns and cities. Sometimes I think I'd like to formalize my ties with the state--maybe become a Regent, even if you never attended meetings. In Washington, ideology is not enough. You need to bring the flavor of your state. The tendency is to centralize and to homogenize. But the beauty of the system is its decentralization. We were lucky that we had states. Part of my job is to explain why something that works in Connecticut won't work in New Mexico. Some of the strong conservatives in the Senate think <sup>to</sup> all they need to bring/the job is their ideology. That's not enough. Wellup brings a sense of Wyoming. Jim McClure is as conservative as any, but he knows they grow potatoes in Idaho. But some of my other friends--from Utah or Nevada, the Orrin Hatch's and the Paul Laxalt's of this world--don't understand that.

In a similar vein. "One thing that would do the Republican party a lot of good would be to put 5 or 6 western conservative Senators on a bus and take them for a 2 week tour of about 10 of our largest states. Let them drive through the slums of those cities between the hours of 10 pm and 2 am. Just let them see it. Then they'd know we have a problem. They might come back sporting the same line about the system but they'd have seen it. I, too, believe this is the greatest system; but if we don't do something about the 10-15 million people who are just left out of the system, we could be in a lot of trouble. These people just don't mesh into the system at all. I went to the ball game

in Baltimore over the 4th of July and we had to drive through the city to get home. I'm telling you, that was an experience. Bunches of men sitting and drinking, bottles all around, kids running up and down the streets. You think we have it bad in the South Valley in Albuquerque. Why on a scale, that's nothing compared to those cities. We ought to take Jake Garn and Orren Hahn and Paul Laxalt on a bus and let them see it."

Said he made one big request of the Reagan campaign--that Reagan make a major speech on youth unemployment and he talk about his interest in that several times. His pt is there's a problem and it won't go away.

"There's a rule of thumb--it's not mine, but it's been proven by me--that if after the 6 year lapse between elections, you don't have at least one-half of your people <sup>your</sup> near to/campaign, you'll have a miserable campaign. In the counties where I did best, I had some people from the last campaign, but the leaders were new to the organization."

"There's one thing I'd like to pull off if I can, but I don't know if I can do it. The Albuquerque Journal keeps saying we should have a two-party system in this state. All the media people in this state are little people. (he put his thumb and forefinger an inch apart) but they think they are opinion makers. They are frustrated because we don't have a 2-party system." He went on at some length to say how many smart people would be available for such an effort if you could give them something to do, something ad hoc and not connected to party organization. The Republican party turns em off. They are old timers--wouldn't let Pete be on delegation to convention in 1976 (he ran as Ford delegate) and had to be persuaded to put him on this time. He actually appeared before the Bernalblo county Republicans to tell them they'll be embarrassed not to have him in the delegation! And, under GOP rules, NM gets an extra delegate because they have a Senator plus a bonus because

they have majority of congressmen and senators. "But they say, we ought to give it to some guy who's worked out in the field. He's probably never worked in the field at all."

Very upset about impotence of party. He recalled, with Fran, how they took on the Republican party--"we were a radical reform movement within the Republican party" when he won the nomination for governor. "The nucleus of an organization now is the group who worked for me in that first race."

Also talked about how he ran for city commissioner - how his 5-6 friends goaded him into it, but when he decided to do it, how they tried to talk him out of it because they wanted to win all 3 seats. He said he got together the "100's group" - a group of one hundred couples, each of whom was to get 100 other couples (or individuals) and give them a card. "We had 9200 cards in the hands of people and we led the ticket." So his first victory (non partisan) taught him about organization, ad hoc organization. And he did win big--contrary to what his friends thought he'd do.

Fran says that on Tuesday, she has arranged for him to have lunch with some old lawyer friends, some of whom he hasn't seen since he became Senator. I met Bill Sullivan his Treasurer from Rhode Island. She thinks he should relax with them and stay in touch. Also she's trying to give him evenings with his mother, who isn't feeling well. She manages his private life in this way, too. That's part of scheduler's job--if they really know the boss. She calls him "The Senator" all the time. She's been with him since he was on city commission. First campaigned for him in his race for governor--she managed the campaign office. She's been with the Republican party "as long as I can remember. The Senator is the only person I ever worked for as a candidate apart from the party. I



always worked for the whole group." "He's a wonderful person to work for."

She sees him as someone who--(he was introduced by his schoolmate at graduation as someone "who has never lost touch with the people of New Mexico")--stays very close to people, mingles easily--"He says he doesn't want to come to these things, but when he gets here he always enjoys himself. He meets people so easily... If I know him, he'll sit down now and have a beer. There he goes."

Well, Pete did get a beer in the clubhouse and we went in to join him. He got very talkative, but the problem was that he pushed a couple of beers on me, too, and I couldn't remember what he said. He was especially eloquent about the necessity of reflecting the flavor of your state in the Senate in addition to carrying an ideology there. But I missed a lot of it--too much beer! That's a case where the pursuit of good rapport is self-defeating. He drinks; you drink; you get friendly; he opens up; you can't remember what he says! Great.

At the flag raising ceremony, there were about 35 people present, at a very small hospital. But 2 of the 3 TV stations were there. Ch. 4 and Ch. 13.

Ch. 4 filmed ceremony, Ch. 13 got an interview. (It was on the 10 o'clock news--the part asking him about VP possibilities - he said Baker, Kemp, Bush). As we drove away he said "It must have been a pretty poor news day when they covered a little event like this." BUT, and this is my point, TV could never have covered a similar event if the congressman had been the only participant. Senators got more publicity. But would Lujan have gotten that?? Maybe. A question, I guess. Pete clearly differentiates himself from Lujan in terms of casework emphasis.

*This happens all the time - appropriate of the huge gap between Wash DC & home.*

Re the speech that was written for him and that he never gave--he asked Fran who wrote it. She said she didn't know. Didn't want to get anyone in trouble. When she asked him later if he wanted it, he said "No but tell whoever wrote it what a great speech it was." Like Paul Tsongas, he looked at it, didn't like it and improvised. Fran says that happens a lot.

"I didn't get much rest. I'm smoking too many cigarettes."

"This is a strange little adventure over there today, isn't it. I'll have to get all jazzed up before I get there. I feel a little dejected today for some reason."

Gassing with Editor--Why don't you Wellish a living wage. You could make extra money collect in Detroit - try to charge one with outside activities breakfast - not a warm egg or piece of toast will pass this mouth if you. The editor Jim Griffin a 'good ole boy' big contrast with Greaves.

Clovis paper - Military authorization - increasing defense - Holleys - Domenici amendment in budget added highest growth to military budget since Korean war days. Fought with House and got good bill.

Authorization bill reflects new attitude toward defense.

Pay increase - "Rid country of embarrassment of having military personnel on food stamps and rent subsidies." He also praises MX, ship building programs - new barber.

"New Mexicans are incredulous about balanced budget, but the process remains intact and movement is toward a balanced budget "the array of social programs will be growing at less than inflation and the only Am. program that will grow faster than inflation is defense."

Tax package directed at savings, capital investment is inevitable.

"Middle America will either get a tax cut or indexation."

For next six months he wants to "hold line on balanced budget."

He praises Republican position and supports tax cuts. If there's going to be a deficit, he wants it to be a result of tax cuts and not more spending.

Grain embargo - he's "reviewing in depth" and will be meeting with other Senators on it. He supported embargo at outset. "If what I hear is true, that the Soviets are getting what they need by hook or crook, and that only the American farmer is taking it in the neck, then I will support a bill to make it impossible to enforce the embargo. I'll be talking with farmers on the trip. There is no more patriotic group than farmers. They have and the Soviet Union the opposition - but if they/are being the goats, so to speak, then this Senator will join with other senators against the embargo."

Question about grasshopper spraying program - small farmers left out.

Poe Carr - <sup>DPH</sup> "new staffer", etc. army man from Roswell - started in May.

Melrose bombing range controversy . Canon AFB needs more room.

Ramsey Clark - "disgrace" - but Congress shouldn't get into that on a presumed basis."

Farmers meeting at noon in Clovis - "The best thing you could do for us now is bring us four inches of slow rain. Sure enough, we have been under stress here lately." The language here is a little Southern and a little Western.

Farm Bureau leader said they were patriotic and supported the embargo and now "we feel like it's fizzled" and oppose it.

Pete - "The policies of this administration on almost every front that comes to mind--I can't believe we could have more inconsistent policy at home

or abroad. There's a dance at the White House--one step forward, two steps backward, two steps to the right and three to the left and that's what you call doing the Jimmy."

Farmers were friends, he said, and have honored him. Johnny Augustine introduced. He worked for farm bureau, retired and Pete hired him to help with farmers.

PD gives upbeat speech, wants more "can do" and less "can't do". Next president will have half people mad at him. There are good things happening. "Success and failure of country doesn't center on Washington" and people are learning that, i.e., balanced budget. Never an effort to do that before - whether it's on paper or not. Social programs growing less than inflation "not enough, but it's historic" and military up 5%. "That's good news".

Sixty-five Senators interested in productivity tax cut. "A major American tax reform package."

Calls the system "the blessing machine" the investor, saver producer. He says "system is so fantastic that it's not too late". People have the dream and are waiting for government to catch up and recognize that people and their energies are basis of system success.

His kids can't buy a house. "If they can't have the dream of owning their own house and making a home, then we have missed the boat so badly that we won't have the same kind of nation we have been." Compared his kids chances with his chances--even though his dad couldn't read or write English.

Re Budget committee goal. "Turn budget process into an economic plan." Talked about this again on way home from Clovis in the plane.

Ringin speech - then Q & A mostly about farm problems. Pete does not know a lot in detail about farm problems. When he got onto energy, it's clear he knew more - some heckler at end asked him specifics.

After lunch, TV interviews. Topics: (1) grain embargo (2) synthetic fuels and alcohol plants (3) Melrose bombing range (4) Will MX be put in Eastern NM and Western Texas (from Amarillo station and Lubbock).

Radio. We had "wonderful reception with broad spectrum farmers." "There was unanimous recommendation to me as their Senator that I join with other Senators in stopping the embargo. I'm leaning very strongly in that direction and in two weeks I'll make up my mind."

Is he a VP candidate? Was some mention when Ford ran. Reagan looking for person "with a broad national constituency and broad national reputation." "I hope to participate fully in the campaign--in the east among friends I have there. Italian Americans, for example, where I think I can do the Governor some good."

Census - important to Repres. in House, State legis. reappointment and government and grants. Federal government says it's going well yet the "word we are getting on the East Side" is different.

Hobbs, Artesia, Roswell all appealing. Clovis hasn't heard yet. He urges people to focus in on valid complaints - Chamber or gov't office. The point is that this was a rather new story for Pete and Poe Carr<sup>an</sup> fed him information that he used on the radio. He wanted to get him in touch with Lee Rawls - guy in radiostation thinks he's got a hot story that Albuquerque wants and he's pushing Pete on it. Next day he got Pete to do interview--Pete had gotten material from Washington--before Pete left in front of court house.

Again a question on MX missile - shows Texas is near here. At one point someone joked that Clovis is "more a part of Texas than N.M."



With all the talk about farming, what really holds Clovis together is Canon Air Force Base and the Sunbelt appeal. Canon brings in a 390 in outlay here."

Started talking about aquifer again and the study being made on 1) impact on farming, 2) chance of replenishment. Corps doing it. Thinks it's politically possible if certain rivers can be dealinated--since salty water in Red and Arkansas rivers is useless as is.

"The agriculture problem is so tough I've been faking it. I don't know what to do. I'd like to say something positive - maybe the aquifer study will be one thing that will help."

Gordon Greaves in Portales asks re bomber range and MX missile--long treatise on ABM trial, Los Alamos studies.

Tradeoff--inflation and defense. If we got allies together, we would have 3-1 edge over Soviet Union.

Soviet growth is as slow as ours right now--negative GNP. They have an energy crisis and will have crude oil short fall season--1982-85.

1st set of facts tells us that Soviet will cry uncle if we get together. You can't stay at 16-19% of GNP - we have lots of growth - we are at 6% Japanese at 1/2%, NATO's are 3% - lots of growth in there.

But they are very strong right now and what's risk of conventional and nuclear race. Or what's risk that they feel economically pleased and do something.

He thinks we can afford defense without inflation. Spending on defense may help.

Then to problem of assisting Soviets with energy technology, "Go over there and dman near show 'em how to get the money out of the wells." That might make 'em less eager to get Mideast oil. And we (west) must have oil--

probability of significant interruption of mideast oil in next ten years is 6 or 7-1, in our government's estimation.

PD asked him if he got decisions from holy spirit. (Says no) PD says JC has view of all forgiving Lord and doesn't look back.

Carter no vision of country or presidency. Country needs someone who stands for specific things.

Reagan stands for "more apt to have trouble if we are weak or perceived to be weak and if we are terribly inconsistent in our reaction and our relationships". Carter used Afghanistan as an excuse because he didn't have political courage to do it earlier. He knew what Russians were up to and had, for political reasons, to act like a dove even when he knew better. Afghanistan was politically viable place to state his real views. Reagan's modus as as governor was good people around him and he dealt with big issues."

He thoroughly enjoyed his interview with Gordon Greaves of the Portales News Tribune--or maybe called "Dean of New Mexico journalism". Said he was only editor on the east side to support him when he ran for governor. "He had a hell of a time with me when I ran for governor. He didn't know who I was." Said he championed all liberal causes early on.

He called the questioning "exciting". "Isn't that a lot different from what we've been seeing!" "I compared him to William A. White--wise, thoughtful, well read and well informed. When we got up to leave, Greaves said "I wish we had more time. I wanted to talk to you about China. I've just spent two weeks there." Pete said he was going to China after election and that they would talk about that on his next trip to the eastside.

Pete's idea that he has to know a lot about everything was borne out in that interview. He talked very authoritatively about missile systems and alternatives. We must protect our missiles. Yet he'd like to explore idea

of keeping our hard missile sites (instead of MX) and going ahead with ABM system, a defensive system. But in short run, we need MX. He'd like an alternative.

He keeps calling me "Doc". This morning he called me "Ricardo". But I'm coming to think that maybe "Doc" is a term of respect. He has respect for intellectuals, I think, after watching his reaction to Greaves. He tells people I'm from Rochester, that I followed him in his campaign, that I'd asked to come along on this trip, and that "He doesn't ask questions. He just watches."

Flying over this AM, the most important thing was the "caprock"--a kind of cliff that runs N-S. And when you're on one side it's all desert, uninhabited desert mostly--cactus and mesquite. On other side it's all farmland, flatter than Kansas. (Charlie Hagar told me later that tornadoes pick up after the "caprock" roo). Heavily irrigated, "the high plains".

I'm in motel now and Pete is 3 doors down in his room talking to 3 farmers who stand to lose some land if Melrose bombing range expands. He'll spend an hour with 3 guys with a problem. We'll go to another farmer's meeting when he finishes.

Speech at Portales. Said he couldn't have come back to NM without coming to a part of the state that dealt with Agriculture.

Story from Arthur Burns and speech I taped.

Questions:

Isn't agriculture a non-free market and just used as political football?

Why don't have embargo on everything and not just on agriculture?

Could you give assessment of White House conference on family and is it worth taxpayer's money? (Answer - "an absolute bust and an absolute waste" applause!)

Senate more friendly than House, but "a breach of confidence between productive heart of America and the government. Do people in Washington realize that this is happening.

It's tougher than hell when the numbers are against you... In the Senate, we're coming along, but the House is different. In House, they have these little constituencies and they can cover their constituencies in their mobile vans and they'll even give people blood tests and it will take a long time for the people to thin them out. They shouldn't be helping people with the very same programs they started. I'd almost just as soon that stuff. I'd just as soon turn veteran things over to the VA. give up/ I'd like to be up there with less staff and be able to think once in a while.

"We work hard. We don't produce but we work hard." Then into discussion of late hours. Senators take a nap late at night and get talkative.

What are we going to do about credit for farmers?

How much concern is there for disappearance of prime farm land?

A woman whose land is being taken by bombing range. If Air Force succeeds, where will they stop?

[Dan Smith Pioneer Ag. Network, Star Route Clovis, NM.]

Balanced budget?

Diaster insurance?

Discuss South America?

We went from farmers meeting to ice cream social out on the highway - all homemade ice cream. Pete spoke and I recorded his speech.

Afterward he started talking about first time he ran out here." "You wouldn't believe it but I had two big problems here that were hard to overcome when I first ran. One was my name; the other was that I was from

Albuquerque. About my name, there just weren't many ethnics on this side of the state--it was red neck Texas. They had never met any Italians; they couldn't pronounce my name, didn't know what it was. I had a hell of a time with the media trying to get them to pronounce it one way instead of 6 different ways. They didn't know there was a large colony of Italians in Albuquerque. They had been there for a long time, long before the people in this part of the state came here. We think they came from Mexico originally. Every rumor they could connect with my name, they did. They even connected me to the Mafia. I had to put up with that. Then they didn't believe anyone from Albuquerque could represent them. The feeling here was--and this was true all over the state--that Albuquerque wants everything and gets everything and all the rest gets screwed. Especially over here, they felt that anyone from Albuquerque favored the Spanish. And the feeling was the reverse on the other side. If you come from the East Side, that means, to the Spanish, that you hate Mexicans."

When he ran for the Senate, he went on "I was lucky. The Democrats nominated a banker from the East Side, and my home county supported me strongly--the only time they did.

He told story about paper in Texas that said, since Daniels owned Texas papers, that he'd be like a third Senator from Texas. That further enraged Spanish and so he got lots of Spanish votes that time. But next time, he couldn't carry Bernallelo as well.

"I have a lot of support in Lea County, among the oil and gas people. Then up the east side to these counties--Roosevelt and Curry--I am strong. And down into Roswell, where they vote for any Republican, over to Los Cruces, I have very good support and up the Dona Anna valley till you get to Socorro, which is more like the north. Those counties give me about 30% of



the state. And it is a strong base. It is stronger, I'm sorry to say than my home town of Albuquerque. Beyond that 30%, I have to put together a coalition piece by piece. It may be different each time depending a lot on my opponent. I can never tell what my home town will do to me. It may be my ego, but I just think people in Albuquerque don't know me as well as the people in the smaller towns do. When you go to two or three events like this one tonight over a period of years, people get to know you. But the city is too big for this. And I got much better newspaper coverage in the smaller communities than I do at home. The last time people in Albuquerque really got to know me was when I ran for city commission. But the town has doubled since then. There have been a lot of immigrants. And you can't get people to come to meetings like this one in the big city. We had 170 people here tonight. You can never that percentage of the population of Albuquerque to anything! We had this two town meetings in Albuquerque, well circularized and less than 50 people showed up at each one. People don't get to know who I am. Anyone in politics, who is serious about it and think about it will grab every media event that is of long duration. If there's a two hour call in show, take it. If there's a 15 minutes question and answer program--even on Sunday--take it. That's the only way people will get to hear you, get exposed to you. One of those things is better than 4 or 5 short stories in the paper. People in Albuquerque will only get to know me through the media."

After the noontime luncheon meeting with farmers. Poe Corn said he thought farmers were "apprehensive" and said it was "the least friendly meeting I've seen him have." I called the people "distant". I asked Pete what he thought of it and whether they were his friends.

"The farmers are having an awfully hard time right now. There are

several groups of them and they can't agree among themselves what they want. They are so genuine that they don't have any pizzazz in their meetings. When they give you a placque telling you that you are the greatest friend of the farmer, they don't do it with any flair. So it was a hard meeting. But they are all my friends--all the three groups that were there. One group wants 100% of patty. Another group wants the government to take its hands off completely. The other wants to use the boycottt, cut back crops. You can't say anything that will please them. The only thing that gave the meeting unity was the opposition to the embargoes. So we stressed that. I thought it went pretty well--didn't you Poe." Yes. But that's not what Poe said privately."

There's a long two-page quote sketched in earlier in which he goes on about the heterogeneity of the state (A guy in the Portales paper said to me--"if you go on the whole circuit with Pete, you'll think you've been in 5 states"). He started around the state. I set some of the items down later.

His main idea was "I'm coming to the idea that it maby be harder to represent a small state like this one than it would be to represent a large state...(long description) I have to know about more issues and parts of this state than a Senator from a big state. Big states may have some homogenizing interests. Urban problems, for example, might cover many of the concerns of some big states. New Mexico is much more complicated than Texas, where some interests are dominant. New Mexico is so god damned different that one-half the state didn't know we were a producing state in natural gas. We were the fourth largest and I was right with the producers on the natural gas bill. My constituency was going to throw me out of office if I did anything that would raise the price of natural gas. Such

a policy would bring tremendous economic benefit to the state; but half the people didn't even know it. The producers on the other hand gave me holy hell because I was the only western Senator who joined the bill to deregulate gas gradually instead of all over. As a result they got out from under a windfall profits tax. The smart ones said we know we'll do better. We're just yelling to get the government out altogether. But they were mad as hell at me at the time."

On the way home we talked about influence in the Senate, his career and the relationship between home and Washington.

It started when he said that he didn't know what I was doing but that he didn't see how you could teach about the Senate without doing what I was doing and how some academic comments must seem ridiculous to me. It was a compliment.

He went on to say "We are the Senate. We're the ones who make the institution go." Point was that it was the members you had to study and implicitly, that this was a good way to study the members.

I don't know how it got triggered but he began to talk about Bill Bradley and his assessment of Bradley. Said he hadn't seen anyone develop as fast as Bradley "in terms of knowledge and the application of knowledge to our problems." Said if you stacked him up against the others (he mentioned Tsongas, Matsunaya, others) and they each wrote a 300 word essay, "You'd be surprised" at how persuasive Bradley's would be. "He's as good as Scoop." He says Bradley has come to conclusion that we should get government out of the energy business altogether. Wants to deregulate natural gas.

"He said to me one day, let's put in a bill right now deregulating the price of natural gas immediately. I said, wait a minute I voted for phased

out deregulation two years ago and it nearly cost me my reelection. We voted n immediate phase out in the Senate and the House voted a year phase out. I was the only western Senator that went along with the compromise. The regulators called me a copout and the deregulators called me chicken shit." He said he told Bradley that he admired him greatly, but that he ought to watch the position he took politically, that it would not be popular in N.J. And Bradley said "We'll attack a windfall profits tax to it." PD laughed and said to me "He had it all figured out."

I said that he appeared to think well of Bradley because he had taken hold of a problem, thought about it and come to an independent conclusion--are very different from what his constituency would have come to. He agreed --and he talked a lot about the Harvard study. PD is especially intrigued by the notion that the energy issue is hostage "to arguments about the poor and that they are two separate problems which need to be treated separately and not linked. We can produce our way out of the energy crisis if we can take care how you take care of energy needs of the poor (fuel stamps or whatever) but get it out of the way and deal with the energy issue only. He said he thinks that idea "comes out a little crazy and you have to be very careful how you say it publicly. I gave the argument to the \$1000 contributors group in Washington. By the time I finished, they were applauding."

I went back to Bradley as a bridge and asked him to talk about the evaluation of Senators by other Senators. His answer was long and thoughtful and I've missed most of it (too much has gone on in between) but I'll try to hit main points. The process goes on, clearly, as he sees it from the standpoint of someone who is "a player"--one of about ten in his view.

First point was that partisanship and taking partisan positions has

a "minimal" effect on any evaluation. "There are a whole set of partisan issues on the floor and you can just recognize them and put them aside. The effect of partisan activity on any judgment is minimal. So forget about that."

Second point moves to committee. He thinks this is the place where you really get judged. And you get judged by your arguments, your persuasiveness and the type of coalition you put together (bipartisan is good). The test is, how many votes can you get as an individual for your position. "Almost every issue in committee comes down in the end to the involvement of a special interest--a business group or an environmental or what have you. If someone takes a position in the committee on an amendment for an interest and if he carries it without much of an argument, then you know the fix was in. He didn't carry it; the interest group did. When you see that, it's not a positive sign. It doesn't indicate to you that the person has studied the issue, knows what he's talking about or that he has nine votes in the Committee. Paul Tsongas does that a lot--picks up issues that are already to go. So you say to yourself I'll wait and see whether he can carry some amendments by argument, on his own, in the give and take of the Committee and then pass judgment. If a person can pick up votes on both sides of the aisle, that's a positive sign."

Third point he made had to do with the floor. "One thing you can do on the floor is take some position that has already been settled beforehand and push it. That's Quentin Burdock. But any old lazy Senator who has been here a while can do that. That doesn't take any ability. But a person who can come to the floor, argue a case--maybe two or three times--and finally get it through, that wins respect. Another negative is someone who pokes his nose in everyone else's business--that's Chuck Percy. You have to take a few issues, work on them and let people know you care about them. Then they will listen. It's not just the knowledge you have. It's whether you can persuade other

people to your view. Muskie could--even though he was riding a wake."

In  
/Fourth place - "When all is said, there's no substitute for the kind of mind a person has. Some have a quick mind and can make quick judgments. Bennett Johnson is like that. Others have a moderate head, like I do. Johnston thinks much more quickly than I do, but my judgment is just as good as his. I study an issue doggedly over a long period of time. But I can make an argument, give a speech, see the real issue just as well as anyone in the Senate. Jim McClure, he's a little of both. He's in between Johnston and me and all of our colleagues would agree on these differences. All three of us--each in a little different way--are players. To my way of thinking there aren't many players about ten Senators."

I think, after he talked about the 10 players he named them--McClure, Johnston, himself, Long, Muskie. Glenn, he said was coming. "People still think he's a little bit utopian, too much of a dreamer. But he's coming."

I've probably missed a lot of nice detail. But the 4 categories are fine and the central notion of "a player" is a key to his view of Senate and of himself. How one gets to be a player is a question. I think he talked about it generally. One thing he said was "It involves some previous success as a player." But I know he talked about himself.

I asked him if, in context of idea of player--and mindful of how he had said several times that early years were tough--he could talk a little about his career.

"I think you'd find that it differs dramatically from one person to another, depending on their psychology or personality. I don't want to over-psychoanalyze myself, but when I went to the Senate, I was very reluctant to step forward. I look at people now who were at the same stage I was 7 1/2 years ago and they are already stepping out to make a place for themselves in

the Senate. I'm just as smart as they are, just as capable as they are, just as able to make a speech, frame an argument or build a coalition as they are. But I faced the job with great trepidation. The rules of the Senate troubled me. I was afraid even to ask for a quorum call. It was a very slow adjustment. And then there was all the work of a Senate office. The letters started coming in, the problems they brought to the office imprisoned me. The half a dozen bitches I would get when I went home bothered me when I came back to work. Gradually I broke free from those demands. <sup>got so</sup> I could come back to Washington, go to committee and not worry about what had happened. [I was able to manage the office a little better--though all Senate offices are managerial messes.] Then I began to get some amendments passed in committee. They are mini-Senates, where you can put the rules aside and deal face to face with people informally and get to know them. Your success in committees then carries out to the floor. I think it's terribly important that every new Senator have one major floor experience. Not presenting some amendment where the fix is in--though that's a help--but something that keeps you on the floor for 3 or 4 days, where you say, 'I'm going to take as long as it takes to make my argument and persuade people that mine is the best way to do it.' You may not win, but people will know you are a serious legislator. You need the experience of going up and down the aisle, nudging people and saying "this is the <sup>way it</sup> ~~government~~ is." And eventually--after 2 or 3 times--you may win. But you need that experience on the floor to build your morale. You feel like a legislator. A related factor is increased confidence in your staff. You've got to make sure they don't sell you a bill of goods that's not good for you. But if you watch that, then a good staff will make sure that you'll never go to the floor unprepared or with the wrong information. And if you are caught with something new you can hold it over and your staff will give you plenty to read that night and you can come back

the next day prepared. You'll notice that the best Senators, in debate, will be whispering to their staff people. They won't be writing a speech; but they'll give you an argument, a fact, a phrase, a word that you can pick up on and help to regain your combativeness. (He went into example of one word "balkanization" that Rawls fed him which he said turned the debate around and made everyone answer his charge--that making people buy coal from own state would balkanize the US.)

I asked him (in so many words) about winning and governing and it stumped him. I put it in terms of separate processes or one big process. I was thinking alone with him here. It came out a little like this. That electoral politics is more mass PR politics. "Senate politics is not PR politics." That you can be good at that back home and nothing in the Senate." You can be a T-bone steak back home and a cream puff in the Senate. Whether it works the other way, I don't know. We probably do have people we think highly of in the Senate who are not highly thought of back home. The problem there is letting people back home know what you are doing. I have that kind of problem, more so in my home town and especially with the Journal. Their Washington guy thinks I'm a dogged, hard working legislator. He admits I'm a good legislator, but that's it. He doesn't think I've got good ideas. He doesn't think I'm smart, that I think about national problems or can contribute to national problems. But George Greaves does. He respects me for my ideas. I don't think there's another opinion leader in the state who does. He's the only one. Yet I'm one of only ten or so real players in the Senate. I can get 42 votes on nearly anything I care about and sometimes 52 or 53.



Not many people can do that. Some of the fault is mine. My colleagues in the Senate think I ought to play more of a loor role than I do. They think I'm better at it than most other Republicans. I don't push myslef as much as I could. And I'm a little ashamed that I haven't been more active in shaping my party's        nationally. I should have had more to do with the party platform. If I think we ought to tour Detroit, I ought to propose it. I didn't know how, I guess."

But he went on to say--and this is a key point that I dragged out of him--that lots of people who aren't opinion leaders respect him for his thoughtfulness. That when he makes speeches, people are taking his measure in a way that is analogous to the way you get a reputation in the Senate.

I asked if there wasn't a flow of ideas that moved back and forth across the two sites. And he announced in terms of these being feedback. "During the first couple of years--partly because of the makeup of my staff--there wasn't a trip home that I didn't pick up something that resulted in an amendment. Sometimes it was just a word change. But there was a lot of feedback. By the end of the term, the Library of Congress told us I had gotten more amendments passed than any other Senator. And if you want to be flat assed honest about it, I don't think it did any political good."

I said, "but you used it in your campaign." He said "Yes" but didn't push it any further. I think he's either ashamed of that or has moved far beyond it and may look back on that as a "fru-fru." He did say he wasn't doing much of that anymore. I think he saw this as part of his thrashing around in too many areas--that was part of his adjustment period difficulty.

When I mentioned the growth potential of his state he said that I would understand his his philosophy of growth and productivity. He tied his philosophy to the state. Lour Galleges feared that the tag "Utility Pete" (started by Anaya's primary opponent) would be one he'd have to live

with in 1984. And Lou says problem of the state is whether it will become an energy colony. So there's another side to it. Lou says he thinks land use planning could be biggest issue of 1984. "We won't be able to run campaign in 1984 on the same issues we ran on in 1978."

Lou said 2 pro-Anaya factors in 1978 campaign were that they underestimated the ethnic appeal of Anaya. People will vote Spanish surname and look for nothing else. Second the party went all out on governor's race and told people to vote straight ticket. Also said that while PD paid high for all his PR, Anaya "was the darling of the NM press." He got lots of free media--every day. (I think the poll showed that.)

Lou said Schmitt took positions opposite to Pete during Pete's campaign on energy and ERA and didn't help PD as Pete had helped him. Some heat vs. Schmitt.

KOB interview (I had tape on)

As we walked in, he kept telling the MC that they ought to be on a program they were on before--"We ought to try that again, what was the name of that program. It was fun."

Before the program "Don't ask me about ERA, I haven't studied it. I don't even know the words."

Questions:

Convention; Reagan; VP qualities; Reagan's foreign policy experience; How will Reagan govern; ERA as a Republican issue; Is Reagan "the best" the Republicans have?;

Before the interview, when Connie Ryan (the MC) told him she was going to talk about the convention, he said "that isn't very interesting, is it?" And during the interview, he wasn't really good on politics and convention. It's not what turns him on. Later, when Fran asked him Did the interview go well, he said, "medium well."

PD on Bellman. "Henry Bellman has some good amendments; but he's not a good promoter. He doesn't bring them up in the Republican conference, he doesn't talk about it beforehand in committee, he doesn't send around a good "colleague" letter. He gets some passed, but I keep thinking "Henry, that's a good amendment but you probably won't win."

Mike Santullo talk show KRKE - Tuesday evening.

"Basically I came to our state to be part of 4th of July ceremonies; then I went to the farm belt to get an opinion on the grain embargo." or something like that.

"We work vs. deadlines in Senate; as 4th approached, for 9 or 10 days Senate worked till after midnight. For 15 or 17 days, it has been very busy. I heard your program was very easy so I thought I'd come over here and relax."

Mondale. "When I was in the Senate I thought it was a fake; now that I'm VP, I'm sure it's real."

We spent a long time as a free society debatng whether we had an energy crisis. Now, we're convinced that we do."

"When embargo hit we were 70% dependent on oil and not gas. Oil 3.40; gas 46; Most other forms cost more than that "We were hooked and almost hostage (because of that gap.)"

2 problems - take care of poor and let market go.

I concluded US had to have demonstration whether or not we wanted to use produce alternates. Government will help some, can evaluate our resources. Have to evaluate whether we want them. We're not energy short but short of usable energy.

Call ins:

Solar satellite cut

Investigation of cattle evisceration

Choice for President

Waste in Congress

"I'd even be in favor of government getting out of the business of grants, veterans checks, set up a government office and let the government office. You pay us to be legislators and not to run around doing personal favors so we can fake you out. William Proxmire gets vote because he gives these golden fleece awards and no one knows what his voting record is."

"I worry about whether I can do the job. I have 8 children and I worry about them. It took me a couple of years to learn the Senate." I finally have good feeling that I can perform in the Senate and we are beginning to move in a direction that I approve of."

Alaskan oil - where refined?

Some guy says he can make homemade gasoline.

Help for crime victims

Social Security fund - questions (4)

He answers every question by saying "First let me say.." or "Let me say first" - orderly lining up of thoughts. After I wrote this, he stopped it much of the time.

Will he stay" - In 2 or 3 years, he'll make up his mind about running. Now very excited about job and comfortable. "If I'm not accomplishing anything and just spinning/<sup>my</sup>wheels, I may decided 12 years is enough."

Draft

Poor maintenance in public housing

Iranian hostages

This program was on the last night. Pete stayed 2 1/2 hours 6-8:30. Fran drove him home and he was beat. He must have had 4 cups of coffee and smoked a half pack of cigarettes during the program.

I talked with Lou about casework. He said what Fran had said, that they don't win many cases; that they are a court of last resort and usually can't help. He said the Congressional offices tend to think of casework as a

chance to communicate with the constituent and not to accomplish anything

other than give them a "status report". The idea of the status report is nifty. They call an office, get a report on where the person's case is in the pipeline and can call back quickly. Congressional offices emphasize quick turnover cases and cases with a check at the end of the line. They don't get as involved in cases where the payoff is either very indirect (immigration) or takes a long time. Indeed, they are apt to send such cases to the Senator's office, says Lou.

The point is that Lou's attitude toward casework is different from that of a House member. He doesn't see it as an opportunity and does not see much payoff. He, like Pete, thinks grants and projects reach more people and have more payoff. Casework does not elect Senators and they don't even see it as such. Three or four times, Pete said he'd like to get rid of it. To him, it gets in the way of legislating.

Lou talked about Dennis Howe - DK where he is - was with Connally for a while. Wasn't popular with staff. He was an "enigma." He only liked politics - wasn't interested in the other half of the Senator's job "during the dry period." He and Helen were original Yaffers.

Pete Wellish has gone with the Independent Petroleum Association as their chief PR man at \$45,000 per year, 6 people under him and . Pete was paying him \$32,000 and when Pete took him out of NM, he was earning \$13,000. So that shows how a Senate staff is a stepping stone!

Lou Gallego's on casework triggered by my question "Have you gotten casework calls as a result of the talk show last night? "If you wanted to plot these things you would find, I'm sure, that in the short run casework rises whenever the Senator is here in the state. People have great expectation that the Senator will do casework for them right on the radio. When he leaves, the load declines and then levels off. Where it levels off depends

on how long he's away. Then over the long run, casework goes up in the fifth year of the term. And in the sixth year, it zooms up out of sight. They feel like now the Senator is running for reelection he's got to do it for you. And, of course, it's true to a point. This is where the quid pro quo aspect of casework is most apparent--if you help me I may vote for you. If you don't I won't."

Then he went on to say that "95% of the people we help are not politicized. If you went back to them two years later and asked them to be block chairman in the campaign, they wouldn't know what you were talking about."

"There are always a few who think they are influential politically. It's funny. In New Mexico, the magic number seems to be 500 votes. They'll call and say, I have 500 votes. I can help you or hurt you. Usually, those are matters of employment or small business loans--big bucks." A guy called from Sucaro the other day and said that to me. He told guy he didn't have 500 votes. Park Service guy wanted Pete to help him get promoted.

Says some people stop around the district offices for help. "We've had some people who have gone to each one of our regional offices, not once but twice."

Classic case is doctor from Deming who wanted a pension so he organized his own reserve unit and was trying to get army to officially recognize it. They've tried hard and can't help.

I spent Wednesday looking at D's schedules and the news clippings Oct. 79-June 80 which Fran sends to PD each morning ("Good Morning Washington" at the top) by telecopier. She said in talking about it that Pete sees only what she decides he would want to see. He gets the paper itself 3-4 days late. It occurred to me the next day that what she sends as mostly articles about events--events in Washington featuring PD would be 1st, plus stories about Washington activity of interest to Pete plus events in NM in his area of

interest--politics, energy. What she does not include are analytical articles, unless they bear directly on PD's current activity. Think piece by columnists are not included--though one long investigative series about LASL was included.

Pete's mother's house is quite unpretentious. It is a very neatly kept, ranch, on the corner of Park and 15th St. S.W. There are three large spruces in the front yard, several large junipers between the sidewalk and the street. There are tall cottonwoods across the street. The lawn was very green and edging around the grass very neat. And, the garden out back--carryover victory garden.

"When I read a book I tend to take one thing out of it." re Harvard energy study.

Earlier I quoted Pete's idea that it's harder to represent his kind of state than large one and noted that he described the diversity. Some mention here of the points he made then. (1) agriculture (2) water (3) laboratories and then work force 7800 and 5700--nuclear technology and military research. (4) 4 large military bases (5) white sands missile testing range (6) 30% hispanic but "isolated Spanish", not Mexicans "have preserved colloquial Spanish (7) "rural beauty and economic decline in the north" (8) 8-10% indians, highest % in US-- but they are not homogeneous. 19% are pueblo, about 65,000 Navaho (9) went through figures on crude oil and gas (10) has uranium (11) up in indian (?) area have huge coal deposits "clean as hell, almost as good as Wyoming" - at one time they had the largest open pit mine. (12) in South Phelps Dodge has large copper mine, open mine - only wholly integrated copper mine since environmental regulations went into effect - expensive but the best mine in the country. (13) Still a poor state but moving up the economic ladder, but has problem of water shortage. Then he said, "add it all together" and I have to know an awful lot.

Natural gas vote - traumatic - ask him about the politics of that vote.

When I left the office on Wednesday, I asked Fran and Lou where I should go if I came back to NM. I suggested Roswell and they both said "Why would you want to go to Roswell?" I said because it was Pete's base. Fran said she thought Albuquerque was his base. (Lous had said at lunch - He grew up on the streets of Albuquerque. He was a jock. He knew everybody. I think the thing he misses most in the Senate is seeing his old cronies, going out to lunch with them.) Her point was that Roswell will vote for any Republican and that they don't think Pete is anything special. A lot of them think he's too liberal." So they talked me out of Roswell. They said that the flavor was a lot like Clovis and Portales anyway. They suggested Las Cruces or Santa Fe and Los Alamos as possibilities--especially Santa Fe--unpredictable politically, cosmopolitan, government employees who hate government. Or they thought Farmington--which is mostly indian area might be interesting.

I had one thought about PD--that one reason people don't take him as seriously as he might like in terms of his intellect is that he is so easy-going and friendly and accessible that he seems to be just a nice guy. He has to overcome that personality characteristic--which is, I would guess, the first thing people note about candidates. He's not low key in a somewhat mysterious fashion like PT--what you see is what you get. He's not a puzzle as a personality. He is "better" than people think he is--which is a different problem. An observers mind might come to rest on Pete before it should.

There was one rather important set of comments he made driving from Portales to Clovis to get the plane. I may have some on tape--and I'm afraid I missed a lot of it.

He said "For a 48 hour try, it went pretty well" or words to that effect, indicating satisfaction. I said Do you think of what you are doing as campaigning.



His answer was "A little bit of each. You want to get around and see your friends. (And I don't recall what he said here.) Point was that you need their support and need to stay in touch. But, also it is more relaxed, he said." However, by the end of the trip, he was pretty fatigued and didn't want to do anything but go home when we finished the talk show at about 8:45.

He then talked about how they went in spurts in their efforts - some problemsolving periods and some information. (My feeling is that this trip was more showing the flag to people with big problems and in a place where he hadn't been.

He said he'd like to visit Clovis a couple of times a year. "I thought we had been here two or three times in a year, but Charlie Hagar told me it's been a year since we were here. I didn't think it had been that long."

His opinion of Helms and Hatch. "When someone says he will hold up the work of the Senate for 3 weeks and you know he can do it, that's power. We have two who can do that--Jesse Helms and Orrin Hatch. Helms does it more skillfully, but Hatch is learning. They aren't players, but they have power. Howard Metzenbaum does the same thing on the other side. He loves it and it gives him great publicity. Jim Allen did the same thing when he was here. He had a wonderful talent. A lot of people didn't like what he did. I marveled at it."

Items from our trip back to Albuquerque. "He's going to China this fall." "It will be my second foreign trip in 8 years in the Senate." So he's not a traveller. Says Nancy will go with him.

Asked me what I'd think if a group of his buddies got together and hired themselves out to Georgetown as a teaching team--Bennett Johnston, McClure, Domenici, Simpson ("because he's so damn folksy").

I told him that I was going to AEI and I'd love to have 'em come there.

He got interested in the fact I was going to AEI and started saying that he wanted to use AEI to help educate people on budget. He wants to use budget as chance to set forth an economic plan. Wants to get Senators interested in macroeconomics and wants help of AEI, Brookings and others. Wants to make "fun" and worthwhile for Senators to spend time learning that.

All told, a major idea I got is that's the way these people think is important and how they get ideas and how they change them. Pete got a little more positive on the grain embargo as the day wore on. How he thinks impresses people. He didn't explain. He presented himself. But he presents himself partly as a thinker. And his life as a thinker is important. That's what he tries to project in the Senate, too. His mind--what interests him, how he talks about it, what he does about it--is something that bridges home and Washington. These people do have policy preferences and they change them and rub against others. They have ideas they work on. It's interesting that on any given trip, there's a set of ideas being discussed by the politicians in almost every setting. He has themes he pushes and they get shaped as the trip progresses--like "the speech" of the presidential candidate. But you can see a mind working through the trip--if that is what you choose to look at. I don't have the questions sorted out. But conception of the problem is as important as conception of the job. The policy side is as important as the electoral side. I guess the net of it is that watching Senators pushes you to think about policy--policy preferences, policy positions and policy formation on the part of the Senator.