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TAB A	Exchange of letters on U-2R and SR-71 aircraft
TAB B	Selected comments by Senator Hatch at the Iran/Contra Hearings
TAB C	Seating chart for breakfast and profile of Senator Hatch

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Executive Registry

87-1034X/2

UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D. C

ORRIN G. HATCH
UTAH

March 26, 1987

Mr. Robert M. Gates
Acting Director of
Central Intelligence
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

Dear Bob:

I received your letter on the U-2R/TR-1 issue just yesterday, and I am satisfied with the explanation as given. I suspect that given the busy times during last year's budget cycle, and with so many issues before us, that the subtle distinctions that you mentioned fell through the cracks.

Again, thanks for the timely response, and I just wanted to let you know that you and I are "okay". If there is anything that I can do to help you out on any issue, please let me know.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Orrin", written over the word "Sincerely,".

Orrin G. Hatch
United States Senator

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**JOINT HEARINGS ON THE
IRAN-CONTRA INVESTIGATION**

Continued Testimony of Richard Secord

Thursday, May 7, 1987

**Senate Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance
to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition**

and

**House Select Committee to Investigate
Covert Arms Transactions with Iran**

Washington, D.C.

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(1987 Politics in America not available yet)

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POLITICS IN AMERICA

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS IN WASHINGTON AND AT HOME

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Utah - Junior Senator

Orrin G. Hatch (R)

Of Midvale — Elected 1976

Born: March 22, 1934, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Education: Brigham Young U., B.S. 1959, U. of Pittsburgh, LL.B. 1962.
Occupation: Lawyer.
Family: Wife, Elaine Hansen; six children.
Religion: Mormon.
Political Career: No previous office.
Capitol Office: 135 Russell Bldg. 20515; 224-5251.



In Washington: Hatch's rapid rise to power in the Senate has been accompanied by a shift toward the political center, one that has lessened the aura of militance that made him a "New Right" favorite during his first years in office.

Hatch insists he has not changed much — he says he never deserved the "ultra-conservative" label. But if his ideology is not greatly different, his style certainly is: Over four years as chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee and the Constitution Subcommittee at Judiciary, Hatch has sometimes sounded so conciliatory that those watching have wondered what happened to him.

"The chairman can't just snap his fingers and expect things to happen," Hatch has said, and his experience as head of his two panels bears him out. The Labor Committee under Hatch has been deadlocked between liberals and conservatives. His Judiciary panel has considered an ambitious agenda of conservative and New Right goals, such as a balanced budget and anti-abortion proposals, but none of the changes has yet become law.

In response to the obstacles he has confronted, Hatch has had to make major compromises in hopes of passing legislation — deals that sometimes have angered his hard-line supporters. But he can point to real substantive achievements, especially on matters involving health legislation.

At times, Hatch still offers the old rhetoric. He compares his service on the Labor Committee, with its liberal majority, to confinement in purgatory, and he votes with the "conservative coalition" in the Senate as often as all but a handful of other members. He led the successful fight against a major civil rights bill late in the 1984 session, facing down a bipartisan coalition in a bitter argument that tied the Senate up for days. But most of the time, he seems more interested in enacting bills than in maintaining ideological purity.

As he gropes toward compromise, Hatch seems far different from the aggressive outsider who arrived in 1977, ready to do battle with the Washington establishment and its "soft-headed inheritors of wealth." He was an angry man in those days, and he quickly drew a reputation as a humorless person who did not fit well into Senate camaraderie.

"Borin' Orrin," critics called him, after his slow monotone occupied the Senate for weeks as he mounted a successful filibuster against the 1978 labor law revision bill. That was partly sour grapes from backers of the bill, but it reflected a widespread perception even on his own side of the aisle. In 1979, when he ran for the chairmanship of the Senate GOP campaign committee, Hatch thought he had enough commitments of support to win. But when the vote was taken, John Heinz of Pennsylvania had beaten him. Some senators said afterward that Hatch's reputation as a strident conservative ideologue had cost him votes.

The perception had begun to change by the time Hatch took over the Labor Committee in 1981. It evolved further as he worked to resolve the deep disagreements on the panel over President Reagan's proposed budget cuts.

The Reagan administration proposed ending many of the existing programs and replacing them with "block grants" to the states, at a lower level of funding. But there was no majority for that approach. Hatch labored through the spring to find a compromise position that could win a committee majority without losing the support of the administration. Ultimately, he agreed to a compromise turning some of the programs into block grants, but leaving many of them intact.

Meanwhile, Hatch had shown considerable skill in managing the committee through an earlier controversy — the nomination of Ray-

Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah

mond J. Donovan to be secretary of labor. Despite criticism from the White House, Hatch insisted on a vigorous investigation of Donovan, who was accused of having ties to organized crime.

Even after he was confirmed by the Senate, however, Donovan's legal problems persisted, and Hatch was dragged further into the case. When committee staffers renewed their investigation, Donovan associates hired private detectives to investigate the staffers. There was even an alleged death threat against one staff member. A special federal prosecutor eventually declined to indict Donovan, but not until after Hatch learned with some irritation that White House officials had withheld damaging information from the committee during the nomination hearings. Donovan later was indicted by a New York grand jury and resigned in March 1985.

Many labor loyalists were sure that Hatch's chairmanship would guarantee angry confrontations between him and the unions. Ever since he led the 1978 labor law filibuster, Hatch had been viewed by labor as its arch-enemy in the Senate. The reality has been far less cataclysmic.

As chairman, Hatch has won committee approval for a few relatively minor bills fighting labor corruption. But more controversial proposals, such as establishment of a subminimum wage for young people, have gone nowhere. "It is next to impossible to do anything on that committee without the approval of labor union leaders in Washington," he has complained.

More to the point, Hatch does not have the firm support of a majority of his committee. With only a 9-7 partisan spread on the panel, Hatch can ill afford the frequent loss of two GOP votes that results from the much more moderate stance of Republicans Robert T. Stafford of Vermont and Lowell P. Weicker of Connecticut. Many times, Hatch is unable even to muster a quorum on the panel, or finds himself outmaneuvered by ranking member Edward M. Kennedy and his more disciplined Democratic troops.

Still, the 98th Congress was a productive one for Hatch and the committee. Working with House Democrat Henry A. Waxman of California, chairman of the Energy and Commerce Subcommittee on Health, Hatch reached agreement on a wide variety of bills, including measures to encourage the production of low-cost generic drugs, ease logistical problems associated with human organ transplant surgery, and require tough new health warnings on

cigarettes. All three cleared Congress in 1984.

Hatch's job on the Judiciary Committee changed in 1981 from one of blocking liberal legislation to that of trying to advance conservative proposals.

His most notable success during the 97th Congress as chairman of the Constitution Subcommittee was the narrow Senate approval in 1982 of a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget. With strong backing from President Reagan, Hatch secured the two-thirds majority needed for passage.

While the House rejected the amendment, pressure continued to build in the states for a constitutional convention to draft a balanced budget mandate. Hatch favored a bill in 1984 to set up procedures for such a convention, but it went no further than Judiciary Committee approval in the 98th Congress.

The debate over the balanced budget proposal was mild, however, compared with the storm of controversy Hatch encountered on the abortion issue. Hatch ended up thoroughly angering many militant "right-to-life" anti-abortionists, but not making much progress on his own anti-abortion proposal.

Hatch argued that only a constitutional amendment would be sufficient to overturn the Supreme Court's decision permitting abortion — a crucial difference with militant groups that wanted to ban abortion by statute and thus avoid the constitutional amendment process. Moreover, Hatch's amendment in effect turned the issue over to the states, allowing them to make any decision they wanted, while some right-to-life groups sought a national prohibition.

Despite Hatch's efforts, his constitutional amendment went down to defeat in 1983. Even the Judiciary Committee did not back the proposal, sending it along on a 9-9 vote without a recommendation of approval. It did slightly worse on the floor, falling on a 49-50 vote that was 18 votes short of the required two-thirds majority.

A similar fate befell Hatch's attempt to gain approval for a constitutional amendment to allow prayer in the public schools. There too, Hatch pushed a more limited proposal than that sought by some conservative groups, urging that only silent meditation be allowed instead of the organized, vocal prayer sought by President Reagan and his fundamentalist Christian allies. But Hatch made little headway on the issue. The Senate overwhelmingly voted down a silent prayer amendment in 1984, leaving Hatch to continue managing the vocal

Utah - Junior Senator

prayer amendment out of loyalty to Reagan and the Judiciary Committee. It also was defeated, gaining only 56 of the 67 votes needed for approval. By the end of the year, Hatch was forced to pressure the House to drop a school prayer provision from a bilingual education bill; for fear it would stir up a filibuster he would not be able to defeat.

Before the Republican takeover of the Senate, Hatch won a notable victory on Judiciary in blocking legislation to strengthen federal enforcement of open housing laws. He led a successful filibuster against the bill late in the 1980 congressional session.

He sought to add to the bill a requirement that the government prove that alleged violators of open housing laws had intended to discriminate in the sale or rental of housing. But last-minute negotiations broke down, and the bill died.

In the 97th Congress, the most important civil rights issue at Judiciary was extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and here too Hatch was one of the critics.

He focused on the "intent" concept. Civil rights groups were pushing to expand the law to allow voting rights violations to be proved by showing that an election law or procedure produced a discriminatory result, whether intentional or not.

Hatch fought to retain the existing law's standard, which required proof that there had been an intent to discriminate in setting up election laws. The "results" test, he warned, would lead to proportional representation of minorities in Congress and state legislatures. But the Judiciary Committee approved a compromise version essentially retaining the "results" test and the measure cleared Congress soon after.

Hatch found himself fighting civil rights groups again in 1984, this time over a bill to overturn a Supreme Court decision restricting enforcement of the sex-discrimination prohibitions of Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments. Reversing past practice, the court had ruled that the anti-bias laws covered only specific programs that received federal funds, not entire institutions.

As a result of the ruling, a broad bipartisan coalition formed to push legislation making clear that any institution receiving federal aid would be covered by anti-bias laws in all its programs. Hatch seemed to have some sympathy with the basic thrust of the proposal, but argued that the measure as written was too broad and would bring civil rights enforcement into wholly new areas.

Although the bill passed the House, it got

bogged down in disagreements in Hatch's Labor Committee. With the end of the session approaching, the bill's supporters tried in desperation to attach it to an emergency spending bill. In response, Hatch proposed a series of controversial amendments on social issues such as busing and gun control. Caught inextricably in a parliamentary tangle that stretched over four days, the Senate finally agreed to drop the entire civil rights proposal for the year.

At Home: If Hatch has changed in Washington, the perception of him by his critics in Utah has not. Bidding for a second term in 1982, he found himself under strong challenge for being rigid both in his conservative views and his personal style.

Ted Wilson, his affable Democratic opponent, was a more than credible candidate. As two-term mayor of Salt Lake City, Wilson had become a well-known figure throughout the state, and he carefully began building his challenge to Hatch a year in advance. With Wilson trailing the incumbent by only 7 percentage points in a January 1982 poll taken by the *Deseret News* in Salt Lake City, Hatch looked vulnerable.

Wilson was not the only one with designs on the incumbent. After Hatch blocked labor law revision in 1978, the late AFL-CIO President George Meany had vowed, "We'll defeat you no matter what it takes." But while Hatch's longtime status as a labor antagonist guaranteed Wilson strong union support, unions are not the most useful allies in conservative Utah. Being a labor target almost certainly did Hatch more good than harm.

Hatch also sought to meet complaints about his demeanor. Funding a television campaign with a treasury nearly three times the size of his opponent's, he ran ads that showed him playing with children and dogs.

Wilson, hoping to maintain his early momentum, spent much of the campaign sifting through various strategies searching for a way to undo the incumbent. He branded Hatch's politics as extremist, indicted his style as "strident and contentious," accused him of caring more about national conservative causes than about Utah, and, finally, criticized the Reagan economic philosophy that Hatch vowed he would continue to fight for if re-elected.

The latter approach probably did not help. Utah gave Reagan 73 percent of its presidential ballots in 1980 — his best showing in the country — and the president's popularity remained high there in late 1982. Buoyed by two Reagan visits to the state during the campaign, Hatch held onto his seat with nearly 60 percent of the vote.

Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah

Reagan also played an important role in Hatch's path to Washington in 1976. Then a political neophyte, Hatch mounted a Senate candidacy that represented as pure an example of anti-Washington politics as the nation has seen in recent years.

Hatch's lack of government experience at any level almost certainly helped him. In his private legal practice, he had represented clients fighting federal regulations.

Hatch was recruited for the Senate campaign against incumbent Democrat Frank E. Moss by conservative leader Ernest Wilkerson, who had challenged Moss in 1964. The campaign attracted the zeal and money of a group of conservatives who had been politically inactive.

Hatch's competitor for the Republican nomination was Jack W. Carlson, former U.S. assistant secretary of the interior. Carlson, seen as the front-runner, underscored his extensive Washington experience, arguing that it would make him a more effective senator. Besides the Interior Department, he had served with the

Office of Management and Budget, the Council of Economic Advisers and the Defense Department.

That was the wrong record for Utah in 1976. Hatch, seeing that the state was fed up with federal rules, took the opposite approach. The party convention gave him 776 votes to 930 for Carlson, a Ford supporter. In the weeks that remained before the primary, Hatch won numerous converts. The day before the voting, he reinforced his conservative credentials by running newspaper ads trumpeting his endorsement by Reagan. Hatch won by almost 2-to-1.

The primary gave Hatch a publicity bonus that helped him catch up to Moss, who faced no party competitors. Moss, seen as a liberal by Utah standards, had helped himself at home by investigating Medicaid abuses and fighting to ban cigarette advertising from television. He stressed his seniority and the tangible benefits it had brought the state. But Hatch argued successfully that the real issue was limiting government and taxes, and that he would be more likely to do that than Moss.

Committees

Labor and Human Resources (Chairman): Education, Arts and the Humanities, Employment and Productivity, Labor

Budget (5th of 12 Republicans)

Judiciary (4th of 10 Republicans): Constitution (chairman), Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks, Security and Terrorism

Select Intelligence (4th of 8 Republicans)

Election**1982 General**

Orrin G. Hatch (R) 309,332 (58%)
Ted Wilson (D) 219,482 (41%)

Previous Winning Percentage: 1976 (54%)

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1982			
Hatch (R)	\$4,779,971	\$902,002 (19%)	\$4,685,936
Wilson (D)	\$1,689,811	\$321,322 (19%)	\$1,703,172

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1984	76	15	91	9	96	2

Year	72	28	90	9	93	7
1982	76	13	80	12	90	6
1981	87	11	89	8	91	7
1980	31	65	79	15	82	15
1979	27	68	90	3	90	3
1978	19	75	93	3	93	3
1977	41	49	86	1	91	1

S = Support

O = Oppositor

Key Votes

Overturn Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion (1983)	Y
Allow chemical weapons production (1983)	Y
Create Martin Luther King Jr. holiday (1983)	N
Bar funding for MX missile (1983)	N
Permit school prayer (1984)	Y
Cut military aid to El Salvador (1984)	N
Keep tax indexing (1984)	Y
Retain funds for "Star Wars" defense research (1984)	Y
Authorize procurement of 21 MX missiles (1985)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS-2
1984	10	100	18	83	
1983	0	90	6	100	
1982	5	95	5	70	
1981	0	85	11	100	
1980	17	96	11	90	
1979	11	96	6	100	87
1978	5	96	11	94	
1977	0	92	12	100	

Orrin G. Hatch



R-Utah
 Reelection Year: 1988
 Began Service: 1977
 SR-135 Russell Senate
 Office Building
 Washington, DC
 20510-4402

(202) 224-5251

BIOGRAPHICAL

Born: 3/22/34
 Home: Salt Lake City
 Educ.: B.S., Brigham
 Young U.; J.D., U. of
 Pittsburgh
 Prof.: Attorney
 Rel.: Mormon

KEY STAFF AIDES

Name	Position	Legislative Responsibility
Dee V. Benson	Admin. Asst.	Select Iran Committee
Wendy Higginbotham	Spec. Asst.	
Ronald Madsen (801-524-4380)	State Dir.	
Paul Smith	Press Secy.	
Mary L. Keifert	Office Mgr.	
Frank A. Madsen	Chf. Counsel/ Legis. Dir.	
Paul Gibbs	Legis. Asst.	Social Security, Finance and Taxes, Trade
Sharon Matthews	Legis. Asst.	Agriculture, Energy and Natural Resources, Public Lands, Environment
Luben Montoya	Legis. Asst.	Banking, Housing, Indian Affairs, Defense, Transportation
Ruth Carroll	Pers. Secy. (Appts.)	

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

Committee	Subcommittee(s)
Judiciary	Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks, <i>Ranking Minority Member</i> • Antitrust, Monopolies and Business Rights • Constitution
Labor and Human Resources, <i>Ranking Minority Member</i>	Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism • Education, Arts and Humanities • Employment and Productivity • <i>Ex officio</i> member of all other subcommittees
Intelligence (Select)	No Subcommittees
Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition (Select)	No Subcommittees

OTHER POSITIONS

Senate Republican Policy Committee • Senate Commerce National Ocean Policy Study, *ex officio*
 • Office of Technology Assessment, Board of Directors • Senate Steering Committee • Senate
 Steel Caucus • Senate Caucus on North American Trade • Western State Coalition • Senate Coal
 Caucus • Senate Drug Enforcement Caucus • Senate Caucus on the Family • Senate Tourism
 Caucus • International Labor Organization, Honorary U.S. Delegate • Congressional Task Force on
 Afghanistan • Congressional Coalition on Adoption

STATE OFFICES

3438 Federal Bldg., 125 So. State, Salt Lake City, UT 84138 (801) 524-4380
 109 Federal Bldg., 88 W. 100 North, Provo, UT 84601 (801) 375-7881
 1410 Federal Bldg., 325 - 25th St., Ogden, UT 84401 (801) 625-5672
 10 No. Main, P.O. Box 99, Cedar City, UT 84720 (801) 586-8435

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DINING ROOM EVENTS

TIME/DAY/DATE: 0745-Tuesday, 2 June 1987

BREAKFAST XX LUNCHEON DINNER HOST: DCI XX DDCI EXDIR OTHER PLACE: DCI D.R. XX EDR OTHER

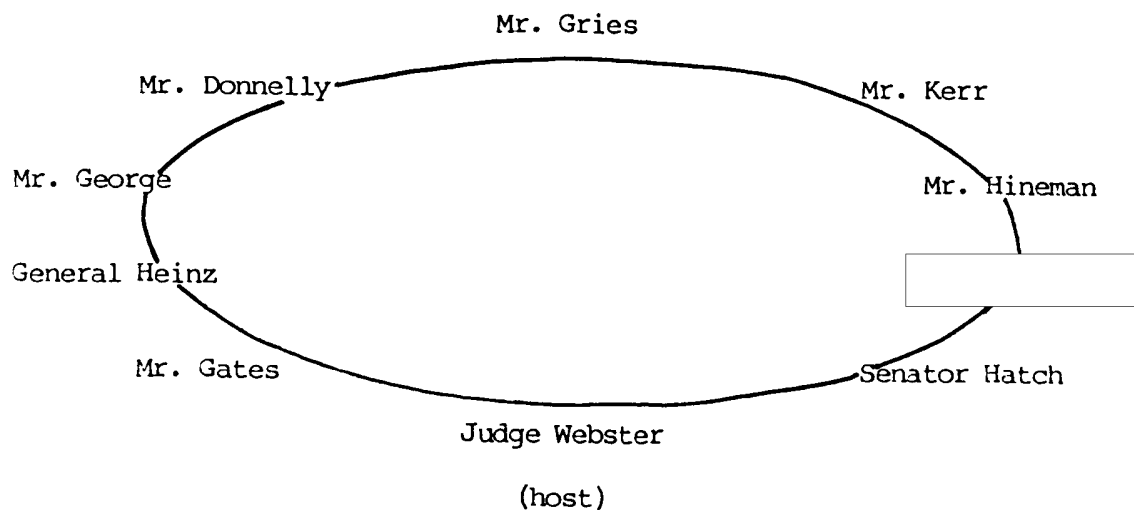
GUEST LIST: Judge William Webster, host
 Senator Orrin Hatch, guest of honor
 Mr. Robert Gates, DDCI
 ExDir
 General Edward Heinz, D/ICS
 Mr. R.E. Hineman, DDS&T
 Mr. Clair George, DDO
 Mr. Richard Kerr, DDI
 Mr. William Donnelly, DDA
 Mr. David Gries, D/OCA

25X1

TOTAL: 10

MENU: WILL ORDER FROM THE MENU

SEATING ARRANGEMENT: (WINDOWS)



25X1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~