

*Steve Silver:*

We are here with Ms. Jane Fawcett-Hoover for the Bryce Harlow Oral History Project. Jane, it's great to first of all finally meet you in person and to be talking to you about Bryce Harlow.

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

It's a real honor to talk about Bryce Harlow.

*Steve Silver:*

Why don't we start by having you tell us a little bit about your background in corporate representation and then we'll get into the stuff with Bryce.

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

Alright. I graduated from the Ohio State University far too long ago. Let's just stop right there.

*Steve Silver:*

You want me to stop?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

No, I'm just kidding. While doing Master's work in journalism, one of my professors said, "You should not be forty and decide you want to be a be something you're not." So I went up to him afterward and I said, "I'm teaching school." I said, "I want to work in business. I'm twenty-four, single and can travel anywhere. I can relocate. But, what would you suggest?" And he said, "Well, give me your resume. We'll take a look. We'll see what opportunities are available."

I had a resume with me. I always carried one and gave it to him. He circulated it. I got four or five job interviews. One of them was with Procter & Gamble in Cincinnati. I went to Cincinnati; was hired the day I interviewed and started two weeks later. That was in 1968 and I wrote educational materials for P&G. Subsequently, P&G put me on loan to the government in one of those executive exchange programs in the early 70's. I came to Washington and worked for the Nixon White House in consumer advocacy.

While I was here in Washington, I met my husband. He was living in Washington. I was here for an eight week course and then moved back to Cincinnati. We commuted, but then decided I would move to Washington. So, I talked with management at Procter & Gamble. I said, "Do you have a Washington office?" They did. Heading the Washington office was Bryce Harlow. I didn't know much about him, but I talked with a lot of people and heard very, very good things.

And I said I would like to work in the Washington office. That's what I'd like to do. I'd like to get involved with politics and corporate representation. At that point in time, Bryce was working in the Nixon White House. Unlike today where there are rules and regulations requiring who and when you can lobby, or if you've been in an administration or Congress, there were none.

Bryce would work in the White House and then come back and work for Procter & Gamble. This went on for some time. During the time that I had an interest in moving here, which was in early 70's, Bryce was working in the Nixon White House. So, Procter & Gamble's office was basically on hold. And they weren't hiring anybody.

I decided I still wanted to move to Washington. I talked to the Company. I told them I was considering leaving, but I wanted to leave on good terms. And they actually helped me. I was interested in working for one of our trade associations. I moved to Washington in 1974 and worked for George Koch at the Grocery Manufacturers of America. I managed their media program and did some lobbying.

During that period of time, from '74 on, I got to know Bryce. He had opened the Procter & Gamble Washington office in 1961. I really, really was impressed by him. In the meantime, I gave a presentation at one of the GMA board meetings and the Chairman of Procter & Gamble was present. He came up afterwards and said, "I'm just curious. We're trying very hard to recruit women into management and I want to know why you left." I said, "Well, I left for love. I'm engaged and getting married. My fiancé lives in Washington, and I wanted to work in P&G's Washington office, but they weren't hiring as Bryce was in the White House." I said, "If you make me an offer I can't refuse, I'd come back in a moment."

Three months later, I was back at Procter & Gamble, where I always wanted to be. I've been there ever since. That was in 1977 and I worked for Bryce until he retired in 1978. He was a phenomenal and very interesting person. To be my age and be sitting in your boss's office and have presidents call and have Secretaries call was truly unique. He had a wonderful sense of humor and was very much engaged in Washington in all aspects of all issues.

At that point in time, I would have to say that the work that Procter & Gamble did in Washington was limited to a few of the board issues at the highest levels of the company – issues only the Chairman or the board would be involved in. One of these was the Consumer Protection Act, which was a critical piece of legislation in the mid to late 70's. Bryce was certainly a force in this legislation.

The way we currently work at Procter & Gamble focuses on specific divisions and geographic regions. We define work priorities and develop action plans. It's very different than when Bryce headed the office. Then, it was the Chairman to Bryce and Bryce to the folks who work for him. Bryce was the focal point of the office, needless to say, and the individual who interacted with members of Congress. When I was working in a staff position, I got to know other staff. And Washington is the kind of city where continuity and consistency really pay off in the long run.

When I took over the office in the 90's, people that I had lobbied as staffers in the 70's and 80's were becoming Assistant Secretaries of Commerce or State, or other valuable positions in the White House. So it evolves. And I understood where Bryce had come from in his thinking on how he managed issues. He told me once that you arrive in Washington with your integrity. If you leave with that same integrity intact, you've been successful. That's what's most important.

*Steve Silver:* That's the mark of success.

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:* Exactly.

*Steve Silver:* So, were you his direct successor? Did he sort of transition; were there people in between?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:* No. There were people in between. Bryce retired, as I said, in '78 and at that point in time, the office was headed by a Republican and a Democrat. Bryce had come from the Eisenhower Administration and Mike Manatos had come from the Johnson Administration. Mike had been the White House lobbyist for both Kennedy and then Johnson.

There are many kinds of configurations of Washington offices, but this was how Procter had managed theirs – with a Republican and a Democrat. When Bryce retired, they moved Mike up to head the office and brought in an individual from the Business Roundtable, Walt Hasty. He became our the number two person.

When Mike retired a year later, Walt moved up and headed the office for about ten years. We had several individuals from within Procter & Gamble who headed our office for a period of four to five years and then I took over in '95.

*Steve Silver:*

Okay. Why do you think Bryce Harlow was so effective at bringing business and government together?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

He was effective for a number of reasons. One, he was a quick study and understood the issues. He worked well within the corporation and understood how issues impacted the company. And he was an outstanding communicator.

*[End Part 1, Begin Part 2]*

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

Bryce was self-effacing. He had a sense of humor where he could laugh at himself and make you very comfortable. As he worked issues between the government and corporate world, I think he brought the best of all worlds to both. He had been in government. He understood government. He learned very quickly about the corporate world and was able to bring the right people to the table. And he managed things with sound reason and good common sense.

*Steve Silver:*

So second, about corporate representation in general, why do we need corporate representatives in Washington? Why is it important both for the company and for the public to have Washington offices?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

Let me go back to a famous Bryce Harlow quote I use all the time.

*Steve Silver:*

Perfect.

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

It is, "Good representation of good business results in good government." I never forgot that.

I think good representatives in the corporate world, which is the world I know best, help our policy makers to better

understand how their decisions affect business and subsequently affect customers, consumers, employees, suppliers, etc. I have always approached lobbying as education. I believe it is in many ways like teaching.

*Steve Silver:*

That was a really good segue into my next question, although you kind of covered a lot of it. I wanted to ask, how much of a zero sum game is lobbying? Is it a lot about compromise, or is it more, does it depend on the issue, even?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

I think it depends on the issue. There are some things on which you can't compromise. You can't compromise on health or safety, for example. But as you're developing, let's say, a corporate tax plan and you understand how that plan impacts business and their ability to compete on a global basis, or their ability to be effective, or their ability to build business and expand, then, yes, compromise is critical. And it's important that you understand why and when to compromise.

I would bring it all back to education and understanding what it is you're representing and communicating why it is you're representing that view. How you're representing them. To quote George Koch – and I use this quote a lot – I never take myself seriously, but I always took my work seriously, because I figured I could be replaced, but that the work I was doing was incredibly important. And I focused on that.

*Steve Silver:*

Would you say that corporate representation has a tougher job in today's more polarized operating environment than it did back -

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

Ten or fifteen years? Yes, I think lobbying is very different than it was when I was started in the mid-70's.

*Steve Silver:*

Could you talk about some of the changes?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

I would say the changes have come about as corporate offices have transitioned into delivering bottom line results for the company and have focused on setting priorities, where you can play, how you can play and where you can make a difference. In Procter & Gamble, we go through a yearly evaluation of the issues we're going to work and

whether we're going to work them individually as a corporation or through our trade associations or coalitions.

By February, we have a game plan of action. And then we move on that. Now, that's not to say it doesn't change, based on current events. For example, when the Enron crisis hit, our priorities changed. Members started to look at revising pension plans. Procter & Gamble's pension plan would have been affected. So, we altered our priorities at that point. When Bryce worked in the 70's, individual corporate business unit issues or specific regional issues (such as trade) weren't addressed. It was only the bigger picture issues that we worked.

Now I see Washington offices far more focused with subsets of expertise, such as tax, trade, or the environment. For Procter & Gamble, when I took over, there were two big issues –tax and trade. Tax because everything that impacts the company from a tax perspective is huge, huge, huge. Tax issues are all bottom line issues.

Trade is critical because ninety-six percent of the world's population lives outside the U.S. As Procter & Gamble manufactures close to the consumer, we find trade agreements that benefit countries in close proximity or with other countries almost always benefit us from a manufacturing perspective. So, we look at those. We calculate how we can expand our business; how we can tear down quotas or tariffs. Those are issues we didn't work when Bryce headed the office. We didn't delve down to the business level of the company. It was more at the corporate level.

The major change in lobbying I see is that lobbyists now are substantively oriented, have a game plan of action, and deliver on that plan. The Washington office has become a profit center.

*Steve Silver:*

Would you say, based on your own experience with Procter and then, maybe anything that Bryce had taught you, would you say lobbying is more proactive or reactive, or does it again depend on the issue, really?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

Today, I think lobbying is far more proactive at the federal level. At the state levels, lobbying tends to be more reactive. They're fighting taxes or environmental

restrictions. At the federal level, for example, you can proactively help shape a trade or tax policy.

I define success for my offices when a member of Congress says, "I'm thinking about writing a healthcare bill and how would this impact your facility in my district? How is your healthcare plan structured?" We go in and talk about it and hopefully help give direction and guidance. Proactively, we're shaping something. When Bryce was lobbying, there was less of this approach.

*Steve Silver:*

I see. What were some of the things that he taught you about presenting Procter to the government?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

First and foremost, he taught me the importance of integrity. Secondly, the issue of understanding who you're talking to, knowing more about the member than just their name or district. He taught me when you go in to meet with somebody, you must know a lot about them, what their interests are, and about their community.

When we went in to talk to a Member who represented a facility of Procter & Gamble, we had to know a lot about that facility. We learned how many people were employed; what the economic impact was of the community; who their suppliers were; who the plant manager was. We found out whether the Member had been to the facility. Bryce had a wonderful way of really integrating all of this together and encouraging you to learn, learn, learn. He encouraged us to meet with folks who were supporters and opponents. Meeting with opponents was critical to understanding their views. Only that way could we make a counter argument that was truly persuasive.

I took debate in high school and college, but I learned from Bryce the real art of debating, because I learned how to understand an opponent and speak more proactively. He was great at that. He had one of the most incredible vocabularies I've ever known. He would talk, and you would be mesmerized. And then he would say something, just to break the ice, and you'd be amused. But it always struck me; there is a man who really understood the vocabulary and was able to use it to his advantage.

*Steve Silver:*

And probably never used it to talk down to anybody.

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

He never did.

*Steve Silver:*

That's what I find so interesting about it.

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

Meanwhile, while Bryce would talk to you in the office, he was always drawing. I remember two things about Bryce. Allow me to digress here for a moment -

*Steve Silver:*

Please.

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

One, I grew up in a family where my father was a smoker. He passed away at eighty-nine, smoking two packs of cigarettes a day, including the day he died. But Bryce put him to shame. Bryce was one of these folks who would light up a cigarette and when it was almost out, would light up the next cigarette from the existing cigarette, so that he was always holding a cigarette.

Now, of course, here's a guy who died of emphysema. But, he was always smoking. The office smelled like smoke but you never said anything. We were all kind of used to it.

The other thing is, while he would talk to you or while he would be on the phone, he constantly drew geometric figures. Sally Harlow has a notebook of these. I don't know if she's ever published them, but they were magnificent. He would start with a square or a diamond or a circle or a star and next thing you know it would be an 8 ½ by 11 sheet of paper and you'd think, "How could he be listening to me when he's drawing this artwork?" But, he was always doing his little doodling while he was talking to you.

*Steve Silver:*

I wonder if it related to the conversation in some way; sometimes, maybe?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

The ones I remember weren't in color. I don't know if it was deep thinking or stress or fatigue or happiness or what. But they were magnificent. He really was very talented. And Sally kept them. I don't know what she ever did with them. I'm sure she still has them.

*Steve Silver:*

Did Bryce ever address some of the criticisms of the lobbying profession to you that you know of? I mean, its influence peddling; that it's riddled with ethics violations

and was he concerned about the image of the corporate lobbyists?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:* He was concerned about that image of the corporate lobbyist, but he led by example. And all of those people who worked with or for Bryce followed his example, as well.

*[End of Part 2, Begin Part 3]*

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:* There was an episode where a lobbyist was indicted in the 70's. I can't remember his name, but Bryce talked with our staff about how this individual had gotten into trouble and that you can never assume you're above the law. This came back many, many times. Bryce would always say, "Never assume you're above the law." I always thought a great part of that had to do with Bryce's experience with Nixon. When Bryce was in the White House, it was in the darkest days before August when Nixon resigned. I was told Bryce tried many times to talk with Nixon about resigning, because you cannot be above the law.

So, yes, he was ferocious in his attacks on people who did not act within the law. Bryce was very proud of being a lobbyist, and of representing corporate world with the utmost of ethics. And working for him, you never thought of doing anything other than that.

*Steve Silver:* Do you think it's easier for the media to focus on those lobbyists that are involved with controversy, as opposed to the Bryce Harlows that don't? Do you think that's part of the problem?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:* I think the media focuses on the negative more than the positive for any story. I think there are some lobbyists who have given lobbying a dreadful reputation – that of exchanging money, exchanging influence, or exchanging social opportunities. But many lobbyists are good and strong and fair, have great integrity and work very hard. You just don't hear about them.

These are the true educators and the true communicators who make a positive difference for this country. I think lobbying is a great profession. I'm very proud of it. But like any profession, you have some bad apples. Are the

majority of them bad? I would say no. I would say some are excellent, some are good, some are fair, and some are poor, just as in any other profession.

*Steve Silver:*

That was a nice segue, because you mentioned the idea of anonymity. A lot of people that I've interviewed who worked with Bryce in the Eisenhower Administration during the speech writing end of his career, talk about how he never wanted to take credit for things and he was very humble and very anonymous in many respects. I wanted to ask you, do you think that's also important in the lobbying world? Does that come into play?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

I think you have to have a good sense of being. I think you have to understand, as I mentioned earlier, that the work has to be the driver, not the individual. I've never sought public accolades for what I've done. I want the work to speak for itself. Bryce wanted the work to speak for itself, not himself. This is why he never wrote a book.

I talked to him many times about whether he was ever going to write a book. You'd be sitting in his office when somebody would call and you'd muse afterward about how you could write a book on this person or that person. He never would do that. Never! And I think people who are good, strong advocates for their work, whether it's corporate, an NGO, or trade association, don't take credit. They aren't looking for credit. When you succeed, the work speaks for itself. This was Bryce. The Consumer Protection Agency issue he lobbied led to a visibility because he led the coalition. But, for the most part, the work he did -

*Steve Silver:*

Spoke for itself.

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

Spoke for itself.

*Steve Silver:*

Right. Can you tell us, since we were talking about it before, could you talk about the significance of the Carlton Club?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

I joined the Carlton Club in 1995. It's an organization of heads of Washington offices who, in today's world, consider themselves lucky to get to our mandatory Monday lunches where we have a speaker. Today, Ted Stevens spoke to us.

There are about sixty members. Seventy percent of them represent corporations, about twenty percent represent trade associations and ten percent are consultants. We talk informally about issues, priorities, or what's happening this week in Congress. Senator Stevens shared with us his view on the Supreme Court justice hearings, Katrina, and the war. We have an exchange of ideas on issues which is very informative. And it's been like that for about the last ten years.

I've been told before that, the Carlton Club was a group of good ol' boys who played cards in the afternoon or drank. Today, I can tell you, after the meetings, everybody's gone. The work has changed dramatically over the last twenty years. In the last ten, it's even more focused. But, yes, I too, used to hear stories that would curl your hair or make you blush, but that isn't the case any more; believe me.

*Steve Silver:*

Do you think we can teach the kind of integrity that Bryce Harlow had?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

People often ask me if I can teach someone to be a lobbyist. I think that you can teach someone the basics of communication, of debate, of negotiation, or understanding legislation. You can teach them how to develop strategies to influence the process. I don't think you can teach someone sound political judgment. I see it or I don't see it in people. If someone doesn't have it, they exhibit bad decision-making skills right away.

And I've gotten to the point where I just say this individual will never be a good corporate representative or lobbyist; put him or her somewhere else in the company. I do think you can teach some of the basics. In teaching government relations or how to be a lobbyist, you really have to start by understanding the value of integrity; how to operate with transparency; and the importance of being inclusive. You must know your issues and be able to communicate them in simple terms. I think you can teach that. But political judgment is innate.

*Steve Silver:*

You talked about some of the changes from the lobbying profession before and a lot of people have said the same things that you've said – the longer hours, the complexity of it, and the higher financial stakes today. Do you think it's

more difficult for lobbyists of today – the next generation – to have the same values of integrity and honesty that Bryce Harlow had, because it's more complex, or is that just an excuse?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

I think it's an excuse. I really do. I think people have it or don't. The hours are longer because there are more issues to work. When Bryce worked for Procter & Gamble, we weren't a billion dollar company. And now we're a fifty-five billion dollar company. We have a lot more issues but not a much larger staff.

Today we're more focused on the issues we work and how we manage that work. We all have an interest in the political system and in making it better for all who are affected by the policies. So, I don't think those basic fundamentals have changed. I think Bryce Harlow could walk in this room right now and head a Washington office and do the same kinds of things that are being done today. That was the kind of individual he was.

And that's why I've worked to keep his philosophies alive and active. It was a wonderful opportunity to be exposed to someone like Bryce. I think he was a mentor long after he didn't work for the company, because you knew what he was like and how he would have managed something.

*Steve Silver:*

Why do you think Bryce was such a unique figure in Washington?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

I think he was a unique figure because he worked across party lines, is far more difficult today. Bryce had worked for five presidents, both Republican and Democratic. And other than Dave Gergen, I don't know of too many individuals who've worked for both parties in an administration. We are far more partisan today, which is just, I think, truly unfortunate.

Bryce really worked closely with both parties. He understood both parties and he had great friends who were both Republicans and Democrats. Today, Members say they only have an opportunity to meet with individuals of their own party. They have caucus meetings on Tuesday or Thursday and leave on Friday. They never have an opportunity to meet with, or sit down with, or talk with

others in opposing parties. And that really has hurt us as we develop public policy.

*Steve Silver:*

As sort of a final thought, what do you think that lobbyists of today, or entering the profession today should take away from Bryce Harlow? What should they learn the most?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

Several things. Let me come back to the issue of integrity; of trying to do the right things at the right time; of working across the aisle with both Republicans and Democrats. We're most successful when we get both parties to sit down and talk about issues and try to work together. That's what made Bryce unique. He could facilitate this approach.

I think folks who are successful today, or folks that will be successful tomorrow must operate with a level of trust and integrity for their corporation or whoever they represent, and with governments at the highest levels. That approach to work is not going to change. In addition, lobbyists will need to be more and more substantively based. They must understand the various complexity of issues. It won't get any easier.

*[End Part 3, Begin Part 4]*

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

Here's my favorite Bryce Harlow story. Bryce retired in 1978. His Girl Friday, Sally Studabaker, had worked for him for something like seventeen years. She did everything from typing to sending out his Christmas cards and balancing his bank statements. I mean, it was extraordinary. I'd never seen anything like this. She was absolutely his right hand.

About two years after Bryce retired, we got electric typewriters in the office. Shortly thereafter, Sally said, "I need to retire because I can't keep up with this modern technology." She was single and had never married. Bryce of course had been married to Betty, who died of cancer several years previously.

Bryce had Sally's retirement party at Harper's Ferry and the whole staff attended. We had gotten Sally luggage as a retirement gift. So the staff presented Sally with her retirement gift and Bryce said, "As you all know, Sally has been my right arm. She's done everything. She was incredibly helpful throughout my term in the White House

and at Procter & Gamble. I have a special retirement gift for her.”

Of course we're all looking at each other wondering what it was. He said, “I'm going to marry Sally. That way, she can continue to work for me the rest of my life!” We were all absolutely stunned.

*Steve Silver:*

Was that his proposal?

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

No, he and Sally had rigged it all up. They had become engaged several weeks before but hadn't announced it.

And that was how they announced it to the staff. They got married shortly thereafter and she moved to Harper's Ferry and the rest is history. As you know, Sally's in very poor health. She's still living at Harper's Ferry. They were just the most adorable couple; absolutely adorable. As we moved on into the new world of electric typewriters, Sally continued to type on her manual machine. But, that was a great story.

The second Bryce Harlow story is when Bryce came into my office around 1978 and said, “They are going to produce a film called ‘All the President's Men.’ Do you know an actor by the name of Robert Redford?” I said, “Oh, my god. Are you serious?” He said, “Yes, he's some actor who's going to be in this movie and they've told him he should meet with me.” He said, “I don't have a clue who he is, and I don't know anything about him. Would you sit in on the meeting?” And I said. “Oh, my god, a chance of a lifetime!”

That morning I got up at 4 am to put makeup on and wore stiletto heels. I was quite a vision, but extremely tall. Robert Redford came into the office in a leisure suit with pooka beads. I towered over him. He sat in Bryce's office and asked rather dumb questions. I was just grateful someone else was writing his script for him.

When Robert Redford left, I said to Bryce, “I want to leave with Mr. Redford because frankly I'd like to walk down K Street, have somebody say hello, and I'll introduce them to my good friend, Robert Redford. So, I walked with him for the two blocks, but never saw a soul I knew. It was so disappointing. When I came back to Bryce's office, he

looked at me he said, "I hope the movie's better than this guy!" I agreed.

*Steve Silver:*

That's fantastic. You should have planted people along the way.

*Jane Fawcett-Hoover:*

Yes.

*Steve Silver:*

Well, thanks for sharing. Jane, it's been great. Thanks again.

*[End of Audio]*