

stylistic
- Smelly vulnerability in both cases (RZ + VJ)
- Runs style created camp. "new politics"
- policy diff. too.
- Hayes + Ziemer - "Tim Taylor"

Philip Hayes

(Senate Race) - April 27-29, 1976

Tuesday - April 27

12:45 Kevin McShane meets me at O'Hare and we drive to Crown Point

Afternoon Crown Point to Gary to Crown Point looking for PH. Back to Gary after finding him

5:00 La Porte Fund Raiser

9:30 Gary Women's meeting set up by Sheriff Les Pruitt

10:30 Gary City Council - City Hall

2:30 Arrive in South Bend

Wednesday - April 28

9:30 Breakfast at hotel at Notre Dame

10:30 TV "hit" in front of Indiana Bell Building

11:30 South Bend Civic Center touring offices

1:00 South Bend → Crown Point (Cessna 180)

2:00 Lake County offices with Vicki Caesar and Judge Andrew Giorgi (her brother)

4:00 Mingling with Union members voting for officers of 1066

5:00 Meeting at Carnell Scott's with Rudy Clay, Jonas Felder and second district

6:30 Jackson's Restaurant - 1st District Meeting

7:00 Back to Scott's and down to two local headquarters with Felder

7:30 St. Michael's Ukrainian Hall spaghetti supper - Hammond

9:00 St. Sava Serbian Hall - bingo and Candidates' Night - South Gary

10:00 Bob Webb's testimonial party (running for Recorder)

Wednesday - April 28 (cont.)

11:00 WYCA - Hammond

12:00 Talk-show; meeting with Wally Grieslak at his bar - Anchor Inn

12:45 Holiday Inn - meeting with fire fighter's head - Solis Theodoris

(Between 5 & 1 on Wednesday we met with black, Ukranian, Serbian, Polish and Greek groups or representatives)

Thursday - April 29

9:30 Leave Gary for Fort Wayne

10:45 Fort Wayne Press Conference

12:00 Left Ft. Wayne for Rochester via Cleveland

Kevin McShane - met me at O'Hare (1-317-634-6666) - Bill Mauk, Dick Bodine, Sarah Sykes.

A methodological note: Maybe people are more receptive to me because they think they will be featured in the book--somehow. The thought occurred because when I told Kevin I was writing a book about the campaign, he seemed to assume Phil would get some publicity out of it. Maybe it's the staff that takes it more seriously.

We spent all afternoon chasing Phil around from Gary to Crown Point to Gary to Crown Point.

I asked PH how his spirits were: "We're up. We're going to win this one. Hartke's such a stiff. I always pick clunks to run against."

Talked about how he stood in front of a travel agency this AM and demanded (14,000 for junkets) that VH pay it back. "Do you think that was a cheap shot? I thought it was great." Adrenalin running.

Bill Mauk - Coordinating campaign in this area. He's Chairman of County Council in St. Joseph's County, i.e., South Bend. He's in finance of some sort and has signed on for campaign .

Met Lake County Sheriff Les Pruitt - "He put \$100 into every precinct for Hartke in 1970. And Hartke carried the County by 30,000-2,000. That won him the election--actually he lost it, everyone knows that, the Senate fixed it for him. But the sheriff is pissed because Hartke never paid him back. He kept a book with all his totals in it. And he was just ~~waiting~~ ^{Wednesday} for us to come in." Les introduced him at Serbian Hall and spoke for him Tuesday. He regarded that connection as one of highlights of his week. Pruitt considered very important. Big among white ethnics I think. PH kept saying he'd do well south and east of Gary in white ethnic areas and would hope to cut down margin in "midtown" i.e., black area of Gary.

"It's not so important what you do, it's how you do it.... (3 abuses - frank junkets, pay raise). You can vote any way you want, but you have to vote honestly and not because of some money you got in Chicago. If people think you voted honestly, you'll get by with it. People are willing to evaluate your character and whether they truly believe you. That's the kind of campaign we're in. People ^{don't} believe what Vance Hartke says. He says I'm attacking his personality; but that's what the campaign is about." (He went into the junket to Ivory Coast.)

Idea that Hartke can't help rest of the ticket ("party is rotting").

Dave asks him to campaign in a trailer park. "Mine is a media campaign. I can't afford to do that kind of personal campaigning. I need media time in all these little towns who don't know my ass. Look at all the time I'm wasting trying to plug into one or two guys. My media budget is sagging.

That's my problem." But, at other points, he agreed you had to campaign that way in Lake County.

A sub-theme is that the campaign is fun - they have a song ^{when} "I find you in November; will you be among the uncommitted." They call up Hartke people and sing it to them. (like Dick Tuck") PH loves the song. Also when people ask what he'll do if he loses, he says "I'll take a long nap." To indicate looseness.

Free media as campaign gimmick and they play 7 media markets--that's essence of campaign.

Is style more important than issue? "It still is. What helps us is that we've got an operation that looks good up front. When I'm scheduled right, I get into a lot of spots to make high quality, high visibility, high intensity hits. This morning was a low quality, low intensity hit. So what if we condescended to go to a small plant? Thirty people came through the gate and there won't be any followup PR. So who will ever know about it. That would be ok if I were running in a 200,000 state senate district, but not in a Senate Race. I'm ^{overly} critical, but I want to intimidate my staff so they won't be so sloppy with my wasting resources. With one week left I can't let them schedule me into these little plants and colleges." He was mad when they scheduled him into a mock convention at a small college and told them he wouldn't go--Manchester.

He was pleased Wednesday morning that ^{Steve} "Steve Mott" came through with \$1000 and that gave 'em enuff to buy more 10 second spots.

Hartke as "dead horse," "old bag," "zip gun." - like he spoke of Zin - capital + checked

Position paper. "I don't do it and won't do it. I'll answer all their questions but not in the simplified form they want. I insist on longer,

more complex elucidations. Some, I just won't answer.... When they ask me about Humphrey-Hawkins, I just tell them the President will veto it and it won't happen. People don't read position papers anyway. It's just part of the conventional framework."

Yesterday, he talked about part of his war against Hartke as being "physical." "Last night we put on an exhibition of sheer physical prowess at the dinner in South Bend. He came in, ate the dinner and sat there in his own sweat. I didn't eat dinner but went down and table hopped, saying hello to everyone and laughing it up, having a good time. It must have been humiliating for him to sit there. We're leaning on him physically, too."

Re article in Wall Street Journal on retirements. "One problem is the intensity of the job. I've never worked so hard in my life. The problem is that there is none of it you can shrug off. Some of the guys, for political reasons, have set up their offices as time gobblers. The time it takes to lay out a newsletter is only one little example of that." He was cut off in the middle of this thought by something--as often happens.

"We all know what the issue is in this campaign because we've defined the issue--integrity. I don't think the Democrats will follow a death wish and let this candidate lead the Democratic party down to a crushing defeat" - spoken to South Bend Tribune reporter.

Hartke's Northern Indiana strength is "strength in the general election--not in the primary."

"This is my 3rd primary election and Vance's first; so I'm trying to educate him how to deal with a primary electorate.... It is demoralizing to ~~him and his~~ ^{him and his} ~~his ad hoc~~ supporters to find that he cannot get it together and avoid defeat

*Wilson
copy*
in the fall.... It will be a disaster if he leads the ticket. Can you imagine Vance Hartke debating Dick Lugar? Bayh defeated Lugar by dealing with the issues--it was the impression he gave...Vance Hartke hasn't time to think about the issues; he's too busy defeding himself.... The party voter has given me a break. He's suspended judgment waiting to see whether I had the guts and whether I could put a campaign together. I think they've seen that I can and that they will reward me with their vote." Also - to S.B. Tribune.

"Vance participates in the old rules of politics as much as he can. That's what this campaign is all about. People are looking for someone who'll cut into the bone of the nearest budget around. That's why I cut my newsletter budget of 77,000 and returned it to the treasury. I didn't think that was the way people wanted their money spent."

Re Zion. "Jack Anderson zapped him in a column for using his congressional letterhead for soliciting lobbying jobs from businessmen--'hire me as your lobbyist because my friends are in Congress and I can still use the gym'. He's lobbying for an insecticide association--lobbying for the silent spring. And for the National Rifle Association. And he's maintaining the same routine he always did--commuting on weekends to Evansville. His girl friend is still in Washington. He became so addicted to the way of life. It's almost a case of life imitating art. He probably hates me for jetting his seat out from under him."

We circulated in front of the Philip Murray Building in Gary as the election for 1066 officers went on. I just stood and watched as the people milled around and handed out cards for their candidates. It was ethnic,

working class to the nth degree. The whites with whom Phil talked seemed to be pretty anti-black. After one talked in strong language, Phil said "Did you catch that racism? Nobody down in my supposedly red neck district talks like that."

Judge Andrew Giorgi, as we passed time in his office. "The only way you get votes in midtown Gary is to buy them." All said matter of factly. But throughout the campaign, there has been talk about whether or not Hartke had bought off different groups and the difficulty of doing anything in certain Gary, East Chicago districts without money. When we went to City Council at night and when we went to the Wednesday afternoon meeting at Carnell Scott's home, Phil asked Bill "Do they expect us to give them any bread?"

When I asked him to rank Wednesday activity - (at 5:00) he placed meeting at Scott's 1st and visit to Jackson's Restaurant 2nd. Re the first visit to Scott's. "Carnell Scott is influential in the black community. His support and that of Jonas Elder means votes. Scott's wife heard me speak on civil rights and turned her husband on to me, and he got Elder who is captain (leader) of the whole second district. They and Senator Clay--who was my seat mate in the State Senate--will distribute my literature throughout the entire second district. That will blanket Hartke and shut him out. That's more important than the media coverage we got this morning because Gary is a media blackout area. The only way to get votes here is for me to use my body. Now I know what one of my problems with my staff is. They are used to Birch Bayh and that's his method--zip in to an area, get media coverage and zip out. But I can't do that. I have to visit people and sit down. I'm the new boy in town. ~~But~~ Being congressman ~~only~~ helps-^{but} only a little. You wouldn't

believe how many people ask me--when I tell them I'm running for United States Senator--'What precinct you running in?'"

Campaign emphasis in 1st, 3rd, 4th and 11th ^{congressional} districts. "It's been a heavy media campaign--especially in Lake, St. Joe, Marian and Allen counties." He sees key counties within congressional districts.

At Serbian Hall (amidst bingo) Phil spoke briefly and started with ID. "I managed to grow up about 40 miles down highway 80 in Rensselaer. And we got to know Lake County. My father worked for 23 years in Lake County for U.S. Steel as a member of local 1014 United Steelworkers. So I know something about you and your problems." *Reaching to new audiences*

They planned to take out one newspaper ad in the Gary paper (which endorsed him--as did South Bend Tribune and Louisville Courier Journal) but that was extent of media stuff in Gary.

WYCA interview. What does he think he can accomplish? "Set standards of public conduct."

(I haven't heard PH say he's a liberal or progressive or anything like that.)

Issue in primary is "leadership in Democratic party."

The radio interview was wholly on "the issues"--education, abortion, foreign policy, defense, ERA, gun control and was boring--though he did a good job.

When the radio interview was over he said "Whew, I spent an hour talking issues that are of interest to 5% of the American people. What a waste of air time. It was pretty esoteric, wasn't it. She tried to do a number on me--^{she's a} ~~that~~ Human Events^s--and I didn't give her a thing. I just talked all over her, making up the questions, and giving her a head trip--which was what she

wanted. It's the only way I thought I could play it, hoping I might get a couple hundred bucks of free air time out of her later sometime."

It was a Xian station, whose listeners, she admitted, did not like politics. It was a one hour talk show and one call came in!

As we walked down the corridor to our rooms in the Holiday Inn Wednesday night, he said "This day was an upper; but it was also a 50-50 day. We're even with him now. But there is so much left undone and so much that's left to good will. And in this business, let me tell you, don't leave anything to good will. But you have to--you have to trust that guys like Wally Gris^eslak will deliver for you when they say they will."

As he headed downstairs to the bar to drink with the guy who had just gotten him the endorsement of the firefighters, I asked if he planned to stay up late--it then being 12:45 (and he having been up since 5:00). "I'll give him one shot. There's a time when you have to give them a lot of sack cloth and ashes--that you're working yourself to death. Especially here, I want it to get around that 'the candidate for United States Senator' has been seen going around everywhere, getting by on two hours sleep, working himself to the bone. A certain mythodology builds up and that's very helpful."

"I'd like to see John Gardner come around and keep track of these campaign receipts. That son of a bitch." He and Bill agreed campaign laws would make confirmed de-regulators out of liberals.

Byzantine politics. "These are the people you've got to meet." Andy Mysenko--at breakfast Thursday complaining about how Lake County (Gary and Hammond) give Dems their majorities and then get nothing for it.

How did you learn about Lake County politics? "There's a lot of folklore about it. Actually I already knew a lot of the personalities involved--mostly

through my service in the state legislature. The state legislators were the ones who helped the most, I guess. And we brushed up on it some--who hated who and what the alliances were. Each member of the staff knew something and Bodine knew a lot. He knew more than anyone else."

A major impression is the shoestring, hand to mouth nature of it all--trying to get the money together Tuesday night to get it to Indianapolis and Evansville so that they could buy time--paying the pilot Dick Theme who had to pay his flying club for use of the plane by Friday and hadn't seen a penny as of Thursday A. M.

In their poll HR Block gets high approval rating--so they make their brochure "Five reasons why you should"...vote for PH!!!

Nice methodological ^{twist} twist--we fly in plane from Gary to Fort Wayne on Thursday A. M. and I get in a couple of questions--then pilot lets PH fly the plane (Cessna 172) and I don't dare ask anymore questions! Great!

We flew over Route 30 all the way from Gary to Ft. Wayne in beautiful, calm weather--farm lands and small county seats and a few lakes below us. The land looked flat, pretty rich and the farmhouses glistened in the sunlight as far as you could see in either direction--like little bright dots--almost like lights in the dark, except that it was bright, clear, cold, sunny daylight. The day before, we flew from South Bend to Gary, with Chicago skyline in distance and the U.S. Steel, Bethlehem and Inland steel plants along the lake. Even their reddish iron oxide smoke didn't spoil clarity of the day--but the massive industrial complexes were breathtaking. U.S. employs 40,000--Inland, 23,000.

To Lee Smith. "Are there going to be coffee and doughnuts at the press conference? I finally figured out I'm running a Birch Bayh style campaign.

The only difference is that he's known and I'm not. So I'm getting the shit kicked out of me. Be that as it may--we're doing OK."

Last thing he said to me as we walked from car to Ft. Wayne airport was "Of course I'm 'up' now. But I feel good about myself. I haven't done anything shitty, nothing to feel bad about. I love it when I come across those big lobbyists. They look at me and know they aren't into me for one cent, that I don't owe them anything and that I'm a mean son of a bitch. That makes me feel good."

At the Fort Wayne press conference--which was a 'Birch Bayh operation'--in and out of Ft. Wayne, to a restaurant for a press conference (one TV station, 2 newspapers, one radio station)--he talked, again, about why he ran. I took some notes this time which was better than his first explanation, which I lost mostly in the foggy fatigue of Tuesday.

"I wasn't the best candidate to make the race, but I was the only one who had the nerve and the guts to risk a safe congressional seat to challenge the incumbent." Earlier, when he noted that Lee Hamilton backed off he said Hamilton lacked that "flip of the balls" that you need to take on such a race.

"We knew when we started that 27-29 percent of the voters wanted to vote against Vance Hartke no matter who ran and that the same number would stay with him no matter who ran. I thought I could do well with the others. What I looked to was the mood of people, their attitude. They felt that Vance Hartke couldn't make the transition from the old politics, grab bag politics, to a politics where he presented himself in such a way that he could make an effective campaign. And that's what has happened. He's spent a lot of money ineffectively; and he has shown that he can't put it together to face the kind

of onslaught the Republicans will face us with. Democratic party members and organized labor know that they are very nervous. They know Hartke will be a millstone around their necks."

Reporter asked how come he was doing all he was doing only taking \$100 contribution. "Spending campaign money is an art. When you deal with the big money givers, they come to you and tell you 'You need a lot of money and we'll give it to you.' That sets the tone for big spending. If you don't have any money and someone comes and says we'll do a poll for 50,000 dollars and you laugh at him, pretty soon you can chisel him down to 45, 40, 35. We don't need the big name pollsters anyway. And I don't travel first class. My flight from Gary to Fort Wayne cost me ten bucks. I don't need a gulfstream jet--lots of private pilots will fly for less. And I don't mind sleeping standing up once in a while. I don't have an expensive staff. I've been able to put together one of the best campaign staffs operating in this state--the best--and we haven't had to pay big dough. They have come to me, heard what I have to say and joined up on a volunteer basis. Vance has had to hire a so-called heavy hitter to come in here to help him--some guy who's been drifting around the state trying to find highway 30 and where it intersects with highway 69. We're doing it cheaper and more efficiently. But the great failure of my campaign has been my inability to organize a fundraising effort to produce small contributions. We just haven't done it and it has hurt us."

On the way to the Ft. Wayne airport I asked him if he thought he had the feel of the primary electorate--the people who would vote--and he talked in almost wholly stylistic terms--not "issues" or demographics at all. He

said that "People are waiting to be turned on and I'm turning them on. My style of campaigning and style of talking is my way of articulating their feelings. They want an attractive, credible alternative to the old way of doing things--something closer to the Jerry Brown style. I don't speak of the old politics in a contemptuous way but in a resigned way. It only confirms what they already know. When you demean Hubert Humphrey, they know you're right. (In press conference he had said HHH "doesn't know what he's talking about" on budget). The biggest boon to us have been junketing, fat congressional budgets and pay raises. Those are our dynamite issues. And they aren't one shot--we've hit them over and over again." (Actually, I missed a lot of the beginning of this comment because it seemed like what he'd been saying so much. But it was stylistic plus issues of "bad government").

Then I said he seemed to be speaking of primary electorate as if it was like whole electorate and not making a distinction. And he agreed. But in agreeing, he got much more into conventional issues.

"They represent the main stream bulk of American citizens--in the middle between the extremes. The day of the ADA dictating Democratic party policy is over. I'm not going to use the liberal knee jerk line at all. And the Day of George Meany and Al Barkan dictating party policy on employment and inflation are over. Did you read the article by Frank Manciewicz? He said the trouble with the Democrats was that when Ford said he was going to cut the budget 28 million, they all said 'Oh, no' we can't do that. I did too; I fell right into line. What we should say is, 'You're right, we should cut 28 billion, but we'll do it our way--take 12 billion out of your defense budget and 16 billion in other programs.' I like Charlie Schultz and Galbraith and

the Brookings people--they're fun. But they are turkeys. Their plans aren't working, so what's the matter with mine. That's why I'm enamored of Jerry Brown--not personally, but his style." To PH, style is the key; but it has an issue component to it, plus an honesty-competence component to it.

The Carter people wanted him to travel with them ("invited me") in his district and he wondered about this while I was there. On way to Ft. Wayne airport, I asked him whether he would go around with Carter and he said, 'No.' "I need to be standoffish and independent of all other politicians. I need so many votes from everywhere that I can't afford to hook up with any of them. Let them come to me instead of me going to them. Let them tailgate on me. Why not? Calculating votes, it's not worth it either. No one will know why that fellow is standing up there with the presidential candidate. At best it will just confirm me in the eyes of my own supporters. It might help him; but I don't owe him a gift. Before it's over, there may be a locked convention and I may want to participate in that." So, he's staying aloof. Actually, it's surprising how little interested he was in anything presidential--well, not surprising, but worth noting. There was almost total isolation. I even forgot about the Pennsylvania Primary Tuesday; and they weren't interested in it.

The one time the presidential race impinged on the PH consciousness was when his Fort Wayne^e guy--Lee? (a former Birch Bayh employee) asked him whether he was going to hide or what in last week before primary since presidential candidates would be getting all the publicity, driving him out of the media. That's a problem; but he said "I'll keep doing what I have been doing." Point is that to PH, presidential primary campaign was something you compete for publicity with. His strongest interest is in seeing Birch Bayh on the national ticket in the fall to help him if he gets the nomination.

Concern with media outside of Lake. When he got in car at Ft. Wayne, his aide said "You got driven off the front page by the Colson murder and put on page three yesterday." And when we got in car after the press conference, Phil said "Only one TV station? What kind of shit is that?" Lee said he'd hand carry the stuff to the others and Phil said good. The day I got there, he was ecstatic about NBC coverage of his junket attack in front of travel agency.

Methodological note: In reflecting on my earlier paper, I've probably underestimated extent to which I affect the situation. I do not affect the schedule much. But I may affect attitudes (like morale) and analysis. You have to converse about politics with them and, hence, reveal your opinions, or at least engage in analysis. PH wanted an interpretation when he got the first 200 person sample from his new poll and repeated my analysis to others. He asked me how I thought he was doing. And I tried to keep his morale up by saying I thought he was "that close". But that was his earlier assessment and I just confirmed it. Those two examples lead me to think that I do affect things somewhat--marginally I'm sure--still very different from Capitol Hill
→ interview.

I asked him whether it was hard for him to play Lake County politics. "No, I can do it. If we had 2 more weeks we could blow Hartke right out of the water in Lake County. It's a matter of personal relations--making friends and sharing experiences. And it's cheap. You go to lots of little parties and act like you're running for county commissioner. It's not different from running in my district except for the indignity of being asked 'Congressman who' or 'what precinct are you running in.' At home, the local chairman comes

out to meet you when you come to town. But it amuses me. It doesn't turn me off. Properly prepared, we could have dynamited St. Michael's last night. We had no lapel stickers and none of the preparation you have to go through. Still, I'm OK. If you approach people on their level and agree that what they think is important is important and go where they want you to go and do what they think you ought to do, respect is gained. You are willing to be one of them. Like Andy Milevsky this morning, getting his little book out and trying to help us by telling us where we should go. It may not mean votes, but it's his attitude. The complaint about Hartke is that he won't come back and when he does he is not comfortable--especially with blacks."

Several times Phil noted his ability to get along with blacks--Rudy Clay - people in South Bend City Hall - City Councilmen in Gary.

When I first asked him why he ran he started with the "background"--that the Indiana delegation had met regularly and had talked frequently about their own situations not being helped by fact that Vance Hartke was running, by the general weakness of the party. Feeling was that Hayes was safe. Evans ~~Fithian~~ Fithian and Jacobs were in trouble. Hamilton had almost filed in 1970 but didn't have "the flip of the ball," it takes to go in. And in 1976, "for personal reasons" Hamilton declined again. Brademas and Roush had more to protect - others were freshmen. That left Hayes.

"I knew the party was rotting and that Hartke was weak. I thought I could do what needed to be done--that is mobilize the second and third eschelon party people and effectively neutralize the ones at the top. I thought the new ones would simply outclass the party regulars. Being a congressman made me a creditable alternative to Hartke, someone who might be able to do it. And I convinced

people it was possible for me to win. I had run in primaries before and Vance hadn't, so I thought would be better at it than he would. Besides, I'm a creative, imaginative person. I thought we could run a media campaign-- a kind of freak show that would get attention. Also there was some romanticism in it. This was the first time in 48 years that the party was going to nominate in a primary instead of a convention. In a convention system, a person like me would never get it. But with the ordinary voters, I stood a chance. And so this was the one chance I would ever have to get to the Senate. I'm a legislator. I don't want to be governor.

At the time, it looked like Birch Bayh might be on the national ticket and this figured in our thinking, too. I thought about staying in the House and having a career like Brademas. I had been working hard and doing my job there. I got on the Select Committee on Intelligence and it was a gas. I did a number on the Speaker to get it, too. But I guess the bottom line was that life in the House wasn't satisfying enough for me. And I was a little down on careerism at the time. We had all known from the papers about Bob Sikes and his Pensacola Bank deal but none of us had spoken up. I hadn't either. I was joining the club. And the reforms the new congressmen wanted were not exactly jet-propelled. In the Senate, with all the good House members running we might have a real chance to change that place--pick a leader and fight the John Stennis's. But I felt queasy about laying my safe House seat on the line to run. It was just a case of "in for a dime, in for a dollar," I guess. It takes a flip of the balls to do it. If I hadn't done it, I'd have always wondered about how it might have been. But I did not want to give up that seat. I want to go back. (Wahyhu)
I'll just have to win two elections to do it."

Hartke said there were three possible reasons why PH ran--he had a deal with Republicans, he was crazy, his wife didn't like Washington. His wife was out campaigning for him in other parts of the state. He said he liked the third reason of Hartke's the best--the implication being that she liked Washington.

One nice touch in Gary was Vicki Caesar's story that "In most places people start at the left side of the ballot--with the presidential candidates--and vote less and less as they move toward the right. But in Gary people start with the precinct committeemen at the right side of the ballot and move to the left. They may not even make it to the Presidential race". Cornell Scott's "sample ballot" that he was handing out in his precinct only had precinct committeeman and state convention delegate on it--nothing else. And we heard lots of radio advertisements for precinct committeemen.

Phil, of course, couldn't get them to pay any attention to his race--except as they hated Hartke for some reason or other or except as he came in on the tail of some complicated parlay among the various groups. In addition to the statewide question he got when he approached people, i.e., "Congressman who?", he got the special Gary version "What precinct are you running in?" All agreed Gary was like no place else--ethnic bitterness (Bob Webb's speech), corruption, political machines.

"I may not beat him, but Hartke has made every classic mistake. He has not taken me seriously. He thinks of me as a nice looking young guy he sees at Washington cocktail parties. But I'm as mean as shit."

"Our basic routine is gas, telephones and junkets. And that sets up perfect locations for our media hits--in front of the gas company, the telephones

company and the travel agency. There we are with the wind blowing the hair, Robert Redford bit and the cameras grinding. It's street theatre."

At another point he called the campaign "a freak show."

He took pains at a number of points to show how he had effectively neutralized the party organization. He knew "we can't go the endorsement route" which was what Hartke was doing. But he hoped that the party leaders--even when they endorsed Hartke--would let their people loose to do what they wanted to in the Senate race"--which was not, after all, what concerned the local leader. Thus the Hammond mayor endorsed Hartke, but told his people he didn't care what they did. Thus Hatcher was keeping mum but "saying nice things about PH" and letting (apparently) his troops go where they wished. That is why Hayes was so upset when the Gary City Council endorsed Hartke. It's because the strategy of "neutralization" hadn't worked in that case. Still, it was typical--and soothing to PH--that when the story of Council endorsements came out, the Hartke endorsement was buried and the headline and news story featured the endorsement of Adam Benjamin (and a couple of others) which put the council at odds with Hatcher. Phil fiddled all day Wednesday with idea of contacting Hatcher, but didn't. Still, the way he treated the city council when they told him they were endorsing Hartke was typical. He told them their personal relations would not change but that they were backing a loser who had never done anything for their city anyway. Told them he was moving to Gary and that they'd never seen Hartke. (facetiously) Story we heard from Jonas Felder was that Hartke made City Council two promises--an office in Gary and something else.

Again--more generally, he stated his proposition. "The party organization hates me--but in the abstract. I don't go to any of their functions. I don't

pay any attention to them collectively. Individually, I tell them they are backing an old bag of bones, a loser who will drag the whole Democratic party down with him--that the party can't stand him on the ticket. But I tell them that no matter what they do our personal relations will not be affected. Sometimes, the ones endorsing Hartke end up being apologetic about it. In that way I neutralize them. If I can keep them from being enthusiastic for Hartke--or better, if the organization leaders will let their people loose to help me--that's a victory." The best explanation of neutralization I've seen in my travels, because it relates to the party structure, and it is the party structure he must deal with in the primary. His confidence in dealing with the party was a control element in his credible strategy for winning.

He thinks that "what I do best is work on the 2nd and 3rd eschelon party people and shake them off from the organization as far as my race is concerned." The whole tactic is to tell organization Democrats that Hartke is a loser. He tells them that in private and in public--announcing his polls, telling everyone he's catching up, trying to create momentum, credibility, the sense that he is a winner.

He feels that the junket story turned the corner for them--that he hadn't realized the potency of it at first. When it caught on, they made it central--telling Hartke to pay it back; getting Hartke on the defensive and eventually on Wednesday getting page one coverage in the Indianapolis Star on fact that Hartke's story of his trips didn't jibe with State Department records. PH poked away at idea that Hartke took trips to study veterans affairs in countries with 4500 (and even 1000!) troops. Star picked that up, and Hayes was ecstatic. Media victory is biggest kind of victory--especially Marion County, Lake County--well, that's something different.

"The difference between Vance and me is that I go home and he doesn't. I listen to my constituents and I know what upsets them. He doesn't. I voted against the pay raise not because I didn't need the money but because I knew my constituents were angry at congress raising its pay while they were being asked to tighten their belts. I didn't go on junkets not because I don't like to travel, but because I knew my constituents were angry at congressmen who go around the world at their expense."

He described his tactic as starting soft and getting tougher and tougher, which he thought was the reverse of a normal strategy. But he needs the recognition. "My disapproval rate was 2% in the first poll and 12% in the second. That means we're getting under the skin of Hartke supporters. As long as our hate rating is going up we must be doing something right."

Five weeks ago, first poll showed them 44% Hartke, 29% Hayes and rest undecided. They felt that 12% of the Hartke vote was soft because that many couldn't think of anything they liked about Hartke. And they confirmed that his integrity was thought to be low. Hayes had 6% recognition factor.

Second poll (piggybacked on a Carter-Cadell poll) showed Harkte 45%, Hayes 38% and rest undecided. They used the contrast to pump up their morale and that of everyone they met.

The main media push was a series of 300 ten-second spots in last week. "If you introduce a new car you do 900 one minute spots. We are doing 300, 10 second spots. It's just a shot of my face--a nice looking, smiling face, Mr. Nice Guy--and--I say 'I'm Phil Hayes and I want to do a good job for you in the Senate'--or words to that effect. It's stright name ID stuff. It says "I'm OK; you're OK." He repeated this last formula several times, noting that "Hartke's ads say "I'm not OK, you're not OK".

Note: Key for staff in a campaign is the ability (and willingness) to 'move without the candidate'. I liken this to the ability in basketball to 'move without the ball'. You can't use up the candidate's time by asking questions or by trying to be near him all the time.

PH estimates he's got about 200 workers in all. In my stay, Mauk, Bodine, Sykes were mainstays. It's a tiny, shoestring, hand to mouth campaign. Its success will depend wholly on how rotten or ripe Hartke really is. "The average age of staff is 23. Bodine is the old pirate."

Said at one point that Ed Mezvinsky's district and his were the same. "Even the mean temperature and the hog population are the same," so he went and spoke at Mezvinsky's Jefferson Jackson (JJ) dinner.

When I asked whether he was equally at home in various parts of the state, he singled out Fort Wayne as a problem. "Fort Wayne is frustrating for me. It's Missouri Synod Lutheran and Republican. It's cold and it's stuffy. When I go there, nothing happens."

I asked him whether his district was "a microcosm" of the state. He answered in terms of Lake County. "I'm literary and I can play it either way. But it's different. This is more complex. At home it's a slower way of life--a simpler and I think valuable way of life. Politics is more emotional here, there's more tension. It's more racist; sometimes politics seems more like war between the Caucasian ethnics and the blacks. And it's more corrupt."

He talked about the state in terms of Congressional districts, and that seems to be a natural way of thinking for him. "My pattern of operation always has been to identify local issues, move in on them and occupy them, monopolize them and make them my issues. I have tried to do this in every congressional

district--and in only one case have I come into conflict with the Member (Fithian). It's natural for me to think in terms of congressional districts. It's not that I consciously say to myself 'Well, here I am in Fort Wayne and I'll act like Ed Roush.' It's just that I know these people and I know how they vote in Congress, so I get a pretty good idea what their districts are like."

When I asked about the places where he concentrated his time, he mentioned the districts (but I think I fed him that category on that occasion--actually he focussed on counties within districts--to him the 1st district is Lake County, the 3rd is St. Joe County, the 8th is Marion County and the 12th is Allen County. Or, respectively, Gary, South Bend, Indianapolis and Fort Wayne. His other media areas are Evansville, Lafayette and Terre Haute.

Besides his weakness in fund raising, he cited his other weak spot as Marion County - Indianapolis. He thought he would do well in the suburbs, but said he hadn't put the time in there that he should have. "I haven't had time to do what I do best--do a number on the ward leaders and break them away from the organization. Or at least neutralize them. Sometimes I even get vulgar and mean with them as I did in Kokomo with the union guys. I told them 'you cut the shit or you'll all aget your goddamned asses whipped'. When I ended, they were with me."

There is, in Hayes, as there was in Zion a kind of 'I can get tough' streak. Phil swears a lot and admits he gets schatalogical sometimes. "Shit" is actually a favorite word of his in private. He also thinks of himself as "mean". After one of the Wednesday night parties he told us about some Hartke supporter who got tough with him. Says Phil "He put his fist right up to my face and I told him to get the fuck away from me--that I wasn't going to take

any of his shit. 'You back the fuck off or I'll beat the shit out of you.' He said to me 'I know I'm tough and I know you're tough'--and he walked away." To Phil that showed a kind of ability to trade toughness that fits his image of himself. Roger Zion had that same quality. I think it probably comes from something in that Indiana political culture; but maybe it's just human orneriness. But I don't think any of my other people display that streak.

Money payoffs a constant theme in Gary. On way to City Hall "Do they want any bread?" On way to Cornell Scott's, "Will they be expecting some bread?" Phil's great put on of the guy in Hammond who had told him that the Hammond organization endorsed Benjamin because he paid \$250 per precinct whereas Madden only offered \$200 per precinct.

PH on VH - "a f----- psychotic falling apart at the seams" "a zip gun" "an old bag of bones" "a dead horse"

"Vance doesn't understand one farm issue. They are good issues if you frame them right. They are issues of social structure, of culture. Only 5% of the population actually farm, but the rural small towns are attached to the farmer's way of life. They have a sentimental attachment to it. That's the issue."

There's a little bit of the Billy Marvel in Phil--the language is filled with 'zap', 'bang him like a drum,' "blow him out of the water," "give him a shot," 'hits,' 'bang,' 'zip,' 'dynamite', 'jetted' with images of lightening bolts flashing through the skies--^{"diff"} 'pow,' 'shazam.' I just called him 'the miracle-worker' - his self image is that of someone who 'makes things happen,' 'turns people on,' 'has guts,' 'balls,'^{has} 'is 'mean',^{is 'tough'} I think that the Billy Captain Marvel is not so bad an analogy though. There's some pop-culture here. He is somewhat intellectual--likes to talk ideas and books, but plays with them

as in a game--like when he gave the radio interview. "She wanted a head game, so I gave it to her." I think he always saw Roger Zion as the heavy--someone with whom he toyed and counterpunched. 'Bop.' 'Biff!! Relatedly, he talks about his age publicly - Ft. Wayne. "I'm 35, a year older than Birch Bayh when he first won and a year younger than Vance Hartke. There has been a tradition in Indiana of receptivity to young men running for the Senate."

Dick Bodine talked about the campaign. "We've been going for 40 days. We started eleven days before the filing date for nominating petitions. Forty days ago we had no signatures, no workers, no staff, no office, no money. And now we are almost even. The one thing I wish is that Phil had not stuck with his \$100 limit on contributions. If he had lifted it to \$200 we'd have been in much better shape. But if that's important to him, that's the way it's gotta be."

Phil says they will spend \$40,000--\$15,000 of it is his own. And they were scratching, scraping and scrounging all the time I was with them. We drove to La Porte for a fund raiser that netted \$40--though a couple of people there gave him \$100 each.

He said people in his own district were mad at him for running--after they had worked to get him a safe seat. He said he dealt with it by staying away till it cooled off. Now, he expects to beat Hartke 60-40 in his district. He calls the Democrat running (guy he beat in primary in 1974) "an empty-head" and he hopes the Republicans, "a millionaire Baptist minister" wins.

When I went to Indiana, I didn't think he had a chance. The first thing I said to Kevin would be that it would be a miracle if he did it. I left thinking he had a good chance--maybe as good as 50-50. But the problem is that all I heard were the good things--people who wanted to be nice to Phil plus

staffers who are pumping up their own morale. Phil was pumping up his own morale too, and you don't know whether he has an accurate perception or not. When he asked Lee in the car in Ft. Wayne how they were doing, Lee said he was already thinking ahead to the fall campaign against Lugar. Lee had worked for Bayh; but whether he knows what he's talking about is a mystery to me. What the Hayes people do, they seem to do pretty well. But they are obviously under financed, understaffed, have worked a very short time, are poorly organized and they are running an unknown candidate. He is getting better known, I'm sure. But whether ordinary voter will even know who he is is problematical. So I think his media campaign plus a little person to person stuff in Lake County is all he's got. Whether he wins or not will depend primarily on the anti-Hartke vote. The central question I'm left with is simply: How rotted out is Vance Hartke? And from my vantage point, I can't tell. I do believe that Hartke is sufficiently rotted out that a well financed, well organized campaign could knock him out. Whether a shoestring "freak show" can do it or not, I can't tell. But I do think Phil is a good candidate and that he's the best kind of alternative to Hartke. That is, he's just the person to take him on and beat him. It's just that his resources are so meagre. He doesn't lack for audacity, intelligence, good humor, personal attractiveness, endurance or guts. Shazam?!