

DAVID PRYOR

October 12-14, 1984

Frank Thomas, Paul Berry, Marilyn Brown.

Arkansas Education Association.

Jack Holt, candidate for chief justice of supreme court - says DP is "just about the most perfect person I know." Tells a story that in Camden H.S., David and Brian Adkinson spit on the head of the janitor down the stair well. "I was sort of glad to hear that, because it humanized that perfect individual, DP. It showed he has his ~~fl~~^{fl}ilties. No one has done more than David Pryor to help state of Arkansas."

Privately, later, David called it a grudge match. Johnson beat Holt's father in primary for governor. Johnson now a Republican. Gave another pitch at NAACP lunch, ^{for Holt.}

Pryor's introduction by AEA President.

"This election is vital to our state...friend of Arkansas and Arkansas teachers. Helpful in response to inquiries... Kind reception from him and his staff. Supported Department of Education, extension of voting rights of 65 - support ML King Holiday - opposed tuition tax credits--increased funding for education. Co-sponsor of American Def. Ed. Act. 88% voting record for education."

David's speech.

"I promise you I'm not going to give an address. I don't think I've ever made an address in my life."

Talking about his trip today - everywhere people came up and said that I had made such "a warm speech" - looked it up in dictionary - "warm means not so hot!"

Praises Holt - "critical and crucial race" - is going to be interpreted by people...across the land as a mirror and image of progress and thinking of people in Arkansas - has got to be 95% victory for Jack Holt."

Story about a teacher in Pine Bluff - when he ran for Congress - he had biggest county--1/4 of votes in the district. I didn't know many people in Jefferson County--would come over back and forth and back and forth, but I couldn't get anything going in Jefferson County - I said I can't win the race if I don't carry Jefferson county - a friend called and asked who Ann McClare is - I said I don't know. "She teaches 9th grade civics, has opened a headquarters, got 20 volunteers."

Because of one teacher, her energy started a fire that burned brightly - because of her efforts "I turned the county around and won by 56%. Because of one person who had that contagious enthusiasm--can help.

Have seen a turnaround on national level, new enthusiasm, new volunteers.

"I urge you to consider power you have...etc. He wanders and though he puts enthusiasm in it, he gives a very ordinary speech. But he does know how to pull cheers from them. Not articulate.

Worked "very very closely with this organization." One of first measures I had opp. to cosponsor and keep admin. from abolishing was Department of Education." (applause)

"I have an opponent in the race - 10 month campaign and I love a good scrap and a good campaign."

"One of those campaigns that would attract a lot of national attention, ^{that} ~~but~~ ^{dignitaries} and big shots, and big wigs from Washington to tell people of Arkansas ^{who to vote for} ~~to speak~~ ^{RR for Bush came to speak,} Kemp - Reagan next week. Block past week -
"all coming down to our state, if you can imagine, to tell the people of

Arkansas who they need for the Senate. How stupid do they think we are! We are going to demonstrate our ferocious independence. We don't want a rubberstamp for any pres. We want an independent senator who will support a president when he's right and will not support him when he's wrong." (applause) "I told you I wasn't going to make an important speech, but I'm having a pretty good time."

"Have you ever heard my opponent come on TV and say my opponent David Pryor has voted vs. Pres. R. more than any other member of the Senate than any other Senator" (standing applause, prolonged) Same line at NAACP drew no applause.

"People of Arkansas know that role of Senator from Arkansas is not to go to Washington and represent President but to represent people of the state he represents."

Quality education as base for high tech.

"I've attempted to be a Senator Arkansas can be proud of."

"I'll double and triple my efforts in every way...to try my dead level best to convince whoever I can, wherever I speak, to convince people that we are proceeding on a nuclear arms race that no one can win."

"Contractors are ripping taxpayers off at expense of education."

"I feel like I'm among friends."

After the speech, he said "When a politician is giving a speech to a half way friendly ^{audience} office, it's intoxicating."

But David's uncomfortableness with the speech was evident from first moment I saw him. He said he'd see me in the morning. I said I was going to the speech at night. He said "Oh, you don't want to do that. I'm not going to give a speech. I'm just going to say hello."

When he got in the car he said "I've been kind of dreading this speech all day. This group worked hard against me in 1978, but now they have

endorsed me. They should. I've done a lot for them in the last 6 years...

It seems like the governor is always their enemy. They fought hard against me,

[but they are vicious against Bill Clinto. He got them their biggest pay raise in history, by increasing the sales tax. But they are against him because of the teacher testing ^{law} They sure forget in a hurry.] I've always had trouble with their leaders."

On the way into the hall, he shook hands with everyone in the lobby and as we walked up into the auditorium he turned to me and said quietly, with a wink "Isn't this a funny way to make a living."

He also fretted a little. "I'm not going to give a speech. I'll only talk for ten minutes." And then he started by saying he wasn't going to give an address. He doesn't like big ^{fund} speeches to big audiences.

"My campaign is in good shape so long as I don't make a mistake. It's when you're tired that you make mistakes!"

"In 1968 the voters of Arkansas voted for George Wallace, Winthrop Rockefeller and Bill Fullbright. I'm hoping and praying that they do the same thing in 1984. Ronald Reagan is ahead by 24 points in Arkansas."

When I asked Ann Pride how it was going she said "It's 60-30. We're stomping the shit out of him. And he's off the air. He's run out of money."

Frank Thomas says David has never been below 60% since he came on in July.

After the Arkansas Education Association talk, Frank told David that George Wells of the Gazette was going to write tomorrow's story on the speech. I hope he doesn't write it as an anti Reagan speech or an anti Bethune speech. Do you think he will, Frank?"

Frank says that up till recently David replied to Bethune's charge that he voted vs. Reagan more than anyone by pointing out certain votes (vs. withholding

on interest) where he did vote vs. RR. Frank also said that David had been getting away from talking about Bethune or mentioning Bethune lately, but that he went back to it tonight. His advisers tell him not to mention Bethune.

He says the inner council of the campaign is Bruce Lindsay, Skip Rutherford, Tom Holcomb, Paul *Berry*, Ann Pride, Barbara Pryor, and Frank Thomas, and Jack Williams.

Saturday, we flew to Jonesboro and then went by car (Sheriff Floyd Robinson driving) to Weimer (pop. 750) for the Weimer Rice Festival. DP mingled with dignitaries early on, paraded to the platform outside, sat there with a row of politicians and rice people and gave a speech--very short. Bumpers talked longer (Bumpers is campaigning hard because people think Clinton will run against him) and Clinton talked even longer.

David apologized for having to leave (with shaking as many hands as he wanted to) and talked, mostly, about how he and Dale Bumpers had stood on senate floor and talked until people listened to their story about rice--he said they knew how to filibuster if necessary to make people take notice of the rice farmer--and that next session they would accomplish more.

He ended by saying "It has been one of the great joys of my service in the Senate to serve on the Agriculture Committee and stand up for the Arkansas rice farmers". This is an interesting reprise on his "Stuttgart speech in 1978. He still promises to tend to agriculture, especially rice. But he does not like his service on the Agriculture Committee. There is no way it is one of his "great joys" in D.C. But he's kept his promise.

In the plane I asked him whether Weimer-Jonesboro (and Helena) were good areas for him politically. "They are good areas for me. They are both farming areas; and I've worked very hard with the farmers of the state. I should do well in all the farming areas of the state."

Also, in the plane I asked him the circumstances of the filibuster he alluded to.

"In the farm bill, they had were providing for loans and setting targets for various crops, but rice had been left out. To John Block, rice is an abomination--I guess it's because hogs don't eat rice. Under the circumstances, the farm bill had to be passed on a certain day. So I stood up, talked about the importance of rice and began to read rice recipes. Howard Baker sidled over to me and asked whether or not I was intending to filibuster. I said I had no such intention but that I did have several hundred rice recipes I might read. He walked away and I kept on reading recipes. Pretty soon Bob Dole came over and said "OK, what do you want." We had a quorum call and worked something out."

"Later in the year, when the trade bill came up, there was a situation with respect to bromine that I did not like. The administration had negotiated to remove the duty on bromine imported from Israel. Seventy-five percent of all bromine in the U.S. comes from Arkansas. If the duty on Israeli bromine were lifted it would destroy the economies of two counties in South Arkansas. So I began to talk about the problems on the floor. Howard Baker sauntered over and inquired whether the Senator from Arkansas had any more rice recipes he intended to read. I said yes I had a few and I knew where I could get some more. Baker said he sensed a filibuster coming, called for a quorum call, got Bill Brock (our trade representative) over to the floor and we worked out a letter giving us a three year moratorium on any change in duties. We bought some time... It is sad to say in a way, but if any single senator is tenacious enough and cares enough about a subject, he can bring the United States Senate to a halt. Those are the rules, you have to use them from time to time."

I asked him about John Glenn and the Senate. "I don't want to say exactly that it's a sad case, but John seems lonely. People don't go up to visit with him. He's very much by himself. He's lonely. People like him, but they don't know what to say to him. When a politician has been defeated, other politicians sort of have the feeling that it's contagious. So they tend to stay away from him. The situation will right itself in time. Right now, though, it's very sad. He's got this huge debt which plagues him. But he'll come out it all right."

He talked again about last night's AEA speech. "I hated to give that speech last night. I felt so goofy and so tired." That's why he said, last night that when you're tired, you make mistakes. He was tired (Frank kept saying he was) and he was afraid he'd say something he didn't want to. And, then, afterward he was afraid George Wells would make his speech too anti-Reagan. He surely drew his greatest applause with the line that Bethune says he voted vs. RR more than any other senators. Well, I have the story and George did not emphasize that. He emphasized independence. But he is very sensitive about attacking Republicans or RR.

He told story about how he (when he was editor of the ⁹⁴Ochita paper) paid George Wells his first \$5 for a story. "And I had to borrow the \$5 from the printer in the back room to do it." Even the reporter covering him goes back 25 years.

The stories David tells are told with movements and inflexions that make the humor totally contagious. In writing them, all that warmth is lost.

In the airport he described his hometown of Camden as "a town of wonderful nicknames" - "Dooley" Warmak, "Doodles" _____, and "Ding Ding" Bell--

"old Ding Dong" Bell ran for office till, halfway through his campaign, they discovered he wasn't registered to vote."

"When he and Dooley were campaigning in county politics vs. some other faction. "We would get a little group together every morning during the campaign and give them five or six rumors. Then we'd send them fanning out over the county spreading the rumors among their kin. By nightfall there would be so many rumors flying around the county that the opposition couldn't keep up with them." Told with zest and humor and arm motions.

And, just as he sees Camden as "a town of wonderful nicknames", he sees Arkansas as "a state of wonderful characters".

"Junior Bates is an old man about 81 who sits all day on a bench in Williston's store outside Benton in _____ county. He's a big man about six feet four, and he wears overalls. He wears a baseball hat and the hat is filled with political buttons. He has buttons all over the sides and the top. Ol' "Junior", he sits there in his bib overalls and his cap and he has one wish in life, the only thing he wants in all this world. He wants to go to Washington, and stand on the spot where John Kennedy's body lay in the Rotunda. He's never been to Washington. And I swear, I'm going to find some way somehow to get ol' Junior Bates to Washington."

"Up near Booneville, there's this little ol bent over fella they call 'Squeaky'. They call him squeaky because he has this high pitched voice. One day he came over to me and said in his high voice 'Senator Pryor people in my township have a habit.'" I thought, oh my God, they've started sniffing coke way up in Booneville. I asked him "What's the habit?" And he says to me "Senator Pryor, everybody in my township votes the same way." Gales of laughter.

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"There's this sheriff down in Louisville ^{Leachville?} in ~~in~~ county who is a great supporter of mine. At campaign time he puts Pryor posters all over the county sheriff's car--all over it. All you can see is the sireen sticking up. Nothing but Pryor posters. One time some fella came up to him and said "Don't you think it's wrong for you to have all these political posters all over the official county sheriff's car?" And Sheriff Lawrence looks at him real stern and says, 'You want to take one off?'" Gales of laughter.

"A lot of our titan missiles were housed in the little bitty ole town called Damascus. And one day, there was an accident and one of the missiles was nearly launched. It so happened that just two or three weeks before the accident, I had been pleading on the Senate floor for a warning system so that the residents would know when an accident had occurred. Well when the incident occurred, without warning, I became the nation's expert on titan missiles. I didn't know anything about titan missiles, but there was no one else to call, so hundreds of people called me. I had a pile of pink call slips I could never return. But one call I took came from a woman in New York. "Wasn't there total panic in the streets, and weren't the subways clogged with people trying to get out, when they found out about it?" I said to her 'Maam, you don't understand Damascas. Someone runs down the main street, like Paul Revere, hollering to people in the windows and on the porch to get out of town. Then everybody moves on up the road to see Bee Branch.'" Great laughter at the idea of the subways in Damascus (pop. 255). Point of story is that New Yorkers don't understand rural Arkansas.

And David does. The only part he does not know well is north^{west}east Arkansas. He says it's growing fast and that there are so many new people he has to keep going up there to explain himself and meet people. It's a little isolated from the rest of the state and very Republican. Little Rock TV and Little Rock papers don't cover that part of the state very well. Winston

Bryant (Lieut. Governor) says he thinks the influx is so great in that area that state could be Republican in the not too distant future.

He talked about this little town in the mountains. "They had a Democratic cafe and a Republican cafe, they have a Democratic store and a Republican store, they have a Democratic Exxon station and a Republican Exxon station. I heard they just got a Democratic dentist and a Republican dentist. And that's the way they play, real hard. And they'll say anything. One day I was in the Democratic cafe at a rally pounding away at the Republicans. They had candles on the table for light and I was hot and sweaty and I was going after those Republicans when one old fella--a veterinarian--put up his hand and said 'what's the matter with Bumper?' I said, what 'He said, what's the matter with Bumper.' I said you mean Senator Bumpers. He said yes, Bumper. I saw him on TV and he's jaundiced. He looked yellow to me on TV." I said no, he's fine. Maybe it's your TV." Great laughter.

David savors small human foibles like that. It's never mean, just a form of savoring life. As another example, the Deputy Sheriff of Phillips County who drove us around in Helena could not pronounce Bethune. When we'd see lawn signs (which are everywhere!) he'd say "Betune" (no h). David noticed and kept repeating it "It keeps going through my mind, Betune." "I think we'll have to call my opponent, Betune from now on." "A perceptive reporter would have caught Betune." Half a dozen times, he mused 'Betune'. I don't know of any other Seantor for whom that mispronunciation would have stuck so. I think it was the humanness of it, somehow that strikes David. He sees it as ^ffun, as people are fun.

They are handing out Pryor fans and they are big hit 100,000 so far, ^{or so,} ~~NSO~~. David tells story of how in some courtroom the power goes off and it's hot

as blazes and somebody suggests they get some Pryor fans and they go get them. "So there is this trial going on while the judge, the jury, the lawyers, the defendent, and the spectators are all waving their Pryor fans back and forth." laughter.

With regard to the speech I have taped--his NAACP speech in Helena, it's important to note the difference in style from Tom Harkin. Harkin was all issues, Farrell was all issues. David spends a lot of time on introductions of people and praise of them. Then gets into some issues. He was at his best--in an issue sense when the black lawyer got up and made a plea for politicians to address black concerns directly. He was good because he got right up and took questions--on South Africa, Grenada, Grove City, and black postman in Helena. The fact that he jumped up and let people fire away was good. What he said was less important. "When I saw John Walker get up, I said to myself oh, oh, here's trouble." He said the guy sitting next to him said "Don't you get up and answer all those questions.'" But he did and I thought that showed him at his most engaged. He does not go into detail on issues. But he tries. Anybody who's got a problem can get his attention, issues or not, as Winston Bryant said in introduction.

He likes it, he says, when Bethune talks about REA and blasts him for wanting to bawl out REA. He considers that his issue. He considers that his issue, I'm sure, with the farmers.

He compared 2 reporters from Gazette--said one watched and absorbed and the other captured the moment more imaginatively. The first was more trustworthy than the second. But it was interesting that he should think better of the man who "captures the human side, the personal side of politics, the person who thanks me for the social security check or talks to me about

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He gets a little break for the parody

someone we know." Again, politics is not issues to him except insofar as you get from people to issues. At least not when he's in Arkansas.

I tried to get him to talk about nerve gas and his tenure. I asked if it was "the most important" issue or "the dominant" issue of his 6 years and he said no. (I didn't ask him if there was one and if so which, but I let him go.

I asked him if nerve gas came up at all in the camp^{open} and he said no. Then he said it was not an issue because Bethune took same position.

I haven't thought much about it. It was important because it showed a commitment on my part. It showed I would stand up and fight for something, that I would be tenacious when I thought I was right. It wasn't the most important issue for me, but it was one that no one else had carved out. Reporters, as you know, operate with boxes or pigeon holes. Tower - MX missile; Domenici-budget; Pryor - nerve gas. For them, I was identified with it. But it came up two or three or four times every year. I'd get my 6 thick briefing books and go over to the floor one more time to do battle on it. It just goes on and on and it isn't settled yet. I wish Ms. Ferraro had asked George Bush how come he came in and broke the tie in favor of nerve gas. I don't think I would have gotten so much attention if I had been from Florida or California. But the fact that I was opposed to it when it was manufactured in my state and would cost jobs and^I was opposed by people in the state made it more interesting. Those are just my thoughts on it off the top of my head."

It was interesting that he said this "off the top of my head" I would have thought he'd have thought about it. He did like the fact that it demonstrated backbone--because, I speculate, he has sometimes been accused of

not having much. And he also seems to have gotten bored with it--which is typical. And issues don't excite him--qua issues

He said that "The man who was head of the chemical warfare division, the man I fought for so long on nerve gas is retired now. He called the other day and wanted to come down and help me in my election. Tim Gold, I said I don't know what you could do. He said he would do anything. Isn't that interesting? I don't know what he could do."

I asked Henry Wilkens, pol. science professor at Pine Bluff why he thinks David did it and he said "For moral reasons. He just didn't like nerve gas."

"When my granddaddy ran for sheriff, he handed out wooden thimbles; when my daddy ran for sheriff, he gave out aluminum thimbles; when I ran for the legislature, I gave out plastic thimbles. I guess that tells you something about the deterioration of American life."

They had a new poll tonight 62-38. Done by Stevens brothers. And they report Bethune being discouraged. Paper next day had story that Bethune had not gained.

Winston Bryant's ^{office (Lt. Gov)} ~~issue~~ was in the background and he said no one cared about the office.

David told one reporter that he was running a tight campaign schedule. But from my 2 days, he ran a very light schedule. I don't think he's pouring on the heat at all. He's sitting on a big lead and afraid to make a mistake. "I'll be all right if I don't screw up--which I've been known to do" he said in plane on the way back from Helena--which echoed the first comment he made to me when he saw me.

David returned a call to Lloyd Bentsen before we took off on the plane. Bentsen filled him in on other races and they talked finances. I think he wanted Bentsen's OK to give money disproportionately to people in trouble.

*Sense of public
time & political
background*

Anyhow, I asked him if he had asked other Senators to come in and help him (a bunch came to help Jepsen) and he said "A lot of them want to come in and help. I tell them: stay out. Don't come anywhere near Arkansas." That's what Bethune is doing. I don't want help."

His slogan "Arkansas Comes First" portrays the local orientation of the campaign. Bethune's is unabashedly pro-Reagan.

Are you campaigning like you did in the House? "No, I'm only hitting the high spots. When I was running for Congress I would drive down the road and would stop at a bowling alley at midnight if there was a light on or I'd stop at a store. Now I can only hit the high spots. I have more arms and legs out there working for me, all over the state than I ever had before. I've never had as good an organization as I have for this race. I ^would do more old-fashioned campaigning if I could, but there just isn't time."

"I spent hours in the summer in the back of cafes with 20 or so people getting together our county committees and a county coordinator. Sometimes the coordinator wouldn't work out and we'd have to go back and get another one. It was hard work. But the fruits of that hard work are being felt today. Our organization is in good shape."

Re stages. "We held our first fund raiser in March 1983 here at the Excelsius Hotel. We raised 100,000, A couple of weeks later we raised 80,000 in Washington. This was a period when my supporters kept saying I didn't have to worry, that I wouldn't have an opponent. I kept saying don't be too sure; and, anyway, we can freeze everyone out. I wasn't having trouble raising money. I haven't had one bit of trouble raising money for this campaign. I've never seen anything like it. But it was hard to get people to think seriously about the race. In January my opponent announced, and from January till about July we concentrated on building the organization.

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In July and August we went through the stage of confrontation. He and I were both back home during recesses, travelling around the state and firing charges back and forth. That became very unproductive and I withdrew from that, I am trying not to say anything that would give him any excuse to start in again. As part of this stage we ran a series of semi-negative ads, about 100,000 worth. We thought he might be coming up a little in the polls and we wanted people who were hearing about him for the first time to hear negative things about his record. In September, we moved into the stage we're in now, just doing hard politicking." I think that means asking for votes. And it's clear why he does not want to debate or say anything provocative--confrontation is over.

What effect on your career would a victory of 52% have as opposed to a victory of 62%. "A lot. A lot. If I win by 62% I can be more free wheeling in the Senate. If I win by that much, I can become more active in the Senate in the whole arms control problem. I can have a lot more leeway in everything I do. And if I have a 62% margin back here people will say 'you can run against David Pryor next time if you want to, but you're wasting your time. If I were to win by only 52%, I'd be a cripple. I'd be on everyone's list for 6 years from now. That's what's happened to Dale Bumpers. His election changed him. He was supposed to win by 80% and he won by 56%. He's been back here every weekend since. Maybe it will save him since he knows he's got to build up his organization. If I get 60%, I'll be strong in the Senate and in the state. If I get 58% or 57% I'll probably be strong. But if I get 55% or 54%, I don't know. I would not feel confident. It would have a big effect on me psychologically."

What thing he did gave him greatest visibility? He said that "It would be nerve gas or the consultants issue." And he specifically said that the answer held for both Washington and Arkansas.

Which accomplishment helped your career the most? "Getting on the Agricultural Committee. It's a political committee. And once you are on, you can never get off." I could see how much he used that in his trips the last 2 days.

Of all the things you did in 6 years, which helped your career in the Senate the most? "Probably (my work on) nerve gas. It showed that I could learn about a subject and become, if not an authority, at least more knowledgeable than most. There weren't three people inside the beltway who knew as much about nerve gas as I did. I didn't know all that much about it. But everyone thought I did. And it showed I could take the lead on an issue. The nerve gas fight has helped me the most with my colleagues and my peers."

I asked him about the influence of his father. "My father died when I was 17, but he had a great influence on me. One thing he taught me was to neutralize your opposition. Do not go into combat with your opposition, neutralize them. His first race was against an incumbent Sheriff Tom Ellis. Tom and his friends ran the courthouse, and some people came to my father and asked him to join the reform group. He was a Chevrolet dealer. He joined the reform group, they were going to sweep out the county courthouse, they all wore brooms on their lapels. He went to all of Tom Ellis' friends and said 'I know you have to vote for Tom Ellis. I'm not going to hold it against you. I want you to be for me when you find you can't go with Tom.' He neutralized them, and before long they were his supporters. Another thing he taught me was to stay close to the ordinary people. He was a common people's man. He only had an eighth grade education, but he understood people. He was a great student of human nature. Some couple would come in to buy a car and my father would tell them 'You don't

want to buy this car, it has too many added features, like such and such.' Before he was though, the people would be demanding to buy that very car. He was a natural born salesman and a great student of human nature."

"My mother--she just died last summer--she was an important influence too. She was the first woman ever to run for elective office in the state of Arkansas--after women got the suffrage. She ran for county clerk and lost. But she was the first. And it wasn't because of ERA or anything like that. She needed the job."

I said I asked about his father because I wondered where his reform, anti-establishment impetus came from. He nodded, but did not related it directly to his parents--even though both had, in his or her own way, challenged the establishment.

opinion

"I was a bit of a reformer in college, writing for the newspaper. But I think it was my experience as a driver for Governor Frank Cherry in his race against Orville Faubus that made me angry at the system. Faubus beat Cherry in his bid for a second term; and from that day on, everything Faubus was for, I was against."

And I said, (and that carried right through to the Pentagon.' And he went into an attack on the Pentagon as feathering their own nest and ripping off the public, all for their own benefit rather than the national security. He sees the military as a bureaucracy that rips off ordinary people.

Bethune too / developed

"There's a fairly close connection between my attitude toward Ed Bethune and my attitude toward the people who want nerve gas. I hate both of them because I hate hypocrisy and self righteousness. There's nothing I hate more than self righteous people--who think they are completely right and you are completely wrong. I just can't get along with such people. That's Ed Bethune. And the nerve gas people, they just want something for themselves

without regard for security. They are a bunch of hypocrites. It's just a matter of constituencies--like Arkansas politics. There is the black constituency, the car dealer constituency, the lumber industry, the farmers. They all want something. That's just the way the Pentagon works. The nuclear people have their missiles and they are happy; the tank people have the M-1 tank and they are real happy; but here's this one group that doesn't have anything, so they decide they ought to make up some new nerve gas. They are ripping off the people for their own benefit. They are not concerned with security. That is their rationalization. That makes me very mad."

Are you comfortable in the Senate? "Yes I'm very comfortable in the Senate. I'm comfortable with the procedures and the people. I've felt that way now for three or four years. When I first went there, and I got up to make a speech, I was scared stiff. It was peer pressure, pure peer pressure. I was afraid I would make a fool of myself in front of my peers. I still don't do a lot of speaking in the Senate; but when I speak now, I am very comfortable. I feel like I have made ^{it} in the Senate. I know I have a long way to go still before I am completely accepted. But I am comfortable with my peers. I know when I compare myself to others I came in with that I am respected and that when I say something I can get attention. When these others speak, everybody leaves the chamber. They will never make it as long as they stay in the Senate. Steve Symms, John East, Roger Jepsen, Paula Hawkins will never make it. Alan Simpson, he's made it. They don't even know that they haven't made it. They won't make it because they got off on the wrong foot at the start. That's why I went so slow in the beginning, so as not to make a mistake. I didn't talk a lot when I first went to the

state legislature either. It's that peer pressure. You can't say how you know you've made it in the Senate. It comes little by little. It's a sense you have, a feel. People talk to you about other colleagues. People come over and visit with you and joke with you. The Senate is a funny place. It is such a group of egos. People will grump and say 'I don't have to do this, I could make 500,000 elsewhere.' And when you say, 'Why don't you do it,' They say 'Of course not.' They love the place and you'll never get them away from it. Especially when they are challenged. Then they'll really fight to keep the job. They never really want it until someone wants to take it away from them. I've always wondered whether I should have behaved differently in 1972. If I had gone directly to John McClellan and said 'I want to run for the Senate, but I don't want to run against you.' I wonder if he would have dropped out. I don't say he would have, and I don't know that he would have, but I'll always wonder what would have happened if I had behaved differently than I did." (He challenged McClellan.)

I asked him if people called him a populist "Liberal does not fit me so people have sometimes called me a populist. I think that comes closer than either liberal or conservative."

I didn't get to talk to him about comparing campaigns. But in plane, he said, "Each campaign has a different chemistry. Last time the teachers fought me, now they are with me. Last time labor fought me. Now they are with me. You can never tell what will happen in six years. The moral of the story is 'Don't burn your bridges.' The person who opposes you today may be with you sometime down the line."

When I first mentioned the word accomplishment, he said what he had said at the radio station. "That's the hardest question of all". Then I put the "visibility" twist on it and the answer came out very differently than

what he told the radio interviews^{er}. With him, he answered, defense, farming, elderly. With me it was nerve gas and consultants.

He could not remember the name of the man who ran vs. him in 1978. Could not! Yet he hates Ed Bethune--who called him a coward, among other nice things.

This morning, when Frank and I went to pick up DP, Frank asked what he thought about the stories - "They were OK. If I had been Ed Bethune, I would have hated to read the story by Carol Matlack. Our situation now is one of damage control. Stay out of intersections and don't run any red lights. If we don't make any mistakes we'll be all right."

The State Rep. who drove us to the fish fry said to David "No one's better at a fish fry than you are David,"

Throughout my trip, DP expressed nervousness. "Only three more weeks. I wish it were three weeks from Tuesday. There's always so much uncertainty in the last few weeks--especially the last week. You know something is going to happen that week, but you never know what. I can't decide whether I should be on the road that week or stay close by in the office. I don't want to be way off some place when a crisis comes up. If nothing has happened by Saturday of the last week then it's too late for any damage."

When I was copying off answers to the open ended questions and I told Ann what I was getting, she said "That's what we get on all the image polls. People like him but they don't know why. There is that flat, shallow level support all across the board. Bethune's theory is that if he can puncture the crust at some point and drill deep he can break it up. The problem is he can't puncture it. It's amazing." And in a way it is. If DP gets a huge vote in a big contest like this in without any clear image except that he's a nice guy, it will be amazing."

Paul Berry says that DP jumped all over Bethune the way McClellan hopped all over DP in 1972. "The parallels are amazing to me. David has grown so much in confidence and maturity. People say he can't be hard hitting. He can be real hard hitting when he decides to be. He killed Bethune." Lots of McClellan talk from Paul, who worked for McC in Senate and is chief in the campaign. political person / More than that, I get the feeling that a lot of the people around David see him as the next McClellan--not Fullbright. An Arkansas man Paul talked how McClellan ^{loved} to be home in Arkansas. DP is exactly the same in that respect. They both love Arkansas. And they want to be there."

I went to see the phone bank for Pulaski county - David never had anything like it before. Ann Pride says they never had a direct mail campaign before and Henry Woods is running one. Paul said David never really had anything organized before--just friends here and there. They all, in one way or another, point up fact that this is really his first organized campaign. They have 4 Cong. dist. coordinators, a county coordinator in 75 counties, a black coordinator and a senior coordinator in all counties in early August asking if Pryor deserved reelection or did ^{another} ~~he~~ as person deserve a chance - 43-40 17 undecided. (not great!)

Pryor wants balanced budget amendment - Bethune calls it a gimmick.

AG ^{Gazette} 10/1/84 - Pryor hits B. for missing too many votes since Labor Day and notes that "David Pryor got beat" in 1972 when he missed too many votes that year. He still thinks about 1972. I think that a big victory in 1984 will liberate him finally from the 1972 ~~onus~~ nus.

AFL-CIO convention gives "hearty welcome" to DP AG 9/27/84

Pryor Chips - a late September poll summary by Carol Matlack of Gazette ~~De~~Bureau. "Democrats Say Bethune Running into Problems; Not True, Aide ^{Replics:} Republicans."

Democratic Sen. Camp. Com. said "Despite the fact that he has not polled higher than 30% in any of the three polls taken in September, 'Bethune has now stopped running any media and has no TV time booked.'"

Sept. 21-24 poll by DSCC 63-30.

Sept. 10 - *Tubby* Harrison poll 60-25.

Clinton poll - 61-29.

Bethune cites Torrance poll.

When I left David, he said that "On election night you'll hear that there was a big upset in Arkansas, Senator David Pryor ^{was defeated by Bethune" *Paul Baysays DP*} campaign is filled with people from campaigns of those who ran vs. him. "He makes a bridge with people who opposed him. He does not make them into enemies. He's not a prick like most other politicians. There isn't a mean bone in his body--unless someone double-crosses him. Then he remembers."

Shoe industry being hurt in Arkansas - wants to limit imports to 50% of market. ^{Re. bromine:} 1600 employees in Union and Columbia counties.

Bethune calls DP contest old versus new.

Mid Week Magazine (Arkansas Democrat) "Bethune Differs Sharply from Pryor." big cover story article. Re "DP "Nice Guy Pryor Campaigns Hard" by Carl Hall. The paper is clearly anti Pryor and is terrible. (I have copied it. They have DP's nerve gas stand absolutely wrong. How could they!) *same article in Ark Dem 9/9/84*

One issue that he has TV ad on is water - Texans want Arkansas water.

Arkansas Gazette - "Senate Race Shapes up as a Test Organization versus Media Blitz" Geo. Wells.

"Pryor has begun what might be called the first organizational campaign of his career. He has previously relied largely on a loose network of friends that hardly qualified as an organization, people who formed into an

organization relatively late in the game, politically speaking. Pryor is the essential down home good ole boy of Arkansas politics. People like him--some can't even say why--and that is his strength."

George cites the 400 "Pryor parties" 10,000 people that raised 120,000 on day before his his August 29th birthday as "showing off his muscle."

11/17/84
FAM

"McClellan, the only politician so far to have defeated Pryor, probably would be proud of how much he taught Pryor, especially during the run off in 1972."

Jonesboro Sun - 9/7/84 at Democratic rally - "When Pryor took the stage, he spoke primarily on his commitment to Agriculture in Arkansas... When he became Senator, Pryor said "My first choice was to be on the Senate Committee on Agriculture."

Wife

Apparently DP said EB "bought" the Arkansas Democrat; He apologized later, saying "but they are mighty favorable to him." We all make mistakes, says DP - admit ^{lem} ~~eco~~. and go on, Springdale News 8/17/84 "Above all else, let's have a good time."

W

Arkansas Democrat July 9, 1984 - period DP calls confrontation. Anthony Moser article calls race "getting hotter than a sultry July afternoon in SE Arkansas."

"Just as Bethune was starting his first major campaign splash of the election season, Pryor began airing a new set of radio commercials--the first in which he attacks Bethune by name." DP talked about that strategy.

Aug. 26th Northwest Arkansas Times - Bethune blasts DP for refusing to debate and says "his campaign is sinking like a rock."

DP TV ads - 1st wave in summer

anti-Bethune

- 1) Rate Increase - sitting on steps talking about how EB voted for REA increase
- 2) For the People - REA again listed votes of all Arkansas delegation.

- 3) The Pryor Record
- 4) Arkansas first - sign on desk
- 5) Defense - money's worth
- 6) Checks - Social Security

Second Wave - ~~Water~~

10 spots - David in D.C.

Radio

Debate - August 10, 1984

Bethune - wants more debates, great change taking place in America, 1980 - RR understands need to stop back regulation, cut spending, cut taxes, all traditional values being eroded and RR brought 'em back.

Pryor - praise for people of Arkansas. I've sat on your porches, walked in your fields, listened to you - my relations with people of Arkansas is very special to me - share some values... I've learned a lot from you. Haven't told you what you need, I've listened - talks about accomplishments, much more specific than his opening statement *hit at* Bethune; he kept calling him "Ed" over and over and was on the offensive all the way-- personalizing it - not party.

Bethune - "broad and sweeping allegations has walked 150 miles - people don't tell me they want DP's "laundry list" - "you know what I heard in coffee shop in *Searcy* " ...and goes through long list of what they tell him.

Pryor - You have just heard national Republican party rhetoric used in all the states--Arkansas is different. (1) people are independent (2) Ed talks about high tech, new had an *Ed had an awful good time* poking some fun at this idea that "Arkansas Comes First". Ed has different philosophy of what *Senator* should be. Ed ^{is} so concerned with graph and charts and national policy that

he's ~~the~~ *truly forgotten the real everyday problems we* face here at home."

Only member to vote vs. protection of social security. REA vote - says it's easy for him to make up his mind. Election is not about ^{which} pol. party controls the Senate but about who is best senator. It's *not about those* percentages and charts and graphs and tables that you carry around. It's about you ^{it's about me, Ed. It's about you and} and me and the people of Arkansas and their seat in the Senate."

^{"Ed talks about high tech, new industrial} policy - but when it comes to education, the base of it all, ask him how many times he's slashed education. Attacks him again.

Bethune - [DP qu. on soc. sec. system. Explain votes.] Tip O'Neill and others are "scaring bejeebies" out of people. He talks about changes and doing right thing.

Pryor - Qu. from Bethune - are you going to vote for WM - Yes.

Bethune - You opposed *farm* credit bill - REA vote too. What are you going to do for farmers? "Things are changing on the American farm." Farm is capital intensive and dislike grain embargo. Farmers don't ask me to "do something for me." No answer on REA.

Pryor - What would 5 year deferral on indexation cost county?

All Cong. Bethune has (not) yet deferred to the deficit and said what he's going to do about it.

Bethune - Why do you accept PAC support from out of state?

Pryor - cost is 1.7 million of average Senate ^{Yace} ~~run~~ 13 TV stations - 5,000 individuals contribute, 32% for PAC. If Ed is "whining and moaning" about my money, it's not for lack of trying. Ed tells 'em the truth on Grenada.

Pryor - I don't just sit in one coffee shop. (I go to 75 counties and I listen to people... sale barns, front porches, factories. Don't tell people what they need...but listen to them.

Bethune - Arkansans are conservative people, they believe in traditional values...free enterprise. "People there in Arkansas are pretty fed up with politicians who go off to Washington and vote the way that David Pryor has voted up there and then come back home and have the audacity to suggest to them that he is voting a conservative line."

Bethune - "It's going to all unravel on you, D.P."

Pryor - "You have just been subjected to 3 minutes of classic Bethune." "He can't make a speech without calling me an ultra liberal--60% conservative caucus" voting record. "It's credibility Ed, and it's hypocrisy Ed in this campaign that you have injected, its distortion...really when you get down to it all we have left is our credibility and our integrity. Ed, I'm going to be honest with you. I'm ashamed, because I think you're about to lose both."

Bethune - There he goes again--etc. - it's Mondale and labor and Now, etc. going one way and RR and Ed Bethune going the other way. Raising taxes vs. not raising them. Let's not stand at cross roads--let's change. "freedom and lots of it."

Pryor - I'm also for freedom - real issue is "which individual can best represent Arkansas." "Who has been the most effective member of Congress?" "Ask him what he's done to put his state first."

October 9-11 Harris Poll

62-28, overall

61-34, likely voters

100/CD 1 = 64-16; 2 = 63-30; 3 = 44-42; 4 = 70-17.

Re image - this poll and previous one. *Whe?*

David P. puts Arkansas first--he wants to make sure Arkansas is taken care of before anything else. 73%; 64%.

Protects Arkansas water 71%; 54%.

Fighting to hold down electric rates 67%; 58%.

Pryor is a quietly effective, common sense kind of guy 73%-72%.

Friend of elderly 61%; 61%.

Votes vs. Reagan 44%; 52%.

"Pryor views are too liberal, his views are out of step with those of most people around here. 26%; 31%.

Is a tax and spend Democrat like Walter Mondale 32%; 33%.

His favorability is increasing among Republicans and Conservatives.

Deserves reelection - Republicans 29→45.

Deserves reelection - Conservatives 49→57

Trial heat among Republicans from 58-28 Bethune, to 51-41 Bethune.

Trial heat among Conservatives 54-32 Pryor, to 59-32 Pryor.

Favorability among Republicans 37-52. Favorability among Conservatives 57-67.

Capitol effects!