

Dick Leone

May 23-25, 1978

May 24, 1978 - Wednesday

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| 9 a.m. | New Jersey Conference of Mayors Equal Time Forum Alexander Hall, Princeton University |
| 1:15 p.m. | Senior Citizens Jamboree, South Mountain Arena Northfield Avenue, South Orange |
| 2:30 p.m. | Bergen County Court House 5 Main Street, Hackensack |
| 4:15 p.m. | Tour New Community Senior Citizens Housing Complex 180 South Orange Avenue Newark |
| 7 p.m. | Somerset County Reception for Dick Leone Manville VFW. 600 Washington Avenue Manville |
| 9 p.m. | Rally for John Cryan Town and Campus Restaurant 350 Pleasant Valley Way West Orange |

May 25, 1978 - Thursday

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| 10:00 a.m. | Press Conference with John Phillips Exxon Refinery, Linden |
| 11:00 a.m. | Tour of Hall of Records, Newark |
| 2:00 p.m. | New Brunswick Home News Editorial Board New Brunswick |
| 3:30 p.m. | Interviews at WCTV, New Brunswick |
| 4:15 p.m. | Tour of Elizabeth Towers, Elizabeth |
| 5:15 p.m. | Political Organization Meeting with Elizabeth Council Candidates, Elizabeth (Got there too late, all gone but lawyer) |
| 6:00 p.m. | Political Organization Meeting, Perth Amboy |
| 6:30 p.m. | Political Organization Meeting, Helen Brunello's, Woodbridge |

May 25, 1978 (cont.)

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| 7:30 p.m. | Political Meeting, Irvington party workers, Irvington |
| 8:00 | Victory Celebration for Neil Desena Bayonne |
| 10:00 | Friends of Frank Manzo Cocktail party, Jersey City |

Ed Riley, Dave De Pinto, Randy _____, Bob Bradley, Dorothy Schoenwald,
Carl Zeitz, Chuck Schnitzlein

Got in and missed connections with Tony of Dick's staff and didn't get to
Camden for Florio fundraiser.

Drove down to Princeton in driving rainstorm to Dick's headquarters - pretty
unprepossessing store front sandwiched between a small Tech Hifi and Radio Shack
stores in a 7 store "shopping center" (2 of which are vacant, one of them occupied
by Leon Headquarters).

Conference of Mayors

Manza - knows government - been in government - voice of voiceless -
conscience of legislature - lots of legislation - "I'm best qualified; I'm not
a celebrity, not wealthy, only one who has background - not on the job
training - no backing of Governor.

Bell - reduce taxes and increase economic activity.

Leone is a fidgeter. Bradley is impassive. DL grins while Bradley talks.

Bradley - "A Senator can focus attention on future." "Communication", attracts
business, office structure that seeks your advice - north and south - will work
hard.

Leone - his record is stressed - his involvement - he fights hard and has
fought hard. Question is what's he done - didn't plan career. I've jumped into

fighters - did what is right - I'm careful about words. Bradley's commercial - plastic figures controlled by cronies - vs. politics of *innuendo* There's a generation who have turned state around. Threw cronies out. How ^{dare} ~~does~~ someone who has not taken part in those fights--really attacks Bradley - that's not kind of language we use. I want it off the air or explanation - I'm proud of what I've done. Unless you're willing to take on a fight, don't come to me with words. I'm careful with words.

Leone re Case. "Call him to account for his stewardship" - some people get things done - a decent man but a luxury we can no longer afford - only get two Senators. He should be in the middle, in the trenches - we need more effective representative in that slot and I'm convinced we could.

Bradley. How often have you seen Cliff Case in your town hall?

Leone is bantam rooster - "looks" less like Senator than Bradley.

Since DL and BB are attacking same person, their arguments are similar. I can do more for NJ. Bradley has mystical way of discussing this, Leone has his record.

At Mayor's Conference. Q & A - 3 TV crews.

Case comes in late and starts talking about the B & C markup of the housing bill last week. Speaks of his position on Appropriations committee getting funds. He brings the news to mayors and keeps saying he understands how important these amendments are to municipalities. He runs through Housing amendments section by section with dollar amounts and said he cosponsored each of them.

Then talks about public works employment program status.

Bradley - says he will be responsible, accessible, work hard "together in concert".

Case "quietly confident that NJ will make a comeback" very modest - NJ on "quiet uproad."

Leone - past work reflects your values, kind of person you are, how you spend your time. He's proud of NJ, what has been done. I've spent my life trying to help people in this state. I need your help now.

Menza. "Damn it, I know government." Broke record with 26 legislative bills. His pitch is that "If you want a good legislator, elect a good legislator." Neither BB nor DL have ever been legislators or have ever been elected. Even this will hurt DL--since he can be lumped with BB.

Thinks he can beat Case in general election. BB can't - won't wear well by contrast to Case and his experience.

Campaign changed. Started with issues - now no issues - had to establish my credibility as a candidate and I'd been involved in issues and that was what interested me. But the campaign takes on a life of its own. Now I talk about the race itself. The campaign is the subject, and the things that come up in the campaign."

Talked at dinner about how he had a plan when he began "a theory" about the primary election and that he'd been blown off course by "political events over which I had no control and to which I had to give a lot of attention. If I'd concentrate on certain areas and not let myself get distracted." He was reluctant to discuss his theory when asked, but he was rolling over in his mind all day whether he could have done this or that differently.

Another example was the use of TV money early. They will spend about \$125,000 on TV, and they spent \$60,000 of it early to get name recognition. "It paid off. That's when I went from 14% to 33% name recognition. That was as big a jump as you could make in two weeks. We had to do it. I'll probably never break 50%. Maybe I will if the media start playing up the campaign in the last week. Maybe I'll be a celebrity by election day." (The word celebrity is the one they apply to Bradley all the time.)

Talks now about how short they are of money. "I'll tell you we only have \$8,000 for TV. We'll have to go ^{off the air for the next 5 or 6 days and then go back} ~~back~~ on the last week. We'll be clobbered on TV--3 to 1 in the next two weeks. We don't have any money and this is the most expensive state to run a media campaign in. We have the most expensive market in the country ^{NY} to buy in, and the fourth ^{most} expensive. In both cases, you only use a quarter of the market but you pay for the whole thing."

They think of themselves as spending 300,000 and Bradley 700,000. They are doing very little direct mailing "a piddling amount" 30-40,000.

"The biggest difference between this campaign and the last two I managed is that in those campaigns people did what I asked them to do. Three kinds of people are the least listened to in American society--the very young, the very old, and candidates."

"It's very depressing to ride around in the rain--especially when you are behind--like I am. If you're ahead you can pity your poor opponent driving around in the rain."

Re Byrne. "One of the effects of constant exposure to disloyalty is that it makes you incapable of being loyal to anyone yourself. That has happened to Byrne." Byrne has endorsed him; but Dick would like him to help more--not publicly, but privately.

Two thoughts about the campaign. The media orientation, the money and the segmented nature of the campaign. That is, there are different problems, personalities and political configurations in each county--intertwining races that affect his race, the county endorsement. ^{Segmentation is true for all races, of course, but the Senate race gets entwined with more & higher level extra context - N.S. Reps, all County battles.}

The mood went up at Somerset where 200-300 were turned out for reception; and on the ride to Newark, Randy, Chuck and Dick were joking and in good spirits. Then they missed opportunity to speak to 2000 people in Newark (we got there late, and BB had spoken) put the whole group in a "down" mood. Dick was upset with what was a major scheduling blunder, but he was gentle with the troops.

After Somerset he said "I think things are beginning to go our way. Do all candidates feel this way when they see a good crowd and the good organizational work that turned it out?" On way back from Newark he said "I wonder what I'll do if I lose. Maybe I should begin to think of that."

The general mood of the day was that he was behind, the underdog, could still win if the last couple of weeks went OK (all the polls show 60% plus undecided). And the major "worry" of the day was whether to keep attacking Bradley's commercial. After Somerset he said he thought he wouldn't do it anymore, that "I was too shrill. The trouble is the more I think about it the madder I get. I was madder tonight than I was this morning. So maybe I'd better not talk about it at all. I'm not sure it's going over."

As I left headquarters at midnight, Dorothy was planning to stay up all night working on a brochure making the point that Dick has been in the center of every important reform in New Jersey for the last 10 years and BB has been playing games all that time. The thrust of Dick's attack on the "plastic" men, all cut from the same mold, cronyism, special interest, is that he has worked, has a record, fought special interest, has been involved, cares about NJ and can be trusted to do work for NJ because he already has, that he has done something with his life that people can judge him by--as a man, as a Senator.

He strikes me as having a pretty amateurish organization--not any more sophisticated than a House member except that he has David Garth--whom he called after the Newark fiasco. I guess they talked about advisability of attacking BB.

We drove to a Senior citizen's housing project in Newark in the afternoon, and "It was a waste of time as it turned out. But we did it hoping that some media people would come. Then it would have been a great media event. But it's a crapshoot. You put things in like that hoping for coverage. But all the media

see p 20 for additional notes on here.

people went home early. I should have spent the time on the phone, as it turned out."

I'm beginning to think of the campaign staff as pretty inept at the little things. BB got to be introduced at the senior citizen^{en}'s function, Dick didn't. BB got to speak at Cryan's rally (He's the regular Democratic organization man running for Essex County Executive). The next day they scheduled TV in Essex County Courthouse cafeteria half-hour before lunch and cafeteria nearly empty.

On Thursday we set out to have Dick get endorsed by a kid from Princeton who made his own atomic bomb. He travelled with BB and DL and said he likes DL's policy on nuclear proliferation better. But they had no idea whether any TV or newspaper would cover it or not. Big question was: should we go to place where endorsement was to take place--in front of the Exxon plant^{en} when we don't know if anyone will "cover" it! It's strictly a "media event" and they'll do anything to get a story anywhere. (They were so happy Bob Greavey of Asbury Park Press travelled with them all day that they felt it worth the whole day--his paper has 100,000 circulation in Monmouth County, Ocean County area.) But they will spend so much time running around to get low probability coverage that you wonder. Problem is that they cannot goose the press at all. No control over it. As it turned out, NBC came but it was raining and reporter was unhappy that there weren't enough people around. So they worried about whether it would be used.

But Bradley is good for press + they don't need to go to press. Press + Bradley reinforce each other's needs, with DL, it's one sided need.

Press will come to hear Case--DL puzzled that papers didn't cover meeting of mayors because Case came.

Newspaper market segregated into Bergen Record, Newark Star Ledge, Camden paper, Asbury Park paper.

Talk about early days in the trenches talking before groups of 26 or 28. Stories of low turnouts - funny stories - all candidates appear before ADA of 8

people - Meet the Press format somewhere turns up one kid with tape recorder writing a term paper, etc. - high hilarity - now they are working for media, and wasting lots of energy doing it.

1st comment DL made when I got in car in morning was "Remarkably little press. Nothing in the Daily News, nothing in the New York Times. Well, the rain falls on everyone evenly. Maybe Joe Sullivan of the Times is "saving it for a later analysis. Sometimes they do that."

Re contributors. "There are two big bulges." 500 - 1000 are Jewish liberal activists; small contributors are party people. He's had a 1000 contributors.

There was this disappointment. Yesterday they had all called it "a very good media day". Carl Zeitz, press secretary, had said that several times. Now, today, they realize they got little coverage.

The ideal primary campaign would be direct mail to all Democratic households plus television and forget all the rest. The next best would be literature drops and TV. We're doing just a few literature drops and just a little TV. Maybe it will be enough."

Even in the New York market where you want to reach only 25% of the market, you reach more people per dollar expenditure than you do by radio. You reach so many people--it's incredible. Some people say you reach a different group of people with radio than TV, but Garth says you don't. He says use radio to support your TV. I think your TV is more effective when you have a literature drop. Then people pick it up and they know who you are. Then they'll read it instead of throwing it away."

Re TV. He kept talking on Friday about how they needed more TV money, especially after we had gone through Essex County Courthouse and people had said they'd seen TV. He spoke of his early TV and then his present problem. "My

early TV has made all the difference between me and Menza. We started with the same name recognition, the same background, and we've gotten the same news coverage. My recognition tripled after two weeks of TV. If we had the money my recognition would be as high as Bradley's now. In fact, if we had the money, the election would be over by now."

There is constant talk about Bradley's money advantage. TV, radio and "street money" in South Orange--where the mayor has turned against him and Dick is very distressed.

Another key point that runs through Dick's comments is the idea of making his campaign "credible" and things that "legitimate" Bradley. Example of latter is N.Y. Channel 2 endorsement of Bradley. This endorsement bothered them--their belief is that station manager was enamored of Bradley and swung the vote--no "corporate conspiracy".

"My theory is that between now and election day the undecided voters will get one or two pops on the election and that will swing it. How many automobile ads are there in the papers every day--hundreds. But you don't notice them till you're interested in buying a car, do you? It's the same with elections."

"Dave Cook was wearing a Bradley button tonight. That's a bad sign, a very bad sign."

Dick liked Courthouse tour because he felt he was meeting people who would vote in primary.

He was worried that when financial reports came out that his figures be "respectable". "It will show that we only have 5,000 in the bank but people won't know how much is coming in. And it will show we collected 270,000. That will be respectable enough. Actually, 300,000 would be more than any other candidate has ever spent in a N.J. Senate primary--except for the guy I'm running against."

He also wants N.Y. Times endorsement to help with his "credibility,"

"respectability," "legitimacy." But if N.Y. Times is going to say all three Democrats are good candidates and not endorse any one, he'd prefer they'd say nothing. Since such a non-endorsement will help Bradley by "legitimizing" him.

"The campaign does something to your brain that makes you unfit for the office to which you are elected. Perhaps that's part of our problem."

Change from Fanatic re newspapers early on - I have reputation of knowing a lot about a lot of things. It would be a big deal if I were found not to be up on things.

What did he pick up in campaign? "A lot of anecdotes and/non-transferable bits of information. I know that Vineland has a municipal power plant. And I have more stories to tell about particular places. But I haven't learned anything new about New Jersey. I think I already knew as much as anyone about the state demographically and politically--maybe more."

Role of Senator. "You have to represent your state, be an advocate for your state...look at the things you think are important and try to have an influence. You can't change the world but you can make a difference. You have a unique role in our system. You have way of taking a larger view of things, engaging in dialogue free from day to day pressures of a mayor or governor or the president. I think I would be good at that--at explaining complicated issues to people. God knows I've tried throughout my career."

"In April, our campaign was on the verge of collapse. We were thinking that we might even have to drop out of the race. It was a disaster. We raised only 3,000 or 4,000 in the first two weeks of April. It was a disaster partly because of the treatment we were getting in the press. It was the press that kept saying we were in trouble." Various counties were feuding and he was losing in Essex, Hudson and Camden. He said Byrne went away and things got better when Byrne's aides helped him.

I listened to his Home News (New Brunswick) interview, and he seems about as good on issues as anyone I've heard. If there's any problem with him, it

is that he's overly detailed and bright--to the point of seeming to say he knows everything. (Bob Gravey said yesterday that the first thing he saw in Dick was that "He's an egotist.")

All afternoon they fretted about 2 stops in Elizabeth that stretched the time schedule badly and, finally, when it became clear that we would be an hour late, they called back to headquarters and found that they were "time fillers". Dick said "We're doing the unimportant things instead of the important things. The reason is that the people who make up the schedule don't know what's important. I should be on the phones instead of going to these things. They would be fine if we had a station wagon full of press people traveling with us. But we know ^{these events} ~~they~~ are phony, and we have to have a system for trimming the schedule. We'll have to give the staff a few political science 101 lectures. If this were the way to campaign, Alex Menza would win. He's done it longer and he does it better than anyone. But it's not the way you win in a statewide race. I don't understand it. I must have told the staff 15 times. But they think I've got to have a full schedule. You have to do that for the press, ^{the staff} ~~but they~~ keep right on doing it when there isn't any press around. Well, there's nothing I can do about it, so there's no point in worrying about it... "I should be making phone calls to the three most important papers in the state and here we are sitting (in Elizabeth) in traffic. My life blood is dripping away." This was another schedule breakdown. But--as it turned out, he got press coverage there, and as we left I asked him if it was worth it. "Yes, we'll get a picture and a story in the Elizabeth Journal. It will be a nice story--how could it be anything else in that setting."

Everywhere else he went that day he used the Elizabeth Senior Citizens Housing project ^{as an example} ~~of~~ how he could go anywhere in New Jersey and see evidence of what he had done. His whole pitch was that the campaign was not complicated and was

*frank
what he
went
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summed up by the slogan on his literature. "The next time a candidate tells you what he's going to do for New Jersey in Washington, ask him one question, what did he do for New Jersey when he was in New Jersey." That he'd been involved, worked for Democratic party, believed in Democratic party; if you want to know what someone will do for you look at what he's already done; that his father told him that it wasn't what you name was but what you did that mattered in life - that what you do with your life is best clue to kind of person you are, that he cares, that he's not passing through N.J., that he doesn't play games, that he's not a "celebrity", that he came up through the ranks, etc. It's a very effective speech, I think, even moving.

On last leg home he said, "We're broke. We had to stop a mailing today because we don't have any money--much less for TV. If that ever gets out, it will flatten us... We had to go off the air today and we'll be off tomorrow and the next two days after that. If we can't raise about 20,000 more, we can't keep up the momentum."

They had been running a phone bank all week and expected that tomorrow would be the crucial day to get returns from it and from Dick's telephoning in the morning.

Tonight we went to a party in Bayonne where Joe LeFante gave talk about his leaving the race for Congress. "I'm going to talk some politics to you for a minute." Guarini comes over to talk with Joe and they have lunch, etc.

Frank
"Harry *(a)* said to me that this was the first time in the history of Hudson County that the Congressman had not come from Jersey City and that Tommy Smith and Jersey City wanted it back. I said I had just been in Congress for one year and that I liked it and didn't want to leave the job. He said that he'd go back and talk it over with Tommy and the boys. *Frank* Harry had been thinking about running for the Senate, but certain pressures were brought to bear on him--isn't that

right ^{Frank} Harry? I want to say this here and now, once and for all, before everyone in this room, now and forever that there is nothing in the world more important than the party. You may think sometimes that you can ^{qu} ~~get~~ ^{alone.} it done. I even might have thought that I could. But Democrats all over this country are going after each other--with blood--and we've got to come together as one party. So I hold no bitterness. Either you're organization or you're not." It was a great highlight of my trip because it could only have happened in Hudson County. It was at the Villa Nova Restaurant at a party given for a guy who had just beaten the Bayonne mayor's candidate for freeholder or city council or something.

On way to Jersey City Rally, DL explained more about early campaign. His first strategic problem was to get Andy Maguire out of the race and when he accomplished that, things were going pretty well. Then his problems in Jersey City began--Bradley had been "romancing" the mayor of Jersey City Tommy Smith, letting him sit on the Knick's bench", Smith played one game with Knicks and was a pro basketball palyer--"as fate would have it," etc. and Smith wanted to endorse BB. Dick asked Governor Byrnes to get Smith into line to support Dick--Smith had said he'd follow the Governor. But governor delayed (as usual) and "the genie got out of the bottle." "If the Governor had gotten Smith into line as soon as Smith indicated he was wavering, I would have locked up the nomination right then. We had to make the best of a bad situation and it took weeks to put things back together with some sort of compromise (an "open primary" and Smith's endorsement of Dick). But that took a lot of time--time spent away from my natural constituency--the liberals. If it had been any other candidate, I would have given up on Hudson County and ^{organized} ~~vaporized~~ the rest of the state and won. But not with Bradley. I felt I had to deny him Hudson County if I was to have any chance."

So he got a little behind with the liberals--didn't campaign as much in Bergen and other places as he should have.

"We have too small a campaign organization to focus on more than one or two things at once." And he noted that most of staff joined recently.

"It's like the last days in the bunker when you are moving paper battalions from place to place and no one does anything."

"We're waiting for the air drop to come and for the clouds to break. It's the Battle of the ~~Bulge~~. *Bulge. Did you see that great movie, Battleground?*"

Joke about Tommy Doyle, Weights and Measures Chief of Hudson County. "How many ounces in a pound, ~~Joe~~ *Tommy?*" "Aw, fellas, come on I've only been on the job a few days."

"No matter what happens, I wouldn't have missed this race for the world."

After his talk in Irvington he said "I was too serious. I always used to start my speeches with a joke and, sometimes end with a joke. Now I find I'm not telling jokes any more. It's another part of that numbing process that goes on during the campaign. Or, maybe it's just that the intensity has changed. I don't know." But he was pleased in recounting various past occasions when he had been very funny, i.e. at a "roast" of him they put on to raise money. Sees himself as funny and as liking a joke. Told a good one in Somerset about tuna fish sandwich in heaven. Lord: With just the two of us there's no point in cooking."

Also the devout Democrat that comes to club (never missed in 60 years) and says he's turned Republican. Doctor told me I have only 2 weeks to live. If someone has to go, better it be one of them than one of us."

Dick has a funny coalition of liberals "my natural constituency" and organization politicians. I saw him with the organization politicians mostly. When I asked him how he held the two together he said "never the twain shall meet." His sense seemed to be that he had not spent enough time with the liberals and

that the key was whether the liberals would come out for him in the end. In some sense, he has an impossible job. He needs to massage places like Hudson County. "I should come back here four or five times between now and election day--once a day, even." Yet all this just holds him even with Bradley since the Jersey City Democrats are not wholly for him. And, among the liberals, Bradley ~~appears~~ ^{agrees} all of Dick's positions (plus stressing solar energy) and seems decent and intelligent. (a Rhodes scholar afterall.) Dick needs to get his message of liberal involvement over to the liberals and he can't do it without lots of TV. His "message" is not complicated but it is sophisticated in the sense that people have to hear it before it registers. It does not register automatically. As Dick keeps saying--"Among the people who know both of us I'm ahead; but more people know him. Among those who know both of us, I'm considered much better qualified." Bradley's support is "an inch thick," "shallow." And Bradley hasn't increased his lead over time. (All this is based on Eagleton poll.) This gives Dick a chance to gather momentum and to grow--but the money is frustrating him because it is the ~~key~~ ^{key}.

Dick's pitch
Re Dick's message, the Daily News today said ~~it~~ was that Bradley was not "qualified". But that's not the point. Dick is saying something more like that BB is not "legitimate". "He has a right to run" Dick often says. But he is illegitimate in the sense that he hasn't been "involved" in New Jersey, is "just passing through" New Jersey and hasn't proven that he cares about N.J. Dick uses word involvement all the time. It's a nice choice of words because it can weld his coalition. To the liberals it means issue-involvement, reform, fighting the good fight. To the organization people it means working for the party within the party, playing by the established rules, paying your dues.

To me the interesting thing is that I never heard Dick called "nice" by anyone! He's described mostly as "articulate" or "intelligent" but never nice.

And that's a big problem. Do people trust him? That's Bradley's asset. Even Dick calls him "a decent guy." But as Dick moves around he often mentions "sworn enemies" of his as well as devoted friends. But he also notes with some bitterness that some of these old friends (like Frank Thompson) won't stand up for him when he needs it. (Re Thompson: "He's made a reputation by running down other people as not having any guts. But he's too scared to endorse me; and there's no one in public life I've done anymore for than Tompy. He used to call such people "pigeons." "When you kick him he's nothing but feathers and shit.") Well, I've already written him a letter and I'll mail it after the primary. He'll be surprised when he reads the last line of that letter."

Dick never once used the word "trust"--that "you can trust me." His pitch was you know I'll fight for you."

If people thought Dick had a chance of winning, he would be in better shape. I'm sure people know that he keeps lists and that he'll "take no prisoners" (his phrase about someone else) when he's Senator. Thus they'd go with him if they thought he'd win. And that's another part of his "credibility" problem.

There's another angle that's related and that is the matter of endorsements. Dick wants endorsements now as a way of signalling momentum and credibility. He wants newspaper endorsements desperately and worries about that a lot. He thinks they are the way he will get the "educated liberals" to move his way. But they may not see him, either, as a winner or as a nice guy or, perhaps even as "senatorial." BB may look more like a Senator.

I asked Dick at the end of last evening what people wanted a Senator to be, what their image of a Senator was. He didn't do that too well. He started out saying "They have two basic conceptions--and they are at war with one another. They think a Senator has more freedom than anyone else in government to watch over the government and make sure things are going well. They don't think of the

Senator as a representative like they do the congressman in terms of casework. They do think of the Senator as someone who can bring federal money to the state. But they don't expect him to be accessible. Pete Williams wouldn't be caught dead at a party like tonight's in Jersey City. But people don't expect him to." I was never sure what the "two" warring conceptions were, but there was a sense of "remoteness" in the description and of "guardianship" (my terms) that were different from congressional job descriptions. I'm not sure he's thought a lot about that.

Senate campaigns--or at least this one has a form, a structure that develops over time. House campaigns may have, too. But I guess I saw the form of this one more clearly than I saw most House races. Maybe the thing that gives it form is that his opponents have changed and they help shape the campaign. Maguire → Bradley. - maybe the form is more visible at primary time.

New Jersey is a logistical problem--a big traffic jam. It makes for hairy scheduling. Places seem close, so you spend time running up and down parkways and sitting in traffic. A good driver and a logistically knowledgeable scheduler would be requisites.

His ethnic breakdown of N.J. is something like 14% black, 30% Italian ("a lot of the Italians are Republic), 14% Jewish, 20% northern European, 6% Hispanic, 20% Irish and rest scattered. He has a strong Italian base. "Pete Rodino is for me. He has a dream of there being the first Italian Senator from New Jersey." In Jersey City "Some people are strongly for me. The Italians are ready to go." "There's spontaneous ethnic support for me among Italians wherever I go."

He sees the state in terms of counties and when he went over the map with me he cited the counties where population was. He also sees the cluster of northern counties as the source of Democratic strength--plus Camden. Counties are political

units. They also behave very differently in elections, as the figures from the 9-10 man gubernatorial primary in 1977 attest. That chart would be terrific to have for analytic purposes. There's almost a friends and neighbors character to it. Dick notes that Meyner carried 2 counties--Hudson and Warren (his) when he won the election in 1952(?). The county organization gets a special line in the election and that helps some places ("They say the first line is worth 5,000 votes in Hudson County.") Menza will get org. line in Union County and that hurts Dick. Menza's vote will come 2-1 from Dick, he thinks.

The first comment Carl Zeitz made to me in headquarters was that "We haven't gotten any of the breaks" especially sad about CBS-TV endorsement of Bradley as "fresh face" and Eagleton poll showing them behind.

When we got to the Mayor's Conference, the interesting things was how much media was there. There was CBS' Bruce Morton. There was one or two NY TV crews. I talked with the guys from Philadelphia Inquirer and AP whose normal beat is Trenton i.e. state house. There was Joe Sullivan of N.Y. Times and a bunch of others. The two guys I talked with called it "a flat campaign". "There's no difference between BB and DL on the issues."

One of Dick's first comments to me was "This is the first time I'm not billed as the intellectual. That hurts."

Key facts about N.J. from Bob Greary of Asbury Park Press - lots of suburban growth - declining power of organization, fragmented media markets.

Yet it clearly is--in everyone's eyes a media state.

When I asked him why he went into race he mentioned three things. (1) "I thought Case was vulnerable." (2) "A lot of people encouraged me to do it." (3) "I was bored with what I was doing." With regard to latter, he resigned at Princeton and says he won't go back. "If I lose I'll have to think about my life."

off to school to find later.

There's nothing worse than being an ageing boy wonder. Maybe I'll have to get a steady job."

His first discussion concerned voter turnout--which he thought would be 400,000--20% or less of registered voters. Problem is, who turns out. He saw himself as "behind" and anxious to ^{win} ~~won~~ over Jewish liberal intellectuals in last part of campaign.

He spoke of campaign as now being a media campaign and less issue-oriented--less a matter of meeting with small groups "in the trenches." I love it, campaigning. But what I like best is meeting with small groups and talking issues. Answering questions, that's what I like best of all." He repeated these sentiments when we left Home News Editorial Board endorsement meeting--how much he had enjoyed that.

His two main elements of strong support he described as "my hard core support, liberal intellectuals, mostly Jewish, people I have been involved with in the state for a long time, including the people who urged me to run--then I have a lot of ethnic support--it wells up spontaneously among Italians wherever I go."

He sees BB's core as "blue collar males--he's much stronger among men than women."

He told story about how he advised BB a couple of years ago to get involved--go to Trenton and work in the state for a couple of years--that he would then have "impeccable credentials" and would be "unbeatable." Said Bradley had sights set on Senate from beginning. Passed up the seat Helen Maynor took which was sure thing. This story was told in context of Dick's attack on Bradley's commercial "How dare he come into this state", etc., etc. He was made about Bradley's route to the Senatorship. Bob Greavy found this an example of how DL "wants everyone to play by his rules." He didn't find this a very favorable trait--that Dick should get mad at Bradley's very rational strategy.

After trip to Newark housing project he said "It was a waste of time. It was done for the media. If they had come, it would have been great, but they all went home to write their stories." This was where crapshoot quote came in and maybe I've already mentioned it. see pp 6-7

The most interesting choice problem arose when he had to decide whether to go (equal distances) to Camden for a function honoring the Commissioner of Labor or to Newark to a function honoring the organization candidate for County Executive in a race where his natural allies were supporting the insurgent candidate for that office. In the first case he'll get a nice story, if any, and he'll "move around among my supporters." In second case, the situation is "delicate" because of intra party fight. But there will be more people there. Also, they made a commitment to be there. But guy being honored "drinks a lot and he's liable to blurt out an endorsement that will hurt us a lot in the papers. His decision "I'll take the risks of going to Essex in hopes of getting the bigger benefits that might come from it. I'll take that risk because I'm behind. If I was ahead, it would be easy. I'd avoid any problem and stay as far away from Essex as possible. But if good things happen at Essex and I get a good story it will mean votes." He blew the whole thing as I noted earlier. Didn't understand he could speak. Hardly met Cryan. Got there late and caught only a few people. Bradley spoke. Bradley got TV coverage. A disaster.

Moral: Can make choice, but that's not what counts--execution!

"This campaign has cost me my fantasy life. I used to spend a lot of time thinking of Cheryl Tiegs. Now all I think about is the campaign."

Dick's projections that will bring him a slim victory--the only kind he anticipates.

1. 20,000 margin in Hudson
2. 4,000 - 6,000 margin in Essex
3. Mercer, Camden, Passaic combined margin of 20,000 plus and a plurality in all three
4. Union - hold loss to 3,000-4,000. "Menza will take my natural constituency of every kind."
5. Middlesex - 10,000-15,000 loss "It will be a disaster."
6. Morris - lose "by a few"
7. Monmouth - "lose by a few"
8. "The rest of it is bits and pieces. I should hold my own in the rest of it."

"That's what a close race will look like with me winning."

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| Bradley | 215,191 | 61.1% |
| Leone | 95,531 | 27.1% |
| Menza | 32,219 | 9.2% |
| Other | 9,014 + | |