Is it easier managing a campaign as an office. "With this particular person, I think the campaign was easier. At least there you had a goal and you knew when you reached the goal. There was an end—a reward. Here, you just keep going and there is no end, no reward. People told me 'If you think the campaign is hard, just wait till you get down here.' I didn't believe them, but now I do." "I don't have a telephone here. When

"Everything is so Hollywood here. I can see it in the way everyone behaves—in the way Arlen behaves. The media is the only thing that counts. Marshall McCluhan was right. There's no time to think or read. It's all so one-dimensional. Everybody wants to be important; and the media is the way their importance is judged. Andy Worhal was right when he said that 'everyone can be a superstar—for five minutes.' I suppose I should have expected it from the campaign. But issues are so much more complicated here. People don't realize how much of their lives are being affected by what is done here. They just see a guy on TV telling them what they want to hear. The people out there get what they deserve, 'I'll tell you that.'

"I'm used to getting things done, getting results in private business. But here, so much depends on people's egos. Everyone wants to feel important. If you want to get your Senator together with another Senator, you have to go through his staff. That's so the staff member can say to you "I've arranged it with my boss to see your boss. That's his way of telling you 'I'm important.' 'I have access to the Senator.' You have two houses in the Senate—the Senators and the staff. And never the twain shall meet. It makes everything so slow."
"I think the part Arlen likes best is the hearings. He has complained to me about the process whereby a staffer asks a prepared question to a witness who gives a prepared answer. He likes to cut through that and ask questions that reveal something. That's the part of the process he is most comfortable with, the part that fits with his experience as a prosecutor. He also likes changing votes on the floor, when he talks to someone in the well and influences them. What he doesn't like is the clubby side of the Senate. Oh, it's "hi Arlen" in the hall and there's a lot of this handshaking and shoulder hugging but he's not a hail fellow well met type. I'm worried about that, because I think you have to be that kind of person to succeed here."

"He hasn't developed any focus to his work yet; and I'm very concerned about that. He's trying to do everything. With a state our size, you are almost forced to do that. But that's his style too. He once described himself as a swarm of locusts blanketing all subjects. That's the way he's been so far. It concerns me."

"He's not the bright young man he once was. He's been through the political wars and he carries a lot of scars. He's having a hard time extricating himself from Philadelphia politics. All the politicians back home knock him around. So he's like Sachel Paige--looking over his shoulder to see who might be coming. I don't think you can keep doing that and do your job down here. The trouble is he just doesn't know who he can trust." He's very direct. If he likes you he likes you. If he doesn't he doesn't. He won't get into a room with someone he doesn't like. That's fine. But it's not the clubby hey boy style that predominates here. If he were still 34 and the bright young man, he might be more flexible."

Do you think about reelection? "We think about reelection and I work on it
every week. Every Thursday we have a group of important people from the state who come here to have lunch with Arlen. It's tough to arrange; but we keep doing that.' I'm not sure we'll ever use it, though. He might get so frustrated with the place that he won't want to run. I'm one of the few people who thinks that he just might decide to give it up."

"When Hugh Scott came here he had a staff of ten. Next week, we will have a staff of 50. It's a good staff, a mixture of old and young, weighted at the top toward experience. But they all want to feel important and that means access to the boss. He doesn't have the time. So they spend all their time boiling down their work to two or three paragraphs and briefing him on the way to a vote.

He stressed big state demands—"We get so many demands that we spend most of our time 'taking things under consideration.' We have 'considered' more things than I ever thought possible. A big state senator is so afraid to come out and say anything because we have people on every side of every issue."

The idealism is gone here. Some still have it—Goldwater maybe. But most of them are just old boys who want to stay here—get reelected. I don't know why but they do. Because they feel important, I guess. They aren't anything special. Barry Goldwater is just another guy going to work as far as I'm concerned. I don't turn my head when he goes by. But they think they are important."

"As you can see I'm pretty disillusioned. I'm telling you the way I see it. Maybe the problem is that I'm 34 and I've spent 12 years in the private sector. If I were 24, I might see things differently. My colleagues in the private sector are all envious of me. They say I'm close to the seat of power. And I tell them what a great experience I'm having. I turn on the cassette and let it play for them. But I get so tired of it. I'm telling you what I really see. And I don't like it."
He goes hom every weekend and has kept his home in the suburbs. That's a hedge against a total commitment to Washington. He was planning to "relocate," but decided he didn't like it that much. "I don't havea telephone in my apartment here. That's my way of cutting myself off from the office. In the campaign I burned myself out. I was on call 24 hours a day and I had never been in that position before. The price for my coming here was that I could separate myself completely from the operation when I went home. I had to keep my own identity by going where nobody could reach me."

He talked about the state staff operation - 7 in Philly, 6 in Pittsburgh, 1 in Erie, 1 in Harrisburg and (soon) one in Wilkes Barre-Scranton. There is no overall field manager. He goes up once a week to take a look. He said "If Arlen wants me to stay on for six years, sooner or later he'll have to give me the job of field manager. He's not clear how long he'll stay, but he's clearly not going to stay in DC for the term.

I asked about "the delegation". "There is no such things as the delegation in our state. We pay lip service to it for the press. But each person looks after himself. You've got to. "The governor is raising his own money for his reelection. Heinz is raising his own money. We'd be doing the same if we were running. We've got our ducks and we tell the others to stay away from our ducks. We do a lot of casework and the congressmen resent it, because it's all they have. It's a matter of self preservation—every man for himself."

He said there was not much back and forth with congressmen.

I asked him if AS thought about being President. "Everyone up here thinks about it. I don't know that he's thought about it seriously, but I know he has thought about it."

"You've heard the story before, I know. We campaigned all over the state in the summer and we went down 4 points in the polls. We went to the media if we went up in the polls. We went up if we went down. If we heard about it in the media we had our ducks in a row. That's simply what it was.