Arlen Specter

October 29-30, 1980

October 29 - Wednesday

6:55am	Handshaking at Bethlehem Steel Plant, Bethlehem
10:00	Scranton Times Interview
11:00	Scranton Tribune Interview
12:30pm	Press Conference and Lunch, Public Square Wilkes Barre
3:00	Press Conference, Allentown Public Square
8:00	Republican Rally, Rifle Club, Philadelphia
8:45	Republican Rally, Times Plaza, Philadelphia

October 30 - Thursday

Spent day in office

5:00pm	Pick up Arlen at airport
6:00	Cheney State - recruiting poll watchers
8:00	West Philadelphia Republican Rally, Holiday Inn
8:45	South Philadelphia Rally, Villa DiRieti Restaurant

"The feel is good. We've kept up a furious campaign schedule. We've been on television and our name recognition is excellent. The polls are good and have been on a steady upward line. One poll shows us 5 points ahead, (Gallup) another one 12 points ahead (HDKA) and our tracking polls put us somewhere in between."

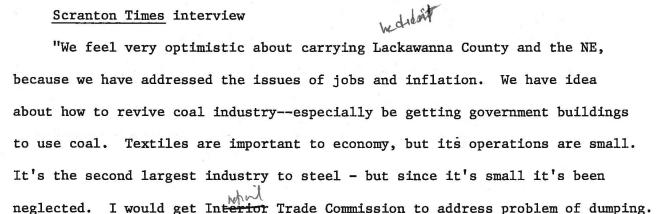
We campaign at Bethlehem Steel plant and the name recognition has dramatically

increased. "I've seen you on television many times." "I saw you at the Phillies game."

He said "Bethlehem is my native habitat. I should do well here." The Philly TV covers Bethlehem. In fact, he says, Philly TV covers 45% of Pa. and Pittsburgh TV covers 27% of Pa. "That's a big difference."

We go to Scranton and the feel is good here too, he says. "I've been to Scranton at least 15 times. We've had some great rallies here. The polls are good. Charlie Lugar is helping us. The Tribune has endorsed us."

Scranton Times interview



Polls - Gallup state lead 47-42 and shows us carrying NE and Lackawanna County.

Textiles are being sold below the price of production.

Westinghouse poll KGY and KDKA - 49-35 and showed us carrying all but SW 52-40 behind there and closing.

AP editors poll showed us carrying every county in NE except Luzerne. Reason: the intensity of our campaign and addressing the issues. We've campaigned here very extensively. The county commissioners have been very helpful. Charlie Lugar is a particular friend here and old friend.

What about spending? "I proposed to Flaherty that we have a series of regional debates which would be televised and save us a lot of money." He lists the invitations to debate that.

"Our campaign is only modestly financed. We'll end up spending less than Bill Green spent when he ran a losing race in 1978."

"I'd say that there might be something to the finance charge if someone hadn't campaigned all across the state... My own approach is that we should debate along the line in television. The time we met was not designed for exposure. Flaherty was very careful about that. The TV stations were all for it. They would have been delighted to have had it." Altoona, Erie, Johnstown, Scranton he mentioned.

Do you ever discuss balancing Senators between § & W? "I feel I have to it be very careful about that. I don't want/to develop into an east-west contest, because the west shows more togetherness on it than the east. The east has been beaten pretty badly. There was a headline in Pittsburgh the other day - East vs. West. That's the way the West sees it, but I downplay it. John Heinz has taken up the cadely very directly on that. So, too, add....

"I plan to have a Scranton office. I've never made that commitment formally before. I'm going to be available—certain regular times when I will be available. I'd like to shoot for once a month, but I don't know whether that's realistic or not.

Intends to do town meetings like Heinz. "They are reassuring to people in the state that people is around and not aloof. People like it when they are invited even if they can't come. It shows them that their officials are accessible. And government is very remote these days."

Re Scranton. "I've campaigned here more than anywhere except Pittsburgh."

What will AS do for us, how reliable is he and how much commitment does

he have. I've tried to bring a sense of urgency and intensity to this

campaign. When I was DA, I created the record I'm running on—tough sentencing,

long court hours, open house. I think that record is known here...I think the

uregency and intensity distinguishes me from my opponent."

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Joseph

Tribune Interview. "We've made tremendous inroads in SW due to intensity of our campaign, addressing the issues--steel, bridges." Flaherty's record on major - bridges and jobs - has not been good. Heinz aby help.

on TV, Heinz says we'll make a good team, Flaherty let "my city" go to pot."

"We had a big spurt right in the period. You can't tell what did it.
But a Gallup in early October showed us down by 5 points 43-48.

"I cannot portray an East West battle because I think it would portray a battlefield that is not good for me... I think it inappropriate for me to say where because I have to act as a Senator for all of Pennsylvania."

"I think the issue of balance is appropriate. But I don't want to get into an east-west battle because the west is so strong. I'm not going to get into a regional war because the west is more attuned to that... Stress on feeling the west has been neglected. So I'll have to let Heinz carry the on that." Editors pushing idea that they need a Senator from east but he won't push that way.

The editors call Scranton down at the heels. "No coal left here."

"Textiles is our largest industry here." "We need some starch in our back here. We have no spirit here. All old people. Young people leaving. No jobs opportunities. All you have to do is look at curbs and sidewalks to see what our spirit is."

They discuss textiles. AS asks for his huge sheaf of position papers looking for textile materials. "Textiles needs a spokesman," he says.

Arlen asks what will turn spirit around - he talks about great highways and access to trucking. PR improving a little - talks optimistically.

Tomorrow he goes to West and SW with Heinz.

Arlen is street smart and that's very different from what I see with quys.

other groups. A comparison between Specter's relation to Philly and, say,

John Glenn's relation to Cleveland would be interesting.

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Story re Philadelphia Inquirer. "They opposed me in 1973. I locked up one of their reporters. They were against me for 7 years, until October 13 of this year when they endorsed me. They have a great deal of real estate and they need a Philadelphi Senator. So they swallowed and endorsed me. But I have been nice to them ever since 1973. Always smiled and never complained."

I ask him about media coverage—when the media are not around. "Of course, they are all covering the race for the last two weeks. The coverage is very bland, but it's fair. We've had some good editorials and some good columns, by Chuck Stone and Tom Fox for instance. But these press guys covering the campaign are bean bags. I guess I shouldn't have expected Phi Beta Kappas. The story of this campaign is the media. The battle is being fought in the media. The media figures are all available to the public at the TV and radio stations if anyone wanted to dig for them. We've had fantastic success fund raising and most of our money has gone into the media. The power of the media is awesome. You have to campaign, go to the meetings and the rallies, travel around the state so you can say you have been there. You want people to think of you and talk about you as a hard working candidate. You want the press to think of you that way. You cannot be just a celluloid candidate. But if you campaign, if you go places and you have no money to buy media—forget it."

In Scranton, Wilkes Barre and in the car, he talked about district offices.

"District offices are very important. Not because of constituent services you provide—which a Senator can't do as well as a congressman can—but because you need to keep in touch with the problems people have. There is an enormous problem of getting out of touch in a state as large as Pennsylvania. That is something that has stood me in good stead in my campaign. In contrast to my opponent, I have campaigned across the state, and I have talked with people about their problems—the mushroom growers in _____, the Allegheny Forest in

But Start St

Day in

______, the coalminers in ______, the lady who came up to me outside the Pittsburgh stadium who said she had no interest in politics but that her husband was unemployed and they were going to lose their house. When I was DA, I held open house every week where I was available to people who wanted to come talk with me. And I had people on my staff who listened to complaints and looked into their problems. It was good government and it was good politics."

Said he didn't know how many offices he would need or how many people in each office. He thought maybe one person could take care of the Wilkes Barre and Scranton offices. But he promised offices in both cities and said people wouldn't drive from one city to the other. I asked him if he saw them as different cities and he said yes. "They are very different cities," but he didn't elaborate.

"I would consider a mobile office. If you had one going across Route 6 and into Franklin(?) or _____ county, people would be astounded by it--to see a Senator's office in a mobile van. People say, 'we only see you guys when you're running for election.' It would be refreshing for them to see someone when he's not running." A reporter asked him he he was thinking of driving the mobile van himself and he didn't seem to have thought it through. He asked the reporters how Heinz and Schweiker do it. Heinz has several offices, Schweiker has one or two and has most of his case work done in Washington. (I told him about Tsongas' mobile van.)

There is in this campaign the overwhelming media emphasis and the counterpoint of what you do otherwise. When I came back Wednesday night, Shanin asked me f I was surprised at how well they were doing and I said yes, that I had had no idea of it when I decided to come back. He said, "It's all media."

And I said "Well, with all due deference you have to have a good candidate."

"I know that. Twenty-four newspapers have made endorsements, and we have 23 of

them--all but the (Pittsburgh) Post-Gazette. The editors look at the candidate. For them, spending a lot of money is a bad thing." So, again, the relationship between the candidate and the media. It isn't all media. Media is necessary, but not sufficient.

After I had met Dick Goldberg, an old supporter, in Wilkes Barre, (much less run down and much more attractive, i.e., it's city square than Scranton). I asked Arlen whether he had people like that around the state—a personal network that could replace or supplement the party nationals.

"Mostly we rely on the party. There are maybe 300 people around the state like Dick Goldberg who are special supporters of mine, but there are 66,000 polling places. We rely on the party people to help us there. But party strength runs from strong to non-existent. Montgomery is strong, very strong. Delaware is strong. Buks is pretty strong. Chester is pretty strong. But the media is the most powerful force of all. There is a committeeman in every living room in the state—the television set. The Montgomery County Republican party is the most powerful in the state. Yet I defeated them in the Senate primary—not by much, but I defeated them. And I did it with a very minimal TV campaign. As District Attorney I became convinced of the tremendous power of the media in communicating directly with the people." He moved from the idea of strong supporters to party to media pretty logically. For him, it ends with the media.

More on his recognition. When we stop on turnpike at Hardees, woman behind counter "You're Arlen Specter, aren't you. Hardee's is getting some class." At

Restaurant in Allentown, the waitress putting on silverware, says, "I know who you are, you're Specter, aren't you." People in Scranton recognize him on the street. A couple of people looked at him and said "That's Arlen Specter."

They are going through a back and forth on Specter's TV ad that PF lost

to the state

34,000 jobs and PF's demand that they withdraw the ad. "I wanted to call a press conference and bust his ass, but Garth and Teeter talked me out of it. They just said it could call attention to Flaherty (and, somehow, to a Philadelphia Inquirer article in 1973 opposing him. That connection I didn't get.

About the campaign at Bethlehem gates yesterday, Shanin said it was only the second plant gate he went to. Shanin tried to talk him out of it to save his father's strength. "I'm not doing it for the voters; I'm doing it for the press." And in the stories they write they were impressed by it.

Re Flaherty. "We've been one step ahead of him throughout the campaign.

The only time we weren't was yesterday when he got an appointment with

Cardinal Kroll and we didn't. It's funny. I know he asked for an appointment after he heard we had gotten one. Then no one told me when our appointment was. So we missed it and he made it." He likes combat.

I stayed over to go to two rallies—West Philadelphia and South Philadelphia. On the way from Cheyney State to West Philadelphia, he said "I'm limp." and he seemed pooped. I asked him to tell me why he thought it was important to build a Republican party and why he would expect to devote energy to it.

"It's important to have a strong Republican party to help us win city elections, and because the Democrats are so corrupt. I don't need to read you the litany of Democrats that have been indicted and convicted, but you know about Abscam. I'm not impressed with Bill Green. He's not a reformer. He inherited his mantle from his father, who was corrupt, though he was not convicted. If anything, he's presiding over the demise of the Democratic party in the city. He has an ingratiating patronizing manner that I don't like. He comes on like a nice guy, but it's very thin. And he's not very bright. He told me this year that he was for me; and then he went and cut

a television endorsement of my opponent. I don't mind him endorsing my opponent, but it offends me deeply when someone treats me like that. He did the same thing in the mayor's race in 1967. He told me privately he was, for me (and he was city chairman) and then exhorted his troops for my opponent Berger. I find that kind of behavior offensive and I'd like to defeat him. Besides the Republicans are my team; they are my guys. I ran with them for DA and for mayor in 1967. We would have won that race if we had had a strong Republican party. I'm running the same kind of naked reverse this time, too, without a whole lot of party support. The Republican party in the city is in sad shape; that's what bothers me. The Democrats can get away with nominating just about anybody they want. And they nominate some terrible candidates, corrupt candidates. Their party is weaker than it was, but it is still pretty strong. We need to be strong enough to challenge their candidates -- and at least make them put up decent candidates. So for good government, for the two party system and for personal reasons, I want a strong Republican party."

"Futhermore I think it's part of the role of all public officials and especially of a United States Senator to worry about their party and to keep it strong. We've got to wrestle the party out of the hands of the Thurmonds and the Garns. That's terribly important. I remember once in 1966 when I was having lunch with Jake Javits and he said we have to put together a nationwide group of bright, modern Republicans. But he never called. After this election, the balance of power if going to change drastically in this state. Dick Thornburgh is going to need me in 2 years. John Heinz is going to need me in 4 years. The presumption is that each of them will win again, but you can never tell. They will need my help. I'm going to be there for 6 years. There are things I can do. And I have energy and I have ideas and I will get attention. I won't be like Schweiker."

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"I don't think, Dick, that it will take all that much energy. I have a lot of energy, but I'll have a lot of help. There are a lot of young Republicans ready to go." Then he cited Bobbie Rokner.

His speech to the West Philadelphia group was very good on this score and I taped it. It is one of the first I should have transcribed.

I asked him "Why did you pick Gordon Woodrow to be campaign manager?

"He was the best one available. If I had to spend 6 months looking for a campaign manager I would have been in terrible shape." He seemed to think I was critical of Gordon. I told him I was not, but that I was curiog as to why he chose his staff people. He said "my previous campaign manager,______Popleski, was unavailable, thank goodness. He was gracefully made the Treasurer. Gordon had done good work in the phone bank. He had impressed Popaleski. And he was recommended by Shanin, too. I knew he could work well with Shanin, and that was a consideration. Gordon has done very well. I'm very satisfied with the job he has done for me."

Driving to the last rally, he said "This is the final day of the campaign-right now, today. There is no chance left to take advantage of the media.

If you have any bombshell you have to launch it by the Thursday before election.

This is the last day to accomplish anything through the media. From now on,

it's just mopping up. Nothing new will happen.

"Flaherty has conducted his best campaign this week. He's gotten better and started swinging. If he had done this from the beginning, we would have had an interesting race. But he started too late, he's swinging wildly and most of it isn't landing."

At the South Philadelphia rally, he blew in and blew out to talk finances with Shanin and Gordon and Joan.



As he walked down the stairs on the way out, he looked up and said "Dick, I'll see you in Washington." "It's a deal" I said. We'll see.

One "talking point" for Arlen that came up over and over in Philadelphia and elsewhere was the east-west business. Dr. Mildred Johnson introduced him at Cheyheny in terms of needing a Senator from the east (on tape).

So did the man at the conclusion of the second rally (on tape) and Rob Romer made the same pitch at the West Philly Rally. As he said in the car. "You heard me make the pitch about a Senator from the West. Arlen can't say that. I don't even like to say it, so I just quoted the Philadelphia Inquirer as saying it." Everyone says it and clearly it matters a lot. But it's an example of a key kind of ID that is not verbalized by the candidate.

doesn't have much time to campaign for me but she is badly needed at city council meetings. They are very short-handed these days."

When I was with him at the Bethlehem gates he told me how he had campaigned at the Phillies games and the Eagles games. "We campaigned Phillies and Eagles game."

Everybody was friendly. There are ramps that circle the stadium; and we just walk around and look up at people. A few people recognize you, and pretty soon everybody is looking down. There are 60,000 happy people there. They don't seem to mind." Shanin mentioned it too as a great gimmick.

The words he used during the two days were "It has a good feel to it."

To his brother over the car phone "It has a very good feel to it."

In Bethlehem or Scranton (I'm not sure) "People have started calling me 'Senator'. Sometimes they are embarrassed, like the guy who introduced me yesterday. But the polls are having a big influence."

When Bill Coleman called him on the phone to say he'd like to endorse him,

Arlen put the phone down. "We must be winning. Bill Coleman just called and offered to endorse me." I recalled that when we rode down to Washington with Coleman on September 16th, he hadn't offered. Arlen nodded.

"This has been a great week for black endorsements." George Woods on Monday, WPAP on Tuesday, George(?) Nicholas the biggest black labor leader on Wednesday, Sam Swanson on Thursday, Charlie Bowers on Friday, Bill Coleman on Saturday, one every day. It looks like it was orchestrated."

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On way to last rally after a long silence. "I'm thinking about that Mary suggested that Bobie do it. "I wouldn't inflict the mobile office." northern tier on Bobbie or inflict him on them -- mostly them on him." Bobbie says he just wants to be able to be there when labor alliance "begs" Arlen for support and to make speeches for Arlen when he can't be there. He asked me what I had done the last day and I told him I looked at press clippings. "Did you see the debate. (No) We have a video tape of my debate with Flaherty. That would have been a better use of your time than anything else you could have done." He said, earlier, on the first day, that the debate had had an effect on the campaign. He deduced this from the fact that the debate took place before the second, favorable, poll came out. ("The newspapers always call the debate a tie. You could have written the headline before the debate took place. But--told me that it was the most one-sided political debate he had ever seen.) The debate was held the night of the Phillies-Houston playoff and that cut into the margin. It was replayed later, after the game, on some stations.

Talk at 1st rally on Wednesday. "A U.S. Senator will have some muscle to help restructure our party--not for the Republican party but for a good government and to bring decency back to this city."

Discussion as to whether they ought to put money into sound trucks in the black community. Mechanical relations. "All that would do is bring out the black vote. The best we can do is four out of every ten black voters and we'll

get them doing just what we're doing. If we don't, we're in trouble. I remember—telling me a long time ago. You've already got four out of 10 black voters and you'll never do better than that. For every 10 voters you bring out after this you'll get only two. So we'd better leave it just as it is—no sound trucks."

He talks about his relations with Bill Meehan. "He opposed me in the primary. He didn't think I would run and he didn't want me to run. He had was struck a deal with Delaware county. He didn't think I could win. He/embarrassed when I entered the race, because he knew he couldn't carry the city against me. John Patrick Walsh moved, in a meeting of the Republican City Committee, to give unanimous support to my opponent. Walsh would jump off the top of that building if Bill Meehan to 1d him to. He'll do anything to please Meehan. But Meehan didn't want to have the Republican committee pass such a resolution. He calledmeand told me so. The primary was an embarrassment to him."

He joshed about Meehan at the 1st rally on Wednesday. "I'm not going to rest on any leads. I can remember some older polls. Bill Meehan is blushing. In 1973--1873--we had some polls." (Everybody laughs)

After the rally on the first night when he had talked about building the Republican party I asked him if he wasn't in danger of raising expectations that he couldn't fulfill. "No. Everybody knows I don't have jobs to give out. But there are things I can do. I can speak at dinners, go to rallies, support candidates. I can push Thornburgh to give out some jobs—in the public works department or whatever. That I can do. It will take very little by way of rewards to do some good. The payoff for political work, for Republicans, has been so small. People don't really expect much. Everything I can do, I will do. We're badly in need of a stronger two-party system."

When he gets to the airport at night on his way to Pittsburgh, he started



singing "There's no place like home...I live here." The same good human that he displayed at 6:30 when he knocked on the door of the bus and got on and handshook. "There were more people on the bus than there are at the plant gates." A 13 hour day--we lefthis home at 5:20am. I got back to my hotel at 10:00pm. (I got up at 3:55am!)

Mary says he's mellowed a lot. The last night on the telphone in the car, he was pretty good with people. Got mad once. "What do I have to do to get him to move, stick my finger up his _____/" I'ts easy to see he can be tough on people. Even the reporters travelling with him see him as looser and more mellow. Mary's perspective is a long one. He's taken hard knocks in the city and been opposed by a lot of people because of his toughness and now he's just aging out of it a little. The reporters' perspective was very short run—the recent part of the campaign. "He smells victory," said one. And that was their view.

When he got to the rally where Meehan and Dougherty were, Arlen told them he had to catch a plane for Pittsburgh and wanted to go first so he could leave. He laughed about it afterward. "I said that I had to go to another rally and then catch a plane for Pittsburgh, Charlie Dougherty said he had to leave to go to his own rally. Then Bill Meehan came up and said he had to leave because he had to meet a friend at the airport. He's so funny. But he thinks I'm going to win. How do I know? Because he let me speak first. If he thought I was going to lose, he would have spoken first." Lots of laughter.

He talked about the teamsters leader he indicted (same one he talked about during my earlier visit. "When I went to Atlantic City I saw him and he said "You indicted me, you tried to convict me, you didn't have any evidence on me, and so forth. I said to him 'I indicted you because I had the evidence. You

were found not guilty and that's that. But I did my duty as I saw it. Later

I heard that he was the one who made the motion at the Teamster Executive

Council to endorse me. The things you have to do when you run. If you took

them seriously, you would have to give away the world once you got in office."

After the meeting of the 1st club on Wednesday night, he said "Ten years ago that room would have been packed. They are drifting away."

He talked in car about how he was head of a Commission to investigate the magistrate's system and how he recommended its abolition. He even indicted same magistrate. He recalled going to a banquet where all the magistrates were there. I walked in and there were some whom I had indicted. And the others, I had recommend that their jobs be abolished." I think Meehan was a magistrate of the time. Anyway, he can tell some stories about haldball in Philly.

Shanin - "We don't have an election day organization and we know it."

My life among the reporters on Wednesday was interesting. They want a story line of same kind and spent much of their time worrying about logistical matters, i.e., would they be able to fly with Specter on Friday when he was going to fly to Erie, Altoona, Johnstown and Scranton. They went off to eat while he was at the plant gate--though they wrote about the fact that he was there. When we were having coffee later and news came that Pittsburgh Post Gazette had endorsed Flaherty, the Pittsburgh Press guy from Washington said emphatically "good... it will keep the pot boiling." (They like conflict.) The thing that tickled me the most was when the guy from the Philadelphia Inquirer, who joined us mid-day, said in Wilkes Barre "When do we eat lunch? (Someone says 'Are you kidding?') I've been with Flaherty for 4 days and we always stop for lunch." Arlen had eaten lunch -- a pizza while standing in the middle of the restaurant having his picture taken and talking to reporters. The reporters who rode with us all day were Rich--chief of AP bureau in Harris-Ness Burean burg, Bob of UPI, Doug Hamadnecht of Pittsburgh in Washington, and a guy

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On Thursday (having called them "beanbags" on Wednesday) he said "They are a pretty mediocre lot." He was not great with them, but he did let them squeeze into the car and would talk with them spontaneously occasionally. He would answer their questions. But he's not a celebrity in terms of what he attracts by way of press. He was hard on them, I think. He is not a big deal for the reporters. And they did get the story of the day OK, as far as the stories I read were concerned. They weren't looking for depth interviews and they weren't doing investigative reporting.

He went to Chaney State College to recruit students to work and watch at the polls. He'll pay 25.00. He got about 94 signers, after his pitch in the cafeteria. "I'm disappointed. I expected 200 would sign up." Later, "Things went fairly well at Cheyney. Let's try it on Monday at Community College and Temple and Penn, in that order." On the radio the next day, he was calling it "inspiring." After his pitch he came over and we stood and he had a sheaf of papers in his hand. On the way over he had said "I'm going to tell them about Flaherty's record in terms I've never used before. I'm going to hit him harder than I ever have on his performance with the blacks." Then afterward, he fingered the hearings before the Judiciary committee and said "This wasn't a very good time or place to talk specifics. The noise level was pretty high and there wasn't too much attention being paid. There's so much good stuff in here about Flaherty. But they are a good looking bunch of students aren't they. " He was ready to unload and they could care less. Somewhat different levels of involvement.

Newspaper Clippings

Descriptions of Arlen.

Bulletin editorial supporting him - 10/26 - "bright, well organized, hard

working and ambitious." 8 years DA elected in 1965 and 1969. GOP nomination for sen. 1976 - hurt by lack of money

GOP nomination for governor 1978 - hurt by lack of money

"Specter seems to have a stronger grasp of issues, knowledge of Pennsylvania and imagination in representing the state in Washington."

"Far more aware of problem of Eastern Pennsylvania." "a parochial note."

Bethlehem Globe Times, 10/10 - "a hard charger".

Bulletin, 10/26 - Philip Contz - "The contest has been one of the sleepiest in recent memory as neither Specter nor Flaherty--both two-time losers for state-wide office--has aroused much interest even among professional politicians."

Gallup - Specter behind 48-43 in September; ahead 47-42 in October.

From October 1-15, Specter raised 293,000; Flaherty raised 98,000.

"In the end, the race boils down to yet another regional struggle... If both candidates hold their home groun, the outcome could be decided in central Pennsylvania."

Harrisburg News, 10/2 - the Gallup poll announcement that put him ahead "the biggest turning point in the campaign." "It's the TV". In the Gallup poll - Midwest and NW Pennsylvania gave Specter 51-36 in October; and he had led 46-45 in September but Specter had been ahead in Philly 49-41 in September and now in October they were even.

Percy and Thad Cochran came in to talk for Arlen, also Durenberger, Kemp.

In the September poll, among blacks 54-38 pro Flaherty.

<u>Philadelphia Inquirer</u>, 10/28 - Headline on 2 full pages of positions taken from answers to questionnaire. "For the U.S. Senate: Top Two Differ Little."