

Arlen Specter

September 15-17, 1980

September 15 - Monday

12:00 Chamber of Commerce Debate, Philadelphia  
2:00 Black Ministers Conference, Philadelphia

September 16 - Tuesday

12:00 Interfaith Black Ministers Meeting,  
Philadelphia  
3:00 Fly to Washington, D. C.  
5:00 Hyatt's Regency Press Conference  
6:00 PAC party - Capitol Hill Club  
8:00 John Heinz Party

September 17 - Wednesday

3:00 Editorial Board Patriot & Evening News, Harrisburg  
4:30 Catholic Conference of Pennsylvania  
6:00 Fund Raiser - Alex Grass  
8:30 PSEA Regional Meeting, Hershey

Shanin Specter, Matt Wolfe, Gordon Woodrow, Hank <sup>6/15</sup> ~~Marras~~, Joan Specter,  
Ken Evans, Dan McKenna, Joe Esposito, Elizabeth Montgomery

I went to Specter Headquarters and looked at press clips.

They have had 5 debates. At one in State College, Specter (who grew up in Kansas) promised to seek seat on Agriculture Committee. No Pennsylvania Senator has served on Agriculture since 1964.

Race described as "very calm".

Specter has UMW endorsement.

Four primary areas re states economy agriculture, coal, steel, rails,  
"These are the bread and butter issues in Pennsylvania." *a good deal, second a bit by elements, pitches*

Another opening paragraph re debate in Seven Springs Johnstown  
Democr-t. August 19th, 1980. "Two candidates" pattycked their way here

Monday through a debate that had been billed as a major showdown between the veteran politicians.

Another paper reporting same debate "Both PF and AS put themselves on base, but neither seemed to be able to score the winning run..." ? on paper-- writer was John Wislocki, article from Philadelphia.

Debate - Chamber of Commerce. AS hopes for debate in Pittsburgh and in media markets. "I am optimistic we will have a chance to showcase the Senate race in Pittsburgh." Wants a home and home series--(the story is that PF lost to Thornburgh in Pittsburgh and started down the slope.

"We're going to try to bring some balance re east-west.

Travelled in 67 counties--problems of state--he goes around the state-- "comprehensive set of position papers."

Wants to stress "greenlining"--tax break for areas with high unemployment.

Flaherty - mention Green, Baden, Bradley - will work with them on Philly port facility - then focuses on economy.

Then they take questions. (1) Problems of PA, Del., NJ combined.

Specter much more specific in answering this--wants the 3 states to be part of NE-MW coalition. (2) Energy policy - use Pennsylvania coal.

(The only big play occurs when PF says he has support of Bill Green, Heinz and Specter says that his supporters at Thornburgh came to his headquarters opening--"even if it was more than a block and a half away."--moderator

(Longsheth) says it was a "barb" and Specter says his wife was keeping him mild and he didn't realize it was a barb and Flaherty says he didn't mean to "touch on sensitive nerve"). Newspaper picked up on it next day. Lots of talk about it in car and at dinner. Shanin and Gordon thought it was a mistake on Specter's part to open it up. It was one continuing thread for a couple of days in the campaign group. (3) Gun control--both vs. it. (4) Does inflation or recession get priority? They are connected but inflation is

most serious--greenlining, specific areas of large unemployment that got special tax breaks. (5) What to do about job losses--greenlining, coal, rails, steel depreciation, acceleration, 10% tax cut, attack on Carter administration for reinstitution of trigger prices. (6) Aid to Poland - favor of it. Moderator says "I wonder if the answer would have been same if it were aid to Ecuador. There's a big Ecuadorian voting block in Panama." (laughter) (7) Government spending - jobs program. (Specter has a wit - would cut government film making - except Abscam tapes.)

Conclusion--AS wants "home and home series" of debates - sees lot of hope for PA especially coal, rail possibilities - productive steel plants running now at 59% of capacity. He disagrees with PF on "gradualism" in dealing with inflation." Real problem in USA is productivity. He wants money supply pegged to productivity. He will impart a sense of urgency.

PF says he doesn't agree with AS--especially re 10% tax cut, which he calls Kemp Roth and which Specter says is not Kemp Roth. He wants little tax cut--5%--and more revenues.

Afterwards, little knots of people and media gather around. I overhear some of the media questions--the two points of controversy that Specter initiated--debates between him and Flaherty and the support of Bill Green--get the most play.

They also get the most play as we ride to and from the meeting with the black ministers in North Philadelphia. On the Green matter, Hank Morris, the Garth guy, tells AS he ought not to mention Green, that it does him no good. Specter takes it and doesn't say much. Then after the ministers meeting, AS brings it up and says "I won't mention Green in public if I can be hard on him in private." Joan and Sharin and Hank enter into a discussion about Green. Hank's position is that they want Green not to do a TV commercial supporting Flaherty and they don't want Green to appear on page one of the newspapers

with Flaherty. Green (according to his campaign manager, John White, with whom we had lunch.) will do as little as he can for Flaherty or, in White's words, "Green will do for Flaherty just what Flaherty did for Green in 1976." Not much, I gathered. Hank is afraid that by calling attention to Green's lack of enthusiastic support for PF (Green is "wholeheartedly" supporting him). Specter will make Green mad and he'll do the TV spot for PF. <sup>(he eventually did)</sup> Specter says he did it "deliberately", that he thinks you should inject things of that sort into the debate. They speculate as to how Green will react.

Hank says that Flaherty began the race well ahead ("10, 12, 15 points") and that what is happening now is that the Flaherty support that was soft--based only on ID--"is being taken away from Flaherty and being thrown up in the air. It hasn't come to us yet." Shanin says "We are down 10-12 points. It's tough, very tough. Flaherty has very high recognition in the state." Re fund raising, Shanin says "Senate campaigns have become exercises in fund raising. I worry about it all the time; and that's all I worry about."

They see it as a recognition game. After the primary victory, AS travelled to all 67 counties in the state. Shanin <sup>he</sup> "When we began we were 13 points down. After a summer of campaigning, in all 67 counties of the state--a summer when Flaherty did nothing but go to Europe--would you believe it, we were 18 points down. If that doesn't tell you something about the value of campaigning. We were shocked. After that my father decided to stay in the office, raise money and run a media campaign. You go to a little town and it's a big deal. You get a story on the front page of the newspaper, but that's it. People forget. Or it's the summer and they aren't interested. Some people say you plant seeds that help you later on. I don't believe it. The best thing about it is that you can say you were in all 67 counties. We use that in our commercials."

Joe Esposito emphasized media, too. He has a big map on his wall with pins



in the major media markets. They are Philadelphia, Scranton, Wilkes Barre, Lancaster, York, Harrisburg, Johnstown, Altoona, Pittsburgh, Erie. (Matt Wolfe has same map on his wall with pins for each appearance and the clusters of pins are in those same spots.)

Joe - "We try to schedule in at least two media markets a day. We'd like to do four a day, but there aren't enough good events." The scheduling is a media scheduling entirely.

Shanin said his father's primary campaign cost \$150,000 and was almost entirely a media campaign. They were done by a guy named Sands, who was doing Amerson before Garth. He stressed how expensive Garth is, and how they couldn't have afforded Garth without the 525,000 they get from Republican Senate Committee. They are getting their fair share (4¢ per eligible voter I think) and nothing extra, though PF talks about all the money Heinz is giving Specter. All Republicans are getting the maximum this fall. "Flaherty says I'm buying the election. I say to you that after having run in so many campaigns without money, it's a good feeling. And if anyone asks me about it, I'm going to say, "yes, I'm buying the election. But John Heinz is paying for it." To the PSEA to laughter and applause.

Specter went on TV after Labor Day and they have been closing the gap some. Flaherty will not be on till September 22. "He's taking some availabilities." Shanin says Flaherty doesn't have the money Specter does. Budget is 2.2 million. They have 1.1 million.

Joe Esposito has "theory about Pa. politics which says Pa. doesn't elect anyone to Senate or public office generally that isn't well known. Lots of people lost before they won in Pa. Again, the ID preoccupation. He also had another figure which said that Pa. voters have split tickets between President and Senate in recent elections--ever since 1952, President and Senator have been of different party.

Joe also used term "write off the West" and then laughed and said he didn't mean it. But there is alot of East-West feeling and the sense that PF is very strong in the West. Stronger than AS is in the ~~W~~ast. AS hopes to do well in Philly. If he carried the city that would be a big boost. But they have a campaign office in Pittsburgh and will have a store front in Pittsburgh black area.

Hank Morris says he told Specter that he began as an "empty box." Not as many people know him. And people don't know anything about him. He believes that, via the media, people will know something about him. He likes their spots--one a biography - one is taken in front of Pittsburgh stadium in which he says he can be Senator for all of Pa., just as Heinz and Thornburgh serve all Pa. They will play this ad in Western Pa. and Eastern Pa. In the west, they hope it will familiarize them with Specter. In the East, they hope it will remind people that Thornburgh and Heinz come from the West and an easterner would be a good idea.

The talk about Flaherty not accepting debate was another topic in the car on the way to the airport. Specter wants them on TV. They talked about fact that reporter told them Flaherty had accepted a couple of debates in Pittsburgh, one on KDKA and another one in Pittsburgh area. AS hadn't heard of that. PF seems to be finessing the statewide TV debate nicely. Specter wants him on TV. PF keeps saying how many debates they have had and that there will be one state wide TV debate.

I saw Channel 6 and Channel 10 reports on the debate. Both said there was nothing to choose on issues. Channel 6 said "No fireworks" and "the race has failed to capture the interest of the Pa. public." Channel 10 said it was "neck and neck" and that neither would get help from head of ticket since 1952 President and Senator of different parties have been elected;

hence, they said, it may boil down to "East vs. West" or a "contest of personality". Then he concluded "It's the cleanest campaign in recent years." Channel 10 interviewed the two sons. Shanin talked about what a good guy his dad was; PF's son talked about tax policy differences. On Channel 6, they showed AS talking about differences in tax and greenlining idea: PF talked about the 525,000 Specter got from "Heinz Committee." It was what I overheard. Shanin said, when I told Gordon and him of these broadcasts, that the Channel 10 guy was a "supporter."

The big event of the day, for me, was the snafu that kept me from going to Altoona. They ordered a 4-seat plane. There was nothing I could do. I had been looking forward to it as much as anything. But campaign~~ers~~ are like that. The staff was upset--Shanin and Matt especially. So I had to turn around and go back to the hotel--last night it was Holiday Inn. Today, it's Fairmont. On Wednesday, AS said it was the only time he got mad while I was there--mad over the plane snafu. Actually, it gave me some credits.

Went to dinner with Gordon ~~Wick~~row and Shanin Specter. Shanin got Gordon to go along in part because of the snafu this afternoon. "I owe you that much." Went to "The Frog", a really nice restaurant.

*reduces*  
The main topic was how completely a media campaign this is. "Are other campaigns so completely media dominated as this one is?" (Shanin) "All we think about is the media and raising the money to pay for the media." (Shanin) "It's like Garth says, what's red is what the media says is red. If the media doesn't show it, it's not real!" (Gordon) "Garth uses the example of the apple. With each ad, you take another slice of the apple, and you keep slicing the apple. You don't have to worry about having The great ad. Just have a good ad and play it incessantly. Pretty soon even the most sophisticated listener is moved by it. It works." (Shanin) "The more I'm in the business

the more I realize how much the media influences the whole process." (Gordon)

"We kid about how little control we have over our own campaign." (They told a story of Pittsburgh Stadium ad that played in the middle of Phillies games. Gordon was upset and tried to get a hold of Garth or someone who works for Garth and couldn't. Ended up calling Heinz and asking him where Garth was. Couldn't find him. AS said, later, that he couldn't get hold of Garth either-- that Garth was busy with Anderson "and I understand that." Said if he had to talk to him, he could; but that Hank Morris was in charge.

Media strategy: get people to know who AS is; hit "massively" on what he stands for and see what happens.

Talk about strength of media buy, they bought 400 "grips" (i.e., gross rating points) "heavy buy" which means that 90% of people in Pa. will see the ad 4 times a week. They will keep this up. (provided they get money. It cost 'em 76,000 a week for the buy." They have 6 spots: Biog, Pitts. Stadium, Revenue sharing, agriculture, defense, steel. (I saw 4 of 'em at Capitol Hill Club). They will keep these going and then take a poll a couple of weeks before end and then decide what to do. Among the decisions to be made then will be whether to use the "negatives." Will we bring out the blue meanies; will we bring the garbage truck up to his house and dump all the problems of Pa. on his lawn. If you go with negatives, you've got to go all the way. We'll see how things are moving at that time." (Gordon)

Shanin said "We got some numbers from a Harrisburg poll that shows Flaherty 41 - Specter 39. After they ask a set of questions about who would handle certain problems best, they ask again, the same question and it's Flaherty 45 - Specter 35. Our ID is up to 83 from 63. All this has come after our media started. There's no other way you can change numbers like that." AS used this poll everywhere as evidence that race was neck and neck. But he

never used the second set of figures. And the ID figures he used were that his ID had gone from 78-83, while PF's had gone from 92-93.

Flaherty vs. Thornburgh - Flaherty was 30 points ahead; Thornburgh put on negative TV ads where people from Pittsburgh said what a poor job Flaherty did as mayor. Then Flaherty did poorly on TV debate and he slid. They talked about TV techniques. Thornburgh had the cameras up close and they showed PF waving his arms off camera or slouching on the podium and off the camera, they had a blue background and PF's eyes blended into the background and it didn't look good. PF took his coat off and debated in his shirt sleeves--a mistake. They were fascinated by all the ways you can get an edge on TV.

More talk about debates. They seemed to think that you never debate opponent in your territory and this gives him publicity. They worried this question through most of cocktail time. They work and think naturally about East-West territory. They feel West is very solidly, provincially pro-Western. While Philly is not strongly pro-East--therefore, all they can do to raise eastern consciousness is good for them. They'd like Flaherty to do it so they could counter. Right now they find it hard to solidify AS eastern strength with a pro-east appeal. State is suspicious of Philly, anyway, so they must be careful.

Gordon Woodrow was in real estate in Chester County - he restored or bought old homes. He worked for Arlen for 6 weeks in 1978. Came in December to ask AS to help him get a new job and AS asked him to work for him. He started in January. Loves it - probably doesn't want to go to DC. Calls it "the World Series". Agreed with me that campaigns are run in the here and now and you forget about yesterday.

Gordon spoke vehemently about the non-existence of "the party". They have been contacting party chairmen that AS met during the summer. Purpose



is to hold multi-county meetings to set targets, plan literature drops, etc. for multi-county areas. "I can't get one single county chairman to agree to a date for these meetings. I can't wet nurse them. I'm beyond asking them to meet on my date. I ask them ~~what~~ date they want to meet. Still, I can't get them to commit themselves. Eighty percent are useless. So you take the 20 percent and work with them--especially the ones in the most populous counties in each media market. The decision I am making right now involves money for the media versus money for the people who want to open store fronts or people who want street money to work on election day. The money is going for the media. My experience is that you get more benefit from the money you can control than from the money you can't control. I'll give poeple a little of what they want. They always use less than they ask for anyway. We have made up a million and a half brochures--\$20,000 worth, two week's TV. But I've seen too many unopened boxes of brochures during the closing of campaign headquarters." Story of guy who shocks Grodon when he says "I'm OK on brochures." It turns out he still has whole box from the primary!

They are trying to get Reagan to do a fund raiser and are using Howard Baker's guy (Mos~~b~~acker) to do it for 'em. Talk about what a mistake it was to have Reagan come to Philly with AS, because Reagan is not liked and can only hurt AS in Philly.

I asked what kind of candidate AS was - Gordon said he has a passion to serve, works tirelessly and cares about the issues. All these qualities are hard to convey on TV. He has a "hard cutting edge" to him and "is not warm." or doesn't come across that way. PF, on other hand, is a nice guy and comes across that way. We talked about good guys vs. Senate types. Meyerson-Holtzman, Guzzia-Tsongas. Shanin thought nice guys usually won and it's clear they are worried about AS and his image. Dan Mc<sup>Kenna</sup> and a couple of the guys in DC thought Arlen's ads had him looking "too worried" and "too serious."

I thought there was no warmth to them, but that they did convey the real Arlen Specter--serious, thoughtful.

I tried hard all evening to get them to zero in on the strong supporters--to say that 67 county trip helped energize (Gordon said of that "campaigning doesn't mean a thing!") or the store fronts mattered or media people who see AS is a heavy weight might count. But they never made any positive statements about the importance of hard core. Who are they?

They think Republican emphasis on winning control of the Senate has backfired on them. It has forced labor unions--who would otherwise support AS or stay neutral--it forced them to endorse Fl. and the argument is that they can't lose control of Senate. AS mentioned AFSCME as one good example. On the other hand, some groups see PF as conservative and support him instead of AS, i.e., NAM. AS has support of unions not closely tied to AFL-CIO -UMW, teachers, restaurant workers, transportation, <sup>union</sup> Hoping for UAW and AFT.

*media  
sympathy*  
On the way from office to dinner, we rode down in elevator with Jonathan somebody. Shanin "Just to give you an indication of just how media-oriented this campaign is, Jonathan is our research director and he's a volunteer. I think we've done a good job covering the issues, but we can't afford to put our research director on the payroll. We need to save everything we can for the media." Jonathan works in AS law firm.

<sup>campaign</sup>  
The office is on the 14th floor of a bank building and looks like a set of lawyers offices. It's quiet--a long corridor with rooms on either side. No sense of hectic activity. It's not clear how they connect with outside world except telephone. I mean, no one is rushing in to pick up stuff. People don't come in off the street the way they do in a House headquarters. A House headquarters bustles with volunteers. But you don't see campaign activity the way you do in a House headquarters. Very different. On Tuesday, a few people did come in "to work", i.e., volunteers. If I go back I should

meds / AR  
talk to ~~Bolling~~ about volunteers. In D.C., the guy from Senate Campaign Committee said AS "has no grass roots organization."

At this point, I see a couple of problems for AS--as his staff sees it--quite apart from PF's popularity.

quick with  
(1) They have a candidate who has to keep his tongue in his mouth because he is given to sharp retorts. He's very smart and quick and can't resist, i.e., the ~~green~~ <sup>quip</sup> grip. In the car he said "I had to resist the temptations to comment when Thatcher said Pete and I probably knew each other's positions thoroughly. With Pete you never know what he's going to say his position is. Each time it comes in a different format. He never mentioned a 5% income tax before." "It's not only that AS likes the quick retort or quip, it's that the barb on the quip may add to the problem that he has in projecting warmth."

(2) Strategically, they are strong in "the Southeast" and they worry about how to protect that strength and nurture it. Should we debate Flaherty in Philly? Should we campaign with Reagan in Philly? How should we treat Billy Green? They keep thinking they are not making the right decision in these matters. Just worry, I guess.

Example of AS wit. When moderator in debate said he had question (re Polish workers) which he was sure neither candidate had ever been asked, Arlen began his answer by saying "As I said in answer to that question <sup>at</sup> ~~of~~ State College last week..." just for laughs.

His wife is a Philly City councilwoman, one of 5 at-large council members (only 3 of which can be from one party). She spoke at the Black minister's conference and did so effectively and well. She's very competent and attractive. She told me she had "sat in the back of the room and listened for 15 years" during Arlen's career and that had helped her tremendously.

The talk in the car is pretty cerebral and witty and intellectual (really), even though it is about all the same topics--strategy (small decisions), gossip, fillers. But they discussed pros and cons of Abscam people resigning--both Congress and City Council.

I found the day altogether pretty antiseptic. It's not a sweaty campaign like Culver's. It's not emotional in any way. I've yet to see anyone who really loved Specter. And it may be that there aren't such people, which is why I had so much trouble getting Shanin and Gordon to focus on them. Yet everyone describes him as very popular in Philly.

To repeat what I said earlier, there is an activity they call "campaigning," which is what AS did this summer and they don't think it is worth much. Gordon: "I have a set of press clippings that thick generated by the summer campaigning. And they don't mean a thing. People read the story and forget--if they ever remembered."

He later noted that "when I call them later, they can't say 'you weren't here, you didn't come see us.' But then they don't do anything anyway, so what good did it all do?"

From newspapers: AS in Pittsburgh area pushes "wide and deep" differences with PF on defense. B-1, MX, neutron.

Went to black ministers group - very few came - waited upstairs in room with lots of chairs along with 7 ministers. But his talk was good, I thought.

Arlen has a prosecutorial demeanor--he talks about prosecuting - in discussing trigger price mechanism with the guys from Combustion engineering, he called it "black mail." They demurred. He said he was defining it from prosecutors standpoint. Story re Teamster re newspaperman prosecuted for wire tapping, re airplane that was late and idea they should pay penalty

Arlen said  
my time  
would have been  
better spent  
looking & video  
if debate  
then reading  
the clips.

a theme  
- campaign  
- no war  
- media all  
- that is  
- his money  
- Carter  
- AS  
- together

his special frustration with party people - AS that still  
from claiming to be in those places or ads

*prosecute*  
re prosecuting people building city center and people spraying asbestos in another building and how, in these cases, "I locked up people who had contributed to my campaign." Also his talk re Miranda, and talk re being spokesman for black community because he understood crime. He talks about his experience on the Warren Commission, too.

In the airport, I asked him about the primary. "I had decided, after my two defeats not to seek public office again. When Schweiker announced his retirement in 197\_\_ I didn't think much about it. But I watched the situation. Young Bill Scranton and Al Haig were mentioned as possible candidates. One day Elsie (E) Hillman called and asked if I would commit for George Bush in the presidential race. I said I wasn't ready. She said "the only good ~~exercise~~ you have for not committing to Bush is if you intend to run for Senator." I said I hadn't made up my mind on that. I said I wasn't going to do anything, but that I hadn't definitely decided not to run. A little later Bob Teeter called. He said he had taken a poll which said Bill Scranton or I would be the strongest candidates and that I ought to consider running. I said I hadn't decided anything--that I would or that I wouldn't. But I said to him that I thought this time there should be a consensus candidate, that we should not go through a primary. I had been through two tough primaries, and I certainly didn't want another. I didn't think another would be good for the party. I called John Heinz. He agreed we should have a consensus candidate and he said he wanted the strongest possible candidate. As far as I was concerned he said he was willing to let bygones be bygones. I had a very rough primary against Heinz in 1976, much rougher than the one against Thornburgh. I called Dick Thornburgh. He also said he wanted the strongest possible candidate. In the meantime I learned that Bill Meehan my leader in



Philadelphia didn't want me to run. He had cut a deal with Delaware County for a judgeship and was willing to back someone from Delaware County for the Senate. Shortly thereafter it was announced that the choice of the leadership was Bud Haberstad from Delaware County. Then a number of people began urging me to get in the race--Drew Lewis to some extent. There was a lot of opposition to Dick Thornburgh within the party--partly because of things he had done and partly because he just wouldn't return phone calls--the courtesy thing. I decided that I could beat Bud Haberstaad. So I went into the primary and beat him."

What changed you from disinterest to a desire to run?" "I had never been disinterested. To the contrary, I have always been more interested in working in the public sector--especially in an elective office--than I have in the private sector. A greater intensity of interest and a greater sense of accomplishment come from the public sector. And I felt strongly that I had been given short shrift by the Republican party. I was once a Democrat, as you know. And the party was very willing to use that fact, to use my connections, in liberal circles, in the Jewish community, in the black community and let me run for mayor of Philadelphia. They were willing to use me to pull all those groups in. But when it came to the choice plums, the governorship and the Senate seat, they reserved them for the Heinzes and the Thornburghs. In every respect of background and schooling, I was as good as they were, but I didn't get the nod of the party establishment. Even though I carried Philadelphia in 1969 by 100,000 votes. Even though I campaigned my heart out for Scranton and Schweiker and Scott and the others on the ticket. There was always that bridge. Dick Schweiker said it best in 197\_. He said I ought to be promoted--promoted was the way he put it--but the party put up Broderick. Then there was Haberstaad. I'm not one to shrink from a battle or a fight. I thought I could beat Haberstaad. So I entered the primary and beat him."

*helps run in primary for*

It's a picture of an uphill battle year in and year out vs. party establishment which is WASP and comes from outside Philadelphia. He wants elective office strongly (Gordon had said he wants to serve "almost too much.") and feels he has earned it. They, I guess, either don't like him or think he's a loser or see him as too tough and independent.

I asked him who his strongest supporters are. "My strong supporters are people across the board--black and white, rich and poor--who are within reach of Philadelphia television stations, who know the job I did as District Attorney. That support has dissipated some in the 6 years since I have been in office. There is a second tier, of people who have heard of the job I did."

*media* / Did your summer campaign yield any strong support? "It's a very long process to get people to recognize your name, then learn something about you then have a positive reaction to you and then take a strong position in favor of you. We picked up some support but it's hard to say how much. Probably not much. It will be most helpful on election day,. People will remember we were there and we may get some work out of them. But it's hard to know how much.

He went through one day he spent on the northern tier--a meeting with 50 people each, main street stores, a newspaper and/or radio interview.

With the Olean station "They didn't know who I was, didn't know who I was running against and didn't know who the incumbent Senator was."

*image* / "The best thing about campaigning is that you learn something about the state, about the leather industry in Waltons or about the rotten bridge in Towanda where you have to sit and wait for 1/2 <sup>an hour</sup> and when traffic only runs one way. The other advantage is that when I say I've been in 67 counties, people say that guy is out there working hard. It makes a nice contrast with Flaherty who hasn't done that and who is not known as a highly energized, hard working person." So there are at least 3 separate benefits to "campaigning."

When are you in the flow of the campaign? "Yesterday, by all objective indications, we turned the corner. I say that because of what the polls tell us. In the fall of 1979 Teeter did a poll that showed us behind 53-35. After the primary, in June, station KYW did a poll that showed the same results 53-35. Two weeks ago KYW took another poll and found it to be 40-33. That was the first change we had seen in the trend. Our campaigning in the summer had produced no change whatever. We were at the same level when we finished two months of street campaigning as we were when we began. Then yesterday, the PSEA poll showed us at 41-39, neck and neck, with Flaherty two points up. Our media is working. This is exactly what I would have expected would happen. Flaherty is strong in the West, we were strong in East; but in central Pennsylvania and along the northern tier Flaherty's support was very soft--based on name recognition and nothing else. People know nothing about him except his name. So as our media begins to take hold that support ought to erode. We have a very strong buy--400 gross ratings points, some in prime time, some not, some new adjacencies which means that people see our spots four times a week. The great imponderable is whether Flaherty can get on the tube with his ads and how effective they are. Barring any striking event that gets free media--and that won't happen--the paid media will be decisive. And if the trend continues we should win."

I asked him if he had a "feel" for the way the campaign was going that supplemented the polls. The answer was not very persuasive. "I hear Flaherty has a lot of enemies in Pittsburgh. People who know Flaherty dislike him intensely. He's an ingrate. He doesn't thank people who help him. When he fires people he doesn't talk to them, just gives them notice. He's not courteous. I was in Pittsburgh the other day"... (There followed a couple of examples of individuals who were very strongly opposed to Flaherty. It seemed

(This is a piece with his vague description of Pa., his meanderings about the job, his impulsive decision to go for Agriculture Committee. He has a "feel" for Philadelphia--less so for Pa.

11/12/20

From the last day: First, on the way back from Harrisburg - Hershey.

At one point, he said, quite spontaneously, as we neared Philly "Television is wonderful. It's just like Garth said it would be. The street noises begin to sound better. When I walk down the street--the last few days--people gawk. Tonight, I could feel the difference as soon as I walked into the room. The people in that group wanted to meet me. I was a real person. This morning, I bought a new suit, and everyone crowded around to help me. It's the celebrat~~ing~~ business."

I gave him my important, enjoyable comofrtable questions.

Re. important: "The debate was by far the most important. It got attention from the press. It drew Flaherty out on a number of issues so we can use them in the televised debate. It helped prepare me for that debate. But I say all this in a context in which there was very little competition. The campaign is running now on a very even keel. There aren't any dramatic highlights. As I said tonight, everything is moving according to our battle plan."

I then asked him which event he enjoyed the most. "In a perverse way, I enjoyed the debate the most. It was the greatest challenge."

I then said: "If I had said 'comfortable' instead of 'enjoyable' would you have given the same answer?"

He said. "The debate was anything but comfortable. It was very uncomfortable. It was very tense, very anxiety producing. It's a big show. You walk in beforehand and shake hands with everyone. You smile all the time. You appear to be calm and to have everything under control. Actually, it's nervewracking."

After this sequence, he and Danny discussed "the dramatic highlights" .

"One of the highlights was the endorsement of the Mine Workers Union. For



ideological reasons and geographical reasons--since the bituminous coal industry is centered in the Western part of the state--we weren't supposed to get it... (Some talk re. maneuvering). But we won it.

*park*  
Danny said he thought the highlight was when the Republican leaders in the state "came around" and realized they had to back Specter. Specter agreed and said he thought Heinz committee support to tune of 525,000 was a greater boost and that "Howard Baker's help could be even more important. From what I hear, this race is number one with him. If he gets on the phone and calls his people we can raise a lot of money. He can do it and he says he will." He said Heinz could help a lot in Western Pa., too.

*push*  
At the newspaper, people asked him quite a lot about his support by other Republicans. Thornburgh (he spoke at Union League Club and Warwick Hotel and he attended the opening of the campaign in Rotunda of Capitol in Harrisburgh--he and Schweiker.) Scott, (Scotty has been very helpful). Schweiker (I don't know that it will have an positive effect, but if he had not endorsed me that would have hurt.") The implication is that Specter has been something of a thorn in their sides over the years and there is some wondering whether they are behind him.

They wanted to know about Reagan. "Reagan wanted to campaign in Philadelphia. I thought I should be a good team player so I agreed. We tried to have a fund raiser, but we had such short notice that we didn't raise any money. Our picture together (arms raised) appeared on the front page of the Bulletin. I lost some political skin on that one. But I felt I had to go along. Now we're trying to get him to return the favor by coming to a fund raiser in Pittsburgh. He's got a pretty crowded schedule." They are hoping Baker can get him for them.

To go back to the "comfortable" question, he said "I think I feel most

comfortable in the black community. They have problems you can sink your teeth into. I believe I can be an important spokesman for blacks in the Senate--with things like greenlining. I know the black community. I have good relations with the black community. Since I come from a law enforcement background, southerners will listen to me a lot more than they will to some liberal who doesn't know anything about crime. All Senators understand and worry about crime. They will listen to someone who has prosecuted criminals and who emphasizes the crime aspects."

He talked often about what he had done as DA that blacks approved of--reform of bail procedures, prison, consumer fraud, plus his wife as "the crucial vote in the election of Joe Coleman as City Council president, when she was under a lot of pressure."

At the Pennsylvania Catholic Conference meeting, he said at one point. "The racial problem is still the monumental problem of the country--the black-white problem. And I say that because of the experience I have had in public life. I have seen the bitterness of the disadvantaged."

At both the Pennsylvania Catholic Conference and the newspaper, he said "The legislatures are weak. The quality of legislators across the county and the quality of the legislative process generally is abysmal." He smiled, "I say that even though I want to become one."

Going over to the Catholic Conference meeting, Dan said he thought it was a waste of time--that they had already made up their mind to support Flaherty, because of the abortion issue. AS said "No it's not. Maybe after they've heard me, they won't think I'm public enemy Number One."

He gave a long philosophical-legal-experiential argument in favor of his position and ended by saying he had agreed to see pro-life film and talk to Dr. Coup. "My mind is not closed on the matter." He opposed constitutional

amendments to overturn Supreme Court decisions. He advised them to reargue the case in court. Said that's what he did in Miranda Case. "I led the opposition to a constitutional amendment to overturn Miranda. I reargued the case in the Supreme Court for the national District Attorney's Association. That was a terrible decision. It hampered me in all my law enforcement activities. I was in violent opposition to that decision. But I would not support a constitutional amendment to overturn it. The constitution is the most fundamental thing we have--other than conscience--and if we start changing it, our fundamental first amendment freedom would be next. It could happen here."

Afterward "Intellectually and philosophically that was a great meeting. Politically, it was a bust. Maybe not. Maybe they'll stay off my back. They won't support me, but maybe they won't go after me either. Maybe they'll see that here is a serious person--the product of a particular background--someone whom they would heed and could work with on other issues. Maybe they'll even prefer someone who sticks to his guns, provided he is thoughtful, to another candidate, like Flaherty, who tells them what they want to hear but who may change completely--because he has already--once he is elected.... (Then he burst out) But I despise that kind of pressure and pressure groups like that."

I asked him how he felt physically. (He plays squash several mornings a week.) "I feel fine, but I am tired. I can tell, because the edge is off my speeches. They aren't as sharp as they should be. But I was blessed with tremendous energy."

At Alex Gross' house, Alex made a pitch at the outset. "We have an opportunity to elect the first Jewish Senator from Pennsylvania." After the little talk by Arlen, he returned to the theme. There is a need for a Jewish

his  
independence  
again

Senator~~s~~ Stone~~t~~ and Javits are in trouble. The UJA raised 450 million and sent 250 million to Israel; the US government sent 2 1/2 billion to Israel. Friends in Congress are very important--can do more there than anywhere etc. A straight undiluted ethnic appeal.

*Indy bag with ethnic capsule.*  
He said in the car that "I'm uncomfortable talking about Israel. It's patronizing. I mean everything I say, but I hate to pander to groups by telling them what they want to hear."

He talked a little about the problem of gaining rapport with an audience--that ~~one~~ at Alex' was the trigger. "I didn't have rapport with them for about 30% of the talk. I'd get it and then lose it. The group was wavering. It's awfully hard to get up and talk, etc."

We talked briefly at the end of the ride about a subject we had discussed the day before--conservatism. "In my gut I don't believe all this about the county going conservative. When you come right down to it, people want the government to do something about their problems." Talked about how hard it was to oppose health insurance in, say, Philly.

Then he asked whether we thought an ADA endorsement was good or bad. Dan and I said Bad. He said "The ADA endorsement means everything to the editors of the Philadelphia Inquirer. It is still the real test for a group of self-appointed guardians of the liberal faith." He saw it strictly in terms of a newspaper endorsement. Dan said "You've got those people anyway. Dan said AS needed help with ethnics. AS said, quite vehemently, that he had always done well with ethnics in Philly.

All day Wednesday--after a day and a half together--he called me Professor Richard Fennelly! Introduced me that way too. "The man in the back of the room is Professor Richard Fennelly of Rochester University"-- at PSEA group in Hershey.

As we waited to go to Washington Dan and I stood in the law offices of AS--

Dechert, Price, and Rhoads--Dan invoked same theme as Gordon--that you should emphasize what you can control in a campaign because of the problems with what you can't control. Dan is the press secretary and worked in PR for the Rizzo Administration. He worked for newspaper (Bulletin I think) and covered Arlen when Arlen was DA. ("I always had a lot of respect for Arlen. I thought he was a great public servant.") Dan talked about the press. "You can't rely on the media. You can't control the media interpretation of things; you can't control what they will use or not use; you can't control when they use it. Everything is seen through the twisted prism of the media. We want to emphasize what we can control. That's why we have to rely on the paid media... I'm coming to believe maybe Garth is right. Maybe nothing we do matters. Maybe it's all paid media."

All the advisers have expressed this idea in one way or another. Are they so willing to accept Garth's notion because they feel that's their only hope? Having invested so heavily in Garth, must they believe him? Arlen is a little more willing to see the value of "campaigning" because he has invested in that activity. But the extent to which they are media oriented is overwhelming.

On the plane back from Washington I had said to Arlen that his campaign seemed more media oriented than most I had seen and that I guessed it had a lot to do with the size of the state. He agreed and said "How else can you reach ten million people? What other way is there?" I said that other campaigns I had seen relied more on "word of mouth." I don't recall what he said or how the conversation went after that.

But the next morning as we were on the way to Harrisburg, the first time he spoke to me directly, he said. "I've been thinking about one of the questions you asked me last night. I don't want to sound defensive, but I



think we have conducted an extensive word of mouth campaign. We've gotten some significant union endorsements through personal contact--the Mine Workers, the teachers. They will conduct word of mouth campaigns for us--especially the PSEA. We have done a lot of campaigning in the black community, stressing my reform of the bail system and my work on prisons. I am going to speak in 3 black churches in the last weeks of the campaign. We're doing that instead of the Jewish groups, who have many club meetings on Sunday morning. Then we're going to do a day of street campaigning with Governor Scranton."

At this point, the conversation moved to a discussion of Scranton (whom AS had bumped into while waiting for the plane in Washington). But he, clearly, wanted to redress the balance of my thinking, to throw something else into my calculations. His reaction was different from the reaction of his advisers, that's for sure. But the sheer weight of the talk--even Specter's talk about decisiveness of media--all is on the side of the major generalization about media reliance. The dollars and cents would show that. What are they most worried about at this point? That they will have enough money to keep up the TV. Bob Feld, Arlen's fund raiser broke into the discussion at Alex Glasses to say that they had made a key decision--to stick to what AS calls their "game plan" by going on TV early--before <sup>Flaherty</sup> Specter they hoped--the day after Labor Day, to go on heavily and to keep it up. He said they had to do that because they were behind. (A lot like Tsongas) But when they made that decision, they did not have the money in hand to keep it up till election day. They have enough to keep them going till October 2nd, I heard. So they need 5 weeks worth of money--400,000 for media alone. Arlen told someone at one point that they budgeted 2.2 and could get by with 1.8. My point is that their worries all center around the media. I didn't hear them talk organization, get out the vote, voter identification, etc. the way

media  
plan

*ng*  
*all*  
Culver's people did. Culver's people thought of the media as "the frosting on the cake" whose purpose was to match Grassley. But the election would be won "in the trenches." No talk like this in Specter's hierarchy.

On Scranton: "Our relationship goes way back. When I was DA he asked me to help reform the magistrates system--a rotten system. It was a pet of his, and I headed up the investigation of the system. We reformed it. When I was a Democrat, he urged me to run for DA on the Republican ticket. We have always had a good relationship. I went to him when I was thinking of running in 197\_. He said to me, "You are the smartest most qualified candidate. But you will always have a hard time getting into the conservative Republican party. And what was not said but always implied was that I was Jewish. Scranton is a remarkable man. He is a very private person, a very strong man. I couldn't say I know him well. I have had dinner at his house. He is an unusual public servant, respected by everyone. He could have been Senator for the asking. He is loved, really, if you can use that word in politics. He is a man who never cut the last card for himself. "

*ind*  
At Hyatt in DC, someone asked him if he was a member of ADA when he was a Democrat. "No. I don't join clubs." I don't belong to any clubs. And one of the clubs I never joine or belonged to was the ADA." There's an independence here that goes with his problems of acceptance in the party. He isn't clubby. And the clubby Republicans don't cotton to him, I would guess.

AS spoke of press--on the plane--"The press is suspicious of ambition. There is some envy involved there, I think."

*media*  
"The press thinks the campaign should produce fireworks. If you are *not* feisty they criticize you." *if you're not feisty they criticize you.* "The press isn't interested in the campaign--even though it's for the United States Senate. On Saturday I gave a speech

*memo*  
to the Fraternal Order of Policemen and I got their endorsement. We sent out two press clips--one on the speech and one on the endorsement. There was nothing at all in the papers over the weekend. On Tuesday, it got mentioned in one paper. Well, I've learned. You take your shots and you get what you get."

AS-"Shanin was very enthusiastic about your coming." RF- "I know. He interceded on my behalf." AS - He didn't intercede. He just announced you were coming."

One of the most interesting things I found--though I can't document it very thoroughly--was AS attitude and perception re the Senate. It seems to me that he doesn't understand the Senate yet and doesn't have a very good idea of what a representative's--as opposed to a prosecutor's--job really is. In that sense, what is interesting is that he does not have a legislative background. What is more, his prosecutor's background sticks out all over him.

On the plane I asked him what Pa. was like. "It's a state with great diversity" he began, and then listed ways in which it was. I didn't recall all the differences, but he ticked them off. At one point he said "You can't really call it a microcosm of the United States because it's too big. It is 5-6% of the United States." (But at the editors group, he said "Pa. is a microcosm of the United States." So I don't know what he thinks on that score. It may not matter, except to show that he hasn't thought of it.) At one point he said <sup>"The problems of Penna are</sup> "indistinguishable from the problems of Kansas." "He was not good on the uniqueness of Pa.--if there is any.

I said it would be hard to represent such diversity and he said "It's the same problem my sister faced, teaching six grades in a one-room school in Kansas, or the problem a lawyer with a general practice has, handling

many clients without having any specialty. It's the problem of dealing with hundreds, even thousands, of interests." He didn't seem phased by the scope of the job.

*Senate  
action* ( I asked him what people thought job was. "They have clearer idea of what a DA does, he prosecutes people. They think a Senator votes on economic matters and helps get things for them." I didn't get this exactly right but it was quite vague. Only point was that DA's job was clearer to people.

I asked him what he thought job of Senator was and he rambled quite uncharacteristically. The gist of it was that we have a system that produces greater material benefits for people, and the job of the Senator was to distribute these benefits more equitably among the population. All should be able to enjoy. "People want to share in the material benefits of society. They want to have dignity--and pride. In these basic respects, Pennsylvania is indistinguishable from Kansas. We have a system that produces great material benefits. But not all people share in those benefits. We have extremes of the rich and the poor. The great majority of people are in the middle. The job of a Senator is to even out the distribution." Again, I didn't get it all, but that is the thrust. It almost seemed as if he were talking about the black community and that when I asked him about his job, he saw it mostly in terms of helping blacks. He is very aware of that group. My few days saw him make two speeches to black ministers, emphasize the key problem on black-white, talk about the word of mouth campaigning in black churches and volunteer that he is most comfortable with blacks.

*M* Another aspect of his view of the job was his decision to seek a spot on the Agriculture Committee. "There are 3 1/2 million people employed in agriculture in Pennsylvania. It's our second largest industry. And if one more steel mill closed down, it would be the largest. So it's important to our state. It's also a good campaign technique to get elected and to get

reelected. A Pennsylvania Senator on that committee would never have to worry about being reelected. If I had my druthers I would take foreign Relations and Judiciary. But I can't get Foreign Relations and I'll be very involved in Judiciary matters anyway because of my background. Dick Schweiker was on Appropriations. That's very important to our state, but I doubt if I can get that. I can't think of any committee that would stretch me as much as Agriculture. And I think a Senator ought to stretch himself. I'll be up to my ears in urban problems no matter what committee I'm on. I understand urban problems... I met with several agricultural groups one morning. The told me that Pa. had not had a Senator on the Agriculture Committee in 76 years. It sounded reasonable to me. I didn't ponder it. That afternoon, I made my decision. I announced it to another farm group. I have a good feeling for rural people. I grew up on a farm in Kansas. And rural people are the same here as they are there. They have the same sense of isolation and the same feeling of individual responsibility for what they do. Everyone knows you in Russell, Kansas just as they do in \_\_\_\_\_, Pa. You can't hide like you can in the big cities. Farmers feel like the forgotten people. I can reach them. And when I tell them I'm pledged to get on the Agriculture Committee, it helps offset my big city image. I understand Agriculture is a hard committee to get on." (This is an amalgam of what he said to me and what he said at newspaper.)

The other interesting thing he said about his job was at the paper, when he became pretty expansive about his ability to take a leadership role in the Senate. Paul Beers said that Pa. had had very few Cabinet Members and national leaders. (I heard fthat comment elsewhere.) Beers asked if AS thought he could do any better by Pa. in terms of national stature. "Yes, I think I can be an influential Senator. I intend to speak out, to be forceful,



to use the media. A Senator from Pennsylvania enters the Senate with more prestige than a Senator from a small state. Last night I went to a party at Jack Heinz's house for members of the Republican trust--contributors of \$5000 or more. Al Simpson of Wyoming, a wonderful gangling guy, was there and you could tell by the way people behaved, that he just wasn't in the center of things. Dick Schweiker has been a hell of a good Senator, but he isn't forceful. He doesn't project. John Heinz is getting there. He's grown tremendously in the job. But he's not quite there yet. The Northeast is losing its spokesmen, and there's an opportunity for someone. Javits is leaving. That's the biggest loss. Ribicoff is leaving--but he never was a leader, he just jumped on other people's bandwagons. Muskie is gone. In Ohio you don't have anything Metzenbaum and the astronaut--they don't project. Adlai Stevenson is going, but he didn't project. You've got Chuck Percy. Now you are out of the industrial Midwest. It's an exciting opportunity to look forward to." My guess is that he's destined to some disappointment here. But he does see himself as someone who will speak out. But the Pennsylvania advantage he sees is not there! I hope he wins so I can watch him adjust.

At the paper, when he was asked to state differences between himself and Flaherty. "Before I get to the issue differences, let me tell you what I think the most important difference is. It's the intensity of my campaign and the evidence it gives of my willingness to work hard. I've campaigned in all 67 counties. Flaherty has not. I've produced a sheaf of position papers three inches thick and Flaherty hasn't... I have put together an organization; Flaherty has not--at least not that we can see... But--I'm running against Flaherty. I'm trying to convince the people of Pa. that I'm a serious, hard working guy."

At some point in this comment, Sol Kohler, the editor said "If you get out of bed, you're campaigning harder than Flaherty."

Beers also said that when he had last seen Arlen "You were an aggressive District Attorney trying to get subpoenas for law enforcement officers. But now you seem to me to be more mellow. How come?" AS said "I don't know what has happened to me except that I'm ten years older. As a 35 year old district attorney I guess I did come on like gangbusters. But you come to realize you can't get everything done that you want to get done. So I guess I've matured. I'm more mature." Afterward, AS came back to this comment and was intrigued by it--mentioned it to Dan and me, then again at meeting with Catholic Conference people.

At the paper he was asked about problem of money and politics. He said, as he had to me on the plane that he would like to see all TV advertising prohibited and have networks give time to candidates to debate and to present themselves live. "You can wrap a zero in a TV package and get him elected to office. I've seen some." This was stronger than what he had said to me. On the plane, he wanted the same reform, but took the view that the real person did come through on TV somehow and that the thing wasn't infinitely malleable.

At the paper they discussed the various lesser statewide races, almost entirely in terms of who is known and how widely. The problem of ID in a large state is overwhelming.

Also AS commented again on how the regional feeling was stronger in the West, which is a Flaherty asset. Here is one way that intensity did get discussed. Pittsburgh, Franco Harris ad for Heinz, the banners in the street for the Pirates and Stealers, the civic activism, etc.--all producing regional pride and all helping Flaherty as contrasted with Philly, whose interests are less regional--banking and insurance center vs. steel production center.



Dan McKenna on the Press. "They are interested in the political aspects of the campaign, who is supporting whom, what the polls say. They don't give a damn what the candidate says. They don't know his stands and they don't try very hard. They follow the path of least resistance. They are only interested in the behind the scenes stuff, not the issues."

He and AS made same comment after the meeting at the paper. AS - "Did you see his eyes glaze over when I gave him the stack of position papers. Actually that's the stack with three printed pages on top and three printed pages on the bottom and all blank pages in between. It's cheaper to produce; and they'll never look inside to check."

AS - "Flaherty is vague on the issues. When you research him, there's nothing there. He has no position papers. He meanders during the campaign and gets into quicksand always changing priorities. But nobody cares. If we mention it, it seems like bickering... People aren't interested in political tactics."

We went to Washington, D. C. Tuesday for a "press conference," and a party for PAC representatives. He also began with 15 minute meeting with 3 guys from combustion engineering and ended up at Senator Heinz house at a party for members of Republican trust. All this was engineered by Charlie Black, a Washington operative who gets PAC money for people.

The press conference was a bust except for Al Hunt. Charlie had said he had 6 people coming "for sure." Re Al Hunt, Charlie said "An article in the Wall Street Journal will go over big with the PAC guys." At the end of the meeting with the Press, a Pennsylvania reporter for AP or UP came in--too late. Senator Schweiker came over and sat and talked with Arlen for a while. Jim Lake, a Republican party operative was in the room during all this. The first thing was the meeting with the combustion engineering group.

As we walked into the Hyatt Regency and spotted the ice cream bar, AS said "Let's have a milkshake. Dan, tell them I'm having a milkshake. They can come down here and talk." But Dan ("That's the little boy in Arlen. He loves milkshakes") persuaded him he'd have to go to the meeting and so we wandered down a dark corridor looking for the glacier room. AS "Doesn't it make you feel you're coming for the payoff? We could use a little sunlight in here, don't you think. They tell me this guy is a maximu contributor."

It did feel just that way.

In his talk with combustion engineering he told them he was neck and neck with "room to grow". He gave them the PSEA poll results (later he said "These guys lay back and wait to see how you are doing. They want to hear that you are winning before they contribute.") They told him of their problems--imports from Japan, of certain pqrts, restrictions on nuclear industry. He was sympathetic and noncommittal.

*media*  
That evening, after the Heinz party he said "One of the sad things about the campaign process is the amount of time you have to spend raising money--to pay for the media. But you have to do it. The problem is to get the money without compromising yourself."

During the talk with Schweiker and combustion engineering, he said the poll showed him 41-39. That his recognition had gone from 92-78 to 93-85. "The media is having an effect." Then he got more expansive. He said Flaherty's media was being produced by himself and by his wife's advertising firm. Saw Flaherty as not organized. And he talked of building up on lead that couldn't be overcome no matter what Flaherty did with media. He voiced idea that media would be "decisive" and "I think we'll win."

Driving from airport to Hyatt. AS told story he had just heard about PF when he was Assistant Attorney General. Said Griffin Bell found him "incompetent" and "dumb." Had to bring in another person to do PF's job."

Bell worked around him and finally he resigned because he was just twiddling his thumbs." Said they ought to look into it some more and see if they could use it. Dan told the story the next day to the newspaper guys in Harrisburg. I was a little nervous when they told it; I did not think it was in good taste, since they have so little evidence. I think a guy who wants to win so badly may just slip over the line that way. It was Dan who raised it, not AS. But AS did not stop him and helped elaborate.

AS thought he was going to give talk to PAC, but he didn't. On way over, he asked Charlie what he should say. Charlie said "Get right into it. Tell them you're against national health insurance and he's for, you're against the 12 <sup>and</sup> billion jobs, he's for. That's what they want to hear. You can talk about defense too. It's not their main interest, but it's relevant."

At the PAC party, he just mingled--no speech--and left to go to Heinz's. Elizabeth circulated and picked up contacts for future. She also got a number of checks. They showed 4 of TV ads, off to one side. He never had much to say about it afterward. It got overshadowed by the glamour of the Heinz party. But the attitude seemed to be one of resigned acquiescence. We had to wait over an hour for our plane and his reaction was one of outrage. He talked, on the way back home like a prosecutor figuring out a way to protect consumer from getting ripped off. Penalties for airlines that can't meet obligations, etc. The PAC wouldn't have cottoned to his train of thought, I'm sure.

*(Later she told me they got 16,000 out of that)*

*member*

Tuesday morning, AS had flown to Atlantic City to see if he could get to speak to the Teamster's Union "whom we are courting". A couple of times during the day, he told the story. He first went to meet the head of the teamsters (of Pa., I guess) in his hotel room to persuade him to let him speak to the larger group (whatever it was--council or larger group). The head asked several others if it was OK. One of the others was "a guy I

indicted for murder when I was DA. He wasn't exactly in favor of my speaking to the group." But he was out voted and AS was allowed to speak. "Before I spoke, they had a moment of silent prayer for ~~who~~ who died yesterday. His obituary was in the paper this morning. And would you believe it, I convicted him when I was DA." "So there I was asking for the endorsement of the Teamster... one of whom I had indicted and another of whom I had sent to jail when I was DA."

Shanin had asked him if I could go to Atlantic City with him and AS had said "I have problems with that." On Wednesday he said that he could have taken me with him if he had known how it would turn out. It was a kind of an apology for leaving me home. But I think it was based on the fact that he knew me better by Wednesday.

Re reforms he favors in campaigning.

- 1) No TV advertising
- 2) No use of personal wealth by candidates.

During one conversation about the debate, which Thatcher Longstreth tried to dominate, AS said "Thatcher and I have a history that goes back a ways. He wasn't happy with the support I gave him when he ran for Mayor. He got in some jobs at the debate. But you'd have to know the history to be able to see the marks on my skin."

"Flaherty has been copying everything we do. I say I'll go on the Agriculture Committee; he says he'll go on the committee. I oppose SALT; he opposes SALT; I tour the NATO countries; he visits the NATO countries. Each debate, he takes the position I took in the last debate. Each time, I have to add something new to keep him off balance."

*Shanin* [ "The campaign begins to take on a flavor--that I'm a serious, substantive candidate, that I know my material. That Flaherty is more fighting ~~or~~ and

doesn't work as hard. The TV ads reveal this about <sup>me</sup>~~one~~, I think."

We talked about media campaigns, again, late in the ride home from Hershey. He asked me how big Iowa was. I said a little over 2 million (sic). "Philadelphi has about 2 million. In 1965 I conducted an extensive street campaign. But there's no way you can reach that many people except by media. We spent 750,000 in that campaign. 200,000 was for street money on election day. 550,000 was for media. It was mostly a media campaign. It had to be." Any difference between Iowa and Philadelphia. Culver would not talk that way.

Our last stop was the PSEA group at Hershey Hotel. He was griping that "Matt had just put it on the schedule" but as we left he said "I'm glad we stopped here. These people are the most powerful group politically in the state. They will work." It was a case of him being energized by them. They gave him a couple of standing ovations (group of about 35-40) and that was the most enthusiasm I heard from any group. The Jewish group at Alex Grass house was friendly but less enthusiastic, more subdued. AS does not generate the enthusiasm Culver does. He doesn't exude the passion Culver does. He doesn't have the warmth or the sweatiness of Culver. As I say, cerebral, antiseptic.

In his talk to the small group of ministers Tuesday noon, he was his most eloquent, I thought. It was not especially eloquent; just his most eloquent--when he said "I know 4th and Bainbridge, 8th and Market, etc., etc. I've been in your churches in campaign season and out of campaign season."

He was introduced that day in part, (by Rev. Williams) in terms of the need for an eastern <sup>na</sup>~~Senator~~ and one who knows our problems. AS began with story of his meeting with the teamsters.

"You know my record: You know Pete Flaherty's record." That reminds blacks that NAACP opposed PF's appointment as Ass't Attorney General--a major argument in Specter's behalf. But parenthetically, it makes you wonder--as

with the teachers ("the teachers hate Flaherty")--AS isn't getting as much anti Flaherty support as he's pro Specter support. And if so, I worry about the lack of intensity in the Specter campaign. That seems to me one of the characteristics of AS campaign--no intense pro-Specter support.

Anyhow--to the black ministers, a revealing comment "I'm not easily discouraged; in fact I don't discourage at all." Comment on his many races.

He was asked if he was liberal, conservative or moderate. "I run like the plague from labels." He then asked Rob Rovner (former State Senator) to get his brief case, so he could read to the group what NAM (who supports PF) said about him. "Flaherty fits their bill." "I'm not always in step with the Republican party." "In general, I cannot be categorized. When it comes to jobs, I don't believe in massive federal programs which never last."

On the matter of equal rights, "I would never stand still for the Republican platform."

"Generalizations do not tell much about me."

"I very much believe in the OIC...it's a marvelous program."

"We have a very acquisitive society. It is governed by self interest. And politicians are interested in short term gains."

Re special interest danger - "I prosecuted the corrupt contractors who built City Center. I prosecuted the people who were spraying asbestos around in \_\_\_\_\_ the building. I locked up people who contributed to my campaign. The democratic process is threatened as we become a special interest society."

On plane - "I've never had any trouble with the press--except for one reporter I prosecuted for wiretapping."

The main policy he pushed while I was with him, starting in the debate and continuing with 2 black ministers groups and the newspaper interview was "greenlining". He said it was sponsored by Kemp, Garcia and Gray. He would

change unemployment cut off from 30% to 20% and he would include a 25% tax break for people who renovated houses.

Re his position papers, he would typically say "We have a set of position papers three inches thick. The other day I gave them to the editor of the Johnstown paper, and he said, "Arlen, I thought you were campaigning, not going into the publishing business." He would often say "We have campaigned hard. Flaherty has not. We have covered the issues, with specifics, our position papers. Flaherty has not" or variations on this theme.

Questions to ask next time--Compare this campaign with others you ran.  
~~What's difference between running in primary and running in general?~~