

DICK CLARK

October 14-17, 1978

Bill Roach, Patty Sampers, Joe Genero, Andy <sup>Loewi,</sup> ~~Loewi~~, Lee Pullman, Scott  
Simons (NPR), Frank Bruce Anderson, Margie McKay

October 14

6:00 Fund Raiser at Savery Hotel  
8:00 Fund Raiser at Val Air Ballroom - West Des Moines (with  
E. Kennedy)

October 15

Brunch with Kennedy - Savery Hotel

October 16

10:00 Marshalltown Community College *sp*  
12:00 Waterloo Rotary Club *sp*  
1:30 EDA Grant Ceremony - Union Hall - Amalgamated Meat  
Committee - Local 46 *sp*  
3:00 Waterloo Courier *mt*  
5:00 WHO Interview (Ramada) *mt*  
5:30 NPR interview (Ramada) *mt*  
8:00 Blackhawk County Democratic Meeting - Machinist's  
Union Hall *sp*  
10:00 Cutlers House

October 17

8:30 Oelwein High School *sp*  
9:30 Oelwein Radio Station - KOEL *mt*  
11:00 Wartburg College, Waverly *sp*  
12:00 Waverly Radio Station *mt*  
1:30 Charles City Press *mt*  
3:00 Channel 3 - Mason City *mt*  
3:30 Mason City Globe Gazette *mt*  
4:30 Mason City Radio KLMN *mt*  
5:15 Mason City Radio KROB *mt*  
6:00 Mason City Airport - meal

I left Detroit a day early because I had been unable to see Griffin. He was hanging in D.C. to vote on Humphrey-Hawkins. So I got to Des Moines on Saturday AM - had some trouble getting a room (no reservation for Sunday evening plus Iowa Chiropractors Convention--Iowa has largest number of chiropractors of any state--it started here with a school in Davenport and they were here piling up 12 hours and credits now required by law.) Anyhow, found out that Ted Kennedy was coming to Iowa with Clark Saturday, with two events--a \$100 fundraiser reception at the Savery at 6:00 and a speech at \$50.00 a plate fund raiser at Val-Air Ballroom, West Des Moines about 7:30.

I tried to find headquarters and finally did so--mostly because the security guard at the federal building opened up Clark's office for me, let me use the phone, gave me a map from Clark's office and in general acted like a staff member. Went to headquarters where campaign manager Bob Miller was only man holding the fort. He was obviously concerned with the Kennedy-Clark day (since Clark was at that point at national airport waiting for Kennedy to get there) and was very uncivil to me. I asked if he might have ten minutes sometime that afternoon and he said no. I picked up some literature, he checked it and made me leave one thing behind; and I went back to the hotel.

Went early to reception, met Joe <sup>Gennaro</sup> ~~Gennaro~~ one of his aides and talked some and also Patti Sampers. Generally these two helped me through the rough spots during the evening--Joe got me to Val Air (he volunteered) and Patti introduced me to Bill Roach at staff party later that evening. Met Harlan and Marge Johnson from Thompson, Iowa (near Clear Lake near Mason City). He's one of 3 ~~SCS~~ directors in Iowa. She's Democratic Committeewoman--very friendly and introduced me around some. Fact that I record this is best indicator of paucity of activity and access.

On the whole I floated around Saturday evening without an anchor--emphasizing the immense logistical problem of following Senators. The campaign manager

was uncordial, none of the campaign staff knew who I was or that I was coming or cared (Miller did say--"Oh I see you're on the schedule.") When I walked through the staff party two separate times, no one spoke. But it was a large party--maybe 75 people--whereas by contrast a House staff party might be 25. It's altogether a larger operation. Clark was at the staff party--sitting in one side room with several people--and I neither wanted nor could walk in and say hello. And no one would think of introducing me to the Senator. I would have been introduced to the House member under similar circumstances. *TEP*

Of course, the evening was not typical. Ted Kennedy's presence meant an extraordinary number of media people--a whole bunch of whom (including Steve Wermeil! were travelling with him on a swing through Iowa, Minnesota, Arkansas and Ohio). Ted Kennedy was the main event. He got the TV interviews at the Savery. He got the newspaper coverage at the Val Air, he gave the speech at the Val Air (Dick only really introduced him). I rode to and from Val Air with the Foreign Affairs editor of Stern Magazine and ~~he's~~ <sup>Scott</sup> photographer from West Germany--and I sat with them later at the bar. I was driven back from Val Air by an AP man, Steve Wermeil yelled at me out of the press-filled car, I talked a lot with a guy--<sup>Scott</sup> Simon from NPR out of Chicago who will be on the road with us to Waterloo, the crush of photographers at the Savery (as I tried to hold onto Joe's coattails) was something I had never experienced before in a House race.

So the point is, you can't judge Clark's media by what happened Saturday. But you can argue that Ted Kennedy would not go anywhere to help a House member in this way. Senators beget senatorial coverage. Some Senators are very prominent people. They help each other and thereby spread the aura around. In a sense what I'm saying is that there's a highest common denominator among Senators in that the least of them trades off the attention attracted by the greatest of them. Or an incoming tide of publicity for one Senator raises all

the boats. Clark is playing off of the presidential character of Kennedy. Much of his introduction of Kennedy was in this vein--kidding about Kennedy as a presidential candidate, i.e., couldn't get him here till he mentioned Iowa caucuses (see story in paper). Said Kennedy explained presence in Manchester, NH once by saying he told driver to go to Manchester, Mass. and driver got lost. Then Clark said "I've checked very carefully, Ted, and there's no Des Moines in Massachusetts." (See Des Moines paper story for some of this also.)

✓ Clark's theme during introduction was that people of Iowa always reacted to a campaign that raised hopes and spoke to people's best interests--he wasn't going to be negative, too many people already turned off, disallusioned--implied that Jepson was appealing to ~~base~~ instincts.

Long talk with Steve Wermeil at Sunday Brunch.

"I agonized more over that story (Cohen) than any I ever wrote because I didn't want it to be biased. I finally decided I had to write it the way I saw it. I think it is fair." "I went into it with a chip on my shoulder. Nobody had ever laid a glove on him since he had been in politics.

"For six years in Congress, he had led a charmed life. An unflattering picutre of him had never appeared anywhere. He was too perfect." He spoke of "too many contradictions in Cohen the man that bothered him "in my gut." He mentioned that even though Cohen said he valued private time to be alone and write poetry he published his poetry in the middle of a campaign. Why? And why didn't you want to challenge Muskie in 4 years? The answer to that, thinks Steve, is that he thinks he can win this time. "I asked him and he starts quoting Thoreau--the same old bull shit."

He said he could never get Cohen to relax and be spontaneous with him even when they were on the plane and he put aside his notebook. On the other hand, "I like Hathaway. He's open and funny. What you see is what you get." Said



Cohen was ahead in polls because "Hathaway is too liberal for the state. There's no doubt about that." He said he focused on "the two men" more than the campaign because he had to write it around Labor Day "which meant I would miss the whole campaign."

A theory: Cohen does a lot of things "Because I want to" and that's not good enough for any reporter. Or me either, really.

We had interesting talk about House and Senate. He offered theory that when House members get to the Senate, they neglect their districts for first 3 years and this can be a cause of trouble, i.e., Hathaway. Point is that House members are so relieved to get out from under the 2 year race they spend less time back home for a while.

I then offered another thesis--which I asked him to play out with Fraser. (since he was going to Minn.) That the longer a House member has been in the House, the less successful they are in running for the senate. I told him that was a fact and offered 2 hypotheses. One is that people who run for Senate are, by some reverse Darwinian process, the ones who aren't making it in the House (the culls) people who aren't giving up a whole lot of power, hence they aren't the best politicians. Or, alternatively,--maybe not alternatively but just relatedly--people who have been in the House for a long time run poor Senate campaigns because they do not learn easily. They don't have the flexibility. (Now, I've heard twice here that Fraser lost because 1) he saved back \$100,000 for the general campaign and 2) he was outspent. Maybe he got overconfident on the basis of a much narrower view of politics than the whole of Minnesota. Well, here are matters that are food for thought.

Q: In Rohde's figures, are the early leavers more risk takers than the late leavers? Actually I see no logical reason why they should be. The conditions under which you first run for office have no relation to your talent as a

politician either in the House, or after 10 years of campaigning or in terms of going home as a congressman or senator.

On other matters, Steve thinks Kennedy came to Clark because he is closest to Culver and because Clark is a solid liberal and Kennedy "has this schtick about the drift away from old liberalism, and Clark is solid on that." Also said EMK likes to campaign here and always does.

He thinks Kennedy will help Tsongas, but not too much. Thinks Tsongas will be a threat to Kennedy and that he'd be "much more comfortable " with Brooke. In part, Steve is defending his article in which he notes the 20 year old tradition that Republican and Democrat Senators don't kill each other. But the way he finally puts it is that "If ~~Avi~~ Nelson were the Republican candidate EMK would be working much harder than he is now. If he really wanted to save that seat he'd work much harder."

On the question of Kennedy's desire for the presidency, he said Kennedy will not run against Carter--" the Kennedy's don't do things that way" he said and then retreated and said that there was no Viet Nam type issue around now. He said Kennedy is keeping his options open, however and that "the trip to New Hampshire was gratuitous. Tom McIntyre is not in trouble and all he did was speak to a state convention. If he had really been there to help McIntyre, he would have behaved differently. So it was a gratuitous trip. That makes your eyebrows go up. So I think he's keeping his options open." Said he never saw EMK so emotionally changed as last night. Nothing new just fervent. Says he likes to campaign in Iowa.

My first meeting with Dick Clark came after the brunch when I happened to bump into him and Bill Roach waiting for elevator.

Clark: Hello

Roach: Have you met Senator Clark?

Fenno to Roach: No. (to Clark) I'm Dick Fenno from Rochester, NY. I'll be with you for a couple of days.

Roach: He's the political science professor.

Clark: Ohhh, Yes. (pause) What have we done about that Swedish Reporter?

Roach: We'll give her 10 minutes and try to rush it through.

That was it. They got on elevator. I got on elevator. We rode down in silence, got off at same floor in silence and then they went to Clark's suite (where they were to hold meetings all afternoon) and I went in the other direction to my room--where I had nothing to do all afternoon. Altogether, quite senatorial, I thought.

Now everyone says that one of DC's best qualities is that he is very down to earth, everyone calls him Dick, etc. So he may be that way, and he had just gone through a big reception and whirl and Kennedy had just left and he'd been talking with his best supporters, etc. But he didn't utter a word of welcome. We'll see what he's like by Tuesday.

But a good point which can be made here is that the entourage is necessarily so large around a Senator that I'm driven to the fringes by force of numbers. As I write this on Sunday afternoon, Clark and his aides are about 4 doors down the hall holding strategy meetings of the sort that Frenzel let me sit in on the first moment I was with him. Size matters, and it comes to protect these people.

Patti Sampers talked about how Clark sent her an art book from Washington and about how he always thanks them for what they do. She has just worked on campaign. But we talked a little bit about why she was working 70 hours a week. She lost her husband in Viet Nam and admires him for his stand on Angola. Has teenage boys and doesn't want to get them killed. Said there are 700 Iowa deaths in Viet Nam and so that Dick's stand was not a vote getter. But he took it. She estimates that about 20 people are "killing themselves" in this campaign. My effort to get at the very hard core and why they do it. A subset of the primary constituency.

In opening the little talk by Ted Kennedy at the Brunch Dick said "Six years ago when Ted Kennedy came here, we were twenty points behind in the polls.

He helped us then and we're delighted to have him back. I know it's a great sacrifice for many of you to contribute your money and your time to this campaign. I see people here who have been my greatest supporters for many years. Thank you for coming and welcome, Ted."

Ted K said that Dick had been active "in my brother Bob's campaign." "I welcome the chance to come out here and help in his campaign. Dick Clark has made a difference in the Senate. Senators I respected when I came to the Senate--Senator Hart, Senator <sup>Douglas</sup> ~~Boyle~~--used to tell me, you can't build mountains, but you can alter the direction of streams. You can build mole hills. Dick Clark has made a difference in the opening up of the process, which may seem obscure but is important to how the system functions. In democracy the Senate, in ~~ethics~~, in public financing, in changing the seniority system--almost singlehandedly. Maybe I won't be chairman of the Judiciary Committee next year in spite of my seniority (laughter)--but I'll have Dick Clark's vote and a few others. Chairman of the Africa Subcommittee may not seem important to the people of Iowa, but in the Senate we know that his clear and compelling arguments against our involvement vs Angola may have kept us out of another Viet Nam situation. So Dick Clark has made a difference and has earned respect in the Senate."

When you travel with a House member, it's like a family--not just because you know everyone and they take some kind of interest in you, but also because you feel more responsibility toward them. This occurred to me Monday am waiting to start out with Dick Clark. Usually I care about what I wear in part because I think others will judge the House member by the company he keeps i.e., by what his "family" looks like and acts like. But with a Senator, when there's a travelling troupe following him around, what difference does it make what I look like or act like. I'm just another one of

those people riding in the car in back of the Senator's car--a hanger-on, a leech of some kind, not in any sense an extension of the Senator. I have no relationship to the Senator that would make it likely that he would be judged in any way by me. Or, so I feel. With House members, I'm part of "the company he keeps," with Senators I'm part of the onlookers, the people who paid to get in, so to speak.

Marshalltown Community College. "I'm particularly pleased to meet \_\_\_\_\_ of your Art Department. This painting of his (waving at picture of it) hangs over the mantelpiece in my office in Washington. I hope you'll come down and see it. It's one of my prized possessions."

"Government not getting job done."

"Increasing influence of special interest groups has now become an enormous problem." Results in programs, loopholes, ~~de~~frails reform. "Growing power of special interests is distorting process of government almost beyond recognition."

Powerful have resources - point is to get them to play fair--GM more powerful than Al's repair shop, etc.

Then he moved to his work on internal reform - opening of conference committee to reduce special interest influence - reform of seniority system. House - "In 1975 I was successful in instituting the same kind of election in the Senate."

Limits on extra income and whole ethics package. "Harder for special interests can't buy favors from congressmen--campaign reform limits special interest contributions.

New needs: (1) public financing of congressional election. "The effort I lead last year was killed by a filibuster." (2) Lobbying disclosure - Stafford - Kennedy - Clark bill proposed. "This year our legislation was killed to death in committee." Next year we'll get one.

Wants to "whittle influence of special interests down to size" and that will restore confidence.

We want "sudden, dramatic solutions to problems, things we can understand. Man on white horse to clean out bad guys - but these matters I've discussed are technical. They are dull, no public clamor for them and that's the problem." He quotes Mencken <sup>Something like: for every complicated problem there is a simple solution; and the simple solutions are wrong.</sup> <sub>see newspaper copy.</sub> Then he tells students to take an interest and restore confidence and build support for solutions to problems.

He has a pleasant but rather flat delivery, stumbles over key lines (like the Mencken quote which he got backwards!). But he seems very serious.

✓ "I was totally unknown when I first ran."

He got questions on tax program, energy program, public finances, SALT talks, Ian Smith's visit, National Health Insurance, DC representation, wage and price control, (he favors TIP), talks in South Africa, Iran, Carter in 1980.

"I walked 200-300 miles this Spring. I'll be walking 2 or 3 more times. I find it interesting; it's valuable because you get a different cross section of people--otherwise you get same type of people like Rotary Club or service clubs. On the walk, you see 200 people a day and you get a fairer cross section than you do ordinarily. You can talk in a more relaxed setting than you do in a formal setting."

Disagrees with Carter on Iran - "human rights openly and consistently violated in Iran."

Waterloo Rotary Club talk.

Starts by talking about Rath Packing Co. - "As a person who had the privilege of working at the Rath Packing Co.--more years than I care to remember, from night clean up to ~~lard~~ packing and whatever, I'm happy to have had some contribution."

Wants to talk here about "effective government" - In depression, we thought government was helpful - ~~how~~ people don't have same perception - "something

has gone wrong", toilets in fields, public housing torn down, GSA scandals.

What to do about it? Can't deal with problems one at a time. "That's "band aid way". "We spend thousands of hours a day mediating between the government and individuals...trying to make agencies do what they are supposed to do and stop doing what they aren't supposed to be doing." Two problems: girl's basketball, classifying kids *harvesting as migrant labor*

Some people advocate *more ane* approach. Mencken. He has faith in government and thinks it can work well. Key lies in 3 areas. 1) make government accountable 2) reduce special interest influence 3) reform civil service system.

(1) = Sunset bill - "makes it so that no question that bureaucrats who run these programs will do what they are supposed to do." Government programs have no time limit. "Most government programs go on and on without a review of it at all. I think that's wrong." He talks of waste, inefficiency, overlapping. He's using sunset to give an anti big government twist. "Drudgery and political risk involved in reviewing programs already in place." More popular to start more programs.

(2) Special interest groups - "increase cost of government and hinder market place." he cites airline regulation and maritime regulations - his role on Rules Committee opening up markups and conference committees. Seniority chairmen had "cozy relationships," "more power has flowed to people less wedded to the old ways." He ticks off same list as before till he gets to public financing of campaigns and lobby disclosure. He said again that if each person put up one dollar, that would take care of all campaign expense and be a dollar best spent to preserve democratic process.

(3) Personnel practices. "The rules now in place were established in 1883."



"Sprawling monster that hamstring management, presents inefficiency and makes it impossible to get rid of dead wood." 226 fired in 1977--one one hundredth of one percent of Federal work force. Riders are too complicated--no merit increases--praises Carter's reform of civil service. But it was hard to get through because no public support. Then into the "main on the white horse riding in to clean out the bad guys" ending. All this is dull and "lawmakers can drag their feet without fear of censure." "I wish there were simple solutions to the government's problems, but I don't think there are."

Question: "When are you going to vote the way Iowa voters want you to vote instead of the way George Meany wants you to vote?" Specifically - labor law reform bill.

"I think my job is to represent all Iowans, as many groups and individuals as I can. In case of labor, my feeling is that since there are 200,000 laborers (one of five families) I have responsibility to look out for their interests as well as business. We don't always agree (cited cargo preference and why he opposes that. "Bl bomber, protectionism. "If we are to build tariff walls around this country we will be in deep trouble.") I can't judge each vote on the basis of which group favors it...or what is popular...but what I think is best for Iowa, for the country and squares with my own conscience. You may or may not agree with what I've done, but that's what I've tried to do."

Question on Proposition 13, Arabs, boycott, handling of strikes, inflation.

Speech at Rath Packing Company (employs 1900 people) Local 46 Union Hall, Amalgamated Meat Cutter's Union.

Clark - cooperative effort in this community - company, union, city, county

*"I worked in night cleanup, lard packing and in the bacon department,*  
I know what it means to have a job. Walking around the hall, I talked with people who worked in departments I worked in. They call it night sanitation

now when I worked in it we called it night clean up." "I worked in several departments, ~~land~~, sliced bacon. So I know what it is to have a job. I know how important it is to have the 2000 jobs represented in this company... This company is too important to let go down the drain and we're not going to do it."

They are getting 3 million loan from EDA--and I stood at back of the hall during the ceremony.

When I got there, Andy Low<sup>is</sup> said "These are our folks." I said I noticed, since Dick was shaking hands with every single person seated in the hall. Then Andy said about Waterloo Rotary Club. "They sounded a little anti-labor, didn't you think? Well, there <sup>(pointing to union people)</sup> are the people who are bringing <sup>Don't</sup> the country to ruin with their wage demands. ~~But~~ they look like they are living well, with new suits and whatever?" It was a strong ideological outburst which gave me <sup>more</sup> of a flavor of the philosophy of Clark than I had gotten at any other time. So far, it's pretty bland.

Clark started VIP voter identification program.

At Waterloo - Blackhawk~~County~~ great introduction!

"Waterloo is very much like a second home to me. It's the town we went to <sup>from</sup> ~~for~~ Lamont to see my aunt and uncle. I needed a job. I lied about my age and got a job. ~~Coming to~~ Waterloo was the city we came to from Lamont. when you went to town to shop. Has a very special meaning to me." Talks about staying in people's home's and having people join him on the walks.

Story - picnic in pasture campaigning for Harold Hughes - 800 to 900 people. Hughes had booming voice and wanted to stand on something. Found a manure spreader. "I've spoken from every platform imaginable, pulpit, lectern, bandshell - but this is the first time I've ever spoken from a Republican platform."

Spoke of Rath loan and accomplishment.

"I've spent about 1/4 of all my time in Iowa--not at the expense of my voting record, which is 94%." Must "keep your ear go the <sup>ground</sup> ~~gard~~." "If you started out trying to satisfy every person you'd go crazy." "You exercise your best judgment." "Above all be a listener, not a talker and go back and vote."

"The campaign does still lack some substance, some information, some instruction. It's a chance to talk about the issues - no simplistic solutions and rhetoric." Inflation is problem. I've addressed them. "My opponent has said very little of substance, of detail, of what he would do, what he would cut." --hits Jepson for his deficit.

Then he goes on to campaign to elect ticket on election day - what it takes to win--a partisan. "If I haven't done enough in the last six years, there's nothing magical I can say in the next 3 weeks to make any difference. From now on it depends on you. The only way you win elections is to get out more votes than the other party--the key thing is to get the vote out on election day. Most of our candidates are <sup>in</sup> ~~at~~ trouble ~~of~~ turnout drops below 50%. We'll win if we get the turnout above 55%."

"It doesn't take a million people, it takes a few dedicated people." A very good speech on get out the vote and work on election day.

Talks about his 1st work as precinct committeeman in 1962- went to Fayette to get the vote out. "I ended up with 2 students neither of whom had done anything--neither had I much. We decided to go up and down in Fayette, a town of 1200 to get the Democratic vote out. Fayette is the most Republican town you ever saw. It never came close to going Democratic - not with Hoover, or Landon. We got interested because a great young guy came along and said he would run for governor--Harold Hughes. We went out night after night after night, door to door to door, weeks and weeks and weeks. We got every household in that town on

4 x 6 cards in shoe boxes. Had never been a canvas here before. Old postmaster knew everyone in town, he was an FDR appointee. Republicans were twice Democrats, but it was an off year election. Got workers on election day and phones and person at polls. Wouldn't let a Democrat out there at the polls--didn't think it was legal. Called every single person and asked for help, got promise to vote and vote early so we can keep track. Eventually got all but two. Won precinct by 2 votes for Hughes! Have never lost it since in any election. I carried it by 150 votes. I never had so much fun in politics as I had that day in Fayette. A lot of my interest in politics stemmed from that experience." It was a long story and I've only caught a piece here or there, but it showed that Clark knows how to put together an organization and has a working knowledge of nuts and bolts politics.

After the speech at the Machinists Hall in Waterloo we went to Lynn and Henry Cutler's house. She's a powerhouse Vice Chairman of Committee on Inter-governmental Relations - County Supervisor - full of life and big Clark booster. The staff told John Culver stories with great hilarity and of course Dick joined in.

Now, it's the last night in Iowa. I've spent several days here and have not yet had much of a conversation with Clark. I've asked for some time tomorrow and we'll see whether I get it or not. His staff is not overly friendly. And today has been a media day as far as Dick is concerned. He's been more attentive to WHO radio man Frank Spazio and the NPR man Scott Simon. Scott is such an outgoing, life of the party type that he has submerged me by dint of personality and by media position. I can wait him out, of course; but if I don't get a few minutes tomorrow, I'll have a bust.

Today I rode all day in the van behind Dick's car. I rode with him only from the Ramada Inn to the County Democratic function. But we all ate dinner together

and I had a chance, for the first time, to remind him of our previous meeting. But he had it all wrong and didn't remember, though he said he thought maybe we had met. We talked a little about the congressional fellowship program and he spoke of Jan Stucker. But Scott dominated the dinner conversation, too. But I let him. It's his game and he has to make a lot of hay. Says he'll send me tape of his interview which would help.

Dick called House the "heated body" and Senate the "cool body" he talked about Edmund Burke, being accessible.

In her introduction at every meeting Lynn <sup>Cutler</sup> ~~Carter~~ gave ~~due~~ <sup>gave</sup> clue to Senatorial expectations, "People say Dick Clark is more interested in Africa than Iowa. Well in the first place that's just baloney. And in the second place what makes those people think that Iowans are so backward and to dumb and so out of touch with the world that they aren't proud of a Senator who is the greatest expert on Africa in the United States Senate." Clark talked about that with Scott when he noted that one in three bushels of corn is sold abroad, etc.

Oelwin High School gym - Tuesday a.m. - takes off from his 3 committees-- Rules, Agriculture, SFR.

"Loyal to Iowa but believes Iowa should be placed in the world of nations." Part of his intro by principal--whom Dick said was former classmate.

"I've spoken at this High School in the past. It always <sup>maker</sup> ~~gives~~ me--when I look around that gym and see the sign <sup>Huskies</sup> ~~his kids~~--a little squeamish because I came from Lamont, which is a smaller community and we would have to play Oelwin in the tournaments and we usually got beat by Oelwin." (Cheers).

"Many people have lost faith in the government--not in the system but in the political process and in some of the people in the process."

In <sup>speaking</sup> ~~specific~~ world weather is the major determinant of agricultural policy," part of interrelationship of world and Iowa. Asked kids in gym how many lived

on farms - talked agriculture for 1st time (1) price supports (2) set <sup>asides</sup> (3) exports. His bill on grain inspection and livestock bonding.

Work in Sen. F.R. - discusses Middle East - Western Europe, Soviet Union "our principal adversary". Question is "how do we live in the world together" not love one another. Not be like one another but survive in <sup>nuclear age</sup> ~~Middle Ages~~.

Questions: are you <sup>here</sup> as candidate or Senator, <sup>electoral college</sup>? are we getting more like Soviet Union?, (he never uses buzz words "strong national defense"), new pope, gun control (anti Saturday night specials)--"I never thought registration would accomplish very much." Panama Canal, your vote He said he listened to everybody and decided it was in best interest to sign treaty. He asked how many knew how he voted on it--3 or 4 out of about 500. "Have you met President?" "Is your voting record issue in campaign? Yes--and other half is my opponent's record."

In political parties class he was good, again, on nature of the job cited Edmund Burke. "The job is not to be a mirror. You <sup>owe</sup> ~~are~~ your constituents, your judgment, intelligence, energy." Should come back and listen. But should listen. It's the "mirror" image versus the Edmund Burke image that he keeps invoking. Said several times that if you just want to take polls, "a computer" will do the job.

Went to Station KOEL in Oelwein. I stayed out of interview. Bob Novak and Margie McKay went in.

Coming to Wartburg University - "It's a conservative Lutheran college--big enough so that they always beat us in sports. This is college here. The last town it was the high school who always beat us. I'm always with the underdog."

When I told him about what I was doing "You want to find out who they are, what they are like and where they come from. It sure makes a hell of a lot more sense than going to Washington."

"The trouble is you don't know <sup>who</sup> ~~what~~ it is you represent. Dirksen and Douglas represented the same state--were they both representative of Illinois. How do you know. That's the problem." I had said that I was interested in looking at a "representative" body by starting in districts and that triggered Representative. Also people don't vote by ideology. They vote by sizing up the candidate mostly.

What do you tell people re. Iowa. "It's a middle state--a moderate state. It's 25th in population and 25th in size. Its attitudes are representative of the nation as a whole. It's as interested in foreign policy as the rest of the country. That maybe the media influence, since TV is national now--but there's no proclamation left. If you take a Harris poll, you'll find that Iowa is representative of the nation. I just can't help but go backwards! thinking middle of everything."

Then he went on to say that ~~of~~ course people more interested in agriculture than foreign policy.

"That's my strength no doubt about it, he's responsive, accessible, around a lot." (Said in kind of summary just as we were concluding interview.)

When I asked about "greatest supporters" he said that it was a good question and he paused over it a long time. Said that what he meant at the brunch were contributors. "I suppose I could say Democrats since I get about 80% of all the Democrats. But you ask where I do best among the Democrats. I don't do any better with union, labor--which isn't all that strong here in Iowa --than I do with any other blue collar workers. I don't do better in the cities than in the rural areas, surprisingly enough. But I'd say I do best among lower income, middle income people. I do well with Catholics. Of course it's hard to say because I've only run once and in between all you have to go on are public opinion polls. But I did much better than I expected in the rural areas, especially



in the small towns--and a lot more people live in small towns than rural areas. I didn't do any better than any other Democrat in the cities, but I did much better than other Democrats in the rural areas. I think that had a lot to do with the walk."

I mentioned that V.O. Key found heart of Republicanism in small towns and he said again it was the walk.

Would rank ordering of counties be the same this time as last. "Oh, no. In the rural areas I don't expect to do as well. Whatever the farmers thought of me in 1972, it had to do with the walk, that I came through their towns, stopped in the stores, the grain elevators. That isn't there this time and so the farmers have a different picture of me than they did. I should do better in the the cities, and maybe in the small towns. But you can't predict the farmers. They are the most volatile part of the eletorate. They jump all around. They were Republican, but they voted against Hoover in 1932 just like that."

I commented on his 88 day average at home. "It's political. The great problem in the society is alienation, the feeling that you elect people and they go off somewhere and forget about you. They want you to be around, listen, talk with them, hold open office hours. It gets on the radio and people learn you were in Oelwin today talking at the high school. People will forgive you almost everything if you stay in touch. And that gives you latitude when it comes to voting in the Senate. For me it is the only way I could survive, <sup>Here?</sup> When I went to Washington I decided I was not going to throw votes. You can get by them if you want to by voting to please people--cut the budget every chance you get, no matter what damage it does. I decided I wasn't going to do any of that. So I have to come back here all the time. I spend all my spare time here--all my vacation time. I haven't had a vacation except for Christmas in six years. But <sup>that</sup> doesn't mean you can neglect your job back there. I've spent a lot of time on agricultural matters. worked very hard at that, went to all the committee

meetings. When I come back I talk a great deal about agriculture--much more

than you have heard me. If I didn't get back here a lot and talk about agriculture and know a lot about it, people would never forgive my interest in Africa. Again it <sup>gives me latitude.</sup> ~~was~~. Coming back here, being accessible, listening, that's my strength. It's the only way I can survive. ~~I~~ I also think it's the right thing to do."

Later he noted that his large staff in Iowa and 3 offices "is a part of what we talked about earlier." And Andy Lowie piped up and said "You were the first Senator to have 3 district offices." Dick said that everyone was doing that today--said Miller hadn't been neglectful - ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup> ~~hadn't~~ <sup>was</sup> was.

Re walk. "I had to do something. State Representative \_\_\_\_\_ said to me one day that I should do it. I thought it was crazy; <sup>mi</sup> ~~discussed~~ it out of hand. Several weeks later, he came back and asked ~~me~~ what progress I was making in the campaign. I said not much. I had no money and wasn't known. He said I ought to consider doing the walk. I realized I had to do something and so I thought it over and decided I might as well. After the first day I knew I had done the right thing. It interested people in politics that had never been interested before. That was the campaign. I walked 1300-1400 miles. The results were amazing."

"It was a lot more productive than this kind of campaigning and a lot more fun. Here we are spending all our time in the car. We ride for hours to talk to 80 people who have made up their minds long ago. Maybe three or four of whom are changeable. But it's a media thing now. That's why television is so important. Everybody sees that."

Media allocation 6-1 TV over radio, Radio 3:1 over newspapers. Doesn't spend on newspapers - "unless we feel we ought to for some reason." They will spend between 600,000 and 700,000 on the campaign.

Question from kid <sup>re his</sup> TV (1) Angola and Viet Nam wheel chair, (2) Ethics committee (3) boxer ad - toys - Clark wins fights - he defends them as short but relevant.

When I asked him about his TV spots he said he was going to rotate them over and over - no sequence - same pattern as campaign really - hitting highlights of his record. TV - ads : (1) reminder of walk (2) ethics (3) Angola (4) fights winning (5) anti meat axe approach.

Re creating expectations of accessibility. "My colleagues tell me that it will create expectations--that they'll expect it of you. They tell me "Don't do it." "There's a question how long you can keep it up."

Lee, Bob \_\_\_\_\_ and Dick each have visited 99 counties with mobile van - "You can get too familiar. People will say 'here he is again.'"

<sup>his name</sup> in earlier.

Re farmers - most volatile, jump around - 1972 voted vs. Hoover - can't predict.

Trying to get around to college undecideds.

Charles City Press. Re abortion - "I wouldn't make it central - very few people are single issue voters." They will look at personal characteristics and experience and a whole range of issues.

"<sup>Had</sup> to characterize abortion as ideological issue. It crosses party and identification lines. You can have a <sup>string</sup> strength of single issues. Some people are taking that position in politics and acting as single issue voters."

"I've worked very hard on agricultural subjects. Most of my legislative accomplishments are on agricultural matters--corruption in grain industry, packer bonding bill, commodity <sup>future</sup> trading commission. Those are areas I've specialized in. But it isn't all I've done. I've also been interested in foreign affairs."

Much time outlining <sup>set</sup> asides, price supports, export controls, rail car shortage (keep branch lines open, build and repair box cars) lock

50% of Clark's money comes from out of state. Can't tell about Jepson, since he doesn't disclose. House members are rarely in that position.

In favor of public financing. If I had been guaranteed as much money as Jack Miller in 1972 I'd have been delighted. I couldn't begin to match Jack Miller in fund raising.

Two guys complained about post office situation. ("What can I say that I haven't said 200 times already.")

Channel 3 in Mason City. "I've always voted to support public funding on abortion on the grounds that the Supreme Court has ruled that it's unconstitutional for state legislature to deny women a right to have an abortion in first trimester. It seems to me that poor women should have same right to an abortion as wealthy women." The issue of funding is the only one we have voted on, about 30 times."

"Not many people are going to vote on the basis of one issue...character, experience, industriousness, voting record on a range of issues" is what people will judge.

Talk with Bruce Anderson about TV buying on road from Charles City to Mason City. There are 6 stations that cover 77% of state - 2 in Des Moines, 1 in Ames, 2 in Cedar Rapids, 1 in Waterloo. There are 6 more that cover 19% of the state and a large number, 14 or so that cover the rest of the 4%.

He thinks of TV as the mass medium but not as the initiating medium. TV covers whatever the newspapers define as news. So you have to go after newspapers in the first instance. Point is that TV is not the whole of the campaign.

Mason City Globe-Gazette.

Why should you be reelected? "I don't tell people they ought to vote for me. You start with assumption that people will make that decision for

themselves. Your responsibility is to lay out your platform information, the specifics, in detail so people can make an intelligent decision on where you stand. You can encourage them by bringing out certain factors. One of the things I emphasize is that I come back here more than any Senator except those in Maryland and Virginia. It's also the kind of service you give--the whole area of staying in touch. Voters are going to base decision also on a broad range of personal characteristics, character, ability, experience, integrity."

"It's a rewarding job. The older you get the more you want to make a contribution even though a minor one. I think I can make a contribution in public service. Personally it's most rewarding to me to be in public life."

"I represent an agricultural state not just the farmers but the entire economy."

When he got into Mason City Newspaper he reminisced with one of the editors.

DC: "Chuck covered my first press conference here--out at the airport."

Chuck: Out at the airport, it got so cold I left you there and went home.

I also covered you at Charles City Tractor that trip. DC: I was at the plant

gate. Chuck: Getting the rousing reception from the workers as they came to

work. DC: Yes--"Who are you?" I remember staying over at Waterloo with

a family that had a lot of children and wouldn't wake them by putting on the light. So we fumbled around in the dark trying to find our clothes.

Chuck: You mean that old jumpsuit you wore. At the gates they probably saw those clothes and said "There's Clark". Clark: "I hope so." (laughter)

"If I were to spend <sup>an inordinate</sup> ~~a worthwhile~~ amount of time on Africa it would be hard to justify." It has to be a balance. I think Iowans are very interested in what happens in rest of world--1 in 3 <sup>acres</sup> ~~areas~~ <sup>mid abroad</sup> ~~areas~~ - especially middle.

Who do you represent? "If people were simply a mirror you could do it better with public opinion polls, computers and in some scientific way. All you really need to know is how the wind is blowing. This <sup>fire</sup> has been a debate since the beginning of representative government. I agree with <sup>Burke</sup> ~~Brooke~~ who said legislator <sup>owes</sup> ~~was~~ a constituency independent judgment <sup>his</sup> ~~an~~ energy. Have to listen, "got saturated with how people feel about it. Don't separate yourself from your people, got a good healthy input from there but then go down and use your judgment. People have a <sup>e</sup> referendum on you every six years. It may cost me my seat. Pick a Senator like a doctor, a lawyer or any other professional person. Intelligence, experience, your confidence in them. These may be untangibles, even impressions but you're choosing someone for the next six years and I don't think it's a bad way of doing it."

Sitting here in Mason City Globe Gazette it appears that he handles lots of issues by saying: here are the alternatives being discussed in this are, this is the one I favor because it's better than the others. These alternatives are often put in such a way that he says "the problem is where do you draw the line, where is the dividing line." Then, his judgment comes into play.

Asked whether he's changed views at all he said "I suppose I've lost a little faith in the government's ability to solve social problems. I won't give up on the government. If you deal with people who deal with government you see a lot of frustration. I'd be a little more inclined now to stop and take a look at what we've got and make the programs we have work better."

KLSS - KLMN Mason City.

He tried to do ~~some~~ ID with young reporter and failed. What happened to state <sup>on</sup> \_\_\_\_\_. Guy didn't know.

Much more on agriculture again here.

National health, Rhodesia, Panama, nuclear power, Angola, human rights, abortion, energy, Nicaragua.

KRIB - Mason City

Young woman asked mostly about campaign and was very tired. So was Dick - "This is the time of day when I get tired--answering the same questions the same way."

In the morning Lee had said that they had deliberately not scheduled Dick too hard because he got tired at end of day and might miss peak. They were keeping a pretty stiff pace, but not as frantic as I've seen. We ran ahead all day. Dick is running a very low key campaign on the personal side--going from area to area hitting colleges and media particularly.

He comes across as a very steady and mild mannered person--nothing flaming about him personally. He reminds me a lot of Dave Obey and if he wins he'll have the Dave Obey formula I would guess--liberal voting record - personal sobriety. You couldn't imagine Dick Clark as a radical. He is overweight, wears rumpled clothes, smokes a pipe and altogether looks like a wooly teddy bear. I never heard him raise his voice or utter a sharp word to anyone. He's not bookish or professional. He exudes idealism, practical choice making and political nuts and bolts knowledge. Will need more working.

At Mason City Airport - re 1st race. "I can tell you honestly I never thought of running for the Senate until 7 days before I filed--never in my life."

He said he kept urging Culver to run. "He was only 6 points behind Miller in one Iowa poll. Those things jump around so you can't rely on them. I thought he could win. But he had been in for five terms. He had something to lose. I suppose that entered into it." He wasn't going to explain the whole Culver decision and didn't try--but he did put the poll and Culver's investment into the calculation."



*mce*  
We got to talking about Guy Gillette, Otha Wearner (picked to run against Gilette) and the other people being purged by FDR. I asked Dick if Senators talked about those people or even Senators of the 1950s. "No you don't hear anything about them. That's surprising I guess, but it's true. Stennis wasn't there then. Eastland was, but he doesn't talk about them. No one even talks about Lyndon. You'd think they would, but they don't. Hell, they don't ever talk about someone who was here four years ago--or even last year," not much sense of a continuing body here!

Then we fell to talking about LBJ - Bob Novak was there and that stimulated it. Dick told story told him by a man still in the Senate of how he pestered LBJ for seat on FR committee and got it. "Every time he came into the Senate, Johnson would be standing there with thumbs up or thumbs down, telling him how to vote. He said he paid off for a year and a half. Finally there was a vote that was so bad for his state that he sneaked in, voted and got out of there before Lyndon could see him. He said Johnson wouldn't speak to him for another year and a half. It's unconceivable that anything like that could happen in today's Senate. Mike Mansfield never asked me for one vote."

When I asked about status of party loyalty. "It couldn't be much lower. Independence is what people are looking for. You can't say you voted some way because of the Democrats. It's corrosive. Under Mansfield we lost votes--on presidential vetoes for example--because of total lack of party organization. We lost by one or two votes. Byrd is better. He never tells me how to vote, but once in a while he'll ask me for a vote."

When I described what I saw in John Dean's book--the racket affect where an increment of power is given to assuage guilt about shady activity, Dick said, "It's the same way with voting. You get corrupted gradually. First, you do it on little votes and then it becomes a habit. You start throwing votes."

You say I'll vote for this because I know it will be taken out in conference. Or, you vote to balance the budget by 1984 when you know it's impossible. If you start that it becomes impossible to stop."

His rankings of Monday's events:

Political Importance	Comfortableness	
1	5	Marshalltown Community College
6	6	Waterloo Rotary Club
2	4	EDA Ceremony at Union Hall
5	3	Waterloo Courier
3	1	WHO Interview (Frank)
7	1	NPR Interview (Scott)
4	2	Blackhawk County Democrats

*My definition of a natural politician "or a politician that fits the district is one where the two rankings are closest."*

He ranked Marshalltown first in importance and did so quickly because "They are flexible, they are new voters still undecided. All the others have made up their minds. You couldn't change 3 votes in the Rotary Club...We are doing a lot of colleges, now for just that reason. Yet, strangely, the ex-professor was not most "at home" there."

On NPR he discussed it saying "it has no importance at all" to his election.

Of the Blackhawk County Rally he said "That meeting has no value except as a get out the vote effort. I could go there a hundred times and it wouldn't change a vote." But he clearly felt at home there.

We did not go into much detail in the rankings--as to why he shaded one over another. He did it seriously, sometimes moving one up and down. But

except at the top and bottom, there's a good deal of instability I think.

He does seem to like interviews better than speeches, and I note that he has a good deal of Q & A--all consistent with his idea that you should discuss your program.

He says they accept every proposal of a debate and that Jepson doesn't accept most of them. They had case; Clark is happy to have one, but they can't pin Jepson down--a turnaround.

I asked him point blank whether there was a difference between 2 years and 6 years and, specifically, I asked if he didn't think 2 years was a "shorter leash." "Yes. Two years is a much shorter leash. I think it makes a real difference. I don't think you would ever have gotten the Panama Canal treaties through the House. Not with election coming up and the mail coming in so heavily against it. The sentiment in the House might not have been any different from what it was in the Senate. But you could never have passed it. The same thing with the SALT talks. You could never get those through the House."

"To a degree that I never realized until I got there, you can make a real difference in the Senate almost from day one. If you will take something seriously, learn and work, you can have an influence. There is <sup>much</sup> ~~something~~ to do and so few to do it. Angola was a good example. I was pushed into that subcommittee, really, then became interested in the subject and became the leader on the subject. There are eight or ten things I could get into just like that. We have no Soviet affairs expert on the Foreign Relations Committee. Can you imagine that? John Glenn is taking an interest in China now, but till then we had no one on the Committee interested in China."

(I don't think he used the word "expert." It would be interesting to see to what extent Senators think of themselves as "experts" or "leaders".)

I then mentioned Bonker and Tsongas as two guys whom I knew had an interest in Angola. "I talked with them a lot. They worked hard on it and they probably knew ten times as much as I did on the subject. But they couldn't get the publicity I could." I can't remember whether he talked about their resulting "frustration" or not--probably not. But the sense that he had a forum and they did not was stated more strongly than I have recaptured it.

On the last day a little incident occurred which I find interesting. Dick was interviewed KLMN-KLSS in Mason City by a young man and a young woman. The man was a very rigid personality--utterly without humor (I commented that Dick tried to locate an identification bond with him and failed). He came armed with questions which he fired staccato, machine gun like, robot like. As he talked in the beginning about the program's "intro" and "out-tro," Bob Novak wrote a note "What's an 'out tro'?" and showed it to Margie. Whenever he would hammer out a question, Margie could hardly suppress a smile. When it was over the reporter apologized. "I'm sorry it was so stuffy in here." I said to Margie on the way out "That was a great comment. It wasn't the room that was stuffy. It was the reporter." She laughed and said "What a Klutz" or something like that. Then, Bob Novak got in the van and he and I laughed about the reporter. Bob said "He fired those questions without any regard to the answers. If Dick had said 'You're a fucking ass hole' that guy would have gone on to the next question without hearing him. And he let his female cohort have one question every ten minutes." Well, I don't want to drag this out, but the point is that Margie, Bob and I were focusing on this rather wierd personality who was asking questions. So as we got out of the cars to go to the next station, the three of us got to laughing about it. Dick Clark came over and I

said "As the day goes by, we're getting more interested in the personality of the interviewer than in the questions." He said "That guy was really banging away wasn't he, digging right in. And he asked the hardest question. Why are you opposed to aid for South Africa when you're in favor of better relations with China. How can you defend your human rights policies? That's the toughest one." What Dick saw was only the substance of the matter and he was really challenged by a substantively hard question--one that put his consistency, rationales and public positions up for serious scrutiny. It showed, I thought, his great concern for substance in a situation where a weirdo personality could have distracted him completely. It was late in the day, too, and it was the place where he said, <sup>a)</sup> or he sat down at the mike, took ~~his~~ coat off and loosened his tie. "This is the time of day when I get tired. I've said the same thing so many times." So he was tired and yet was concentrating hard on the substance to point where he ~~was~~ was oblivious to the personal relationship with the questioner.

As a kind of summary comment, I guess I should say that I picked a hectic time to come, that I really started at ground zero with Clark and staff, and that I ended with ~~some~~ recognition with Clark. I told him I'd like to come to Washington when he's wrestling with a problem. He suggested I come during SALT. I told his aides, Bruce and Lee that I'd be back in the district. They seemed to think that logical. So I have a base off which to do further work--a base I didn't have a week ago. But whether it's worth all the aggravation is a real question. I certainly established no mild friendships this time. Partly that's because of the entourage character. We all crowded into each radio or newspaper office. I got 30 minutes alone with Dick--from Oelwin to Waverly. We'll see about payoff later. I guess it's just too early to tell.