

James Corman

October 20-25, 1972

Friday

6:00 Fund Raising Dinner, Sportsman's Lodge

Sunday

2:00 West Valley Coin Club, Reseda Women's Club, Reseda

3:00-5:30 White Front (Pacoima) and K. Mart (Van Nuys) handing
out pens and bumper stickers

6:00-7:45 Home party at Rues, Northridge

8:30 Dinner with Jim and Carol at Hamburger Hamlet and
Wright's Ice Cream

Monday

9:00 Sepulveda Veterans Hospital, Sepulveda

11:00 Sacred Torch Ceremony, North Hollywood

7:00 Dinner with Carol and Jim at Sportsman's Lodge

8:30 Jewish War Veterans, San Fernando Post 603,
Ventura Boulevard

Tuesday

6:00 Bendix Plant, Van Nuys

7:00 Thomas Organ (late)

9:15 Jerry Waldie arrives (Jim Scherr and Gray Davis)

9:30 General Motors Chevrolet Plant, Van Nuys

10:00 Western Hydraulics Plant

11:30 UAW Hall, at GM Plant, Van Nuys

12:00 California State College at Northridge

2:00 Senior Citizen's Meeting

3:00 West Adams McGovern Headquarters

4:00 St. Elmo

6:30 Dinner with Carol and Jim at Hamburger Hamlet and
Will Wrights

9:00 Sons of Israel Meeting

Wednesday

6:30 Price-Phister Plant, (Plumbing supplies) Pacoima

7:30 San Fernando Industrial Park

9:30 Sears Roebuck, Canoga Park

Wednesday (cont.)

12:00 Lunch with Editorial Board of KABC
5:00 Handing out pens in shopping centers, restaurants
and bowling alleys (with George Chall), Van Nuys
and North Hollywood,
9:00 Speech at L. A. Valley College
10:30 Campaigning in bowling alleys, restaurants and movie
theatres with George, Carol
12:00 Ice cream at Copper Penny

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beyond

At Corman dinner, sat with L.A. School Superintendent Bill
Johnston and City Councilman Ernie Bernardi.

Bill told me that it was people in SF Valley that cost the
schools a 200 million bond issue in 1969 after the earthquake.
Says it is lily white except for pockets of Mexican-Americans
and blacks in Jim's district.

Jim seems pretty direct--all he said to me was that "This is
the high point of the year for me." Nine hundred people paying \$50
a head, \$45,000. So this is his big bash. It turned out that only
500 actually paid. So he made \$25,000.

He spoke briefly at the dinner--called the Nader Report a good
book and largely right on the diagnosis side. But he put the knock
on Congress. Said they weren't standing up enough to President and

he featured spending limit and water pollution veto as two good things. World is so complex he said that executive has all advantages. If democracy is to work, representatives have got to control priorities. Jokes about his wife Carol--very pretty girl, who has been campaigning in his place.

I talked to her briefly. She said only problem was that sometimes staff thought she was doing too much or something wrong. But she is very attractive and likes to campaign and "obviously" is an asset.

To see Jim first in a tuxedo and on the podium makes him seem a little aloof and hard to get at. It's funny way to get introduced to him, as one of 900 people! Not the best way.

Says he's been home every weekend since September.

I've hired a car, at their suggestion. This either means that the district is so large that the logistics are a problem. Or it means they really aren't going to let me stay very close. If someone picks me up, the burden is on them. If I have a car, the burden is on me. (It did not turn out this way.)

Bob pointed out various people at the dinner. One oldest and best friend Judge Harry Pregerson, lots of labor guys, UAW, Machinists, Firefighters. Union presence was strong. Also wealthy Jewish contributors, also local politicians, also some Italian leaders. I can't tell whether these are the key groups for Corman, but I would guess labor and Jews are important for troops and money respectively.

The dinner had an ambience entirely different from anything I saw with Maillard. For one thing, it was more partisan. Jim attacked Nixon, Carol pinned a McGovern pin on Jim and said she was going out to campaign for McGovern, and then, Larry O'Brien gave the key note speech blasting Nixon and his administration for corruption and lack of justice. It was thoroughly partisan; whereas I never once heard Bill Maillard mention Nixon or Republican so far as I can recall. The reason is obvious. The registration is all vs. Maillard and all with Corman.

For another thing the style was more personal and even a little earthy. Jim told joke that he had been going back and forth across country so much that his biological clock was mixed up. "I want to eat late at night and make love at noon. So whenever I want to make love, Carol hands me a hamburger and I'm satisfied." Then after a lot of laughter, "That's a lie." Then when she pinned McGovern pin on him and they kissed, he leaned into microphone and said "That's better than a hamburger." During the introduction, Harvey Wertz had said "Carol is Jim's best campaigner and Jim loves to campaign." Lots of laughter. The point is not that any of this seemed in bad taste--it did not. The point is that it all produced a sense of Jim as "one of them," "one of the boys." I can't tell whether that comes naturally to him or not. But there was no arrogance or aloofness or distance--no social distance involved as with Maillard. Jim was closing the social distance between himself and his supporters--

whereas Bill Maillard maintains the social distance between himself and his supporters. (no joke)

My larger point is that if you want trust through identification (and that is one way to get trust), you act so as to close social distance. That's what Jim was doing. (Nader Report says, according to Los Angeles Times "Voters...trust him more than....just about anyone else in public life.") But Maillard has trust, too. He doesn't get it via identification method. No effort to identify except perhaps with wealthy Republicans and then he does nothing to enhance the sense of identification. He is trusted, I guess (and maybe I ought to think about this more) because of certain unique personal qualities, exemplary qualities like integrity and independence and moderation. Is there a process of exemplification which is different from the process of identification. Is that it? Some kind of projection in a psychological sense, maybe idea should be psychological distance?

Quality of Jim's that most people talked about was hard work. He himself said something to effect that Judge Pregerson, his oldest and closest friend had once given him a watch with engraving saying that "The harder you work, the luckier you get."

I went to Jim's apartment at 12:45, sat talking with Jim and Carol for a little bit (and watching last game of World Series), then Ben Bogartz came picked us up and we went to West Valley Coin

Club Meeting. On the way, Jim talked about his various races and the redistricting that was done at various points.

He came to Valley and set up law practice in 1949? (I think). Ran for city council in 1957 and represented a district of from 250-300,000 in the central part of the Valley. (Western limit was Sepulveda)

Re his first campaign he said "I came to the Valley, started my law practice, and joined the Lion's Club and the Methodist Church. I think those groups were more important to my winning the city council race than the Democratic party. The party was helpful--the Democratic clubs were particularly well organized in the Valley at the time. But I could not have won without the Lion's Club and the church--for volunteer workers and in getting endorsements. Endorsements are very important here if you are a newcomer in politics."

He said one other thing that conveys the feeling of the small town. This concerned his 1970 opponent--Hayden who came from Long Beach. "There's a great deal of population change here. But beneath that surface change is a fairly stable layer of people who came to the Valley between 1945 and 1955. These people have a very parochial feeling about the Valley. And they resented this man who had just moved in from Long Beach. He had never lived here before and I think the old guard kinda resented that." Jim almost

Public
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called himself the local boy! The point is that the San Fernando Valley is not unstructured.

In his first campaign, district was Republican and Holt didn't like Nixon and retired from Congress--to show Nixon he and only he could hold it--supported Corman behind scenes and didn't endorse Jim's opponent. "He was a great help to me. The other factor was that I ran against the dumbest person ever to run for Congress. He had no idea what he was doing."

1962. "I was not a favorite of Jess Unruh's at that time. They gave me a very difficult district in the western part of the Valley. At one time they even had me in Ventura County. That would have been impossible forme. But Governor Brown and I were friends, and they eventually moved me back within Los Angeles County." (more later on this)

Man who ran in 1962--all he had was legion connection--not a good candidate.

1964. First smart candidate, Kline, plus Becker amendment plus Proposition 14 on housing. Those 3 things nearly killed him. He won by 1800 votes.

1966. Kline never closed campaign headquarters--kept a neon sign going. "I was so sure I was going to lose in 1966. I was all ready for it." But the issues that were alive in 1964 were dead

and he won surprisingly. He said "I had learned how to campaign more effectively."

In 1966 his first wife died and he married Carol Franda (whose brother Marcus teaches political science at Colgate).

In 1968, Joe Holt decided to make a comeback--to give people a break and let them vote for him. Jim describes him as a nice guy, but one who could be mean. He hit on Jim's absentee record, but people knew it was because of his wife and that backfired. "They floated some nasty rumors about my personal life--that I had taken a young wife and deserted my children ~~was~~ the gist of it--but people knew better and they backfired. After all how can you criticize someone for getting married?" Holt was shocked when he lost. Idea of Jim's that people would know his circumstances indicates that he perceives something other than a district of strangers and anonymity. He feels he is among friends--at least a sublayer of friends.

1970. Hayden poured \$85,000 into his campaign. Resented by older residents, not too great.

District changed--now has eastern part of Valley. "It's a good democratic district. And for the first time, I feel safe."

"It's 20% Jewish, 20%, Catholic and the rest shirttail Protestant. Jim's a Methodist and kept saying all day how great the sermon had been that day--against bigotry.

→ [Re labor. Chuck Menatt (California State Director of McGovern campaign) described district as working class, with strong labor orientation. Said Jim, "From 1/4 to one-third of the people at my dinner the other night were labor people. Our relations have been very cordial. I think I've only cast one or two bad votes from their standpoint. (And) I believe in the same things they do." Says labor nationally is weak because of Meany and Burke-Hartke-- spoke glowingly of how good they were in civil rights bills even though they knew there was a lot of racism in rank and file. Says they should get interested in tax reform.

Key unions are UAW (North American), AIM (Lockheed), construction trades, postal workers.

He's with reach & style approach for issues.
Are your views the same as those of your district? "It's hard to know what your district is. If you took a poll on every issue, you'd find them going off in all directions. We had a poll taken by Oliver Quayle this spring. It showed that I'm a little more liberal than my district on civil rights. But it also shows that they tolerate that because they agree with me on most other things and because they think I work hard. My newsletters are also a big help. If we lose the Frank on them, it will mean a big expense. I'll send them anyway, but not so often." He sends them postal patrons, can't keep a list. But has 2 or 3 special lists--senior citizens is one. May have said something else in here but I can't recall.

9/6/74
summary

Would one vote kill you? "I don't think one vote would defeat any congressman anywhere. I hear some of my colleagues say that, but I don't believe it. If you get too far away from the district you will lose it. But on any one vote, the important thing is that you be able to explain why you did it."

"The northeast part of the district is the lowest income area. That's where most all the blacks live and one half to three quarters of the browns. And around them, as usual, are working class whites who are very conservative on civil rights."

change:

Wealthier, space scientist types live in western part of Valley and he had them in 60's--very conservative. How did you campaign there? "We had a lot of house parties. It's a lousy way to campaign because it's such a waste of time. You spend an hour with 7 or 8 people."

After we had handed out 900 pens at White Front and K Mart Stores, he said "That's the most effective campaign technique we have. It's a whole lot better than sitting around someone's house arguing about whether we ought to get out of the UN." It's a mass kind of approach. Very impersonal. He stands outside the door catching people on the way in and out, pencils stuffed in both hands. "Hi folks, may I give you a pencil." "I'm Congressman Corman, I hope you will vote for me on election day." Or just "I'm Congressman

Corman. I hope you vote for me" or "I'd appreciate your vote" or "I'd like you to vote for me." Sometimes he's pumping the pencils out right and left as fast as he can move his arms. People take them, smile, some recognize his name, some mention newsletters. Again and again, he said this was his most effective weapon (see later). Could its impersonality be suited to the district with high population change? I couldn't imagine Jack Flynt handing out pencils. But, maybe he will in suburbs.

Jim reminded me, at the Rue's party, of Charlie Goodell. He's hearty, loves to laugh and his friends make fun of him in a good humored way. The guy running vs. Barry Goldwater said he thought running for Congress was a big deal, but that if the ribbing Corman takes is any indicator of how important the job is, he's not sure he wants it. Chuck Menatt and Jack McGrath did much of it and Jim just laughed loud and hard. I wouldn't say he's an extrovert exactly; I can't tell yet. But he is the kind of person it's easy to kid and make jokes about. He does not take himself that seriously.

What he is serious about are the issues--he sticks by what he believes in even if the consequences are rough. Proposition 13, anti Becker Amendment, pro school busing. He says the one issue that could get him into big trouble would be the integration-busing issue. The court (Gitelson decision) has ordered LA schools integrated. School board is doing nothing to enforce it. Hence issue is quiescent. "I'm very strongly in favor of integrating the schools.

*A matter
of "pride"
not "votes"*

If it became an issue here, I'd have to work with whatever groups were in favor of integration. It would be very rough; but I think I could probably survive now. But I never could have survived the busing issue in the old district."

"The income level of this district is about at the national average. My old district was 12th highest in the nation in income; and it was 3rd highest in mean education level. I used to brag that my district was the wealthiest, best educated district in the country represented by a Democrat. But I wasn't a bit sad to give up the wealthy part of the district and pick up all those poor, ill-educated good Democrats in the new part of the district."

"On off years I come home once a month. In election years it's about twice a month until Labor Day and every week after that. I come home more now than when I first went to Congress. I get a bigger travel allowance and I get asked to speak more. I never pay any of my own money to come home. I can't. But when you speak your way is paid. I'm asked to speak quite a bit on medical programs and some on taxes. The only time I spoke outside the district was when I got off the National Commission on Civil Disorders. Then I was asked to speak all over. But ordinarily I don't like to speak outside the district."

Re Nader Report. He commented in the office, "Did you see where Nader got that material on trust? From my poll. I thought for a while

I hadn't gotten my money's worth, but now I think I did. If someone asked me if Nader's comment was worth \$6500 I'd say, yes it was." Very anxious to get Nader profile. Obviously thinks highly of Nader and wants very much to know what he said. LA Times featured the Profiles with 2 front page stories Sunday. And the friendly piece on Corman has whetted his appetite for more. Much chuckling over Hohfield, Rees and other reports. He feels Hohfield has gotten arbitrary in old age and sometimes has trouble with him but not often.

They were trying to work out a schedule and discussing it and afterward Jim said, "It will take me 20 years to figure out how to do it right and by then I'll be ready to retire. And some poor bastard will have to come along and learn it all over again." Said George Miller told Pete Stark that nobody had left him anything and he wasn't going to leave Stark anything. "Let's see you start from scratch."

"John Schmitz has a platform that's pretty hard to argue with. It has two planks: 1) those who work should do better than those who don't and 2) never go into a war you don't intend to win. It's pretty hard to argue with that. I told John he was my second choice for President and that he was a hell of a long way ahead of my third choice." JC does not like Nixon. It's very very visceral.

Re Hayden, his 1968 opponent. "He spent \$85,000 and spent it very unwisely. He put it into staff salaries. He hired a jillion

people to work in the headquarters and in the precincts. Hell, you can get all that kind of help for nothing."

We went to several Veteran's Day things--the Sacred Torch Ceremony didn't please him at all. "One of the things I least like to do is sit up on the platform with my veteran buddies. I'll go and put on my long face.... (Next day as we arrived) Next year Carol will have to come to this. Carol doesn't believe in veterans, doesn't believe in cemeteries and doesn't even believe in the good Lord! Maybe if I win by 65%, I won't come back here next year. Now I hope I don't read that in your book." (he meant the last sentence.)

His father was a lead miner in Galena, Kansas. And at supper he spoke of the people in West Virginia as reminding him of the people he knew as a kid--poor people without much hope, for whom things weren't going to get better, on the edge of despair and no place to go once they had lost their meager jobs. The point is that he has had a touch of poverty as a young man. And the New Deal streak in him is strong and his labor ties are very important.

First day he said, "We'll have to take you on one really good day of campaigning. We'll start about six o'clock and do factory gates for a couple of hours, then we'll go to some coffee shops and shopping centers. Then, later, we'll hit the bowling alleys, restaurants and end up with the movie theatres late at night."

He voted for SST (likened it to our failure to build small car in earlier times)--we will lose a lot of air frame business and that's important to the area here. He voted for Lockheed loan. "Lockheed is a big employer in the district. I worked very hard on that issue. The Machinists Union worked right out of my office on that one." He voted against "the B-1." "And North American is right here. They went after me, but they can't get at me. They only talk to people who aren't going to vote for me anyway--Chamber of Commerce, people like that." He believes in non-defense jobs--that's how he differentiates SST and Lockheed from B-1.

"Once a year I hold a meeting of all the ministers in the district where I report on the events of the year. It's very smart politically." Went on to say that Rev. Fickett--who had raised hell with him over prayer amendment and other things and was a bitter right wing opponent--had just last come to the meeting for the first time.

He spoke of Bircher's as being strong in early 60's when he was first in Congress. That Birch literature first informed him of Rules Committee and what it was etc. Bircher's wrote telling him to save glorious Rules Committee from being packed by left wing.

Candidate debates not a tradition in district. He had some early on, but not lately--said he debated Kline once and Foote a couple of times. (see later)

Bob Ruben says that last time they spent about \$45,000 and this time they'll spend "less than half of that."

"When you come to Washington, we'll have to show you what goes on there. I'm not sure which is harder work in Washington or back here campaigning. Probably campaigning, because it's not quite as much fun." He likes legislating better.

After Jewish War Veterans Meeting, I asked if his Legion membership helped him early on in his career. "No, I never had any interest in it and I only joined because Everett Burkhalter asked me to. He was city councilman and was my political godfather. He raised all my money for me, campaigned for me and asked all his friends to vote for me. He said, 'You've got to join the Legion.' So I did."

Then I said I gathered from his movie that it might have helped.

FOOTE
me as
"Foote was a commander of the Legion, but he ran a dumb campaign. I debated him once in the Methodist Church and he practically called me a traitor. Oh he hit me hard. Well that was not his bag. Calling me that in a Methodist Church when I've been a methodist all my life! That's when I just wrapped myself in the Methodist Church and said I'm a dues paying member."

"What helped me politically was not my Legion membership but my Marine Corps record. I had a very good record in the Marine Corps. And whenever anyone would call me left wing pinko or stuff like that I'd just wrap myself in the Marines. And that took care of that nonsense."

At dinner, Carol and Jim were making a list of the people they were going to call to get the crowd out for Friday's rally for McGovern. McGovern is coming to Macy's parking lot. And it will be a McGovern, Kennedy, Corman rally. Carol will be the MC and she's running it. When Jim said they ought to invite Rees, she said, "It's mine. I'm running it. And it's going to be McGovern, Kennedy, Corman." Jim said softly, "You've got to share your glory." And Carol said, "Well, no one below a congressman can sit on the platform." And Jim said, again, that, no, any candidate who wanted to could sit there. But the people they were calling were 1) labor leaders 2) Mexican-American community leaders 3) black community leaders 4) senior citizen leaders 5) Carol's artist friends (Carol is a ceramicist) 6) Jewish Women's group leaders 7) Professional and Women's leaders. That's a pretty good cross section of the liberal community in the district--the McGovern supporters.

When we looked at Tuesday's schedule, he said "I don't like it. They're keeping me away from my pens. Meetings are just dead time-- unless it's something like the McGovern rally, of course. But if I had a hard race, I wouldn't be going to meetings. I'd be out in the streets."

At Jewish War Veteran's Meeting, he was attacked for not helping to get a veteran's cemetery in Sylmar. He said it wasn't in his district and he wasn't going to get into a fight with Goldwater and Rousselot who differed on it and who were ones who had it.

He defended McGovern and his support of McGovern strenuously-- by saying that "what troubles me most at this point in our history is the administration of justice, civil liberties and civil rights." Said defense was too high, that McGovern was not an isolationist, that he thought we had too many troops in Europe, that Nixon was a "johnny come lately regarding Israel" and that Nixon wanted Congress to turn over its power to him via spending ceiling since budget was at 256 and he wanted only 250 ceiling, which meant Nixon could cut anything up to 6 billion worth.

Very down on Nixon for civil rights. "I think history will judge Nixon very harshly in the field of civil rights. He had options, but he did nothing....(earlier) He flew from his triumph at Miami Beach to Detroit to make an anti busing speech--when we needed moral leadership and when he's the only leader we've got!"

I told him hair style had changed a little since the movie. "And I'm fatter, too." (He is!)

The Cormans together are as strongly partisan a team as I've been with. They are more intensely pro-McGovern and anti-Nixon than anyone I've seen. But the last night as we pulled into the garage Carol sighed "I wish McGovern was amore exciting candidate." I wonder if he was that strongly a Democrat in his earlier battles. I guess he was. In the movie, he was a Jack Kennedy supporter strongly. In this campaign, however, they have a lot of energy

left over from McGovern because he's not working hard. On Tuesday he kept saying how "lazy" he had been during last two days. Tuesday was spent almost entirely campaigning for McGovern and with Waldie while Carol went down to the Chamber of Commerce and debated Bruce Wolf, Jim's opponent.

When I asked him who he thought he voted most like he said MOss and Gibbons, not Waldie--but never did come close and seemed surprised at Leggett and Hanna.

His hard votes he listed as (1) defense (2) foreign aid (3) education where busing is involved (4) environment. None involved constituency. *dually*

Defense: "I'm almost to the point where I'm ready to vote against all defense appropriations bills--just to protest against the way things are going. I think the defense department is run by a bunch of incompetents.

Foreign Aid: He had been to Bangladesh and Foreign aid contained 100 m. foreign aid to Bangladesh and 200 million of military credits for arms to Pakistan. He had a tough time and voted for it because of the 100million.

"I voted against the higher education bill this year because it had an anti-busing provision in it. To me the problem of integration has the highest priority in this society. I don't know what I could have done if mine had been the deciding vote. It would have been even tougher than it was; but I suspect I'd have stuck by it. For the first

time, the NEA gave me a bad vote. Enough of us voted against it to make it clear, though, why we voted against it."

"I have trouble with some of these environmental questions. On clearcutting I cast a vote that I'm not sure of now. The experts came in and told us this was the way to manage forest growth. Some liberals voted for it, some against it. I voted for and got a bad vote from the Sierra Club. Then a year later they came in with pictures of the results. Have you seen how wide a swath they cut. The theory is that in 40 years the newly planted trees will replace the old ones. Now I have doubts that this is the best way to promote forest growth. And I have trouble figuring out what to do on the Alaska pipeline. I guess the hardest votes are the ones you know the least about. And I don't get out on the floor much. Our committee meets all the time."

The interesting thing about all these votes is that none were constituency created problems.

He said bill ~~he~~ had most influence on was prayer amendment--in 1964 and 1972. That he triggered outside groups. That he, for example, got Mills' vote by turning the Masons on him. "Usually you can only get an amendment in here and there. But on the prayer amendment, I really think the outcome might ~~not~~ have been different if I hadn't been there."

He also said he made a difference on Lockheed. He knew Senator Metcalf and called him. "I told him that the loan meant 15,000 jobs to the people in my district, and that I couldn't see any way that the loan would fail to be repaid. He allowed as how the people of his state were not much concerned about Lockheed. He later told me that when he left his office to cast his vote, he was going to vote against it but that on the way over he thought of poor Jim Corman and those 15,000 jobs. And he voted for it."

"I've had primary opposition in every election except the first one. In that one, there were nine Republicans but I was the only Democrat. Sam Yorty considered filing, but decided not to because labor was already supporting me. I got together a good bit of support very early, because I found out sooner than anyone else that Joe Holt wasn't going to run. In my next two races, I was opposed in the primary by Jim (Joe) McAuley, a very conservative Catholic who, fortunately for me, was an alcoholic. He looked the part, too, in appearance. Even the people in his own parish found it hard to support him. Each time he ran, I can't remember whether it was two or three times, he got 15%. My next opponent was a man nobody ever saw. His name was Thabit and he was just a registered voter; I got so curious one time I drove down to see where he lived. But I never knew anyone who had met him. My Republican opponent's name was Tabitt and we figured that Thabit had been put

in the primary by my Republican opponent on the theory that if people voted for Thabit in the primary they'd vote for Tabitt in the general election. That's stretching the reasoning alot, I know, but it's the only reason we could ever come up with--though we could never prove it of course. Anyway Thabit got 15%. Then in 1968 my primary opponent was Ruth(?) Simon, a real dove. I mean she was a flaming dove. She waged a hard hard campaign, and collected a lot of my old buddies from the CDC to campaign against me. She got 15%. I forget who ran against me in 1970. But in 1972 it was Ernie _____. Ernie was a professional Mexican who worked as a draftsman over at Lockheed. He felt he was being discriminated against because of his color. I had written letters to Lockheed and had referred him to the FEPC. When the Lockheed loan came up he told me 'This is the time to get 'em.' 'You tell them you won't vote for the loan unless they promote me to supervisor.' I said, 'Ernie, I can't do that.' He said, 'You'll be sorry'; and he filed against me in the primary. But before the primary, he died--though his name stayed on the ballot. He got 15% of the vote. The punch line to that story is that my wife tells me it all means either that 15% of the people in the district don't like me or 85% don't know me."

The interesting point about the primary story is that he's had conservative, liberal and minority opposition in the primary

and noen has done any better than the other. He certainly has a good primary constituency and my guess is that the labor core is a, if not the, key.

What issues generate most mail? Ealy on, the proposal to withhold taxes on interest on savings, later the prayer amendment, and lately tax credits for parochial aid. "One kind of mail, and it is mean, is the NRA~~s~~ inspired mail on gun control. They are a very small group, but they feel very strongly, and they write with heat."

When asked to describe his district, Jim always describes it in two ways--geographically first. "This ^{104th} of towns is Symar, San Fernando, then it drops down along the Los Angeles city line and takes in Pacoima, Panarama City, Arleta, most of North Hollywood, south to Magnolia, along Magnolia to Corbin up to Roscoe and over to Sepulveda, taking in Reseda, Van Nuys. It's a square with the northwest corner cut out." Then, second, he describes it simply as "a good Democratic district." It's 59% Democratic registration.

He told several groups that he had 2% black and 8-9% brown. He said he got that from census and said "It was less than I thought I had. I'm not sure they counted just right."

After lunch with the KABC editorial board, I asked him if it was helpful to him. "No, even if they were the best friends I had, they wouldn't justify giving me TV time. Nothing I do is that

important to them. I suppose if I were the one to make the decision on the problem of reruns, then it would have been valuable as one more input. But we'll have a delegation meeting and Van Deerline and John Moss will come in and tell us how they think we should vote and I'll probably follow them." He also said that if KABC was smart, the person they'd send to Washington to lobby him would be "Gene--the guy who lives in my district."

Jim wants fewer reruns and more originals on TV and wants to increase the number of weeks each year devoted to original programming and cut down on reruns. The reason Jim wants this is because there are a lot of people employed with the big studios who live in his district--Warner Brothers, Universal, Paramount. The workers and Jim figure that if they push the TV stations to put on more originals and fewer reruns, the workers will get more work. TV stations make money on reruns. "My guys on this are on the Film Council--the workers group. They work only six months and they want to work nine months."

As one part of this discussion, TV claimed that movie studios would have more incentive to make movies for TV if they didn't have to wait two years to show them for second time.

Jim said to them as he did to other groups that "One thing I do know something about is the tax structure. It's not as sexy a subject as marijuana or the death penalty, but it's something on which I do have some expertise."

He was upset at students at Northridge for spending so much of John Tunney's time on marijuana. He blasted "the shallowness of their political concerns" and their self interested nature.

On Tuesday, he fretted about fact that he wasn't in his district handing out pens. "Everything that happened to me after 7 o'clock this morning was dead time. I didn't hand out a single pen." "It was a strange day." "I want to get back to my pens." "If this were my district I could have handed out 50 pens in that headquarters. Instead, all I did was make a speech."

Jim's speech to Sons of Israel was mainly on civil rights. He stressed Nixon's poor record. "He's not an honorable man." His speech to Sears Roebuck was on taxes--he stressed the low, effective tax rates of big corporations. "Everyone who is not running for office says we need tax increase." At Jewish War Veterans on Viet Nam, "We've found a ^{cause for which} ~~formula where~~ we will kill but not die."

Jim. "The 1967 reapportionment was the best thing that ever happened to me." (Harvey) "You know who did that for you, don't you-- Phil Burton and Harvey Wertz." (Jim) "Yes and it was more Wertz than Burton."

"When we work the bowling alleys we start at 5:00 and catch the early leagues. Then we go out and eat dinner and go back again to catch the later leagues."

"In the old days, before I got Harry Pregerson appointed to the bench, he was my campaign manager. He drove me morning, noon and night. He and Harvey treated me like a shuttle cock. One would take me for 8 hours and then the other would take me for 8 hours."

After he had run in and out of about ten stores in a small North Hollywood shopping plaza handing out pens, "I'm Congressman Corman, I'd appreciate your vote." "I'm Congressman Corman, I hope you vote for me on election day." We were driving out of the plaza and he said "Do you think Standard Oil would be scared of me if they could see me now?" I laughed and said, "wasn't it strange the connection between what he did here and what he did there? He said "I'll tell you what the connection is. You do what you do here so you can do what you ^{do} want there!"

He wanted me to go to Indianapolis after I left Mississippi and offered to pay my way--to go out and help his good friend Andy Jacobs get rid of the 10,000 pens Jim sent him. Andy doesn't like to do that kind of work out in the streets. He thought of going himself but can't. We had been working the bowling alleys and restaurants--gave out 1000 pens on Wednesday evening alone. "The pens are great prop. I'm really shy. I couldn't go through those bowling alleys just shaking hands with people. I need something to help me relate to them. Everett Burkhalter used match books and

(Bob Rubin told me in December that Andy had all his pens left at end of campaign - He lost)

he'd romance 'em while he gave people match books. I didn't come by this naturally. Everett Burkhalter and Harry Pregerson pressured me into it. If I know Andy Jacobs, he's sitting back in his office worrying and figuring. I called him today and he's worrying about his TV commercial. If you sit back and worry, it can get to be a disease. I think every Congressman should be out meeting voters. I don't know how many votes you get, but you catch people with pens that you don't catch any other way. And they talk about it later with other people."

After we left the Coin Club, he said "I'm glad you saw that. The valley is full of little organizations like the coin club. I don't know whether other places in the country are as heavily organized. Everyone here wants to be President of some organization." We waited a long time for Jim to be introduced and while we milled around looking at coin displays, the "nice old man" for whom Jim had done the favor by showing up kept introducing Jim as Congressman Corn." We laughed about it later. "If anyone by the name of Corn ever runs against me, he'll get all the votes from the West Valley Coin Club."

Leaving LA in the airport, I met a man who said he had come to the San Fernando Valley in 1928 when there were 35,000 people. In 1970 there were 1,500,000 people. Jim said when he first went on City Council in 1957 that they were still having problems with chicken farmers. Van Nuys used to have lots of chicken farms.

hertz
"I've had a lot of close elections, but this isn't one of them. My opponent is not doing anything and so far as I can tell isn't spending any money. It makes you wonder what he's up to. We wondered whether we should put on a campaign, but we are doing everything we always did--the mailings, the campaigning; I don't see how I could lose, but you can't be too complacent. I don't know what I'd do if I lost. I have no plans." Carol said they had a plan in 1968 but she couldn't remember. She said she'd run using Sen. Carrel's (he just died) signs. And I'll bet if Jim died, she might very well run in his place.

On the matter of worrying when your opponent has no visible campaign for fear he must be doing something, Jim burst out once, "Bruce Wolf, why aren't you out campaigning?" And another time as we were walking along to get our ice cream--with which we ended every day, he shouted out "Bruce Wolf, where the ____ are you?" No matter how far ahead they are, they are worried. (Hertzberg's optimism story re Benton--marking each voter down as they walked to meeting. Voter against him, tirade, "mark him doubtful.") Every man in campaign thinks he has a chance to win. But every man also worries. Prospective losers are optimistic; prospective winners are pessimistic. That's the picture. *Each adopts appropriate attitude to keep himself going.*

From time to time he voiced opinions about people we would talk about. He has fairly strong opinions of people and voices them.

Maillard: "If I were making a list of California Republicans I'd like to see beaten, I'd get a long way down the list before I would get to Bill Maillard."

Elynt: "He's not one of my favorite people. He's courtly; but he's a total segregationist."

Conable: "With John Byrnes gone, Barber Conable will be the best brains on the Republican side. But he may be too far down in seniority to have enough effect. Barber knows what's going on. Since 3/4 of the members don't know what's going on, he's already ahead of one-quarter of the members."

Byrnes: "Byrnes held that committee together. Mills got a lot of credit for what John Byrnes did."

"Up to 1964 we did a lot of coffee hours. After I did so miserably in 1964, we changed our entire campaign operation. That year, proposition 14 (fair housing) was on the ballot. And it's pretty hard campaigning in people's livingrooms by telling them they ought to have a black person living next door to them. Harry Pregerson worked very hard on the '64 campaign; and we realized that our coffee hours were counter-productive. When the issues are against you, you lose more friends than you make. So we started handing out pens. First, we started in the evenings at bowling alleys and theatres; then Harvey came up with the idea of plant gates in the morning. It's too bad you haven't seen one good day of campaigning to show you how many people we can reach in a day."

Jim's first wife was Virginia, his two children Mary Ann and Chuck. They are both attending California State College at Northridge--she's doing graduate work and he a sophomore--and they live together.

His wife Carol is complex. At times she seems knee jerk and at other times complex. She's a liberated female, for sure--talked often about how she hated housework, didn't do it, refused to make a fudge sauce. When I met her Sunday she was sitting there with wet, stringy hair. She's politically smart--worked for Jim Burke for several years and was around Washington a good deal. She is a strong personality--each evening, she would usually dominate the conversation by telling us what she had done all day--talked about "my schedule" and considered herself as a key part of the campaign. Jim is very proud and very self-conscious of her. Talks about her to third parties a lot--jokes about fact that he can't control her.

change

"My political strength is my newsletters. I've learned to improve them. We used to have a small, four-page offset printed letter. When you're more liberal than your district, you try to reach to them a little. So we took one issue for each letter and tried to talk about it. The result was that a few people wrote in giving me hell, a few said they thought it was the greatest thing they'd ever read in their lives--but they were very few--and most didn't read it at all. Our greatest problem was that people just didn't read it. So we changed this format to have about a dozen

news items, at least one picture, and a graph each issue. And we printed it on both sides of legal-sized paper. We send it to postal patrons about once a month. And you can see the results." He worried a lot about New Jersey Judge's decision that would restrict use of frank to constituent requests.

On the way to the Sepulveda Veteran's Hospital, he talked about the fight over Section 236 low cost housing and how contractors had to build a chain link fence around a project to protect it from people who didn't want it in their neighborhood.

Then he talked about the fight over sidewalks in front of the then new Sepulveda High School when he was on City Council. Property owners got upset over sidewalks, because they were going to lose their land. One man got so upset, he threatened a recall of Jim Corman." I was just considering running for Congress and the last thing I needed was a recall. You never can tell what's going to get people excited. You worry about this vote and that vote, but something you hadn't expected comes right out of the blue--like sidewalks in front of Sepulveda Junior High."

*Spoke to
voter.
over
local
matter*

Clyde Bullock (UAW man who was at noontime UAW meeting and who was at the McGovern rally planning session) was first man to give Jim a check in three figures.(300) in his first City Council race, said Jim. "I never forget that." UAW is part of primary constituency.

Jim and Jerry Waldie were upset when they were refused admittance to the GM plant. We got in and were ready to tour the plant when the people running it said JC was a candidate and rule was that candidates couldn't go through. Afterward they apologized and offered to give him the VIP treatment. But he and Jerry went across the street to the UAW headquarters and let 'em have it. Union leaders were very embarrassed by the refusal and Jim wanted to make them feel better. "The reason they won't let me in that building over there is because you over here keep me in Congress. And that upsets them." (Cheers)

5 pages clear.

After Senator John Tunney's speech at Northridge, both Jim and Jerry agreed they were itching to field some of the questions Tunney got. Jim said "It's like sitting on the bench on Saturday afternoon while the A team is playing the game."

Jerry Waldie talked about his district, Contra Costa County, as having executives who ^{ute}committees, industry and farmers, "It's a good district to represent. No vote will be opposed by everyone. No vote will be approved by everyone. It's a very blurred image you present." Said Republicans would win it after he left it.

Jim described how he learned about the redistricting in 1961. All Congressmen called in by Jesse Unruh. (Unruh gets us in a room and to starts/roll down a map of California starting at the top. I was sitting on the edge of my chair. When he rolled down Ventura County, there

nech huty

was the 22nd district. I was shocked. They had given me a district that began in Hollywood, took in Sunset Strip with all the fat cats there and continued 20 miles out into Ventura County. That County was Republican; Charlie Teague had been a power there for centuries. They detoured a few blocks south to take in my home in Van Nuys. It was a district I could not have won in. They eventually changed it--because I cried a lot. They gave me the west end of the San Fernando Valley--which was a little better and which I won, with a little luck. I had never met Unruh before, but this was a matter of life and death to me. When I complained to him, do you know what he said? 'Corman, you'll be all right; we'll find you another job.'"

Waldie asked Jim how he came to have so great a sensitivity to civil rights issues. "Civil rights is a big thing with you, isn't it. Where did you get that sensitivity." Jim told story of his first encounter. He was 10--his father had silicosis and they were taking him to Arizona. They stopped at a campground in Denton, Texas to pitch tent. There had been a lynching the day before. Jim met boy of the owner who asks him to go fishing. When they get to river, there are three black women fishing. Boy says "These are some niggers, let's run 'em off." And he started throwing rocks at them. Ladies grabbed what they could and ran into woods. Then boy started to describe the lynching the day before where boy had been

part of the mob. "It wasn't as if it had been another group of boys to throw rocks at. They were three old women trying to catch their supper. And the fear ~~in~~ their faces was something I had never seen before."

He then recounted his experiences while in the marines in the south--his shock at separate water fountains, etc. Then in 1963 he took a trip to Vicksburg just prior to civil rights bill passage and said he found it a "frightening," "shocking" time in the South. Waldie says Jim has helped sensitize him to civil rights on voting Rights Bill and on busing, that Jim pushed him to reach his basic conscience on the matter.

At the Asphalt Tile company (where man refused a pen saying "I don't accept bribes"--great hilarity over that) Jim was not getting much response. But he reflected "I've always been impressed by the importance of personal contact. I always remember the way I cast my first vote. I voted for ^{a man} Olsen/for governor because he was the man who signed my law degree. And I voted against the man I admire more than any other man in American public life--Earl Warren."

Boy play Jim. "I almost fell on my nose getting in the back seat." Harvey Wertz "That's too pretty a nose to fall on." Jim, "I wouldn't want to spoil the lines." Reminds me of Charlie Goodell's ability to take ribbing and to turn humor on himself. Jim has homely nose. And Carol once noted apropos of something that "Jim's nose will get in the way." He laughed.

Jim's attachment to civil rights is not only evidenced by his encomium to Earl Warren, but also by his encomium to Ramsey Clark, whom he called "the smartest man I ever knew." He thinks he got on the Kerner Commission because Ramsey Clark nominated him.

Also in same vein his feeling re Harry Pregerson's opinion. "I feel so proud today. The only appointment I ever was able to make was Harry Pregerson's, (as U.S. District Court Judge). He wrote a decision opposing de facto segregation. It was upheld by the court of appeals and just last night the Supreme Court refused to hear the case. So Harry's decision is the law."

We passed about 25 black kids waiting for school bus and Jim gave them pens. "They're on their way to Kennedy High School in Grenada Hills. These are the kids Nixon wants to keep over here in this neighborhood instead of letting them go to that fine new school in the white neighborhood. I wish I could have that son of a bitch Nixon for about six hours and I could drive him around this area to show him what his policy is doing to these kids."

Ferd Mendenhall is local editor of Green Sheet--mostly ads--he has always opposed Jim, but has printed his stories.

Irene Slater said Jim's PR is mostly done out of his office and not out of this media. She mentioned his annual Minister's Conference and the annual Business Conference (now 2 days, one on small business and one on Foreign trade) as important. And he mentioned mailings

change
as important to his campaign. He said two-thirds of his campaign funds go into mailings. He's very mail-oriented and personal contact-via-pens-oriented.

name recognition
"Most people don't know who their Congressman is. But when they see your name on the ballot, you want them to see it favorably."

personal psychological
George Chell talked, while Jim was passing out pens in a shopping center, about Jim's relationship with his mother. Jim had called her "a tough old woman, she's always been tough." Jim's father died when he was ten; Jim was the only child and his mother wanted him to be perfect. "He could never please her. Nothing he could do would please her." He told long story about car, she had and complained about how Jim bought her new car, how she didn't like it, how she wanted new accessories, how he bought her a different car, etc. George was the car dealer involved. He told how Jim got up at 5:00 on way to City Council to have breakfast with her, knew she would cry over the phone for 45 minutes while he was on the job. George thinks this may have something to do with Jim's ambition and desire to succeed. He's trying to please his mother in some way. If I had some psychological skill, I could pursue this. But I can't.

change & see effects without
Is the pen technique best suited to the area? Or is it a matter of style that keeps Bill Maillard from this kind of campaign? Jim

sees pen as a point of contact with people. Maybe in this kind of flux, it's all you need. Maybe it's the equivalent of a handshake-- lots of people seem to want to shake hands anyway when he gives them a pen. I guess it differs most from community of Flynt, where he knows so much personally about people. You can't know much personally about Valley people. So the pen is the best you can do, in contrast to train of personal and group interconnection which characterize rural areas and which politicians like Flynt plug into.

Re Sylmar. "We have to save one Friday night for the Sylmar Shopping Plaza. It's difficult territory--lots of rednecks. But they have a good Democratic party loyalty." These are the low income whites on edge of Pacoima.

Man in airport re Valley. "When I moved there in 1928, there were 35,000 people. Now there are 1 1/2 million. You never know who your nextdoor neighbor is. Before you get to know him, he's gone."

Jim and college. Thought he'd be drafted before finals in 1942 but wasn't. He didn't study and nearly didn't graduate. When I got upset at the Faculty members who prolonged the sit-in by speaking and wouldn't let him speak, he said he was grateful to the UCLA faculty for letting him graduate with a C-average.

Jim was the only Member to vote against the Pennsylvania Disaster Bill Conference Report, because he felt it was "a fraud." It

helped everyone alike and not--as he feels it should be done--proportionate to amount of damage done.

notes
I'm impressed how important old friends are in his campaign. Harry Pregerson was a Marine reservist and a fellow Lion's Club member and Jim's oldest and best friend and campaign manager till he became a judge. George Chall is very old personal friend; Harvey Wertz has been with him a long time, Walt Teeter is his cousin.

He has a good-sized district staff. Irene Slater is key, also Jack McGrath. They speak for him when he's away. Melva Rendoni was originally borrowed from UAW during campaigns and is now permanent, Ruth Lawson is secretary, then there is Sarah Etheredge and the girl who is caseworker. He has 6 in LA and 7 in Washington --plus his wife.

edgman
Jim gets to office at 6 a.m. in Washington.

"I don't know what I'd do if I didn't have an opponent. I could never sit still. I'd have to run against somebody."

"There are 400 people in that restaurant, just waiting for their pens."

Quade poll done in April 1972 editorialized.

"Our 1966 and 1968 surveys showed that despite voter realization that the Congressman did not reflect their views, especially on Viet Nam and race relations, he was popular because of the fine local services he provided."

"Back in July of 1966 when 50% of his constituents with an opinion said James Corman was a liberal, the Congressman was far out of step with his basically moderate constituency. Since then, from the voter's point of view, the Congressman has moved definitely to the center as they have moved slightly to the right. We have emphasized many times that it is not necessary for an incumbent to reflect the thinking of his electorate in order to win reelection, but we have also emphasized that it does help."

Ques. James Corman's ideas are a little too liberal for me.

Agree 12% Disagree 49% Not sure 39%

Ques. What kind of job has Congressman Corman done (approx.)?

	January 1966	May 1972
Excellent	10	15
Pretty good	33	38
Only fair	17	19
Poor	7	4
Not sure	33	24

Ques. Degree of trust in public figures--(complex measure).

Corman	67
Cronkite	65
Nixon	57
Cranston	52
McGovern	52
Kennedy	51
Tunney	50
Muskie	50
Agnew	50

Ques. I like James Corman because he is independent and has arrived of his own.

Agree 50% Disagree 10% Not sure 40%

Elements in Profile

	September 1968	May 1972
1. Aggressive, active	11	7
2. Hard work	?	?
3. Honest, sincere	14	7
4. Keeps us informed, sends newsletters, like literature	20	38
5. Cares about people, takes personal interest	17	18
6. Doing a good job	12	14
7. Interested in opinions, sends questionnaires	6	12

Seems to vindicate Jim's idea that newsletters are key to his relation-
with voters. See items 4 and 7. That's where big increase is. Sense
of contact has grown tremendously and has replaced vague personal
characteristics somewhat.