

JOHN CULVER

September 22, 1979

From beginning to end to recap,
he played off Clark -
Clark was "last time."

appreciation is key for JC

When John said he didn't know whether this would be a good day for me or not, and spoke of "the phase we are in", I asked him where he saw himself now.

14 mos
before
election

"We don't have a calculated strategy or a well laid out battle plan. When Dick Clark was defeated, the party was in shock. There was even disbelief. The party was demoralized. There were a lot of guilt feelings; people felt that they hadn't done enough. And there was a lot of pessimism about the future. Clark and Culver were Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Now that Clark has gotten it, Culver is next. Culver is vulnerable. The opposition picked up on the same theme. Chuck Grassley started moving around the state and all but declared his candidacy. Then the Ray forces began to get active. They didn't want to let the Republican nomination go by default, again, to a conservative, as they had with Jepsen. So Stoner got into the race. He is a wealthy man and had gotten to the point in life where he was bored just making money. Then the media crowded around asking me two questions. First, was I going to run? Frankly if Dick Clark had won, I would not necessarily have run again. But with Clark's defeat I felt I had to run. Second, the media began to say that I was going to change. On that question, I told them, Hell, no, I'm not going to change. I've been in Congress for fifteen years. I'm proud of my record and I'm going to run on that record. If I lose doing it that way, then I'll be comfortable with that. But I'm not going to change. As I began to think about it, it seemed that my job was to get out in the state and change the psychology of the thing. And, I don't say this immodestly-- I can be perfectly clinical about it--I thought that my personality, my style, my chemistry was right for that job. I could energize the party people. I

could do the exhortation that was necessary to turn the thing around. It's like the birds sitting on the telephone wire, they all flock together and move together. My job was to rechannel the thinking of the party, the media, the opposition, to change the dialogue. One of the things the Clark campaign lacked was intensity, a depth of commitment. People liked Dick Clark, but his support was a mile wide and an inch deep. In January we started going around the state, hitting hard on the theme that we could win and rallying the elements of the old liberal coalition, such as they are, making the party activists optimistic--getting them committed. In April the Iowa poll showed Culver 35, Grassley 31 and the rest don't know. That was a little scary. By that time, as you know, I had been targetted as vulnerable by these outside right wing groups. I understand these groups are now having second thoughts about their attacks, that they are bringing a backlash. If I were they, I'd have second thoughts. Iowans have a sense of fairness, and they resent outside people telling them how to vote. But I was vulnerable and targeted. The April poll didn't show much traction. We kept going over the summer. The September poll showed me at 49, Grassley at 29 and the rest don't know. That showed more progress, frankly, than I ever thought we could make. Now I even hear talk that Grassley is reconsidering his decision to run against me. That poll has got to give him pause when he's been running hard all over the state for six months and has lost ground. It's bound to have an effect on the money people and on his fundraising. People are telling him that he'd be crazy to give up his seat in Congress and run the risk of the Democrats taking the seat. But he's so far committed to it that his own ego may not let him back out now. We'll see. The word is that he will announce his decision after the Pope's visit. That's the phase we're in now. But there is no master plan. It's not as if a brain trust sat around the table and planned tactics and strategy. It's just a matter of doing what you feel comfortable doing."

Then he asked me what I was doing. I told him and he started in on "something I've had in the back of my head which you might want to consider."

"I'd like to see someone ask every member of the Senate to rank each Senator in terms of his effectiveness and his respect among his fellow Senators and then I'd like to have that ranking correlated with each Senator's popularity rating among the people of his state. I'll bet, and I'd like to see this tested, that there is no correlation between the two. It is easy today for members to look good at home by taking cheap shots at other politicians, to run against the Congress, to kick the institution, to crank up their public relations operations in the state, to thumb their noses at everything in Washington and run up huge popularity margins. Yet in the Senate they are useless. You take Zorinsky, why he's the laughing stock of the Senate. Yet his popularity rating is very high in Nebraska. Or old Hayakawa, he's a joke--a nice man but 75 years old. Yet you take Gaylord Nelson, respected and conscientious and Bill Proxmire's popularity rating in Wisconsin is much higher. When I was in the Marine Corps at Quantico, the DIs, the drill instructors, ranked each member of the platoon according to their leadership qualities and ability to run the platoon. Then they had the troops in the platoon rank their fellows according to who they thought would make the best leaders. And the two rankings had no correlation with each other. I don't say the rankings were exactly opposite. But out of the top three or four on the DI's list, none of them were on the list of the troops made out. The DIs had the experience and the judgment to go to the heart of leadership--to get people to do something they would otherwise be disinclined to do. The Senate is a human institution. It is held together and run by the respect, trust, admiration and affection that Senators have for each other. Those who tend only to their public relations and their

grandstanding burn every bridge inside in the Senate. When you need them to help you, they are no good to you... I'm not saying that you can't be effective at home and in the Senate. It's like the army. You have generals that are good generals in war and good generals in peace--General Marshall. I'm not saying you can't do it. But it takes a different set of skills to do the jobs. And it doesn't happen very often... What discourages me is that most people don't care about your leadership in the Senate. And it's so hard to communicate that to your constituents. The media doesn't help. They only focus on the things that make news. Leadership doesn't make news. Suppose the media had interviewed Thomas Jefferson at his home on the condition of his slaves, suppose they had interviewed Lincoln on his relation with railroads or Benjamin Franklin on his pécadillo's in Paris? Would any of them have made it? The media does nothing to increase our respect for members of Congress. If there's one ember of confidence left, they consider it their duty to stamp it out."

He agreed that he was talking about winning and governing. "So much of what you do with respect to winning while you are governing is managerial--sending out the news releases, answering the mail, reenforcing your presence by communicating with people." A small indication that for a long time during the term, he thought of a lot of constituency communication as "managerial"--a kind of holding operation while he devoted himself to leadership.

Re Iowa. "It is one of the best educated populations in the United States. It has one of the highest literary rates--that's because it has so few foreign born. It's a very stable state--despite out migration. That hemorrhaging has stopped now. And the smaller towns are growing again. There's an underlying generational stability in Iowa despite the mobility of the society. Iowans aren't going to be stampeded into anything. It's a diversified economy--more than it was--industry as well as agriculture. People are worried, of course,

but there isn't the great sense of insecurity here that there is elsewhere. When unemployment is 7-8% in the rest of the country it's 3 or 4% here. People from outside think of Iowa as some kind of backwater state. What they don't understand is how internationally involved it is. Cedar Rapids has the largest export trade of any land locked city in the United States. One out of every three acres of that grain there goes overseas. I don't say Iowans are absorbed in foreign policy questions--they don't like foreign aid any better than anyone else. But there's a generosity of spirit toward others. There's a dark side to Iowa, too, like any other place. I think the Des Moines Register has been a powerful force for good in the state, a champion of progressive causes. It's had a very beneficial influence on the state. Another thing outsiders don't appreciate about Iowa is the large number of small colleges here--good colleges--which produces a level of sophistication you don't find in a lot of places."

Was 2nd District a microcosm? "It was a little skewed toward the urban side, wouldn't you say Jim? (on facts about Iowa, he often said this to Jim) Western Iowa is different from eastern Iowa. The difference is not as sharp as upstate Illinois and downstate Illinois, upstate Indiana and downstate Indiana or even upstate and downstate Missouri. But there's a difference. Western Iowa is poorer; it's more cowboy. The land isn't as good. The farming is different; there is more cattle and less cash grain crops. There is no major university in Western Iowa and no large medical facility. Western Iowa feels a little like a stepchild. The hold of the Des Moines Register on Western Iowa is tenuous. Council Bluffs is more oriented toward Omaha and the conservative World Herald than to Des Moines. Sioux City has had a hard time getting its act together and has had a troubled history. It's more oriented toward South Dakota and Sioux Falls. So, Western Iowa took some learning for me. I don't want to exaggerate it, but Western Iowa is different." *others said*

*re. Canoe
when he
wouldn't
want*

west. Iowa had "inferiority complex." In 1980, he didn't carry one county in the western 1/3 of the state.

Heck what Hank Kim meant after = west

"There are a lot of centrifugal influences pulling parts of the state away from Des Moines. Council Bluffs is oriented toward Nebraska, Sioux City toward South Dakota, Eastern Iowa is oriented toward Chicago, Southeast Iowa toward St. Louis, Northern Iowa toward Minneapolis, Southern Iowa toward Kansas City. You can see this in the professional football teams they root for." *On Register weather section shows this - they give weather forecast for all adjoining states - 6/1/79 - one per pro-team*

His comment on leaving anyplace or after interview. "I appreciate it." *"pick up the"*
 "Appreciate" is a key word. *+ problem of appreciation -- teachers, Carter, environmentalists, Water lvs - runs through his day. In a minute, I helped you, now you help me - give me 900, show your appreciation*
 You know Culver is around. After the parade, we went to the National Cattle

Congress, where he stood in front of Democrats booth for a while and wandered around looking for various people he knew and then ended up at American Legion waffle and sausage counter where he spied a friend. "There's my campaign manager. How are you Fred?" He ordered a plate of waffles and sausage--and a huge platter came. "How much are you charging for these waffles and sausage--a dollar? Is that all I get for a dollar? A plate full of waffles and four Rath sausages? I don't mind, I'm on a diet. Just look at the way these pants hang on me. I can't afford a new pair of pants, I'm spending too much on this lunch here--one dollar! I'm broke. Who's running this counter anyway, the VFW? I just said that to see if you were awake. I've had a bag of doughnuts and this lunch so far this morning. Boy am I glad doughnuts, waffles, syrup and sausages are on my diet. Aren't I lucky? Huh? Boy, wasn't that delicious?" He paid for them and left--saying what a good cause it was.

*1/20/79
H.C. H.C.
1/20/79*
 Driving out of the Cattle Congress, where my car with N.Y. plates had been parked in a special slot right inside the gate. "Here I am riding in a New York car. He's not from Iowa, they say. Where'd they ever get that idea? He's arrogant, insensitive, out of touch. What makes them think that?"

Huh? He votes more with the east than he does with the midwest. Where'd that idea come from? Huh? He's just riding around with NY plates on his car!" he laughed.

Since much of what he did was "exhortation," I ^{want to} ~~won't~~ try to capture a little of what he said to the teachers group, sitting on the lawn. He later said he enjoyed it the most. He discussed department of energy, SALT and Cuban troops, inflation and teacher's pay raise. It was the last question that really got him going, and he launched into a thigh thumping, energetic, loud, aggressive 'lecture' to teachers to get off tails and work for him. But what really got him was fact that no one had seen Des Moines Register report of his speech to AFL-CIO on pay raise. "How many of you read the report of my speech to the State AFL-CIO convention on pay raises for federal employees-- on the front page? None of you? Well that's very discouraging. I defended the federal employees. I said it was time we stopped kicking federal employees around and gave them their due. Let me tell you, you may not have read it, but your enemies read it. They all wrote me letters criticizing my speech. No one wrote any words of appreciation for what I said. (Senator, don't make the mistake of confusing us with federal employees). Wouldn't that be too bad if I did. Look, I remember when teachers were second class citizens. I know how far you've come. And I've supported you all the way. No one has a better record on education in the United States Congress than I do--100%. But I'm not going to be around in a couple of years unless people like you get off your tails, stop sitting around and saying 'Isn't this terrible" (here he acts it out) and get to work. The people who don't agree with you will work against me because they know my record. I'm running for reelection; but I don't care that much for myself. The day I lose I'll be making three times as much money as I'm making now--just like that. And I'll have my family to

*Same theme
in Des Moines*

enjoy full time for the first time in 15 years. So I'll be all right. But you'll have someone who will vote against you for the next six years. You can have a lot of votes on education in six years. You don't have Thomas Jefferson to vote for--you've got old Culver or Grassley, you've got old Culver or Stoner--a man who never ran for anything in his whole life, and has 9 million bucks. I'm serious. That's your choice. They say they'll take care of you. You get they'll take care of you.' They're just dying to take care of you.' That's what you'll get if you don't get up off your tails and work. Teachers are smart, they are competent and they can be the most powerful force in politics if they will organize themselves. It's in your own self interest to do it. If you don't see your own self interest, well, then, you are hopeless. And, frankly, the teachers have been a disappointment thus far. I need your help. I don't want your money--although I have to raise a million bucks--I want your time, your commitment. You know what my record is. You don't have to sit around here and ask me what's your position on this, what do you think about that. You should organize your block, talk to your friends and work. Now, was my coming here worth it?"

Re changes in 6 years. I fed him idea about "political lifetime."

intensity
Context
"Your assumption is correct. A senator is a lot more affected by sea change than a House member. A House member can ride out any storm, even a Goldwater tide. He's like an old shoe, he's around all the time and people are comfortable with him. But a Senator is affected by the temper of the times. In 1974 I sailed with the wind at my back. I was not running against an incumbent. The Watergate atmosphere helped a great deal. And, during the campaign the favorable winds continued. The Nixon pardon came along and it gave me a push. In six years you get a wholesale change, a completely new mix of factors. You have new people working for you. You can't do it the

continued →

way you did it last time. You have to be flexible and open to changes. One-third of the electorate changes in six years. The old die and the young come of voting age. One thing I have not done since I have been in the Senate is to become well known in Iowa. I have not made a definition of myself on the state. Perhaps it has been a misuse of my incumbency. I have a very diffuse image in the state. But in this era when we eat up our heroes, maybe that's a plus. Maybe people get too familiar with you too soon, they get tired of you. That may have been part of Dick Clark's problem. He came home all the time. People liked Dick Clark. But maybe they lost interest in him at the same time. Maybe I can pique some interest in people now, even though I wasn't that well known in the first years. Even the fact that I have a temper adds to the mystery about me. Maybe all that will help. That's my way of thinking anyway. Someone like Wendell Ford, he may look great right now, but he may not look so good later. He plays everything politically--his work back home, his votes. If I take a photograph and compare where I am now with where I was 6 years ago--September 1973 with September 1979--I'm much better off now than I was then. I had a much stronger opponent then than either Grassley or Stoner--smarter, more money, more ambition in the true sense--before his personality caught up with him. I'm better off in the polls right now than I was 6 years ago. I'm not taking this lightly. The days when "you can't beat somebody with nobody" are over. And who knows, maybe my kind of leadership and effectiveness in Washington will be back in style by 1980. In 1974, I never mentioned the fact that I had served 5 terms in the House. The mood was not favorable to experience. But now it may be. I don't know. There are always a couple of surprise races every year that no one predicts--on both sides. Some people who look safe are blown out and are gonzo. Some who are considered vulnerable and targeted like

I am, survive. What counts is what's there in November 1980. It's like the farmer and the crops--it's the harvest in the barn that matters."

As we left the teacher's meeting--a little gathering of 15 or 20 people on the front lawn of someone's house--he said "It was shock therapy for that little cell. I tried to give them a pronounced sense of urgency. We ought to be allright with the teachers. But they need energizing just like everyone else. I was trying to weld some personal bond--even with a little black coffee that made me rough, raw, aggressive and acerbic. If we can pick up a few workers from that group it will have been worth it--even for that large block of time. What discourages me is the laid back attitude--'when are you going to do this or that when I've done.' For 15 years I've done it. It's time for them to show some appreciation for what I've already done and go to work. Yet none of them ever read the front page story on speech about federal employees. They don't know ^{my} record."

"Jim, do you think we got some pretty good kids today at UNI?" He asked that a couple of times, making it clear that was what he was hoping for out of his UNI visit. He said right afterwards going out to the car that he thought it went well and was pleased at the large turnout on such a gorgeous day--maybe 25-30 students came.

UNI Talk - starts by saying his father-in-law is in Hall of Fame at UNI and was commencement speaker last year and is looking forward to game tonight.

18 year old vote - "need particip. ideas, energy and judgment of people who will live with consequences of what we do." Low turnout las time. "We who worked for it feel troubled by lack of participation" elderly do participate - "every two years, the government is up for grabs." Votes and money are important - he says he'd like to hear from them as to why participation is low.

E draft. "Just yesterday in the Senate, we debated registrationand it

was put back on the Senate calendar for reconsideration. In my opinion the registration and draft issues is dead for this year... We'll continue to receive intensive study next year."

Qu. pay raise. "Symbolically important to show restraint." Says he's inclined to vote vs. it now.

"I'm concerned that in U.S. Senate today a high percentage of very wealthy people. If you aren't wealthy, it's getting harder and harder to serve... need sufficient incentives to get people to serve."

Ecology and endangered species - "I head subcommittee and I have been authorth reauthorization^f of End. Spec. ^{Act} I've been the leader in the Tellico Dam dispute--the snail ~~disaster~~^{disaster}. I'm one who thinks it's very important to keep this legislation on books and resist attempts to do without it. Environmental movement has to be informed. Those people who are opposed to me know what my position is. If you are interested and you know that I'm in favor of the act you should say, thank you. Because if I've lead it 3 times and people who agree with me just think great thoughts, I won't be back for a fourth time. You'll have someone else. So listen to what I have to say. Don't think great thoughts while I get my head bloodied. The environmental movement is not well organized. They don't have their act together and don't have the influence they should have. (To student) Are you registered? Where?"

He talked about '78--that it makes a difference--people ought to look at records. "People really don't care about starving people in Bangladesh if they don't go out and support and vote for people who have a perfect record on those kinds of things."

SALT: Wants to separate SALT and Cuba. "We are not advocating the SALT treaty as a favor to the Soviet Union." He explicates why we shouldn't link the two, but says that "political climate of ratifaction" and "mood" have changed.

Long description of our nuclear destructive power.

"Most candidates who run for S&H in present year are properly and understandably concerned about their own race. They need support of all members of their party. Party people understand that candidates who are running are not going to get all embroiled in presidential politics.

Thought Carter should have ^{been} given lecture earlier on helping his friends. Explicates that at some length-- how normal it is to . "It's as American as apple pie if a person has supported you and fought for you. Take Waterloo. You need Rath and Rath needs a grant. Don't you think if I support him on SALT and fight for endangered species and I go down to the White House and knock on the door, / ^{don't} you think I ought to get some consideration? Don't you think I can remind him of who was in the trenches when it counted. I know it's hard, but I need a little attention. Maybe we'll get that attention. By the same token, if I don't get that grant, don't call on me. My fireman's suit is at the cleaners.' I'm not going to support ^{him} ~~you~~ on everything, but I'm not going to jump up and down and thumb my nose at ^{him} ~~you~~ and take cheap shots and go out of my way to criticize and hurt ^{him} ~~him~~. He ought to know who supported him. He ought not to get up and at every clambake and say this is the greatest congressman. Ought to save his accolades for those who helped him and supported him. And he should have started behaving that way in the first week of his administration."

Rath Packing - a prepared speech - praised them for work - spirit of community - EEOC "How many employees do you have broken down by sex." Guy from Dubuque writes in and said "None--our problem here is alcoholism."

He details the history of the grant - Fall of 1978 - Oct. EDA provided assistance for interim and early in 1979 application to HUD was made 4.3 million to improve the plant. HUD was hesitant because never had a proposal

that employees would invest in the plant. Bureaucrats did a good job. EDA and HUD worked together. "Living proof that government can respond to real needs of real people."

He spoke second and left immediately. In the car, before he had called his speech. "Three or four of the driest pages you ever heard." And, outside, afterwards he came over and said to me, "Didn't I tell you it was dull?" I said "Yes, it was."

When he talked about tennis game. "For all of the reasons I mentioned earlier, the stability, the steadiness, the consistency--despite some out migration--Iowa is still a word of mouth state. One of the ingredients I felt was missing from the Clark campaign--in addition to the intensity factor-- was the one on one aspect. In politics one of the highest mistakes you can make is to rely too heavily on the experts. Another is not to rely on them at all. You have to find that middle ground. In the campaign, they focused too much on the exquisite numbers. You can become mesmerized by the polls, by the media figures. They felt that all they had to do was come into a community, hit the media and get out. After all, if you were on NBC news in Council Bluffs, you got the largest audience in the state. They didn't make personal contact when they went. So they missed the rich relationships, one to one relationships that help people get to know you. I don't think people get to know you on that damned tube. I know the counter arguments; that you can only shake hands with so many people and that you can't reach 3 million people that way. But you have to try. You take this silly little tennis game this afternoon. There are just three people who are going to play tennis with me. And it's a big block of time. But already today I've had people come up to me and say I hear you're going to play tennis with so and so. They've told people they're going to play; then they'll tell people after they've played. They are those people I would not normally have

access to. Two of them have contacts throughout the state, in coaching and in business. It will give me a chance to penetrate the independent establishment. In every community there are 6 or eight people like this, people other people listen to--opinion leaders. There are 28 or 30 communities in the state. Maybe it's my habit as a congressman. But I think that in a state of 2.8 million and 6 congressional districts, it is possible to reach people. I know I have a long way to go in this state in that way; I have no illusions about that.

Remarks after guy talked to him after the game and Culver was shouting at him. "Wasn't he something? Hugh? Talking to me like that? He's the same son of a bitch who nailed me at the Rotary Club. He thinks government officials should be hung by their thumbs and whipped. How much of that shit do I have to take. He says he's going out of business in six weeks. I felt like saying 'with your personality the miracle is you've stayed in business this long, you fucking asshole.' That's what I felt like saying. You know? Then he said the government took all its time with anti-discrimination cases. Now his prejudices are coming out--he hates blacks. Oh, he's a beauty. Isn't he, huh? He says 'you know me, I wrote to you.' Then he says 'I'm not blaming you.' I said it doesn't exactly sound like you're showing your appreciation for what I've done. Wasn't he something? What a great way to end the day. Welcome to public service Culver!"

When we went to the parade--our first stop--we got there early and went to have a cup of coffee with Mayor Roof and Lynn Cutler. Two stories came out of it. The mayor said he advised Grassley not to run, that he had a safe seat and couldn't win. "You know Chuck is pretty stupid. Last year before the parade I asked him if he had his bullet proof vest. He said no, are you kidding, do you need one? I said, yes the word is out that people are going

to shoot up the parade. You'd better keep your eyes on the top of the buildings along the parade route. So, all during the parade he kept looking up at the roof tops and never saw the people watching the parade."

Mayor talked about how good it was to keep in touch with workers, that people who haven't worked side by side with workers don't know what it's like etc. Culver told story "In 1962 when Ted Kennedy first ran for the Senate he was running against Eddie McCormack, the Speaker's nephew. And one thing they were using against him was the fact that he couldn't understand the working-man's problems because he had never worked a day in his life. One day I was at a plant gate with Ted handing out pamphlets and this guy with a lunch pail walks by. He yells out to Ted, 'Hey Ted, is it true what they say that you never worked a day in your life.' Ted said, 'Yes it was ^{ru}ture'. And the guy yelled back to him "Ted, I've worked all my life and let me tell you you haven't missed a thing." Great laughter and repeat of punch line by Culver 2 or 3 times.

After the UNI meeting, when he had said he was inclined not to support a pay raise, he commented - "You know that's the first time I've formulated my position on the pay raise. I've always been in favor of every pay raise--the only member of the Iowa delegation to support it. But it's such a symbolic issue now with inflation so rampant. I don't think I can support it now. Aside from political reasons, it's not good for the Republic. But I sure feel for those judges. They are desperate for a raise in pay." I added that, politically, he may decide that it just isn't worth it to have the pay raise the central issue of the campaign, which it would be if he supported the raise--that he couldn't talk about anything else. "You're absolutely right, especially against Chuck Grassley who has made a career out of demagoging the pay raise issue." He talked in the same vein about how he made 80,000 with pay and honoraria ("and all the trouble honoraria bring"--his only reference, veiled or otherwise,

to the billboard honorarium story). Spoke of 2 homes and children to educate (first girl is freshman at Hamilton) and how impossible it was to get people to think he was. It was in this conversation that he said he never got home till 7:30 and mentioned, "This madcap, rat race style of life, where you never accomplish anything sensible, you just keep going." Later, talking to the teachers he said that in years past he said he was worth what he got, that his district deserved someone who was worth that much and that if Grassley didn't think he was worth the full shot, he should take what he thought he was worth and what the district deserved. But it is clear that this is one election year hot potato he doesn't want to have to handle.

Jim tells story that John is telling to party faithful as an antidote to their defeatism after Clark lost. Culver tells story about when he was playing football, standing on the sidelines when a player who had been hit hard and was groggy came off the field and tells the coach that he was hit hard and wants to sit down and rest. The coach says "The name of the game is tackle football. Now get back in there and play." That's his message to party activists.

At the end of the day he said "The only thing you haven't seen that we are doing pretty regularly these days is a stemwinding, tub ~~thumping~~ speech to warm up the party activists."

All day, he assessed events after they took place, such as after parade: "That was a warm reception didn't you think. It was such a gorgeous day. I think that makes a difference, don't you?"

Or, after the UNI meeting "I thought that went pretty well, didn't you?" Or after Rath dinner - "Wasn't that something? That was some political hit." (That is one of his pet expressions.) After the game "I thought the crowd reaction was very warm at the football game, didn't you? Usually, politicians at a sporting event is a no no. "It's bad enough we got that guy in Washington.

As we drove from football game to the airport, I asked him to rank events in terms of political importance. (1) Rath - "in terms of breadth of support and for the long ^{session} session, it was most important. (2) Either the parade - game pair together or (3) the UNI - teachers pair together.

When I asked him to choose among them he said "That's a good question. I'd be hard put to say that one is more important than the other. It's the medley of things, the mix that is important. With the students and teachers we were trying to energize people to work in the campaign. We're doing a lot of that now stirring up the traditional elements you have to have to do the work in the campaign. Later we will begin to pick targets of opportunity, target other groups and move out to broaden the appeal. We will focus much more on students. Parades are funny. You learn to do them, but I feel silly sitting there and waving. But the parade and the game let people know you're around. In five years I haven't become enough of an established personality in the state. There isn't much warmth of identification with me. The parade and the game help in that respect. So I don't know how you could play one above the other."

When I asked about which was most enjoyable, he said talking to the teachers. "I enjoyed talking to the teachers the most. You can talk about Cuba and other issues and you can come on strong with them without offending them as you would the students. You can assume interest."

"Jim, there's a lot to be said for staying in one town for a whole day. The things you do ripple out into the community and then come back to you throughout the day, reenforcing each other. People ask you if you're 'going to the game tonight.' Then at the game, I saw Jim, the fellow I played tennis with."

After he talked about the things I asked him to rate, he said "And we

didn't neglect the media. We ran into them at several places. I don't know what they'll use, but we got good coverage."

"It was a good day. It was an ~~easy~~ day, but a good day." Then he talked about staying in one community all day.

In the locker room conversation with Jim, John kept harking back to his high school athletic days in Cedar Rapids and to the people he knew and where they went to college. But Jim, the coach, knew everyone in terms of their colleges. It occurred to me that this is a small part of the limitation in terms of John's identification with the state--that he did leave it to go to college. (He typically said, when I went to college and didn't mention Harvard by name--or so it seemed to me. If he had gone to college here in Iowa, the conversation with Jim would have been very different--not, "where did he go to college, was he as good as he was in H.S.", but, rather, "I played against him in college." But John kept asking how Iowa did (they played Nebraska and lost 24-21) and how good a job coach Hayden Fry was doing, etc.

Putting on his pants in the locker room, John said, "It looks like I've lost a lot of weight. Just look at how loosely those pants fit. But I'm so broke I can't afford a new pair." Jim said "It looks like you've been on a diet." John said, "No, I'm in an election campaign and I'm scared shitless. There's nothing like an election campaign to take the weight off you. It's like facing the heavy weight champion in December and knowing you have to get ready."

It occurred to me that this was one setting and one conversation Liz ^LDrew probably didn't get to record! (Actually, the thought occurred to me as John sat there in the tiny locker room in his yellow undershorts talking sports!)

He said he had hired Matt Reese to do some work and that Reese was doing "some work for the party" but didn't say what. He also noted he had no campaign organization but hoped to have one by January.

He talked about retirement and how he would like to teach at a place like the Kennedy School, where practitioners would be welcomed even if they didn't have the credentials.

During the tennis match he fell and skinned his knee and elbow. Coming off he said "I'm mortally wounded. But I did make the shot. Just as I was going to fall I reached out and wham, I hit the ball right past Jim. I ^{if} figured/I was going to go down I would go in glory." *This may be the anecdote " of the campaign.*

Later "That tennis was very relaxing. I really feel good. But I feel bruised too--my knees and elbows are all scraped and my feet hurt. My feet feel like they were pounded. I don't have any good sneakers. The ones I have are Ted Kennedy's old ones. He got through with them and gave them to me. I'm too broke to buy new ones."

In locker room, Jim told story of how Dan Bridebaugh's (my tennis partner) high school team (or college team) lost state basketball title when a kid froze and couldn't make a free throw. John said, "When I was a freshman I was the 6th man on the freshman basketball team. We went down to Holy Cross to play and they had a guy named Togo Palazzi who later was a pro. They sent me in to play against him and we muscled each other up and down the floor. I drew 13 fouls that day and I missed eleven out of 13 foul shots. So I sympathize with anyone who freezes at the free throw line. Eleven out of thirteen! That's when I decided my sport was football, not basketball."

When I asked him who his strongest supporters were, he did not have a very sharp answer. It was quite diffuse. "The party activists would be one group. And the UAW. We have been with them a long time, talked to them and helped them. They are loyal (Jim interrupted to say that Dick Clark did not have that strong UAW support that Culver has). The opinion leaders think pretty well of me and support me. The media respects me, I think, if they don't support me. The Common Cause, League of Women voter types generally

agree with me. So do church groups. I don't know that any politician can define with precision just what his coalition is, do you? What do you think?"

I said all politicians seemed uncertain, but I wanted to see whether Senators were any more so than House members. But that drew no response and I neglected to ask him to compare it to how he felt in the House about his support.

"There's a difference between the people who are for you and the people who are excitedly for you, between those who will vote if they feel like it and people who say the only election is Culver's election. You need as many of the last group as you can get."

"Anything you do politically goes through three stages--preparation, the event itself and the follow up. They are equally important--no matter what the event, campaign or legislative. Dick Clark did a lot of things. But Dick Clark didn't exploit the things he did. You've got to rub people's nose in it and tell them that you're the one who did it. You don't do it offensively. But to do all the work and then not to come to an appreciation dinner is to miss out on part of the event. It is to miss capping your role. A cross section of the entire community will be here. And I'm here to pick up my chips."

"Waterloo is a funny city. It is hard to penetrate. Yet it has all the constituent elements of a Democratic vote--highest percentage blacks, high percentage *blue collar*. Yet the Democrats aren't getting it. It's a twin to Cedar Rapids, where the Democrats do well. We've just got to hit 'em again and again to get things lined up."

Said Governor Ray was a phenomenon--very weak like Carter and then he threatened to ground the air National Guard if some company didn't pay up in a law suit against an airplane company or something like that. Then he used

highway patrol during campus riots and not the national guard and that got him points. He ended up turning it all around from weak to popular.

He talked about Engle and Winters workshop people coming to Magregor to ask him questions. "The most difficult session" he said all the combatants are there asking him to take sides. All levels of sophistication and awareness. Very funny.