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JOHN CULVER

September 6-8, 1980

John wertzberger, John Frew, Bonnie Campbell, Carolyn Boland, Rick Groth,
Brad Hummel, Brent Appel, Kurt Meyer, Paula Meyer, John Law, Pete Smith,
Mike Nylan.

I left Cape Cod on Friday about 2:00 and got to Des Moines about 9:00.

In making the arrangements for the trip, Jack told me that Culver said OK, provided I come after the debate, scheduled for Saturday afternoon. "He was very insistent about that" Jack has said over the telephone. Culver's own nervousness about it and his staff's nervousness came through again when I went over to Culver's office to meet Jack Saturday morning. He said he had no idea how much of JC's schedule he'd want to follow after the debate. "It all depends how the debate comes out," he said.

"This is the first debate. The second is scheduled for the 21st, the same night as the presidential debate. And the 3rd one is on October 31st. So this is the one people are most interested in."

I asked him how it was going. "We got a big shot in the arm last week with the poll. Have you heard about it? After being 17 points down all summer, the poll showed us one up now. We had a great summer. We hit hard on the issues. We had a full schedule. The republican strategy was to stand pat and hold their lead. They had a couple of staff shakeups, too." So, I come in on an upbeat note.

I got to debate early and talked for a couple of minutes to Brent Appel, the campaign manager. "How's it going?" "Much better, I'm feeling much better than I thought I would today. (I mentioned the poll.) I knew we were doing better in some sense, but not that much better. I knew some of

the things that were working against us were turning the other way. The Reagan goof over China and the incompetence it showed. And the New Right began to turn things up too hot. This Christian Voice they have got going is turning people off. Sure, they are making converts; but for every convert they make they are losing two. A newspaper reporter told me that after his paper printed some of their rhetoric, they got lots of phone calls protesting. It's the intolerance. People of good will can differ over issues without being so one-sided. The tide that had been running against us has turned and is going the other way, our way. A strong swimmer can swim against the current. He can do it, but it's a lot easier swimming with the current. I also think that as the election gets closer, the conservative-liberal thing begins to fade. People begin to take a look at the candidates, close-up, and that's where Culver is strong. But we've got to keep up the momentum and not let down. It's like a herd of elephants; you have to keep whipping them to make sure they will keep going in the right direction." Repeated that he was feeling much better than he thought he would.

I taped the debate - met Noel Lytle (my former Iowa student), Mike _____ and others who work with state party. Rode with them back to SoVery.

When I met John at about 7:30, he recognized me and put his arm around me and said "Were you there today? Boy, am I glad that's over."

In the car, he started talking about the "currents" that are running in the campaign, particularly the moderate Republicans who may be turned off by the Christian Voice - New Right group." (more on that later)

He also said re. the campaign - "For the last 60 days we've been campaigning hard, night and day. We've been campaigning hard for 22 months, really, but it wasn't till after the Republican primary when we knew who our

opponent was going to be that we could know what we had to do and focus in on a plan." The idea was that the period I observed last September was over once the opponent was known. After all, when I was with him in 1979, he was speculating about a Grassley withdrawal.

One post-convention note. The State Democratic Party VIP (DVP) and state legislature project are all in same building as Culver headquarters --visible sign of close tie-in with Culver campaign. (The rent is much lower than Grassley's says Rick, no sign out front, back one way street.)

Speech to UAW - "I know J.C. has 100% voting record for labor" (standing ovation). I know J.C. has voting record of ^{100% for senior citizens. I also know he's} best Senator in the United States" (Culver, Culver, Culver chanting). "It's an honor and a privilege to present to you the best Senator I have ever known - not only for Iowa but for all of U.S." (standing ovation) (This guy was head of Statewide Senior Citizens Group.)

J.C. - "This election is going to determine direction State of Iowa moves in next decade." "progressive" or "ultra conservative right wing backwash."

"We began in July at 20 points behind and with your support, we've been going night and day and I'm proud to come here tonight and say to you that we're ahead in those polls." (standing ovation)

"We have 60 days - 60 days to determine quality of life in this state." national and state - 38% voted last time.

"It was A tragedy that working men and women lost one of the best friends they had. We're not going to let that happen again." Cheers.

"Government is up for grabs. Only question is who controls it."

Compare records "Who best represents people of Iowa... If I had Grassley's record I'd be unhappy defending it too." (Cheers)

Decontrol and windfall profits tax. Oil company lobbyists vs. windfall profits. Grassley voted 27 ^{11/27} B of loopholes. "I'm proud to tell you we beat Chuck Grassley on that."

"Oil companies pumping money into his campaign--\$54,000. I'm here to tell Chuck Grassley / can't buy a Senator from Iowa. We're going to have one of our own." Cheers.

Program to help poor elderly and Grassley vs. it.

"We need U.S. Senator who is going to fight for elderly and not oil companies." Cheers.

I say to Grassley - "Your primary was to see who could do the least for working men and women and you ~~win~~. This fall, the contest between CG and JC is for who can do the most for the working men and women of Iowa." (Cheers)

Everytime we've had program to help people, etc. CG "voted to gut the program."

\$39,000 from chemical companies - "send them a message... Keep their money, keep their special interests, We are going to send a public interest senator to Washington." (Cheers)

New fight - "Send them a message." "They are radicals working outside the system, outside hate groups."

^{Drum} - ^{and} Kelly story--"Shouldn't be too touchy on Kelly. Ran tape backwards ~~to~~ he was trying to give money back to FBI."

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The Qushairs, are we worthy of the sacrifices made by Walter Reuther and Samuel Gompers, the broken skulls and the broken bones.
Talk about "The other side" often. Competitors within.

After the UAW speech. "Wasn't that enthusiasm something, that spirit? Weren't they fired up? You could feel it, couldn't you? There's no place ⁱⁿ ~~like~~ Iowa where Chuck Grassley could get a reception like that tonight. There wasn't any enthusiasm like that anywhere in 1978, I'll tell you that." ...That crowd was so high when I walked in that you had no place to go but down. To just hold your own in a speech was a victory."

He asked me in the car if I thought "politically" he was right in spelling out his differences in the area of Christian Right. He said he thought he had to give those people in UAW meeting something to argue with when people came to them. He said several times that he thought innocent people were being used by the far right group. "I'm not sure whether I'm doing the right thing politically, but..."

Later he asked me, about the speech "Did I make it too hot? Huh. It was there wasn't it. They were waiting for me to lay it on the line weren't they? They wanted red meat, didn't they?" NBC was there." "How do you suppose it will look on TV, too hot? What do you think?"

He is critical of what he does. "How long did I talk? Do you think I talked too long? "One lady came up and said, "You didn't mention ERA." I didn't know what I was going to say. You can't think of everything." Part of this rehearsing and questioning is a kind of blowing off steam--but his staffers say he is a perfectionist.

Mostly the evening was upbeat. Everyone thought JC won the debate and the Register headline "Culver Puts Grassley on Defensive in Debate" seemed to say as much. Later edition had different headline.

At Babe's Saturday night. "Things are beginning to come together. All the hard work of the last 60 days is beginning to show. It was tough slogging

all summer, knowing you were 17 points down, not knowing what, if anything, of what you were doing was working. The mood changed with the poll. The staff felt it. (The field staff said they had an easier time putting on bumper stickers). I know it's not over. I know that the thing is there to be won or lost in the next 60 days. But we can take 10 minutes to celebrate tonight. We'll go back to work tomorrow. What I'm saying is that after you've played the first half 27 points down it's awfully nice to know that you are tied to going into the fourth quarter."

He uses football and war and boxing analogies all the time. When someone noted the panel was seated behind him at debate. "I had to look over my shoulder at them. It was like catching a pass over your shoulder going out of bounds."

Re the conduct of the debate "It was undisciplined. They just let us go on and on. The moderator would tap his microphone lightly--no buzzer or gavel or lights. They said it was a one-hour debate. I looked at my watch and it said one hour and twenty minutes. It reminded me of those old-fashioned, bare knuckled fights where you fought until someone was knocked out. They'd throw water over you and send you out for the next round. Or soak your knuckles in brine and tell you to keep swinging! The debate we had in 1974 was more disciplined."

He said "Debating Grassley is like playing football against a bad team. Nothing you do works right. People don't play where they should. The traps don't work. The *feints* aren't taken. You have to work hard not to look foolish. And you never look as good as you are." The debate vs. Stanley in 1974 easier because he was smarter.

"I couldn't be happier than I am with our campaign staff. They are the

best I've ever had or ever seen. They work fifteen hours a day. The field staff are at plant gates handing out brochures in every part of the state. Grassley doesn't have the kind of dedicated, committed campaign organization we have. He can't call upon them, exercise them, energize them. In my opinion, the greatest strength we have in this campaign is our bench. Pretty soon this whole thing is going to grab hold and when it does our people will be ready. You've got to have a plan but you've also got to have the people in the trenches to carry out the plan. It's like combat. You need a plan, so that if things begin to go bad, you have something to fall back on. If you have no plan you can't stop things from falling to pieces once they start. Campaigns are like war. They are highly imperfect. You know you will make mistakes. The radio won't work; you drop bombs on your own troops. But wars and campaigns are won by people who make the least mistakes and who can repair them once they are made. That's where a good campaign organization comes in. If we win, the organization will have been very important, if not decisive."

"Can't ^{you} imagine what a rat's nest the Grassley camp is tonight? Everyone will be blaming everyone else for the problems of the debate. Think of all the loose cannons rolling around on that deck! They already had 2 resignations this week--the two press guys. And last week, it was the drop in the polls. They've only got 60 days. If you don't have it together by now, it's too late. I don't think they have it together."

"The group to watch are the moderate Republicans. I think we're getting a delayed reaction on their part. They were stunned by the size of Grassley's primary voting. He got a larger vote than anyone expected. The tendency of the Republican moderates was to feel that it was inevitable, that there was nothing they could do but go along. Now they are beginning to see that there is an alternative. They think very seriously about the relationship between church and state. They don't like the extremism of the Christian Morality and the

who is
Extremist?
ILW
CG

New Right. The people of this state are basically fair minded, decent, tolerant and moderate. Iowans have never voted for extremes. Joe McCarthy did not get a big following here. A lot of people are going to say that they can't vote for Culver the liberal, etc., etc. but they may vote for me if they see me as a decent reasonable person - an alternative to the New Right. What I'm saying is that I think the Stoner vote may come over to us in time. I see signs of it--in the poll, in what people say. It could be a key development." He saw this movement as just beginning--as the New Right thing gets more publicity. Also, the night before, it turns out, he had a meeting with women and a lot of Republicans came.

"By taking on the New Right, head on, we are shaking up the apathetic majority that they feed upon. And by shaking up the majority, sharpening the issues, increasing the intensity of the campaign, we have gotten people thinking about the campaign. We've shaken people up."

CBS, ABC had been out here and NBC was at the debate today. He said he guessed it was because of the "classice race" between conservative and "liberal who won't back down from his views."

Self
image

He said 37% of labor voted for Jepsen and that they were conducting intensive educational efforts with rank and file of labor so that the 1978 mistake would not be made.

He spoke of how "campaigning is young person's game", that it takes 15 hour days and a commitment that only young people can give. "Most people have only one campaign in them; it takes so much energy and commitment, you get burned out. Even if you have 2 or 3 campaigns on you, after six years people will have gotten married or moved away or started a family. A 23 year old this year will be 29 in 1986."

Culver sweating from head to toe, shaking fist, all decibels up, giving 'em "red meat" and the chant of "Culver, Culver, Culver" contrasted to Clark's get out the vote message--detailing his past efforts. Both wanted to accomplish same thing. Culver told them to "talk to your friends, at work, in your neighborhood, in your bars, your chambers--get them registered and get them out to vote." He devoted a couple of sentences to get out vote--very direct. "People ask me what they can do to help." Then he attacked Grassley. Clark never attacked Jepsen. ^(when I was there) Whole mood was different. Both speeches were remarkable. But one was low key and one high key.

"The Iowa poll did a breakout on our strengths and weaknesses. And we did pretty well in all groups. The only place where we were weak was among the farmers. (Here, Ed Campbell jumped in and said "They've got 3.85 corn, ____ hogs, ____ beans") and Culver replied "And they're still complaining. Don't quote me on this but one old farmer said to me the other day. 'Do you know how you can tell whether a baby is going to be a farmer?' He's the one who cries before you hit him.' That's just about it, isn't it Ed? If you quote me on that, I'm dead."

Sunday night he said "One group I've never been quite comfortable talking to are the farmers." Told story of early 1964 speech on farm policy--scared, inexperienced, didn't understand what he was reading (re farm policy). Man kept shaking head in front row - Culver a wreck - man comes up afterward and says he liked it, still shaking his head. Had palsy. "That's a true story. I can't tell it because it's about the handicapped."

Ames, Iowa - same as debate opening statement.

"Whether public interest or private greed." "As I heard our strategy history, the ^{proudest} chapters have occurred when progressive Republicans were on top and not the stand patters."

Figure is which candidate can best deal with problems -- capability, maturity, judgment.

Question 1) relations with Soviet Union, 2) arms control 3) relationship with third world 4) relations with Mexico and Canada.

Then he goes to domestic issues. "Nowhere in the country is there a clearer choice...I invite your comparison of our records."

"It's the ability to work in the Congress--not just how did you vote, but what was your demonstrated ability to convince others."

Question - legis. exec. relations. Re Carter. "You elected him. You said that's just what we want. Someone whose never been to Washington even on a weekend."

Need experience to run government. Senior chairman goes to Carter advises him to ~~act~~ ^{act} ~~on it~~ like FDR - got all people together in a room - long story re civil service legislation under FDR and Carter - long answer - Magnuson was the person JC acts out people raising their hands.

Question: MX missile

He's animated speaker in answering questions re legis-exec. relations, he marches lock step to indicate that Congress shouldn't follow president. Then he "digs holes" to illustrate that without SALT Soviets could put many more war heads on missiles and we'd have to keep digging more holes to protect our ICBM's. When he's quoting Matthew 25 someone is giving him glass of water. When he speaks of "giving water to the thirsty". He waves glass of water.

(grin) He goes through flip-flops on defense - "You have to have a more responsible grasp on these complicated matters." to be a Senator.

Question re priorities on domestic programs - he goes into differences in his and Grassley's votes - fuel help to poor elderly, weatherization

help to poor elderly, food stamps for elderly and handicapped, fair housing, his National Wildlife award, toxic substances control, clean air.

Question re incentives for producers.

Business flexibility act - he discusses to make regulations flexible for large and small business, large and small towns. But later he said it was a Grassley question. "I ducked that one. I just agreed with him and we do have to worry about the mix. Of course, his idea of the mix and mine might be *very* different."

He brings up Xian morality and goes through his speech on that. Ends with Dantes "special place in hall reserved for men who in a time of peril remained silent." And Burke.

"I took too long answering that question about Congress, didn't I."

Student commons ~~USI~~. *ISV*

Harkin/ and Culver.

Harkin "This is first time I've seen the Pine Room this full since the Viet Nam days. I'm delighted to see to many students."

Harkin intro - "Best person in Senate (from Iowa and the USA.)"

He goes down the list re rating system with his finger pointing down the list, he pounds fist on point that country was founded on religious freedom.

Sign "Colo Iowa is proud to welcome our fighting U.S. Senator John Culver (~~Cover~~)".

Intro to Culver at Colorado "When we think of complicated nature of our society, it's nice to have a United States Senator who understands the country's problems."

"The conservation people in Iowa look at him way up in the tree tops."

Great praise for his support of agriculture and senior citizens.

Culver "A lot of people were writing off this campaign." polls up.

Contrast with Grassley, social security, oil companies, soil conservation, ultra right wing characters from the hate factions of the east poisoning the politics atmosphere."

Other gestures - Kelly "giving back the money".

When he gets wound up he says "And finally..." Three or four times.

At Colorado he asked for "60 minutes of your time."

After ISU - "Dick, if I'm defeated, will you find me a job teaching. I'd love to teach. But I don't think I'd like to be around academic people all the time, frankly. As strongly as I feel about education, there's a lot of faculty politics I wouldn't like. Some of those people are pretty hard to get along with."

After Colorado picnic where he mingled and talked - "Events like that are very important in the mix of things we do in a campaign. Dick Clark did none of that in 1978, none of it. In some ways, the Clark campaign failed because it was so exquisitely rational. It was laid out as scientifically as you can do it with the use of polls, the analysis of the issues and the knowledge of the media markets. Dick's idea was to hit all the media markets in the state, to get into town and out again as fast as he could, just so long as he got on the media. He believed that since you couldn't meet all the people of Iowa that it wasn't worth while trying to meet any of them in settings like Colorado, Iowa. So there was no people-to-people contact, no word of mouth politics. But I believe that Iowa is still a word of mouth state. It has a stable social structure. People still know each other throughout the state. The opinion leadership has remained the same. In fairness to Dick Clark, he thought he was ahead. And maybe he didn't think you had to do anything except media. But that was

continued →

ironic, because he won in 1972 because of his walk. He got media from that, but because ~~they~~ walk was people to people politics. I think you can be too rational about politics. Politics isn't just rational. That's why it's not predictable. There is built in irrationality. And there is an important place for passion, for personality, for personal chemistry between the candidate and his supporters. Dick Clark didn't have that intense communion with people. And that's why when he came under attack there were no people to fight back on his behalf. Again they all thought he was ahead. But he was only ten points ahead and that's not a walk with voters as volatile as they are these days. You can't do it with media alone, not in this state. Like the advertising business, we lose 80 cents on the dollar, but we don't know which 80 cents. You can't spend all your time in small towns like this. It would take too much of your time. But I think people-to-people events add seasoning to the brew that we call a campaign.

I mentioned my notion about the relationship between candidate and strongest supporters. "You're absolutely correct. It's interesting that I never understood such fundamental truths until so late in the game. Maybe I acted on them all along, but I never understood it till recently. We've been so lucky with our campaign staff. Bonnie Campbell works with us, she's Ed's wife. And Bert Appel is a friend of Ed's. The chief ERA person is Brent's girl friend. It's like a family. Dick Clark didn't have that relationship with his staff. He was aloof. He was almost too professional, too academic. Neal Smith told me once that in the last week of the 1978 campaign he met with the Register Editorial Board. He told them Clark could lose and they were shocked. Later the conversation turned to me and he said to them "The difference is that Dick Clark's support is a mile wide and

an inch deep but John Culver's support is an inch wide and a mile deep. And it's true that with the unions, the Auto Workers, the party, the teachers and the other elements you need, we have a much more constant and closer communication than Dick Clark had. His staff didn't have the close relationship our staff has with them. People had a lot of respect for Dick Clark but less depth of commitment than they feel to us. Like that group last night. I could have said 'off with your heads' and they would have done it. Dick thought that you had the Democrats and he reached out to others. But that was a mistake because he lost the intensity of commitment among the true believers. That was ironic, because he won by waging a populist, close to the people campaign. People said they didn't see him enough after he went to Washington. There was the perception and his foreign affairs work added to it. He lost his foot soldiers."

"It was a good schedule, a good political day. We got a diversity of things--the church, the school, the Colorado picnic, the softball game and two fund raisers at night. The only thing we missed was the media, but we may get media at the game."

After the game, we left and the media (Ch. 13) was packing up. Grassley had just arrived, and missed the media. JC was very happy. "Grassley missed the media, didn't he? Aren't they leaving? Do you think the media got us? I hope they didn't get my fat ass running down the base line."

"I know it's up for grabs but it's nice to be sailing with the wind instead of bucking a head wind. It's nice not to see people hanging crepe everywhere and not to have to kick everybody's ass day after day. It's like a football team that doesn't want to go out and play the second half. They want to take their dates out instead."

1st Newton fund raiser - "Things are going along pretty well now."

"It's a lot like being 3 touch downs behind in the second quarter, catching up in the third quarter and going into the fourth quarter all tied up."

Newton - outdoors - "A lot of people are watching to see if working men and women are a paper tiger... Senators come up and ask me are you still a liberal? Are you still in favor of the working men and women? I tell 'em you bet I am and they say How will you win? And I tell them because I have confidence that compassion, and justice and decency are not dead in this society. But I tell you the hour is now... You can talk among your family, relatives, friends, people at work, where you take recreation, bars, card games"

"You've got to command respect and admiration of your colleagues if you're going to get something done. You can't kick every other state in the union and then say that when Iowa wants something, the other states will help them. The first thing people do down there is size you up. They pick out the phonies. Their business is working with people. They decide pretty quickly who they will work with and who they won't work with. I can walk on the floor and ask who is sponsoring an amendment and say that's a no vote, because I know that person is not taken seriously. That's the way it is down there. We need a Senator who understands the complexity of the nation and that we are an interdependent nation" (~~for class - to 58~~)

"I generally sense some movement in our direction now and the important thing is to keep going for the next 60 days."

2nd Newton Fund Raiser - livingroom

Cummings, Dolliver, Larrabee, Hughes, Ray

best of Iowa politics - open, decent, compassionate, fair, just and tolerant.

Dick Clark - stood for all the fine things , etc.

"The reason they target me is because a little money goes a long way. This is a marginal seat at best and if they defeat Culver the bully boys will go into other races and other contests."

"I'm said this is one target that's going to shoot back."

ply → "The only thing I fear is that I won't do my best. Why should it surprise you that I went into politics with some beliefs and values I wanted to achieve? Have we come to situation where people don't stand up for what they believe in?"

"Who has calibre, capacity and character to deal with problems."

Issues are public buildings and pay raises. That's his vision.

Size of the issues they raise sometimes tells you the size of the person who raises them."

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Banke (he quoted several times today) "The only way for evil to triumph is for good men to do nothing."

Re Senate - "A lot of bumps on the log down there. The question is who can persuade 50 other Senators to do what he wants them to do. "I'm at the point where I don't need anymore requests for what I can do. I have a 16 year record. Either it's good enough or it's not. It's Culver or Grassley." That Senator is going to be in there until 1987.

"I feel we can win this one."

"I want to prove to some of those other Senators that you can fight back and stand up and win. If we can't, god help us. Everyone will be ^{trimming} trying their sails and politicians will say 'I know how to get elected in Iowa.' And it won't be by listening to people like you."

"The year after Dick Clark got beaten I had to go around the state and convince people I could win."

"That was trouble with Dick Clark's campaign--lacked intensity, passion. So when the negative stuff came it blew ^{see earlier} ~~it~~ away."

We went to get something to eat after walking around Des Moines looking for a place. Rick picked up Register after we got through and there was article with headline to effect that it was a good thing debate was not televised. John read it aloud as we sat in front of Savery. He laughed and pointed to the ^{see earlier} headlines over and over. "I couldn't ask for anything better, could I, to ^s get the terms for the rest of the campaign? Could you imagine two better headlines from the biggest paper in the state, the most respected paper? Did you ever see anything like that? Do you think it's the beginning of the slide? There's not much he can do to correct it, is there? It's done. It's like playing a bad ball game. It's over and you can't take it back. Can you? Huh?" He was ecstatic.

Riding home from dinner (11:00) he said he didn't sleep well night before. "It's like taking an exam. Afterward^y you are all keyed up. You replay it. In law school after exams, I'd dream about them for three nights afterwards." Appropos of debate - it's effect on him.

Said at another ^{point} ~~part~~ about debate. "So many things can go wrong. It's enough just to keep from making a mistake. The debates can blow you out of the water. You never know what little slip or little misinterpretation will result. So I'll be happy when they are all over. But the first one is the most important, for setting the tone for the rest of the campaign."

As he got up to leave (he'd been sitting on the fireplace shelf) after the last Newton fund raiser he said to the group - "Are we going to do it?" They said yes and clapped. He was tired and mixed up his words a little. At one point, he let his guard down a little and, referring to something he must have thought about and rejected, he said "I spent 39 months in the

Marine Corps, where was he?" He said it in a kind of proposed rebuttal to some of the right wing attacks on him. He followed it by saying "We don't need that kind of stuff." At dinner I mentioned this and they said they had heard him saying that before, but that he would never say it in public without lots of checking. It would be example of negative approach.

"One of the things we did very successfully early in the campaign was to prepare a set of detailed papers on several of the key issues. We had researched his record and we knew that if we were going to win, that we would have to take the fight to him on the issues--that we would have to make his record the main issue of the campaign. So we got up papers on defense, on social security, on soil conservation and the environment, on the Iowa pork barrel--comparing my position and Grassleys--about a half dozen in all. Then we waited till about 2 weeks after the Republican primary to let the Grassley glow wear off. And we started around the state meeting with the media people and explaining the material in our issue papers. We would sit down with the newspapermen in each city and spend an hour or an hour and a half walking them through one or two of the issue areas, explaining my position and record and comparing it to Grassley. They may not have understood it all or even cared, but we would leave the papers with them so that they could refer to them if they wanted. All that material was rattling around in the state. We heard of cases where a newspaperman would hear an argument against me and would pull out the material and use it in rebuttal. We were beginning to get people thinking without using any paid media. So we had all that substantive stuff marinating in the state. We hoped that it would all take hold later on. As far as I can tell, Grassley did nothing for the last 2 months. He would hold a press

conference or jump around from one place to another doing gimmicky things. As a result, we are now in a position to control the dialogue, to set the terms of the debate, to talk about our issues and not be on the defensive. We've been able to do all those things you want to do in politics but seldom can. More than any campaign I've ever been in, ~~We~~ we have had a thematic, rational strategy. The challenge now is what to do in the next 60 days. For example, what should we do with our paid media campaign? Now that the wind is at our back should we let out all the sail or should we tack. Should we be positive in our media or negative. Should we stay on the attack now that we are even in the polls. When you're 10 points down, you have to attack. But maybe now we should be more positive now. I've always believed in sticking to the positive. But I'm afraid that people are so cynical now and so used to negative campaigns that their tolerance for negative campaigns is very high. Do you have any thoughts on that?"

7/2/81
a last thought

"I don't think Grassley has any organization of his own. Maybe the New Right people can provide some. But the people he has are like those you saw today, middle aged people. They can't compete with our kids for energy and commitment--working long hours, organizing events, putting on bumper stickers, fighting trench warfare."

"The June poll was taken at the best possible time for him and the worst possible time for me. It was just after his primary victory and at a time when Reagan was way up in the polls and Carter way down. It was done in the middle of June, but didn't come out till the middle of July. They dribbled out different parts of the poll, one each week. I remember we were on the road, staying in some god forsaken motel in Burlington. Rick came in with the Sunday, July 27th morning paper. Culver down 17 fucking points in the poll. Aaaach! That was the worst time for me. We knew it was not an accurate poll for that date. But the people didn't know that."

Then, "Kurt you were there in the dog days. When the new poll came out, almost the first people I thought about were you and Paula. The new poll helps morale, doesn't it? It helps a little, doesn't it? Kurt said "When we were behind, everybody had advice. Everyone told us what we had done wrong. 'You should have brought him to Rock Rapids' that sort of thing. And we had to listen to them. After all, we were behind--even if we knew we must be doing better. Now, instead of us having to listen to them, they have to listen to us. The poll has made everything much easier."

They talked about Drew book. They bought 1000 remainder copies for \$1.10 each and they sell them for \$25.00 minimum. They have sold 500 and have raised \$14,000 selling them." "That's our best fund raiser, in terms of return in our investment." "I think it helps a lot to have that book rattling around in the campaign."

The media relationship is so obviously important - John fretted after WSJ interview Sunday AM, fretted after abortion question on Monday, fretted after Bode interview, Saturday evening centered around the newspaper story of the debate, the debate was conducted before the media, Sunday night was topped off by the reading of the analysis of the debate, he had a tete a tete with Yepsen Sunday in Ames re. story about his minister.

Monday morning we walked once around the park. We made small talk till we got to the third side and then he burst out. "These have been 3 great days, four great days--the debate, the stories in the paper Sunday and today. Were you with us Friday night. That was a real good meeting. It was sponsored by 21 women's groups. A lot of Republicans came. The people there were Republicans. The talk went well; I was relaxed. Then there were 500 women at the conference the next morning. How would you

feel if you were Grassley, getting out of bed this morning and reading the paper? I think he's staying here all week. If I were him, I'd want to get out of town and stay out for a few days. I wouldn't want to have to face the media. Why did you lose the debate? Why didn't you defend your record? What are you going to do in the next debate? Wouldn't that be awful? Huh? What can he say? He's locked in."

His comment about the Friday night event and the number of Republicans there was probably what triggered his first comment to me during this trip--that the Stoner vote could be decisive for him. In this sense, the campaign has a daily flow of events. Things happen, trigger a reaction, get talked about and then become part of the stream. Each event, talked about at the time becomes part of the campaign background blur. Maybe some events will stand out--the first debate perhaps. But most do not. You come back from Dowling High. Everyone wants to know how did it go?" If no great problems arose, the event gets packed away in the blur after some conversations and an anecdote or two. The "60 days day and night" become a blur with blanket comments like "the dog days" or "hanging crepe" to describe what happened. Campaigns are a vast accumulation of a million unrecorded, unremembered events and actions. But at any point there is a flow--things remembered, things being focused on, things looking ahead to.

On the road to Newton Sunday afternoon (after we had taken a break and I watched Connors vs. McEnroe) he said "I saw one of Grassley's ads this afternoon. He's starting early. He's using the same format we used last spring."

The notion of Grassley starting early was triggered again when a car passed us on the Interstate and the young man in the car gave a wave and thumbs up sign as he went by. "This campaign is at the same stage now that it usually reaches in October. There's an interest in the campaign that is

building early this year. That guy waving thumbs up as he went by is very unusual for September. In every campaign, there occurs 'the incident'. I'll be walking across the street in Cedar Rapids and someone in a car will pull along side give me the thumbs up sign or the OK sign or roll down the car window and yell "You're my guy" or something like that. But it never happens till October. This year, we are getting it already. The intensity of the campaign is greater than anything I've ever seen."

On the same night "One thing that will make the next 60 days easier than the past 60 days is the weather. We have just gone through one of the most brutal Iowa summers on record. In one ten-day stretch on the road the temperature never went below 96°." But all weekend it was very hot in the sun and the air conditioning always felt good.

After the fund raiser in the back yard. "Did I talk too long on the New Right and Christian morality business? I felt I had to give them the arguments and the ammunition. One woman came up to me and thanked me for giving her some argument. She said 'I work beside someone who talks about it all day long and now I can talk back.' I think that's important, don't you? Huh?"

From ~~Colorado~~ back to Des Moines we talked about Pete Domenici. He seemed very reserved in his judgment of Pete and asked me where I'd put him on the spectrum. "Would you call him a liberal Republican or what?" He finds him pleasant enough, but obviously no warmth. "We have in the Senate what we call the second term syndrome. Once people get reelected they become more self-important and get pretty cocky. The first election doesn't give you that special status; only reelection does." He implied that Pete D. was in that stage now.

We talked about Horton, Kemp and Conable and I gave him little sketches. "Barber Conable doesn't have much of a social side, does he. I always thought he was pretty mechanical." ('No, that's unfair'--civil rights, bussing, abortion).

Stewart "He's about the best you'll ever get out of Alabama. His basic instincts are good and he's smart. He's a hell of a lot better than Howell Heflin."



Mark Andrews and Milton Young "have bad blood". Milt "hates" Mark for "trying to edge him out of the race last time, for nipping at his heels."

One of the person-to-person techniques Rick and John discussed was a pickup truck they have decked out with bunting, that they take around to small towns. They pull up to the town square, a group plays music to warm the crowd, then John comes and speaks from the back of the truck. The music group moves on to next town to set up. "Everyone feels good and has a good time. It's much better (?) than handshaking through the stores on main street." (He likes it better; but I don't think he used the word better--maybe 'easier.')

Sunday morning on the way to Ames, he exploded with regard to the media, as a result of his interview with Dennis Farney of the Wall Street Journal. Said he was a nice guy and he had nothing against him personally (Didn't know who he was, however, going into the interview)." Those journalists are all alike. They are like blackbirds on a wire. They feed you the same clichés, the same themes. There is pack journalism. What's happened to their ability to think independently and to analyze for themselves. They all talk about the old liberalism, the new liberalism. This guy wanted to know if I was a liberal. I've never run away from that label. But I asked

him what do you mean by liberal. Do you mean by that that I'm in favor of a weak defense, an inefficient government, waste, bigger bureaucracy? Is that what you mean by liberal? I think I fit the dictionary definition of liberal pretty well. I told him to look it up, to see if that's what he meant. He asked me about my speech in Wisconsin in 1978 when I said that liberalism had not failed but that it had not been tried. I told him that if he meant the programs of Lyndon Johnson that who can know what could have happened if it had not been for the Viet Nam War and 8 years of Republican administration--with people like Howard Phillips put in there to make sure the poverty program didn't work. How do we know what would have happened? Some programs were not carefully drawn, but Lyndon Johnson knew that he had only 2 years to put those programs on the books. Congress was at fault for not exercising more thorough oversight. So there were problems on the front end and the back end. But that doesn't mean that we should stop trying to be compassionate and just. He asked me if I thought a victory for me would mean a vindication of the old liberalism? I said I didn't know what that meant either. Here we have Paul Tsongas going before the ADA and proposing a redefinition of liberalism. He says we should be sympathetic to the Third World, to the Afghan Freedom Fighters. Now when would I be anything but a supporter of the freedom fighters or of freedom anywhere. So what does it mean--the old liberalism and the new liberalism?"

"The media people are so cynical. One of them writes that 'Culver is so scared, he doesn't dare change his views. Another one writes that 'Culver is so arrogant, he refuses to change his views. Another writes that Culver is trying to make a virtue out of his record. Isn't that what people are supposed to do, defend their records? Since when have the media become so cynical that they no longer believe people go into public service



because of the ideas and values they believe in--that they work hard to enact policies embodying those ideas and values, that they win some and lose some. I don't mean to be self-serving, but whatever became of the notion that people go into public life because they believe in certain things and fight for them."

*Says this
often
in print*

"I don't mean to sound noble in a silly assed way, but I'd a hell of a lot rather fight for my beliefs and lose than whore around. I'm not so naive as to believe that most politicians feel this way or even a majority. But shouldn't that be the standard? I'm a lot more concerned about what my grandchildren and greatgrandchildren will think of what I did. I want them to be able to say, there was a son of a bitch who stood for something and fought for something--in good times and bad times. That's the standard."

Said he picked up a Life Magazine for 1970 in Magregor and found an article on how Spiro Agnew came to Iowa urging the defeat of John Culver. "I had a sense of deja vu."

He talked later about how many of the radical right there were--how Henry Bellmon told him "They make a lot of noise, but there aren't that many of them." He said maybe 10%--but he really doesn't know. Says they'll all vote vs. him anyway.

We picked up John at the Des Moines Club and Rick told him about the latest article in the paper--the one with headline "Grassley still mute on ERA." He got into car. "I hear we got another good article. (Read it.) That's pretty good for us, don't you think? Huh. I just walked through the Des Moines Club, where most of the business leaders eat. It's surprising how many of them had been reading the papers, about the debate. They came up and said 'congratulations' or 'good luck'. They can see the things beginning to turn. Anyone who had any mind to step forward did so. Some

of them just sat there with sour looks on their faces. You can feel the change. Boy it sure is good to have the wind at your back. It's sure better than the low p~~er~~iod when we drove around the state week after week after week after week with nothing but trouble--mostly with Carter."

"Remember Rick how we used to tell each other that our luck has got to change. It's better. We can't let up now... Boy oh boy oh boy oh boy oh boy oh boy oh boy oh boy."

Then I said "thank you" and that was it for the Culver part of the visit.

John said Mike Naylor stayed for a week and a half (and Charlie Stevenson, too, for some period of time) in Magregor preparing for the debate. John spent 3 or 4 days there too, preparing. He went off the road and only flew from Magregor to one event a day--usually in the evening--once for Mondale--but spent rest of time working on the debate. (Mike had said on Saturday "Our only worry was that he was over-facted, that he knew too much. He sure tried to get it all in, too.")

John Law said someone called JC's debate style "full back politics."

John's physical appearance is an asset, I think. He looks like a farmer. He's a big man, sweats a lot, his shirttail is hanging out. He's got a scar on his face. He looks anything like effete. He could be a union worker or a farmer--not a professor. He doesn't "look" aloof or effete. He was a football player--all those things make him look manly. And he talks with passion. Passion is a key to John's style. He's an articulate, elemental force.

"Ours is a very interesting race, with its various currents--especially when compared to the 1978 Clark campaign. There are only two truths I'm sure about in politics. One is that 24 hours is an eternity. And the other is that every campaign has its own peculiar chemistry. People ask me about the right wing. They beat Clark; what will you^{is?} I tell them this campaign is very different. There are differences of events, of personality, of

intensity, of campaign organization, of strategy, of opponents, of the other elections going on and so forth. That's what makes campaigns so unpredictable and so fascinating. Each one is unique. "

"Let me tell you something I see happening in the Senate, something with frightening implications in my judgment. You know the old saw in the Senate that for the first two or three years you are a statesman and for the last two or three years you are a politician. That is all being changed by the pursuit of money. With the limits being placed on presidential campaign expenditures and the growth of PAC money, the big money is now flowing into congressional races. The price of congressional campaigns is being driven up astronomically. Senators are accumulating huge campaign debts and spending the first year or two paying them off. And as soon as they get them paid off, they start in raising money for the next campaign. That means that this year not only are the people running in 1980 raising money, but so are the people running in 1982. Several Senators have told me that they keep bumping into colleagues raising money for 1982 races. Pat Moynihan has tapped all the New York sources that I have tapped for money this year. And he's not running till 1982. I hear the same thing from the lobbyists. They have to go to fund raisers to pay off debts, to finance current campaigns and for campaigns 2 or 3 years away. And they have to do it, because they do business with the guy. What is that going to do to the horizons of Senators who have to deal with the special interest lobbies all the time? What is going to happen to the public interest now." I told him he was wrong for 1978 and he said he thought it had changed since that time. Interesting comment on the cycle idea.

Went to dinner last night with Jack Wertzberger, Paula and Kurt Mayer-- to the Embassy Club. They, too, have sense that it has turned around. And they also say it happened faster than they expected. Further, they say that

they are just now in a position to really take off--and they are ahead. They have not only not shot their wads, but haven't begun to shoot yet. "We are finally ready to pounce and we are ahead." They talked, again, about how they knew they were gaining because they were doing a lot and it had to be paying off. Yet they had no indicators. Today, I learned from Rick, and at dinner that the Iowa Poll was not their first "indicator". A radio poll in Mason City, in Grassley's district, showed them about even--Grassley 3 points ahead; a Republican Senate Committee poll showed them about even. (This poll was leaked to Culver by a Republican Senator.) And they took a telephone poll came out; and that telephone poll showed that they were even. When JC says of this Iowa poll that "we knew it was a bad poll" he had more than "feel" to go on.

Jack said that in the staff meeting just before he left, JC said "We're on the 30 yard line and we've got to put the ball in the end zone. No fancy plays, no shotgun offense or long passes. If the ball goes out of bounds, we've got to get it back fast." etc. Talked about his "bench" too, at that meeting. So he sees himself on the 30 yard line.

This was appropos of JCs competitiveness as a key quality. I added passion to a list and they agreed. They also said that his physical bulk and voice were important assets. They asked me if I thought he could be President. I said he had the capacity to be. They felt he might not have enough ambition or desire to fuel such a long effort. I said I had never heard him speak of it. They said they had. Another characteristic - perfectionist.

An observation: a day a half with Culver is very intense--I get all I can hold.

After the Dowling presentation, being filmed by NBC, he fretted "Was the OK, do you think? I left off the sentence 'I don't think the ^{decision} should be made by the government.' Do you think that's a problem? What I said was all right, wasn't it. Just step up and ~~hit~~ it, right? Might just as well step up and hit it, huh? That's what they'll use--NBC. They got what they wanted, a statement ~~on~~ abortion. Maybe if I'd added that sentence they wouldn't have run it anyway. Do you think it's all right the way it is? I think so, don't you?" "Came back to it a couple of times and each time he repeated what he had said--his words "I respect etc"--they are on tape)

Then Ken Bode interviewed him for NBC and he got a little testy when Bode asked him about his lack of support for Carter. "I supported him in there, you were there, you heard it. Why don't you report that? "

" Then he got in the car and was still upset. Why did they ask me that question about Carter? Here I am in the fight of my life, trying to save my career, with everybody beating on my ass and I'm supposed to say, "Before I answer that question, let me tell you how I feel about Roseanna-danna Carter--or Rosalyn Carter. I'm sure that's what you are really most interested in. "He blew off steam for a while that way.

At the end of the interview, at the end of the Carter question, he had said "Frankly, the thought of Ronald Reagan as President scares me to death." And he returned to this. "That was all right wasn't it--Reagan "scares me to death." No use beating around the bush, is there? I think that says it all, don't you."

He talked about the Grassley-Stoner race--big expenditure--he said he "always thought Grassley would be easier to beat. Stoner had no record - he was a decent, reasonable person, called him "a milk toast who never made

much of an impression when he went around." But thought he was intelligent and decent and moderate and that combination would have hurt. He said a lot of Republicans (the Eisenhower^Wing) don't want Grassley to win, that there is, in effect, a fight for control of the party going on. Says he thinks Ray will vote for him--also Stoner. That if Grassley wins, the right wing will take over the party--Jepsen, Grassley and Branstead (the present Lt. Gov. who would run for governor).

A side light--coming home from Dowling he noticed a woman crossing the street with a blind person's stick and a black mask on. "Look at that poor woman. She isn't blind yet but she's practicing. That's why she's wearing the mask. Wouldn't that be awful to go through life without your sight. Would anything be worse? Where we live in Magregor--our house used to be an inn--there used to be a tower from which they said you could see into four states. The woman who ran the inn told me that one day a blind man came to the tower. He told her he had come a long way to that spot. He went up in the tower and when he came down he said "It was just as beautiful as I knew it would be." He said it was beautiful. Yet he was blind. Isn't that touching? They say there was a dog that sat by the stairs with a cup and if you didn't pay, if you didn't drop a coin in the cup, he'd chase you up the stairs and bite you or harrass you till you paid. (laughter) He was moved by the blind woman to talk about a human story but didn't get sentimental about it. Shifted gears and ended in the release of laughter. He's a very human fellow.

The other time he talked at length about things other than politics was when he discussed Grant Wood on the way home Sunday night. Wood honeymooned in his Magregor home. The woman who ran the inn wrote down all she

remembered in a letter which they have; steamboat Bill Peterson sent him a piece of wallboard autographed by lots of people who visited Grant Wood in Iowa City. Grant Wood had some sketches on the wallboard and he has them. He talked about Wood's career and I told him about the exhibit in Davenport-- which he did not know about.

They had to rent their D.C. house this summer to try and make ends meet. He was going to have to sleep with someone else when he went back.

Given fact that Senator came from House after little experience in House of floor managing or leading, in general, how do they adjust to situation where they must lead very early on. I got to wondering about this with Paul T. on Alaska Lands. He got into middle of it without a lot of experiences of that sort. How prepare for it? What did he learn from it?