

TOM HARKIN

October 10, 1984

Barry Piatt (Pie-et), Pam McKinney.

Got to Savery and called Barry Piatt; went over to Democratic Headquarters to talk with him.

As for campaign stages, his first comment was that "The polls have been this way and that way (making a wave-like, up and down motion with his hand). The latest Iowa poll has Jepsen ahead by 9 points. Harkin's own polls show them dead even. And the Sioux City Journal's latest poll has Harkin ahead by two points. It's very clear. In the summer, Harkin was ahead by as much as 15-16 points. Jepsen has come back from that. And he's recovered very well from the May health spa disclosure--saying that it happened before he found the Lord and asking forgiveness. That scandal changed the race. Maybe it didn't affect who wins and who loses, but it had a profound effect on the tenor of the campaign. Harkin had to go easy instead of going after Jepsen as we had planned. He couldn't risk creating sympathy for Jepsen. So he coasted all summer. We had planned three phases of the campaign. First, he would go around, shake hands, talk to groups and shore up his support, then he would start hitting at Jepsen's record, then he would really start to campaign hard. The line between phase one and phase two was blurred by the health spa thing. He held back most all summer from phase two. Jepsen was thrown off stride, too, because he had to spend time regaining his support base, winning back the people who had been solid for him. As part of this, he started running very very strong--and effective--negative ads against Harkin. And Harkin did not reply. Jepsen was on the air with negative ads for two weeks before the latest Iowa poll and Harkin was off the air. Our response to the poll has been to go on the air with our own negative ads. Everyone agreed that was what we had to do,

and all our people have welcomed them. I wouldn't be surprised to find us ahead in the next Iowa poll."

"The first thing Tom did after he announced his candidacy was to go see John Culver and Dick Clark and have long talks with them. What did you do? What didn't you do that you should have done? What can I expect? He went to school with Culver and Clark. One thing Dick Clark did was to stop polling two weeks out. They thought they were so far ahead that even if they gave Jepsen all the undecideds they couldn't lose. Because they stopped polling, they had no way of knowing when Jepsen's direct mail blitz hit. They couldn't do anything because they didn't know anything about it. Jepsen not only got the undecideds, he got some weak Clark supporters too. They also talked a lot about the anti abortion groups, what to expect and what to do. They have already started. At every stop where Tom announced his candidacy in January, they were picketing him outside. And in Cedar Rapids, some of them came inside and posed as reporters. Now they have billboards, showing a fetus in a garbage can, with Mondale, Ferraro and Harkin in big letters. Maybe they've gone too far."

Re Democrat's 1978 confidence. "I rode back from Iowa to Washington with Clark and Culver after primary day in 1978. I remember Culver saying to Clark 'Dick, now you can take the day off. In fact, you can take the whole month off.'"

Re the rural strategy. "I think it is still their strategy, but I'm not sure how much they are really carrying it out. Everytime I would schedule Shenandoah, I'd find it crossed out and Council Bluffs put in its place. Or if I scheduled Marian, it would be crossed out in favor of Cedar Rapids. The media are located in the cities, and it's hard to stay away

from the media. I think the theory of the campaign is still the rural strategy-- but it may only be theory."

He went on to say that "I think of the state in terms of congressional districts. Harkin will do well in the 4th and pretty well in the 5th. I'm not sure how well he'll do in the 6th. He'll probably do OK in the 1st. The battleground will be the 2nd or 3rd. He's not well known in eastern Iowa. That's why he spend so much time there. That's why he spends so much time in Davenport. The media there sweeps across all of eastern Iowa. And that's where it will be won or lost."

I asked when Tom first thought of running for the Senate, and I suggested 1974. "Funny you should say that. It wasn't 1974, it was 1978. He asked a reporter what he thought of a ticket of Harkin for Governor and Harkin (his wife) for Attorney General. When that got into print, we told him it didn't look good for a congressman who had been in office six weeks to be talking about the governorship. And he stopped it. But he had been thinking of higher office for a long time before the Senate race. He thought a little bit, not a lot, about running for governor in 1978. And he thought very very seriously about running for Governor in 1982. He almost did it. I remember a meeting of five or six of us at which he wanted to go and the rest of us said he shouldn't. He decided not to. But I remember just before the press conference at which he was to announce that he wasn't going to run, he took his statement, put it down and said "I think I'll go for it. I want to go for it." ~~I~~ was not part of that decision that he should run for the Senate, but we all realized it would be there if he decided to go for it. After his election, and his family went to the Bahamas for three weeks, as

they always do. He thought it over. And when he came back, he had decided to run for the Senate. We started running in January 1983, even though we were going through the obligatory 'testing the waters' routine."

Senators travel with celebrities a lot - Harkin has Mike Farrell of MASH and Helen Caldicott of nuclear freeze signed up in next two days.

NB - When I got to Maine, I read the Tuesday NYT. (10/14) It reported the latest Iowa poll had Harkin 46-41. And it had RR lead dropping from 23 points to 8 points.

I had breakfast with John Frew, Harkin's campaign manager and an acquaintance of mine from the Culver campaign. It was John who suggested-- when I met him at the Democratic National Convention that I come out.

He introduced me to a union leader as "a reporter from back east" as we walked in and then asked me what I was and where I taught and what I was writing. At the end he asked me if I was going to follow Jepsen. So, they cotton very slowly to this kind of research.

I'll move on to Harkin interview here and pick up with John Frew later.

Tom Harkin:

I finally got to talk to Tom in the car riding from Iowa City to Cedar Rapids.

I asked him what he had thought of as his strategy and his assets when he thought of running for the Senate.

"I thought very seriously about running for governor in 1982--very seriously. But I didn't. The main reason I didn't was because most people I talked to wanted me to run for the Senate."

"Dick Clark should not have lost that campaign. There is absolutely no way he should have lost it. He ran a poor campaign, a complacent campaign. He could have clobbered Roger Jepsen if he had hit at him and hit at him. He didn't, and he lost."

Then he moved to discuss why he thought he could do better. "I'll

be very frank with you. There were two factors I thought would make my race different. First, we didn't know about negative campaigning when Dick Clark ran. We had not had any experience with it at that time and didn't know how to deal with it. We hadn't had the benefit of Lance Tarrance's articles... Dick Clark didn't expect negative campaigning and didn't know how to handle it...I can take it and I can give it right back. John Culver hit back, but he gave it back (here he thrust fist out) right in the face. I'll give it back a little differently...On ~~the~~ abortion, my catholic background will help. I think I know how to talk about it because I know how catholics think and what worries them. They did not think Dick Clark or John Culver cared about the issue. (He waved his hand like he was brushing aside a fly.) John Culver would say 'personally I'm opposed to abortion, but I will not force my view on others through public policy.' I guarantee you, no catholic--well, maybe a few--will buy that. It tells them he just doesn't care. I know many catholics--Democrats--in my own family, who would never vote for John Culver. With me they'll say, that kid went through parochial schools, we know what he's been taught, we know how he thinks--he can't be ^{in favor of} ~~opposed to~~ abortion. The reason I'm going to carry Dubuque, which neither Clark nor Culver could carry is because the catholics there will say 'he's one of us.' They feel that. And they will give me the benefit of the doubt."

The second factor was my base of support in the 5th district. John Culver's base, I thought, was not much, very weak. It was concentrated in eastern Iowa. Traditionally, the Democrats have campaigned statewide by establishing a base in the east and then coming out to Western Iowa. And Western Iowa has been the achilles heel of the Democrats. John Culver got 40% of the vote in my district. I got 60%. My base is in Western Iowa--

in the most conservative, most Republican district in the state. I thought that if I could establish my base in the west and then move east into the traditional Democratic stronghold, I could win. It was a strategy that had seldom been tried."

"Then on top of that, Roger Jepsen had a lot of problems."

I asked him about his strategy. "Once I decided to run, the first thing I wanted to do was avoid a primary. During my own 1982 election, I started getting around the state, campaigning for state legislators, raising money and giving money to other campaigns. Then after the first of the year I became active and visible, getting around and raising money. Dick Clark was thinking of running--he made a couple of trips back here. And Tom Miller our Attorney General was considering it. I wanted to send a signal to them that I was serious and that I had done a lot of work already. I didn't want to fight with them. I had lunch with Dick Clark in Washington in early spring, and he told me he was not going to run, that he would support me. I talked with Tom Miller and he said the same thing. That was the first phase."

"The second stage lasted for a whole year, maybe more. It was the time of our rural strategy. Traditionally, Democrats had concentrated their campaigns in the cities, where their base is. They did not pay as much attention to the rural areas as they should. I can understand why a Senator, whose time is limited, gets drawn into the cities where the media are located and he can reach the largest number of people in the shortest period of time. I thought that I had the time to campaign in the rural areas and that I knew how to campaign in the rural areas. I spent the entire first year and much of the second year--till very recently really--campaigning in the rural parts of the state. I visited every Timbuktu town in Iowa. We would go into a town, go

to the cafe for a couple of hours and talk, visit with the banker and have our picture taken with him, then go around to the newspaper. We always carried our trusty camera. The next week the paper would carry a picture and everyone would know we were there. Once you did that, people would not forget. You could spend the same amount of time in Cedar Rapids and no one would ever know you were there. You'd get lost. I didn't go near the cities for over a year. Well, once in a while I would pop into a city. Sometimes we could plan a weekend in the rural areas around a media center--spend Friday night with a fund raiser, travel around the towns on Saturday--especially the newspaper towns--have an event Saturday night and then pop into the city for a media event on Sunday. People in the area would see you on TV Sunday and in their newspaper the next week. Dick Clark knew ~~how~~ to campaign in a rural area, but John Culver did not. It takes time and he didn't take the time. He campaigned in the cities. We spent over a year staying away from the cities. Only now are we concentrating on the media markets. If you travelled with me from now on, we'd be in the cities. It's the end game now." I recall now how John saw the corn roast as part of a mix--not a key.

"I think we have a much stronger organization than Dick Clark ever had. Not better than Culver--he had a good organization--but better than Clark."

"Ever since the second world war, Iowa has had a tradition of moderately progressive senators--Hickenlooper - he was no mossback, he was the ranking member on the Foreign Relations Committee. Jack Miller - he wasn't that bad. 1978 and 1980 were really aberration in that pattern. (He swept his hand out, palms down, in a leveling motion) Iowans are getting back to normal now. They are concerned about Iowa, its economy and what's

happening here. They aren't as concerned about--abortion. It's there but not like it was." Dennis Farney said that Tom says Iowa wants someone that will make government work.

I asked re the timing of the health spa incident, and its effect on the campaign. "The health spa disclosure completely changed Jepsen's strategy. He had to spend the entire summer rebuilding his character. He spent 300,000 on TV ads designed to rebuild his character ~~posture~~^{positive} stuff showing that he helps people and so forth. He and his wife toured the state explaining how he had found the Lord and so forth. He succeeded. It changed our strategy, too. We had expected him to start an early, strong negative campaign. We were ready for it. But he couldn't do it. And we couldn't do anything. So we weren't on the air at all during the summer. The timing of the health spa thing could not have been worse. These things are funny. People's first reaction is one of revulsion, 'how could anyone go to a sleazy sex club like that.' Then, after a while people begin to say, 'I forgive you, what you did is only human.' It just takes time; and Jepsen had the time. If that disclosure had come now, there's no way he could recover. When it happened I knew it was bad for us. People came up to me and said Tom, you've got it now.' I said, 'no, it couldn't have come at a worse time.' If I lose, it will be because that reporter could not sit on the story. She had to release it. She had to have her scoop. The irony is it was most damaging to us." He talked about how Norm D'Amato~~now~~ has been helped by late disclosure by Jack Anderson that Gordon Humphrey's wife is an official of some organization that believes that orgasms are the key to healthy life! Point is, the disclosure came too late to rebut. It's all an example of timing.

Dennis Farney said Tom said "People can't get a handle on me. They don't know me." and so I asked him how he could build the kind of reputation

statewide that he had built in his district, for taking care of his constituents. "There's no way you can do that in the campaign. You can only do it after you get to the Senate. I'll have to rely on my constituents in the 5th district to spread the word that I've taken care of them. I have a lot of them campaigning for me. And I'm just going to have to carry my own district very well." There will be a caravan of 5th district "Honkers for Harkin" sometime soon.

"I'm doing well in the rural areas. The only district in which I trail him in the polls is the first district, his own home district. If I can do three or four points better than normal in the rural areas, we will win." He is counting on special strength in the rural areas as the key to victory.

JOHN FREW

I asked him about the stages of the campaign. "That's easy, because we've thought about it. There was the exploratory stage, the early game, the mid game and the end game. The exploratory stage lasted until the formal announcement. Our goal for this stage was to raise 500,000 and freeze out any opposition. From the announcement to about Memorial Day concentrated on our rural strategy. When Tom and I talked about my taking the job, I insisted and he completely agreed that we adopt a rural strategy. I had been very impressed with what Bob Kerry had done in Nebraska. I knew people who worked in his campaign. I even advised them a little. He concentrated on Western Nebraska, and he campaigned for a whole year there just like a congressman. He went to little towns where no Democratic candidate had ever been before. He got three points more than any other Democrat in Western Nebraska, and he went down a little in Omaha, so Western Nebraska pulled him through. I thought we could do the same thing in Iowa. Our people want to get organized early and start hitting the voters in the summer. But the voters don't want that. So politics in Iowa tends to be a square peg in a round hole. That's especially true in the rural areas. So we went in and met them in a non political way. We went to every small town in Iowa and every centennial there was. We wanted people to see Tom Harkin as a man, not as a politician. We wanted them to get to know him, to feel that he is one of us. Tom is comfortable in the rural areas. His district is rural. John Culver was not. I don't think it was because he didn't drink, but that was part of it. Tom can go into a cafe and have a Jack Daniels and sit for two hours just talking with people. It wasn't that Culver didn't like these people; he would just get tired of small talk. He got bored easily. Tom never tires of small talk,

and he can just melt people. Culver's strategy began in the cities, consolidated his base there and then moved into the rural areas. It was too late. By that time, people saw him as a politician. By the time he got around to the small towns, people weren't interested. Our early game stage was to let people in the rural areas get to know Tom Harkin as a man."

(A case of strategy ~~vs~~ dovetailing with style.)

The mid game was one in which they would begin to push the issues. And the end game "the one we are in now" was to go back to "the man" in terms of contrasts with Jepsen. "The early game focused on the 'man'; he is one of us, the mid game focused on 'the issues' (here is how we differ with Jepsen) and, the end game went back to 'the man' again comparing Harkin to Jepsen as a leader."

When I sat down he started talking spontaneously about the amount of money it takes to run a campaign and how much of their time is devoted to it and how well organized they are. "I devote 3/4 of my time to raising money, so does Tom and so does the staff. We started ~~raising~~ money early and organizing early. If we had not started organizing in January of 1983, we would not have had a chance. There's not way we could be in the shape we are today. All I'm doing now is pushing the buttons--getting out the endorsements--clergy for Harkin, colleges for Harkin--making the speeches, deciding what TV spots to run. It is all the result of the early work we did. People thought I was crazy starting so soon. But I knew there was no other way. Culver did not start serious organizing till January 1980. It was too late. We started a year earlier. ~~When~~ Tom announced, we put on a fund raising blitz in 99 counties. On July 4th we had a centennial type blitz in every small town.

"We have given special special emphasis to agricultural policy. We did it against the background of the rural strategy. The farmers will take what Tom says seriously. Right now we are tied 42-42 among farmers. Can you imagine being that close. If we break even with the farmers, we'll win. If we do 3-4 points better than normal in the rural areas we'll win. We've also put special emphasis on working people--labor--and women. We have people working especially with those groups." (Each has a button!)

John says "Culver stopped tracking two weeks before election day and said that there would be no negative ads. Grassley spent 200,000 on negative ads, etc. the last couple of weeks, calling John a liberal spender. They hurt John. Grassley's pollster said we were ahead up till two weeks before the election. He said they were ahead by 5-8 points the weekend before the election. Then everything fell apart with Carter anyway."

Re comparing Culver and Harkin. "I wouldn't do this for anybody but you, Dick."

"Harkin and Culver are very different, almost completely different--psychologically, substantively and stylistically. Psychologically, John Culver is a mature, supremely self-confident man. He had been a senator for six years and he acted as if he belonged there. With Tom Harkin, a lot of people were not sure he could make the jump from the House to the Senate. For six months, at the beginning of the campaign he was not sure whether he should be Tom Harkin the man, Tom Harkin the congressman or Tom Harkin the Senator. He finally realized that people wanted him to be Harkin the man. Since then he has been fine. People's perception of him has come into line with reality. I've been amazed at how much he has matured and grown in self-confidence during the campaign."

"Substantively John Culver has a powerful intellect, an amazing intellect, ~~and~~ astounding intellect. He was absolutely certain what the campaign was all about, where the battle lines were drawn and where he stood on every single issue. He did not have to motivate his staff. It was a crusade. We all knew what we were fighting for. I'll never ~~fight as~~ ^{forget it as} long as I live, and neither will any of us. It was a shining example of what democracy is all about. A person tells you what he believes, ~~If~~ you don't like what he says, throw him out. Tom Harkin is smart and witty. But he is slower to come across than Culver. He is less comfortable with people from outside the 5th district, especially when he first meets them by asking for money. Harkins has been slow to figure out what the campaign is about. I still don't think he knows completely. So you get a lot of ambiguity in what he says. He's not wishy washy, but ~~is~~ ^{he's} not always as clear as he might be. Culver would take a position and carry people with him. Harkin has to get everybody aboard before he moves. If a decision has to be made on day 1, Culver will make it on day three and Harkin will make it on day twenty. Harkin speaks with ambiguity, Culver speaks with clarity. I think that sums it up.

"Stylistically, John Culver is a pure bred. You brief him, and put him before a crowd and he takes it from there. You can sit back and enjoy it. With a crowd he is superb. Harkin is not good with crowds; but he will melt people one on one. Culver was not good one on one. He would talk about the Trilateral Commission and things like that. He didn't like small talk, he tired of it. Culver comes on like a bull--but he is threatening to people. Harkin is not threatening to people. Stylistically, they are very different."

He ends "They were both best for their years." A kind of innocuous conclusion to some comparisons he might have wished to make."

He says the idea of no coattails in Iowa comes from Dick Clark's 1972 victory in face of Nixon. He thinks the farmers will be moved by RR margin. Sees changed morale after Mondale debate showing.

Jepsen ran many other ads weeks before the Iowa poll. Harkin's tracking poll showed Jepsen gaining in over 65 age group during that period. Jepsen was running ad claiming Harkin didn't care enough to vote on social security measures and Railroad Retirement.

He says they are "muddying up" Jepsen's "radical liberal activist" by ^{spending} spending stuff with ads that shows Jepsen voting for higher debt ceiling. There seems to be an unwritten kind of code between media people. Frew thinks he can convey a message to Jepsen via ads. 'If you do this, we'll do that, so why don't you stop doing this.'

Riding in the car with John Frew and David--the reporter from In These Times.

"It's not just that he's a liberal. Of course he's a liberal. It's the kind of person he is. You don't get Roger Jepsen saying on TV that Tom Harkin has good constituency service unless it's true. He is interested and involved with his supporters. You can't put a label on that. You've got to see him over and over and over in country after county. You should observe his supporters, go there and talk to them."

"It has been a slow campaign--deliberately. The Democrats hate Roger Jepsen. They just want to get him, get him. They want to give him a knock-out punch. But we wanted people to get to know Harkin. The criticism was: 'Just get him, screw the thing, go get him now.' From a manager's standpoint, we have to pace it out. You don't shoot all your shots at once."

"The only way for Jepsen to look good is to make Tom look bad." He criticized TH attendance, but they were even this year 96-86 Harkin, 93-92 over time, Jepsen.

Jepsen ads said TH missed social security votes. (They weren't the key ones, just near-unanimous final passage or conf. report. John's attitude was "two can play that game". So they put ad on that said "On the day that child protection act was passed" RJ missed several key votes. He didn't miss em on child pornography directly--just "on the day" the bill passed (by voice vote) RJ wasn't there.

A lot of the TV stuff is consultancy to consultant signalling. 'If you are going to do this, we'll do this' kind of thing. Or 'if you don't take your stuff off the air, this is what you can expect.' In this case "we wanted him to scream foul or quit running those kinds of ads."

J's "issues haven't stung us yet."

"Harkin is a rags to riches story. He made it on his own. There are no skeletons there. Jepsen has a closet full of 'em."

Harkin at Rotary - Intro:

How in the world does he do it in that district? ...He wins the old fashioned way. He earns it. Ten years in Congress is earning it. When you think of constituent service, you don't find any better than in the 5th District. That's a given in this state...Then goes to his subcommittee memberships and his career...

Wants to make major address on the economy of the campaign." Yet John Frew told Tom not to come back for this speech.

He reads his speech - where we've been, where we are, where we should

go.

Goes back to Marshall Plaza. (This is p 54 - go from here to p 55 → 63. *Don't start Harkin in Chicago*)

Re Jepsen Testimonials ran 1/2 and 1/2 with negatives in early fall - they switched from "what do we know about TH" and then switched to "what do you say to...."

"You say, vote R.J."

Goes back to Marshall Plan.

No longer a post war economy - face trading partners who are producing more and better than we are - we operate under older agreements now.

"Placed Viet Nam on credit card" LBJ and Nixon - mistake.

Oil shock - deficits going up.

78-79 - agriculture business OK. 203% real interest - 4% unemploy. - "fairly healthy"

Bad signs - banks investing in foreign countries, wage demands, bracket creep - he introduced tax indexing in 1980.

1979 "turning point - new gas crisis - infl. up - desire for decontrol deregulation - Volker and control of money supply - he thinks increase in energy prices triggered most of the change. July 1981 - tax cut and supply side theory - higher real interest rates - foreign investment - strong dollar - "eaten alive" in trade balance - corn exports value down - farmers pay higher real costs - 20-25% - foreign farm equipment being sold here.

It's not a supply side recovery - it's pure keynsian philosophy - deficit spending - won't work because we have no assured markets at home or abroad, a debtor nation, lots of money being used for acquisitions - not productive - more money going to big ticket military items, capital intensive.

We have to disavoiw ourselves of idea that deficits don't have to do with interest rates.

Keynes won't work. Need to take another course - budget freeze - he's supported it - for longer than one year, paya'ya go budget, modified flat tax (investment decisions skewed by effort to avoid taxes.

He disagrees with Mondale - supports indexation - does not need 30B. in new spending - wants 6-7 million in education - research and elementary education. End monetary policy of the fed. - discourage use of credit for

merger and acquisitions - change trade agreements to help exporters.
our manufacturers need relief .

"new ballgame."

Questions: Can you convince your Democratic colleagues to get off
keynes. "got to get off keynes."

Question - How help farmer? Too much talk about debt restructuring.
Problem is that farmer isn't making a profit - corn prices are going way
down next year - 55¢ a bushel less we have to do several things - give 'em
deficiency payments now instead of waiting. Also 10% paid diversion for
corn. special disaster payments - need a long term program - we go from
"fence rows to set asides" - good supply management by fed. gov't -
conserv. reserve 7-10% - long time set aside and paid diversion,
strong export policy.

Question - Balanced Budget - I voted for a constit. amend that says
president has to be involved." "I want both involved in it." states won't
adopt it for 7-8 years.

peroration. "Crisis is there now, budget freeze ought to be cited
now, ought to go on pay as you go basis, now that's what I'm saying."

Drake University Rally with Mike Farrell. "one of most imp. Senate
races in the U.S." "Not a race between labels, but race between 2 individuals
RJ and me" "we're going to talk about a lot of issues in next 3 weeks...one
issue overrides all...if we don't put halt to insure arms race that's going on
in the world, it's all going to be for nothing." (applause) "the prime issues
in this campaign--make no mistake about it. - quotes from R.J. that we are
"85 pound weakling."

RJ either has deep insecurity problems or is horribly misinformed about what is going on" (applause)

"Iowans are smart, intelligent, perceptive people and they...know who's out of step."

aid to countries, nerve gas, freeze, MX missile, he compares RJ with rest of Iowa delegation. "It is RJ who is out of step with the people of Iowa..." (applause)

MX a fatal step - obviates MAD and pushes people to "go first" - RJ or TH will be deciding vote re MX missile.

Press Conference at Drake

Too much stress on E-W relations and not enough in N.S.

That's why he asked Mike Farrell to come here.

Farrell asked what he knows about Iowa - says he read article on tiger cages - integrity. met him at the convention he says -

he's "part of a tour" of people talking about Central America - he takes the issue as "a test of compassion."

Iowa City Power Co. talk.

Same as Drake - except that he announced an ABC poll out of Sioux City 45-39% Harkin.

We went to the place where the TV operation was being conducted, and watched the Harkin and Jepsen commercials.

We looked at 4 that TH put on in the spring to introduce Harkin, esp. to eastern Iowa. an emphasis on family and values. One focused on his military record, a scene with him flying - he flew jets for his country - be wise with our power. "A Senator Iowa Can be Proud of" was the sign off and theme. Then there was one about the farm bill of 1981 - he says he warned and farm policy failed. We need a new policy, based on family farm -

One with a farm backdrop and corn field talk about economic recovery which worked for oil and gas but "not in Iowa". "This time lets make sure Iowa's included." One on the debt limit - "Not once have I voted to increase the debt, not once, I don't believe in it. Never have." They changed it to "In 10 years I voted against a debt increase 10 times." He mentions that he was baptized in church and calls Iowa "the heart of America". Says the debt is 1.4 billion and Jepsen voted for it 3 times - that he voted for the largest deficit in history again.

A farmer Jim Browney says re Jepsen "The President has been in the palm of his hand. He heels to. He doesn't seem to be our man." "When his arm is twisted, he gives in."

On Jepsen's attendance record they have Jepsen not being there when child protection act passed and show Jepsen mopping his brow as if he's worried. They ask who had better attendance record Harkin 95-84 "Wrong again" says announcer, referring to Jepsen's charges re TH attendance.

Each ad says "I'm Tom Harkin" and says he always worked hard, paid our bills and stayed out of debt".

They had two debates--one on agriculture which John says wound up helping TH with farmers; and one before editors, while most people scored even.

We watched Jepsen's ads. He had two types - testimonials and negatives, and John says he ran them equally in the fall. The negatives began with "what do you say to x_1y_2 . You say, Vote Roger Jepsen."

Jepsen's theme was "our Senator" and his ads said "Iowans think..." to convey the sense that he was in tune. He was strong on balanced budget.

One ad is with the pork producers and shows him talking to Canadian

ambassador about imports. One shows him talking with a quadraplegic at a rehabilitation center and ends with "He cares". Another has a lady who operates a truck line say how she spent 3 hour with RJ and he solved her problem - he took the time. "He delivers." In another one J speaks to support group about anorexia nervosa". And he shares experiences with them. "a good man" "he cares". Another one centers on the drought of 1983 and farmer says how RJ toured the area - found "nubbins", how J. got up on back of pick up truck and said "what farmers need is..." and says that's what we need.

Jepsen's negative ads say H had worst record, didn't vote on RR Retirement; didn't vote on 2 social security bills "It bothers us and and it should." "Another says What do we know about Cong. Tom Harkin? talks about deficit and says TH voted for 13 spending bills - he is among "biggest spenders" "That bothers us and it should." Another says TH's attendance record is bad. "How do we tell "an older couple that TH didn't bother to show up, that he was the only one of Iowa delegation not to vote on railroad retirement and one of 2 on social security. He misses more votes than any Iowa congressman. Another How do you tell farmers that TH wants to hit them with a trade embargo and a domestic tontent bill. "What do you say to the Iowa farmer? You say, vote for R. Jepsen, that's what you say". "How do you tell a mother than TH refused to vote foreign affairs (on terrorism and *murder* or something). One on domestic content bill says Iowa workers will lose their job. "What do we really know about Tom Harkin. We're finding out now--just in time."

Tom Harkin Clips

AP story - summarizing situation 9/12 - Reports Sioux City poll 44-42 Harkin
"a substantial drop from polls earlier in the summer."

They describe TH lead as "slender and shrinking". There is some agreement
that "There are no coattails in Iowa."

Everyone agrees it will "go right down to the wire" Russ Ross and "lot of
people will be making up mind last weekend, etc."

They keep the farm problem and farmers as undecided.

Clips show RR announcing debt restructuring for farmers and Harkin
announcing his plan for farmers.

Donald Kay 9/124 re J-H debate. "Since 1968, every bid for reelection
by an Iowa Senator has failed, largely, I think because his opponent
has managed to paint him as having lost touch with the state, of having
gone 'Washington', of being the tool of outside interests. Jepsen, the
incumbent, managed to turn that issue around on Harkin. He portrayed H. as
a man who carried milk for the dairy lobby to the detriment of Iowa interests,
as someone who listened to "Detroit union bosses and the Seafarer's Union
rather than the Farm Bureau."

Back to the AP story - Ed Campbell is quoted "It's real close and too
early to call... Harkin, for example, is sort of sitting back and pointing
out all of his assets and so forth and why he ought to be a senator and
hoping a lot of people are not going to vote for Jepsen. Tom could very
easily lose it... (For those who think Harkin has it) If that's the case,
I'd give them the phone numbers of Dick Clark. Dick did the same thing.
I'd be happy to provide the phone number."

Iowa Poll 4/23 - Jepsen 50-41; August was Harkin 47-40; before that
it was 52-36.

Harkin clips - 10/10/84

22
27

Jepsen leads among oldest and youngest. Jepsen's upsurge matches 16 pt. gain by RR at same time.

"The Senate race continues to be more volatile than the race for president's.

1st time since March 1983 that Jepsen has more Dems than Harkin has Republicans.

Republicans = Jepsen 84, H 9

Dems = Jepsen 14, H 78

Independents = Jepsen 46, H 41

Issues are farm and defense.

Sioux City Journal 9/2 showing H "lead has shrunk appreciably";
H 44-42 now; in July was H 46-36.

Yepsen "Three emotional issues define race between J & H (headline)

They are - a portion, balanced budget, gun control - Yepsen has series of articles in which other differences are spelled out - aid to schools, cuts in military spending.

Yepsen 9/11 - old saying in Iowa. "If the farmer doesn't make it, nobody else does." both are making farm policy "centerpiece" of campaign.

Jepsen wants government out. Harkin says government must be involved.

Kansas City Times - Dan Gilmore "Farming Issues in Iowa Dominate Nationally Watched Senate race".

May DMReg poll 55-38 Iowa Poll.

Re the May poll (55-38) Frew said, "That May poll was the worst thing that's happened to this campaign. It gave people too much confidence at the least, and cockiness at most. There is an underlying fear that we'll lose if we let up for a second." Then the reporter mentions the Clark campaign.

"To date, Mr. H. has followed a primarily rural strategy in his campaign, focusing most of his energy on Iowa troubled farm economy and the communities that thrive or wither with the farmers' fortunes. About 7 in 10 Iowa jobs relate in some manner to the farm economy..." (acc. to experts)

August 6 - 10 Iowa Poll - H 39-32 - Harkin leads in 4th, next in 5th - Jepsen did best in 1st (Davenport his hometown)

May 1-17 - H 52 J 36.

Jepsen DMR 5/28/84 "Senate Race in phony war stage; crucial 'undecideds' not yet wooed."

his reaction to May poll.

"Both candidates seem to be running around the state trying to reenforce their base of support. Neither seems to be wooing the 10-20 percent of the electorate that is 'undecided' and that will decide the election."

He says that they are both "preaching to the choir."

Phony war is period when "nothing seems to be happening".

Then the health spa scandal broke.

Grassley newsletter - typical The Gold Nugget (supplement) 4/18/84 - starts off - "Like most Iowans, I used to think the Washington Zoo was the place with the pandas. But after pursuing farm legislation in election year '84, I'm convinced the real 'zoo' is on Capitol Hill."

On February 27, 1984, Harkin says "This month marks one year that I've been ahead in the public opinion polls--not far ahead sometimes, but ahead. The bad news is that we've still got 8 1/2 mos. to go" Fairfield Ledger.

As of February he'd had fundraisers in all 99 counties, raised over 600,000; 11,000 contributors and 40,000 signed up to work.

Article by Harrison Weber-interview with Harkin Feb. 14, 1984 in Eldora Ledger.

Harkin "If there is one political axiom that has held true through the years it is there are no coattails in Iowa."

Main issue is "quality of leadership that Iowans want."

"I will shake more hands, meet more people, than any statewide candidate has ever done before."

Will campaign like he always has and will appeal to a "broad spectrum" if Iowa "as I have done in the past in the 5th Congressional District."

"For 9 years I have represented the 5th District, the most Republican, most conservative district in the state by any yardstick of measure. If I was even half or one-third as liberal as these people are saying I would never have been elected to Congress by 60% margins."

Waterloo Courier - "Mike Glover - same AP guy that wrote 1st article I mentioned - April 2, 1984.

Re the race "In many ways Democrats look at the election almost as a holy war. When Republican Jepsen was elected in 1978, it came as a shock, and not a shock they'll soon forget. 'I can still remember that November night in 1978," one activist said, 'We want him (Jepsen) very badly, and the thing we have going for us is we have a candidate this time that wants him as badly as we do."

Harkin announced Jan 12.