

PETE DOMENICI

October 26, ³⁰1984

(Dick Hubbard, Barbara Cauley, MaryJo Rymer, Marsha Shishman, Albert Scooter Mitchell, Tom Padilla)

I went to Pete's office and ran into a Friday night staff meeting. Steve Bell was unbelievably cordial and invited me into the meeting. (Tony Garcia, David Nummy, Steve Bell, Mary Jo Rymer, Sandi Hughes, Felicia _____, Frank Bond, Dick Packard, Barbara Cauley, Lee Henson, Gig King) They went around the table discussing each person's problems. In general the meeting was conducted in a mood which ranged from hilarity to zaniness. Steve was in charge, not Frank Bond, the manager. They are way ahead, they know it, they know they cannot lose it, they want a big margin.

Steve greeted me with "Have you come to witness the anointment."

The most interesting comments at the meeting--in the back room at 2403 San Mateo Blvd., NE--were made by Steve.

"I want to beat Reagan by 15 points. I don't care what we have to do, but we've got to lead him. We don't want him to lead us. I know that counts here, but, believe me, it counts a hell of a lot back there.... I want us to go over 70%. Do you know which senators will go over 70% this year? Alan Simpson, a moderate from Wyoming, Nan^y Kassebaum, a moderate from Kansas, Larry Pressler, a moderate from South Dakota, and Pete Domenici. And do you know who will have close races, Jesse Helms and that guy from New Hampshire. And Jepsen will lose. We want the President to understand that it's the moderate Republican senators who lead the ticket. Otherwise he'll come in with this big mandate and beat his chest. Someone has to go back and keep the fingers in the dike and the only place we can do it is in the Senate."

Frank complained that the Reagan people had it in for him--presumably

because they thought he was not very cooperative. "They want to stay within 5 points of us." The spread matters to everyone. But, in a way, that's all they have to worry about now.

There was no mention of 1978. And everyone around the table except Steve and Lee Henson were new to the campaign.

A couple of them were formerly Democrats and one, Mary Lou said at one point "I've lost and I've won and it sure feels good to win." And they kidded Barbara about what it felt like to win since she had lost so often. Mary Lou told me later that Pete called her and said he didn't care what party she belonged to, he wanted her to work for him. But he said some of the "blue hairs" resented the fact she was a registered Democrat. So, on Bastille Day, she ~~changed~~ changed her registration to Republican.

At one point, Frank said "I wish the election were tomorrow" and a couple of them took up the chant "ten more days, ten more days."

Mary Jo "I feel like the election is a Salvador Dali painting. The opposition is just melting away." And a couple of things they said led me to believe that Pratt is slipping still.

A lot of the talk was about money and who is slow in giving, etc.

Steve: "They hate the President down in _____ county, Silver City, Hurley. They hate him. But they like Domenici. I want to come out of that county 3000 votes ahead of Reagan. I want to beat the shit out of Reagan in that county."

They laughed a lot about how soon the networks would announce the winner in the New Mexico race. "With ten votes reporting from Eddy County, NBC declares Pete Domenici the winner" or "The vote in Eddy County ~~46~~ 800 Domenici and fifteen Pratt, a trend seems to be developing." The interesting thing here is that the same afternoon a Pratt worker said to me "ABC has planned to

announce Domenici the winner before a single vote has been counted." She was outraged. The Domenici people think it's over.

I talked with Frank Bond about the campaign's flow. In the early going, he thought Franklin would win. A month out he thought Pratt would win because "Nick wasn't getting anywhere." And he talked about Judy Pratt being a "zealot" with strongly committed constituencies.

He said that "It's not the positions she took--which were good positions in favor of peace, fairness, jobs--it's the way she took those positions. She's a zealot. And the press has never penetrated into those positions--what she really thinks."

Later in the interview he said "She was not able to take the constituencies she had in the primary and bring them into the general election. We very consciously infused ourselves into each of its elements--labor, environmentalists, women. We held off the labor endorsement for seven months, too late for them to come together and give her any strong support. In the convention before the primary we were able to prevent labor from making an endorsement by one vote. If they had made a primary endorsement they would have created a front runner and it would have been Judy. She had been their staunchest supporter. But we prevented it. The Governor was furious. He was screaming at the Democrats. But we held them off. With the environmentalists, we put together our own committee chaired by the National Vice Chairman of the Sierra Club. That was a terrible shock to Pratt. She couldn't believe it. With women, we have had less success. The strong feminists have been with her from the first. But a lot of other women are with us. By our own actions we prevented her from assembling the constituencies that Bingaman used to defeat Schmitt."

He talked about Pratt's primary victory "She won 14 counties and Nick won 19 counties. But she carried Santa Fe and Bernalillo counties, where the committeds are."

"I looked at those primary election results very carefully and found something very interesting. There was a 20% vote dropoff from the presidential primary to the Senatorial primary. In the congressional races, the vote went back up to where the dropoff from the presidential vote was only 2%. So you had a horse shoe effect. That meant a lot of Democrats went into the booth, voted in the presidential primary, did not vote for Senate and then voted for Congress. Those Democrats either were for Pete, or they couldn't bring themselves to vote for any of the Democrats or they had simply not been reached by any of the Democratic campaigns. That told me that we might have an election on November 6th that would be different from anything we had seen. It might mean that large numbers of Democrats would go to the polls and could not bring themselves to vote for or against Pete Domenici, that our percentage, therefore, might be up and our total vote down."

He talks about several phases. The Santa Fe announcement of Democratic support "We could have made a mistake if we over played our Democratic support. I worried about that, but Domenici doesn't. He loves it. This afternoon we have him meeting quietly with 100 South Valley Democrats. The Governor will find out about it within an hour, and he'll be livid." That was the meeting they felt they couldn't take me to today. Steve says 'You'll be the only gringo in there beside Domenici."

A related point he made--in answer to my question as to whether they could have blown it--was that "We could have used overkill in attacking her fringe views. We could have called her a communist--and that would have gone over well in some parts of the state. It could have brought a backlash. Our policy now is not to pay any attention to her, not to give her any publicity. It could only help create a sympathy vote. That's the main thing we've had to worry about all along."

Other points of the narration. The TV debate flap. Anaya's fury at Democratic defections and the firings.

The quiet summer securing the base.

My 1/2/84
"We had a very quiet summer--a very good summer. We had 2 1/2 weeks in July and 2 1/2 weeks in August going around to the rural areas securing our base--not just Republicans, but Democrats, too. We didn't spend much time in Santa Fe or Albuquerque, but we went into all the little towns in the state. These trips hurt her more than we knew at the time, but she was just not getting out and around the rural areas and small towns."

Then he told me story of how one day in August he delivered something personally to Judy and he learned that she did not really have her campaign together. She told him she was going to campaign in Los Alamos, but she was there, in Santa Fe, driving by herself, driving up the wrong street to get to Los Alamos, finally stopping off somewhere and going into a store--in a sense wandering around alone when she should have had a firm campaign schedule and a driver.

He made the point several times "She has never been able to get it together. She never could press home any of the issues she pushed. She has never regained the momentum she had in the primary. And now she is destroyed. She's exhausted, and her campaign manager is telling the press privately that it's all over."

"From a national standpoint, it is probably not an interesting race, but from the standpoint of New Mexico, it's very interesting. In New Mexico, 52% is a big victory. Only one statewide candidate has ever broken 60% and that was Joe Campbell, Democratic Governor. If we break 60%, we will have accomplished something that is unheard of in N.M." *all emphasis is on margin.*

Strongest candidate would have been King or a Supreme Court Justice. "There are a lot of smart Democratic politicians in this state. They looked and saw that 'This is not my year.' The one that became the candidate is not the best one. A mainstream Democrat could have jumped to 40% right away, just like that."

I began our talk by suggesting that though the paper said it would be ~~race~~ on the issues, it hadn't really turned on the issues. He said no that it was the issues, that Pete was mainstream. "Pete controls the center and the right and a good part of the left. He has pushed her far to the left--even though she is moderating her views more than I ever thought she could."

He kept calling her "strident" and said "She is finished in politics." Very different from Libby Mitchell.

He said when he was first showed the Zia poll he was very nervous for fear it would show something different from his own polls. It didn't.

I asked ^{Lee} if they had had any national news coverage of the campaign and she said "Zilch." I asked Frank and he said "US News and World Report, David Broder and a couple of others called in early on for background material. They treat the race as a gnat versus an elephant, and they want background in case the gnat grows any. But they have written it off."

Later in the visit, Bell said "TR Reid called the other day and decided there was 'no story' here. He says there's 'no story' in the Rocky Mountains. Shit. Every Republican senator in the area is going to win by 65-70% and he says 'there's 'no story'. The story is that Ronald Reagan is running like gang busters and the Republican senators are going to run ahead of him. What's that going to do to his mandate? That's the story. But he just wants the liberals to win. If they aren't winning, there's no story."

I caught up with Pete at the meeting ~~with at the meeting~~ with South Valley Democrats to which I was not allowed to go. I got in in time to hear

part of Pete's talk. I heard him joke about his family and children and later he told how he had to be away when his daughter was being crowned queen at homecoming in H.S. and how he sent his son--with "a big red beard" who said "if you pay, I'll go" and so another Pete Domenici will crown the queen. He also talked about the important thing being ["]work~~ed~~["] hard to 'do my best' and not what party he was from. Spoke of old friends there. When they asked for questions one man got up and said "There are a lot of Democrats here. We are supporting you because we value your seniority. You are important to us and to New Mexico, just as Dennis Charez and Joe Montoya and now Jeff ^{Bingaman}~~Benjamin~~ who we hope will stay in the Senate. We want you to know we value your seniority."

A second man got up and said "I have known you all my life and you have always talked to us on our level. When we need you you are always there. We have got to vote for you."

And a couple of other people spoke warmly. Someone during the day said that they actually thought they would carry the South Valley. No Republican has ever carried the South Valley. We'll see if that happens. But it's an indicator of their optimism that they think ~~they~~ might even do that.

I met Pete as he left that event, at La Puente (where Lou Gallegos took me to lunch one day) but he didn't say anything to me till we got to the first of our 3 parties in N.E. Heights. At one point he sidled over and said "It sure is nice to have a campaign like this. After losing one and having two close ones, this one is a joy. I suppose it could turn around, but I don't think it will." I said that I knew he was a worry wart, but that not even he must be worrying about that one. He smiled and walked away.

Between the first and second event, we stopped to have a beer or wine (Dick Hubbard, Barbara Cauley, Dave ~~Atcheleta~~, Pete and me.)

The first thing Pete said was "This is a very different campaign from the last one. For one thing between 65% and 75% of the people in this campaign are new to statewide politics. It's the best campaign this state has ever seen. I had to be converted, and I have been. I used to think that you had to have at least 50% people from the last campaign. But that's way too high. You don't need everybody saying 'We can't do that because we didn't do last time' or 'we've never done it that way before.' The worst trouble spots are where my old friends are in charge, friends who just won't let go. In some counties, my friends are in charge, but they know enough to pick one or two young people to do the job. We spent a lot more money on professional help early in the campaign than we needed to in retrospect. But Steve and the others felt more comfortable doing it, so I supposed it was well spent." At another point in my trip, he said "this campaign is too expensive." At the motel he complained about still doing fund raisers. When Bell and Rawls said OK, it wasn't their debt, he grinned sheepishly.

He started to get at a theme that preoccupied him all day--the building of the Republican party in NM. "A big difference this time in that a lot of my friends, people who have been with me for a long time are running themselves--all over the state. If we took over the governorship now, we would have a lot of talented people who could run the state, could fill the high appointed offices. We haven't had that, in our party, in New Mexico, for a long time."

I asked him whether 52%, 62% or 72% would make a difference in his behavior. "If I won by 72%, it would help me in the majority leader's race--for reasons I can't tell you. Whether I got 72% or 52% would make no difference in the way I behaved in the Senate. But if I got 72%, or even 62%, it would make a big difference in how I behaved here in New Mexico. Because I would start working to see that our state begins to share in the prosperity it

deserves. I might give the governor one last chance, sit down with him and see if something could be worked out. It would be hard. He's been running around the state and the country and even Mexico for Christ's sake blaming every problem on Reagan and Domenici. He's got community development grant money that's just a slush fund. None of my supporters in the SE are getting any of it. They are people, too. If I couldn't work with the governor, I'd work to bring new leadership to the state. I think we could take over the governorship. We've got the people to do it, and to let this little state share in the nation's prosperity. Of course, the economy could all come on cropper--and I'd say there's between a possibility and a probability that it will--and then the whole thing would collapse. But if I got a big vote, I'd be willing to give it a try and give New Mexico a real two-party system."

He had been saying that 62% would be a huge success and that's what triggered my question.

Later in the evening he talked about the majority leadership. He said Baker "ran the Senate by" brinkmanship setting recesses and then putting pressure on to do things by the recess - he said "holds" ought to be taken off and let people filibuster. "He was my best friend, but if you asked people about his leadership, you would get mixed reviews. He used brinkmanship to run the Senate. He would say, we're going to have a 3 day weekend, but before we go, we will take up the following bills. Then he would say there are two weeks till recess, we have to finish the following twelve bills. He kept taking the Senate to the brink. There has to be a better way to run it. A lot of guys think that all their bills should be brought up. That won't work either. I think we have to do away with "holds". Let people have a hold for, say, three days and then bring the bill up. If they want to filibuster, let them filibuster. If they don't really care, they won't."

Said that Pratt--from her record in the N.M. House "wants to change the country's economic system. She really does." Says they didn't bring it out because they didn't need to. But that if it had been a close race, he thought her legislative record would have been an easy target. Later, he said she was a "socialist."

He said he first felt the election would be exceptionally good about a year and a half out. Our polls told us that I was in very good shape no matter who ran against me."

He and Dave talked about how 100 of them met after our governor's race to ~~criticize~~ his performance. Broke up into groups and criticized him. Then he criticized them. Dave said that their office was opposite the fairgrounds and when they should have been pushing, they were at the races. He says for three months in the summer, they did nothing. Pete says they lost their campaign manager Corky Morris, for most of that summer. David said after a day's work, they'd go to a bar nearby to drink and it got around that if you wanted to see PD go to the local bar; Pete says they criticized how he dressed and everything. Steve Davis recalls a cake someone baked for a meeting saying "No". Pete turned it around and it said "On" and they went. Pete said several times, Joe McCaffrey went around to each group at the big meeting ~~improving~~ the language that criticized Pete's campaign!" I'll never forget that."

"We didn't know how to do it; but we decided to run again. A lot of people think we sit down and plan where we will go from one office to another. I never planned anymore. I didn't plan to get into politics. I did that because 5 friends in a coffee shop dared me to. Now, to listen to people talk, they were all there in the coffee shop that day. I think it must have been a rally."

Dave made several points. He said that in the last 2 weeks in 1978 "We thought it was in the bag. We virtually shut down the Domenici operation and went to work for Joe Skee for governor." I asked Pete about this and he shook his head, but he was preoccupied.

Dave said PD was "very disappointed with the results in 1978." Said he talked with Pete and didn't know what affect it had, but he told Pete not to be disappointed that Anaya had been a good A.G. and Pete should be pleased with 52% but that Pete was "very disappointed".

He and two others were northern coordinators in 1970 and he's been with Pete ever since in one form or another. Now, he's Bernadillo Co-chairman.

He says Pete is always interested in the party. "We are running some turkeys in our party that I can't even vote for. But Pete says that as long as he's around, any Republican is welcome. That's just the way he is. He wants to help all Republicans."

He said Pete originally wanted to try for Governor again in 1974 but was persuaded to run for Senate. Says he worked very hard for *Trick* for Governor in 1982.

"Pete hasn't changed one bit" as far as his personality is concerned.
(I pick up on this theme later in the notes.)

Re RR. "I don't want to tell you has a great intellect. He has a hard time learning things." Later he talked of what a bombshell Stockman's book will be in this respect.

Driving home from the last "blitz" house meeting, Pete said "The presence of all those local candidates proves that no one knows how to work the Northeast Heights. If they knew what to do with this great grant, they wouldn't be turning up at these meetings. It's much, much easier to campaign in Carlsbad than it is in the Heights. You come to town, everybody knows you're there, the paper puts your picture on the front page. But you can't

find people on the Heights. Those candidates wouldn't be coming to meetings of 60, 70 or 100 people if they knew how to find people home. It's a big grant."

Dick Hubbard said the figure he thought he had heard was 60% move every 5 years.

Pete said, again, as we were waiting in his headquarters after the evening's activities. "I want to help New Mexico share in this national prosperity. I've done a lot already as far as the government is concerned. New Mexico is first ⁱⁿ ~~one~~ return from the government per tax dollar and fourth in per capita federal dollars coming into the state. I didn't do all that, but I've been able to help. ^{But we need to bring business to the state, and I can help there, too. The business people are my friends. The union people are all coming out to N.M. to give a fund raiser here next week.} ~~But I~~ think I've got a better idea of what needs to be done than the President or the Republicans. But I'll be damned if I'll go to them as long as this governor runs around the country and Mexico, even, blaming every national problem on Reagan and Domenici.

Off and on Pete talked about the Southside. "On the southside, we just make patriotic speeches. There's a tremendous difference between the cynicism you find in a city like Albuquerque and the attitudes of people in the small towns."

"I'm in hot water with my people in the south because the Democratic candidates show up at my events. We usually have one event at Republican headquarters. If an event is open, all the Democrats come."

In all Pete's talks at the ~~house~~ parties, he starts by identifying himself with local government. Says he got his start on city commission. "The best place to start ~~is~~ local government. You deal with people's problems and you get into a mold of solving problems. When you get to national problems, you have local problems, and local people, ⁱⁿ your mind's eye."

Or, "Being a senator in Washington is more than making decisions in ^{lucky.} ~~lacking.~~ Washington, I've been ~~lacking.~~ I've been in on some big meetings, made lots

important decisions, made a lot of policy in some big rooms. But the start I got in Albuquerque has taught me how to deal with problems--how to visit with people, listen to people's problems, follow through on their problems. It's a thrill to find and solve problems."

"In rural NM, there are wonderful people. We should pull ourselves together in the state, provide some leadership and special prosperity to these little towns." (applause)

He always starts by saying what a "gratifying" or "magnificent" campaign it has been. Great reception, lots of volunteers, contributors.

"Maybe after 16 years, you have to be nice to a guy. I'm not sure what I've done."

The rest of the talk is that young people aren't mad at America anymore, are part of mainstream, and "are coming our way" to Republicans.

County is going in right direction--defense, economy.

"America's real claim to social justice is on economy that's really humming."

After last of second day's "blitz" events--in the Heights, Pete felt good. "There's a lot of support for Pete Domenici in the Heights. It's not like having one event in a small town where 600 people turn out. But I can feel it. I'm not fooling when I say I have never felt anything like this ever--the enthusiasm and the respect. We've been getting crowds all day like we've never had up here before. Usually, these people hide and you can't find them. They have too many other things to do than come to rallies. I talked to two couples tonight who said it was the absolutely first political thing they had ever done. In 1978, it was Tony Anaya that was having enthusiastic parties like ours have been. He was just coming off a successful term as attorney general. Everywhere he went, people were

taking his picture. He was taking away from our strength. And we had trouble turning people out in the Heights. This year it's the other way around. We keep adding to our strength. There are 8000 Republican voters in that district we were just in. We might just get 75 to 78% of them. We could win this whole thing by 62 to 65%. There's only 7 or 8 days left for them to turn it around. I don't see how they could. But, you know the old Domenici, ^{he's} still worrying--a very little!!

After the party at Archie Metzgers in the South Valley, I asked Pete what he learned. "I learned that I have a lot of votes here and that they can't take them away. It would take a lot of power and muscle for them to come in here, and they don't have it. It would take \$15,000 to \$20,000 to get the precincts organized and get people to the polls. They can't do it. There was a lot of Democratic literature around that place, but not one Pratt sign or piece of literature anywhere to be seen. They can't get it together.... She is down in Carlsbad today. She asked the press to meet her at 4:00 there and they agreed. Anybody who knows anything at all about New Mexico politics will tell you that she should never be in Carlsbad, New Mexico at this stage of the campaign. It's a 3 1/2 hour drive down there. Even if she has a big union rally there, she shouldn't be there. She should be right here in Albuquerque. If she knocked on doors, she would do herself more good than she'll ever do spending a day going all the way down there. I don't think she has any idea what she's doing."

He called her "a socialist" today in some context I can't remember.

Ed Lujan, state Republican party chairman predicted to me that RR would get 56% and PD 70% and said not to say anything till after election.

He said Nick Franklin thought the party organization would turn out for

and they didn't. He said Nick Franklin would have done 5 points better than Pratt, but that's all. Point was that Pete is way too strong.

"Howard Baker has a saying about the Senate. If the Senate wants to be a wet noodle, you can't make it move."

After a house party - "A guy came up to me and said 'Senator, I like your voting record, but I'd like it a whole lot better if you would vote more like Orrin Hatch and Jake Garn.' I said to him 'When I agree with them, I will vote with them and when I don't I won't.' He said 'Why don't the rest of you just vote right along with them all the time?' I said 'If we all voted with Orrin Hatch and Jake Garn, it wouldn't take six years before the Republicans would be down to 30 members of the U.S. Senate.' His eyes popped open and he said 'Do you really mean that.' I had to tell him, yes, I really meant it."

"You know, we're going to get a veto in a day or two of a public health bill because Orrin Hatch insisted on sticking in an amendment the administration couldn't accept. They pleaded and pleaded with him to take it out, but he couldn't. So they're going to veto it. They should sign it, but I don't blame them for wanting to teach the son of a bitch a lesson."

He noted the big difference between Hatch & Garn--not in personality but style, a difference which I saw in Utah. "Utah is a very conservative state, but Orrin Hatch had a real tough election last time. Jake Garn will never have trouble getting elected. They are both very conservative, but Garn is a straight shooter." Note: Garn gets elected to positions in the Senate - Hatch will never. *Reputation got based on style. And reputation matter.*

"Majority leader would be a tough job. But I'd like to give it a try. I've read a couple of articles where they say Domenici might be the compromise candidate. I don't know. I haven't talked to many people about it."

*re North -
Chr. with Tom
Pachilla*
People afraid - South America.

1/14
Pratt - woman ^{became a} to tell her to produce money or ^{Don't kick you with the price} lack in PAC. ^{which would be no real attitude in North}

Petr. We talked about newspapers from time to time. He says the Journal wants a 2 party system, that they supported him and (today) RR strong. But he says "the people who make up the paper are liberal" - We discussed this back and forth - and he said "Paul Wieck has come back toward the middle." So, his strong feeling against Wieck has abated. That is something you might not have picked up unless you watched him over time.

Also, I thought that it's now hard to know how upset he was in 1978 about his loss, or how that affected him. Only because I saw it can I factor that disappointment into my thinking." [In ^{fact} ^{state} to reps. - hard because it's diverse, easy because of opp. to learn ^{about} science, agric. - rest is same - no senator like his].

→ Espanola break fast talk.

PD - Joke about campaign buttons.

Few words re Lou. - strong endorsement.

Great month I've had - people have been great - no complaints, hundreds at events - thousands contributing - never will have another one. I don't know what it is...maybe he hard work pays off. Maybe they are saying I've done a good job. I'm going to win. I'm not going to stop working. I hope people up here aren't misled by anyone - I hope they won't be told by pol. leaders how to vote but will go out, look at candidate - pick and choose. No more this 'vote one way.'

83 year old in Aztec - voted ^{in nursing home with} since 1970. 13 men 77 women - ^{Things} are great if ^{my} health will hold up! ^{it} (laughter)

Last 4 years worth ^{it} to get get young people back on side of America again.

Regardless
Regardless of what politicians around here tell you, the future is not with gov't.

Then he struggled with Spanish for Baloney ^{torrigons}, merrera - laughter as he tries out one.

San Miguel factory: ^{hunted -} 6.25/yr young people ^{nr} out looking for welfare office - great to get ^{steady} real paycheck.

No future other than that future - we either join it or we are left out. 35,000, ^{make it} ~~000~~ ^{in 24 mos.} you need to get your ^{share} ~~share~~ - ^{attract business} ~~attack bums~~ so we don't let young people down. If anything moves me for the next 6 yrs., strong desire not to let young people down. Keep ec. going 10 years.

Not going to have me tax business - got to get in and take a chance. Takes on ^{cut the admin. has just} cuts ~~in~~ programs' food stamps, 2 1/2 million more ^{on food stamps,} ~~after~~ ^{a food stamps} 5B more in cost than 4 years ago, up 23% "How is that a cut?"

Educ - its state's job - 500,000 more student ^{trans} ~~trans~~ than 4 years ago. "How in the world is that a cut?"

Title One - 25% inc.

I don't know everything about everybody.

"One of my jobs is to know how much money we spend - not cut - "should have been ^{can't} ~~cut~~ - can't help poor people without economy moves.

Worst of all - senior citizens being "played like pawns" - RR and Don going to take away ^{ss} ~~ss~~ word to describe how despicable that is. We aren't going to cut - we ^{saved} ~~said~~ it - 176,000 senior citizens never list a check and never will lose a check, ^{up} in Jan. Fund is ^{solvent -} ~~relevant~~. You're going to get checks ^{Don't} ~~Don't~~ come from county government or local government, ^{they} come from US government - food stamps are ^{paid for} by US gov't, not local people. "They don't get this from benevolence of local pols. but from people of US and Congress. Medicare and Medicaid care from US gov't, ^{rules of USA} ~~rules of USA~~ America say that that you get these benefits." ^{Again + again, trying to break northern guys from local pols - the pattern.}

"Nobody's rules locally give people these things. They come from U.S. gov't."

As we started out in the plane for Espanola, I asked him if he saw his four years as chairman as several stages or all the same. He thought a long time, but didn't seem to be able to get a fix.* "There were at least two stages--the first year and all the rest. The first was different; the last one was a basket case. The budget process very nearly died. The last three were pretty much the same, but there were differences in the mix. So I guess they were different... The last year was a real disaster. It proved you can't do ~~just card~~ ^{post card} budgeting. It leaves no room for compromise."

I asked re independence - "It wasn't that I disagreed with Reagan so much; it was just that I did not think his budgets were doable."

I asked if 2nd budget resolution was dead - "Yes, Thank God."

I asked him if Republicans get ~~get~~ more difficult to hold together as time went on and he said yes. But, unfortunately, he wasn't really into it and the discussion fizzled. It was too far away from the source and he had other things on his mind.

Tom Padilla - "Pete has brought most of the best people in the Republican party into politics. That's an unknown story which has never been written about."

As we came out of the Sheraton we looked across at a bank of white crosses in the national cemetery. "That's where Judy Pratt filmed her negative ad--the most negative ad I've ever seen. She said that these crosses represented men who died in noble causes, but that if Reagan and Domenici were elected many more would die in Central America and lie in this cemetery. She put it on Channel 7, which goes statewide. The station said that under FEC rules, they had to put it on. But they said that if it had been a commercial ad they would have had to pull it off, because they had more phone calls protesting the ad than they ever had in the history of the station. They called her, too, to tell her,

just for her information. But she kept it on anyway. I don't think people would believe that even if Jesse Helms, conservative as he is. But people know that I'm not like that. And you can't swim completely upstream with a TV ad."

A theme - Lou Galegos said, in his talk. "We have an old saying in New Mexico 'Tell me who you're with and I'll tell you what you are. I'm with Pete Domenici.'"

*If there is one theme that typifies people's opinion of PD it is that "He hasn't changed one bit." This is said in two senses. One candidate's wife put it this way. "Everyone likes Pete Domenici. They always have. I went to college with him and he has not changed one bit. He was very popular in college and he's very popular now. I've never heard anyone say they didn't like him." The other sense is. "What I like about Pete Domenici is that you would never know that he's one of the most powerful people in Washington. He hasn't changed one bit. It hasn't gone to his head. He comes back and gets right down to the level of the ordinary person. You can tell it's just natural for him."

In body language, Pete is a "hugger" - Likes to throw his arms around people and give 'em a squeeze.

Notes From Archie's Bar (Archie Metzger) in the South Valley.

Talked about how he tended bar at Romero's in summer--to Archie. "How has business been? Bad ? I'll run your bar and you go to the Senate." Then talked about Casey Chavez, the manager of the baseball team, who's sick and couldn't come - how he played with Archie and Pete--and then "the baseball story". Then he said Archie's wife liked Pete and so "I was their lawyer before I was a Senator so I want to thank the whole family." "In New Mexico there

are 3 parties--Dems, Repubs and Lujans. In the South Valley, there are 3 parties. Dems, Repubs and Metzgers."

"I know some of the guests here are Democrats and some Republicans. I like to have everybody on my team. If you're a Dem. candidate, we love you; if you're a Republican candidate we love you... The rule is that this is a rally for Pete Domenici, so no one gets to make speeches... But we'll give Manuel Lujan 30 seconds." (Big hug for ML).

Lujan "I'm here for the same reason everyone else is, to help PD get reelected. He's a great man and he's like a brother. I love him. I want him back in the Senate."

Pete thanks lots of people by name.

"My opponent says she will give 2500 to charity if I debate her. I gave 5000 to the Zapatas without her contribution." "I've been serving people for 16 years. I started Albq. Hundreds and hundreds of people want to help me get reelected. I may never have an election like this in my whole life.. I have a hunch I'm going to get reelected.

Victory party joke "If you can't come we'll have a crowd anyway" i.e., family.

Talks re health care. "I promise you the health clinics that serve you will continue, and we'll continue to add doctors so people who need medical care will get it."

"People need an extra chance in school, people in trouble who need a second chance--will get it.

"You know me. There is no need of my coming here and promising."

"Those programs most important to people in need will continue. We are not going to cut food stamps for the poor or health care for the poor.

"The most enjoyable times of my life are with you people, in the valley

and up north, with people I've grown up with and feel uncomfortable with."

"It's hard for you to vote Republican. I understand this. I'm finishing 12 years, and I think I've done a good job for New Mexico and the United States. (applause) Wouldn't it be wonderful if we could look down here election night and see that the valley was just like the rest of New Mexico... if we could say, 'My gosh, a Republican named Domenici Won the Valley' That would make me the happiest that night--If we could say 'we weren't told how to vote; that's not right; we looked at the people and Pete Domenici won; if I got your votes just like the other counties in NM."

"I love you and I'll be back often in the next 6 years."

"If Archie's business is bad, I'll take a leave and come down and help him."

Lots of ID here and affection - dancing, bands, etc. Some effort to convince them to go with a winner.

Domenici Clips

Difference between announcing and "announcing" for reelection. PD "I am going to seek reelection, but we haven't announced it yet." In article "Domenici Campaign on Fast Track" 12/17/83.

LC Sun News 10/14 - Pratt on her strategy "Our strategy is to expose him, expose his record, expose what he's up to. We think he's getting away with a false image. The image that he's tried to create is that he's good for N.M., that he's a nice guy and that he's a moderate. Probably the last is the worst, because he's not a moderate. He's not a moderate and maybe people need to know that so they know what they are voting for." ^{Article} ~~side~~ "Judy Pratt attempts to break opponents image." _{headline}

polls show her trailing by 63 points.

"I think his strategy is to pretend like I don't exist, because he doesn't want to be challenged. We've had eleven offers for debate and he refuses to do that."

"I feel like my campaign is a mainstream campaign... It turns out that with the polling and so on, I'm really in stride, in tune with what people want in this state. They want the senior citizens, the children, education and health care taken care of. They feel very strongly about that and Domenici doesn't."

Oct. 25 AJ - Dem. party poll on Oct. 21 had PD 72, Pratt 21. She had been, two weeks before, 77-18.

Article in Tribune 10/24 - Follows PD in a day trip to Almagordo "Dixiecrat" country. "This is the seat of Otero County, deep in the heart of NM's Dixiecrat County where registered Dems. outnumbered Republicans 5 to 1. It also looked like the heart of Pete Domenic's country"-- ^{Art:} ~~Verdine~~ "Preaching to the faithful; Dixiecrats Welcome GOP's ~~Domenici~~ a good ex. of Dem. support."

Re Pratt, PD says "We probably agree on little or nothing." "My opponent

wants to return to the past." and he stresses his support for increased defense spending, his efforts to improve economy and loyalty to programs for the elderly.

Alb. Journal endorses PD 10/21/84 (xeroxed)

AJ - Oct. 14 - preliminary Registration figures for NM - first time in many years that Repubs have cut Dem. registration below 2-1. In Oct. 1980, ratio was 2.1-1. Now it looks like 1.87-1; and in Bernadillo, it's gone from 1.62-1 to 1.47-1.

Zia poll - AJ Oct. 16 - has Reagan, as of Oct. 6 leading Mondale 58-36-5; PE leading Pratt 76-17-7. [A week later PD 77-17-6].

On Monday Oct. 29, Bell said "Zia is holding up. He's at 75 and she's at 15!"

Oct. 21, 1984 - Article which I can't read in AJ by Eric McCrossen on PD's chances for maj. leader. They are all talking about that. "Domenici has a one in five shot of...becoming the most powerful Senator in Washington."

The one statewide debate they had on KNME - public television conflicted with Monday night football! Green/Bay - Denver--and Denver is the local team!

Pratt has to describe herself as "I'm the one running vs. PD."

There are a few articles here on the debate--Tribune ed. calls it "a draw" and asks for more. Pratt keeps challenging PD to debate more. Bell says there's no time, etc.

But as John Robertson in AJ - Oct. 17 (after debate) writes (in article entitled "For Front Runner Dom, First Debate Probably Last.") "Pete Dom. is clearly playing the front runner's game. The incumbents advantages...are many; being better known and having more money--a 10-1 advantage in the case of Domenici...are not the least of them... An incumbent with a lead as strong as Domenici's can afford to ignore the challenge."

The commentary on the debate emphasized attacking by Pratt and PD keeping his cool. AJ Oct. 16 - "Pratt attacked PD's record in the U.S. Senate at every opportunity...Domenici answered some charges specifically, but generally steered clear of heated exchanges..."

AT Oct. 16 - "Domenici remained cool and calm despite verbal assaults from Pratt."

Domenici "discussed his plans to seek the Senate post of major. leader." kept talking like a leader.

PD re backlog on floor "I have pledged that we're not going to do that anymore, that we are going to establish an orderly process for the committees of our Senate to do their work on time. I pledge their bills will be called up on time and acted on in time, unless someone wants to legitimately filibuster them."

Tribune Oct. 16 editorial - "The debate was a draw. Pratt was feisty, aggressive and elaborated her position clearly and forcefully, while maintaining a serious, 'senatorial' demeanor...Domenici kept his cool, though, and was equally articulate in putting his largely familiar ideas forward."

Howard Baker comes to NM and says PD would be "outstanding" choice for majority leader. Tribune Oct. 17 - Baker: PD "has the special insight and sensitivity that makes him respected and especially effective as a V.f. Senator." Baker was even asked if he'd consider PD as a VP running mate in 1986. Baker: "I hope to talk to Pete about that."

El Paso Times May 20 - Nick Franklin says Pratt is "too liberal" for N.M.

If you go through Domenici files you can chart the campaign in headlines. I'll start with period after my January visit on theory that I got the pre-Jan. stuff. But I should start with Zia poll (Xeroxed) which gives an Oct. baseline. And it is just as strong as he was in Oct. 1984.

10/26/83 AT - "Poll Shows D. has Widespread Support".

12/16/83 - "Baker in City to Bolster Domenici Race."

12/17/83 - "Domenici Campaign on Fast Track".

2/3/84 AJ - "Domenici's Team Puts Together 907,960 Campaign War Chest."

4/19/84 EP Times - "D. War Chest Totals 1.2 Million."

6/3/84 LC Sun News - "Three Vying to Face Sen. D."

6/6/84 EP Times - "Pratt Wins Senate Nomination"

6/7/84 LC Sun Times - "Pratt Wins Historic Nod to Vie With D. For Senate Seat."

7/15/84 ACJ - "Mayor, Democrats in Santa Fe Form Domenici Support Group"

9/20/84 AT - "Domenici Campaign Donations 1.6 Million--20 Times Pratt's"

8/8/84 "Domenici's Budget Committee Role Attracts Democrats". AJournal
(Xeroxed this one because it says that he's getting "unprecedented" Democratic Support.

8/21/84 "Domenici accepts Pratt proposal for TV debate" EP Times.

9/18/84 AJ "Domenici Leads Pratt Poll Shows"

9/18/84 AT "Reagan, Domenici hold huge leads in NM, Poll shows."

9/22/84 "Senatorial TV Debate Set Oct. 15" AT 10/10/84-- "Edging Up: Pratt's Gaining on Domenici According to latest Zia Poll." AT

Other headlines are contained in my notes taken prior to this list.

Re Pratt. LCSN 11/9/83 - in her announcement attacks the budget role.

"Above all, it was Dom's full support of Reaganomics that made him the architect of a budget that has devastated human services and jobs in this country."

*How you get tagged with the Budget back home no matter how hard you struggle vs the President in Washington.

Alb. J. article by John Robertson "Would Be Domenici Opponents Span Democratic Spectrum" - he describes Pratt. "has a strong liberal reputation in political circles...(+) is relying heavily on non-traditional, though fervent factions of supporters."

Democratic Party Chairman in Bern. County says of Pratt "Pratt has no doubt been, I would say, at the ultra liberal end of the party. She is probably a lot more different from PD than Nick F. Whether that would give her a better position or a worse position vs. Domenici is hard to tell at this time."

article by Doug McClellan in El Paso Times - 5/21/84 calls Pratt "the most ideological of the Dem. Sen. candidates."

"Pratt hopes to fashion a winning coalition of labor supporters and minorities, peace activists, environmentalists and women to capture the June 5 primary election."

She wants issue-oriented campaigns - only way to beat PD.

Words to describe her are "spunky" "fighter", "aggressive", "optimism", "social purpose".

She visited Nicaragua at invitation of Saudanistas, marched in anti-war demonstrations.

She calls Franklin "a mushy moderate".

Pratt "NM has a real strong progressive history to it. I don't think it's conservative."

Fred McCaffrey article in LCST. "Judy Pratt sure to run a good race." Thinking only of primary, though. "She has put together a combination of groups which will be staunch in her support. Most of them cannot picture themselves voting for anyone else...they work hard for her and for what she

stands for. And the campaign...above all has forward momentum..."

"Pratt is fond of Dom. personally...(but) she detests almost everything he stands for politically...a race between the two of them would give New Mexicans as clear a choice of political philosophies as the state has ever seen." But that is not what happened. It's so frequent that observers think they have a clash on the issues and that's not what they get--not if Chris Garcia's poll is correct.

AJ 5/27 endorses Pratt--speaks of her "hard work, honesty and sincerity of motivation," "left of center liberal", "a general election race between JP and PD would be as clearly defined a race on political issues and philosophy as has been offered in a long time."

Oct. 9 AJ + AT - Pratt launches last blast at Pete's campaign contributions--calling him "money bags" and "a wall street senator".

AT - "Pratt had a chair filled with canvas bags with dollar signs painted on the side" and "tossed out a lengthy computer printout sheet that she said contained the names and amounts of PAC contributors." 470,000 from PACs, 300 of nation's largest corp. - She has raised 250,000.

AJ - "Most of Pratt's PAC contributions have come from labor, peace and women's groups."

Also she got a big story on EPTimes from this press conference.

27 May AJ - "Three Dems. Debate Domenici at AP Gathering."

"Pratt wins Senate Nomination." EP Time - Franklin says of Pratt "Her Supporters were undying."

AJ July 25 - "Anaya to Campaign for Mondale, Pratt"

AT Aug 4 - "Anaya Pro-Pratt Antics Aid Domenici."

Fran: "The Senator keeps ~~s~~telling me how well the campaign is going. I tell him, 'Senator, the campaign is going well because of what you have done for the past 12 years.' We wouldn't have this kind of campaign if we didn't have this kind of Senator."

Fran: "You have to be two people in his job. The man you see in New Mexico is so different from the man you see in Washington. He gets right down and visits with people here. We spoil our constituents. He is so accessible to them. And then they come to expect it." (sigh) I said I could hardly get to see him in Washington.

Going to the women's fund raiser as we looked for the house he was somewhat upset and apprehensive. "Whoever scheduled this event, anyway." "The last thing I feel like doing this late at night is answering questions." "I hope it's the house with the four cars." "Oh, shit look at all those cars." "Oh, shit, look at all those cars. Just my luck." "Look, not a bumper sticker on any one of those cars." (Steve said they used 275,000 bumper stickers.) And afterwards when he had had some pretty tough questions, "That kind of event should never be scheduled at this stage of the campaign. I'm tired. I could make a mistake, get it reported in the paper and blow the whole thing wide open."

On the maj. leader's race. "I know you can tell, from travelling around with me and listening to me that I would make a good spokesman for the party. I can get up and talk about any subject. But I don't think my colleagues know me that way. They know me in a very limited role. That hurts me, I think."

Another thing, I got started late. If I hadn't been so tied up with the budget falling to pieces the last three months, I would have started talking to people earlier." He said conservative groups lobby hard in these races. They did for McClure for conference and will for him again.

"I think if I get by the first ballot, I've got a chance.

I only need two more votes to stay in the race. And I have a good shot at six people to get those two I need. Those aren't bad odds."

He said he had Armstrong, Tribble, Hatfield, Denton and Gorton and that he's working to keep Wilson and Cohen neutral. He had called those two during the campaign he said. We agreed that the personal attention idea would be the basis of the vote. "They talk about spokesmen for the party. But that doesn't mean a damn thing. The vote will be divided on purely subjective grounds." *Evans + Tribble nominated him*

Stevens running pretty well--on basis of appropriations and pro-defense. Lugar is acceptabled, Dole may not even run "he's got an awful lot to lose." McClure has the conservative vote and "the power of his intellect one on one.

We talked about yard sticks for success in leading them to the Senate. "I'll bet you a lot of Senators could not tell you what measuring stick they use to judge their success as Senators. I don't think most of them could tell you how they determin whether or not they should stay in the Senate. I'm not sure I could explain to you exactly ^{what measuring stick} ~~how the yardstick~~ I use for myself. It would be interesting to ask 15 members of the Republican party in the House who have been in the minority for 10 years why they stay there. Certainly they can't believe they have any effect on government. Unless they sell themselves a lot of bullshit or have some philosophy about it, I don't see why they would stay. If I had stayed in the minority, I probably would have stayed on. But I'm not sure I could tell you why. You can't do anything. Being in the minority is tough. It's so much easier to measure success when you're in the majority and you can actually see your influence on government."

I said I thought everyone wanted a sense of accomplishment and he agreed; but he was getting out of the car at that point. The conversation started

because he asked me how I measured success as a teacher. "Measuring stick" was the term he used.

Rawls "The strategy of this campaign is different from 1978. In 1978 we had an Albuquerque and southern strategy. We wrote off the north. A couple of years out we did a poll that showed us at 53-45, if Anaya became the candidate. So we were looking for a 52% victory. This year, we are contesting everywhere in the state. We could see a chance for a big victory, so the strategy is to wash over the entire state." There is either a ton of hindsight here or the people who talked to me in 1978 did not know what they were doing.

When Pete (and Scooter) and I talked at Mama Mia's, I talked a lot about trust and Pete agreed that it took a long time to build. But, he said, "Under the right circumstances, they can take it away from you. You can get 90% one year in a county and then lose it all the next time. If I ran against a hispanic in the North--like last time--I'd lose a lot of it just like that." But I don't think he would, among those who trust him. Maybe up north, trust is doing things--like the asquias. An awful lot of Monday's conversation centered on the unpredictability of the north. Tom says you "can't have a strategy for the north." Scooter says "We really don't have a campaign organization in the north. Tom and I make the decisions and no one in Albuquerque has the the slightest idea what is going on up here. No one who hasn't lived in the north all his life can have any idea what goes on up here." "Tom started from scratch and has performed miracles here. If we had started a month earlier, we might have gotten organized. But it's too late now. There's no point cutting off a hand because it is not growing."

In the motel with Bell and Rawls there was talk about Rio Arriba county. It's one they feel sure they will lose, but they keep hoping--Pete says he

heard that "there's more action in that county than ever before. But the rural areas will vote straight Democratic. We'll carry Espanola, but all the little towns will kill us." It's the only county in the state which printed literature in spanish as well as english, telling people to vote the straight Democratic ticket."

As we flew to Espanola, Pete said "I want to deliver a message, if I can, to the people of Rio Arriba that the days of the patron are numbered and that they should join the rest of the state in supporting me." And he tried to deliver that message at the breakfast and in his radio talk.

If the theme I want to pick up from this trip is PD's interest in party building and in 2 party politics, then Rio Arriba represents the farthest end of the partisan spectrum. It will be the last county to develop two party politics.

In some ways the most interesting comment came from Wilfred _____ at breakfast. He has taken his two weeks vacation to work for Pete and Lou. He got interested in politics when he became leader of movement to stop the Bureaus of Real. from building some canal in the north. Then when the alternative was put forward, to rebuild the acequias, Pete helped. And Wilfred said "I felt it was my duty to help Pete, because he helped us. I had never been in party politics before."

Anyhow, Wilfred's comment was "Everybody talks about Central America and how the people there are not free. The people of Rio Arriba county are not free. They are afraid to speak up, afraid that they will be punished if they speak up. The patron system is a system of fear. I believe everyone should be free to vote the way he thinks is right. But people here cannot do that. That's why it is so hard to get them to vote for Republicans. I should go to Central America and work for the U.S. government, because I understand what it is like there."

The Patron, Emilia Naranjo, is State Senator, County Manager and Chairman of Democratic party. Pete says he's getting old. Tom says he's in his 50's and has a long way to go. But Tom says he will have difficulty with Judy Pratt. "He will not know how to deal with Judy Pratt; and she will not know how to deal with him. How can he say to her 'You must give us 15,000-20,000 to spread across this county or I'll kick your face in?' She won't understand that kind of politics. Besides she doesn't have the money. A lot of these men will have a very hard time voting for a woman. And she cannot speak Spanish. When people ask me to explain why Pete will do well in the north, I ask them to tell me how often they have heard Judy Pratt lapse into Spanish the way Pete can."

On the radio program, the MC asked him to speak in Spanish and he would do a little, but does not seem comfortable with it.

Tom says that what they did in the north was to preempt people. "As soon as Judy Pratt won the nomination, we went to key Democrats in the northern counties--not the chairmen but the second level people in the party--walked right up on their front porch and asked them to commit themselves. By the time Judy Pratt could get her act together up here, we had a huge number of Democrats lined up in the Democratic Alliance for Domenici. We announced the Alliance at a big meeting in Santa Fe, right under Anaya's nose. He was furious; and he fired one person the very next day. That did not sit well with a lot of Democrats. And we began to pick up more. Sometimes I think the best thing we have going for us in this campaign is Governor Tony Anaya." In the paper, one guy even wants to impeach Anaya. And there's lots of talk of how the northerners feel he has not delivered and how unpopular he is. Scooter even said he thought Anaya would have to leave the state when his term was up. It's

little leadership, by making them feel they've got a chance and by drawing people to the events. I think the blitz had an impact... It'll help give us some action in the Heights. I'm sure the local candidates picked up some votes there. The Democrats know they aren't going to get anymore free rides."

Pete is a kind of recruitment umbrella.

The obvious thing at the "blitz" house meetings was that the candidates all clung to Pete Domenici and most mentioned him--one worked for him as intern, one said "I only came here to ask you to vote for Pete Domenici," others just said how pleased they were to be on the ticket with him, some said get out and vote for Pete Domenici at the top of the ticket and don't forget me at the bottom of the ticket.

After I tried to feist a budget process question on him ^(on the plane) and failed, he returned to the subject.

"Did you see where the Journal endorsed little Don Devoti this morning? One of the amazing things that's happened over the past twelve years is the number of people who have worked for me or helped me and are now starting careers of their own. Invariably, they are associated with me. When the Journal endorsed Lou Gallegos they said "worked for Senator Domenici". When they endorsed Devoti they said "worked for Pete Domenici." Everywhere you go, there are people who came into politics with me. There's a network of Domenici people all over the state. Those people can be the future of the Republican party in New Mexico." At coffee, after the Realtors fund raiser, I aksed him how long he had been thinking about party building. "I started thinking seriously about it two years ago. I had thought about it for a long time, but never did anything about it. I didn't think it was doable. Or, at least, I didn't think I could do it. But we took a big licking in 1982 and the party was badly divided. I

thought I could win, by myself, in 1984. But I also thought that I could provide a little leadership in bringing the party together. But it's tough. Some of those people are real mean. They've never forgiven me for helping Jerry Ford. They kept me off the delegation. And they don't think I vote with Reagan enough. They'll go with Jack Kemp in 1988 and that will be a disaster. I'm going to try, but I'm not going to beat my head against the wall. That's not a Senator's role. And I can't give it a lot of time. It will have to be done by surrogates. And I now have a lot of surrogates. What gives me hope is that we have brought a new generation into the Republican party and they are waiting to take over--the young business and professional types. If someone asks those people, they will respond. (names a local bank president) But the whole thing could just come apart if the economy goes bad. What the party needs at the top is a home grown Republican President--not an outsider like Ronald Reagan. We need someone to lead the party, who will give a wide latitude to the various parts of it. The party cannot be homogeneous. Howard Baker is the kind of person I mean. He could do it, but I'm not sure he has the appeal."

In the motel, there was really more intra Republican talk than anything else--not from Pte, but from Bell and Rawls. Bell: "Judge Meskell has a real chance to win because Domenici is so strong at the top of the ticket." Rawls: "Those southern counties are in a frenzy. They've been waiting so long they are dying to vote straight Republican. Domenici will get 80% there and Meskell will get a huge vote." Bell: "I want us to run 20 points ahead of Reagan, to beat the living shit out of those guys and give the moderate wing of the Republican party some recognition." Rawls: "In some southern counties, the local candidates of both parties have pictures of Pete Domenici on the cover of

interesting that, now, through the haze of time, the Domenici people tend to see him as a good Attorney General gone wrong. But in 1978, they had no such high opinion of him, and they were caught napping.

A change from former attitudes on Pete's part is a fairly calm attitude toward the press. The Journal endorsed him generously. The Journal endorsed Reagan generously. The Journal wants a two-party system in New Mexico. Paul Wieck has come back to the middle. Robertson is liberal but fair. Williams doesn't know what he is. Steinberg is hopelessly liberal, but doesn't rankle-- he just wants a fight in the Senate race and can't get one. Press coverage has been fair but meagre.

Pete: "One difference between this campaign and the last one is that we don't have the press following us around this time. You don't see any stories in the paper about us do you? That's just the way we want it. We don't want to give her any publicity." *Well, very little coverage last time either.*

So, they are running another low key campaign. And, in a way, it's for a similar reason. They are sitting on a lead. Last time they thought it was pretty good. This time they think it is huge. And a lot of the talk in the motel Monday evening was about the size of it. When I suggested Lujan's figure of 70%, they all said it was too high--that the indians alone accounted for 6 or 7%, that they would lose several northern counties, etc. Bell said he had gone from 62 to 64 in his projections. "I'm beginning to believe the polls." (And I've got two sheets of "Bell's predictions"). They talk of a victory of historic proportions. "You will break both records for statewide races-- percent of vote and margin of votes."

Pete to me in the plane. "Manuel Lujan tells me--and he's had years of experience--that right now I am the most popular politician in the history of New Mexico." I think that is what he feels and what he would like the election to demonstrate. I think he wants that victory of historic proportions

because he believes he has earned it. Even though he said (after the comment above) that: "Franklin would have been a more difficult candidate. He's more mainstream. He would have had more organization support, and more money. How much more difficult is hard to say." I suggested Ed Lugan's 5% figure and he didn't respond one way or the other.

On the campaign, some little evidence that, again, the staff sat on Domenici a little. Bell said, "We have deliberately run a low key campaign so far, and we are just peaking. One person--whose name I won't mention--wanted to come out early with guns blazing. But we talked him out of it. People are still putting up yard signs. There's no over confidence."

Maryjo told me they spent the day in headquarters talking about what to do about the typewriters and tables after the election was over. Dick and Barbara spent the day talking about the phone bank operation. They divide people up, in a voter identification, according to how many of the top 3 Republicans (Pres., Senate, Congress) they intend to vote for. Then they contact the preferred ones (3 for 3) before and on election day. The question is whether to call those people who only say they will vote for PD "the strays". There are 3500 such in Santa Fe County, and they face "a moral decision" about calling these, since they will come out and vote against Lou. Pete says "It depends on whether he has a chance of winning. If he has no chance, get out the vote." (So, I'm sure, they'll get out the vote--since Lou is lagging badly.)

Lou seemed sad. Pete said that Lou got zero effect out of the senior citizens event with Dorcas Hardy - Asst. Secy of HHS. "They made a big mistake bringing her out here. She was zero help. Lou must have nothing to do if he's following us around to our little fill-in events."

They are doing fillers now Pete says "Bell just wants to keep me out of his hair. And he's right."

He has enormous respect for Bell and Rawls, thinks they would be a top flight maj. leader's staff--better than Baker, who was so quick that he outran his staff. "He was so quick." He talked admiringly of Baker's ability "to sit around and listen to all of us talk about a problem and then, (Snaps his fingers) sum it up in a very few beautifully chosen words. One of his great strengths was his ability to come up with just the right words--like 'riverboat gamble.' It's an important skill for a leader." He's thinking about leadership.

If you let these guys--or maybe it's just PD--be quiet and wait for them to talk, or if you just "talk around" as Pete calls it, you find out what they are thinking about. With Pete, this time, it seems to be the leadership and the Republicans.

His preoccupation with the Republicans came up on Friday and Saturday during the blitz. He often started his little talk by saying "I know some of you here are Democrats. We welcome you. But I hope you will understand that we believe America works best when two parties compete and that we are proud that the Republican party is getting strong enough--not yet ^{perhaps} ~~perhaps~~--to bring a two party system to New Mexico. When one party controls everything, that is not right. I can remember when I first ran, going to Republican county rallies that produced 17 people. I can remember going to Republican county committee meetings where 4 or 5 people showed up. That was not right and it was not healthy for democracy. We couldn't get people to run. So we are proud of the progress our party has made and proud of the entire slate of local Republican candidates who are with us tonight. We are proud that so many people in Next Mexico are coming our way."

Monday, the first thing he said to me on the plane was "Those events in the Heights were great. The local candidates felt like they were part of the team. They appreciated the fact that I was there. I think I've been able to give a

their brochures--the Republican candidate says 'Pete Domenici says of me...' and the Democratic candidate says 'Pete Domenici says of me...' That gets us into a lot of trouble with the local republicans. "PD It's nothing I said that produced that." Bell: Professor, what is the meaning of the word 'disingenuous'?

I suppose the bottom line is that evidence of Pete's strength is everywhere. People say to him, at every step, "Good luck, but you won't need it." Or "Why are you working so hard, you've got it in the bag." Or "You're going to win by the biggest margin in history." etc. etc.

On the first debate, I said something about whether it wasn't a relief when it was over. He said "The one issue we did not want to see in the next morning's headlines was social security. We had an answer prepared to make it a non-issue. But she never used it. Once I realized she wasn't going to use it, I knew we were not going to be in trouble." Said that his reply to her comment re his anti women's stance--"If you say so" just came out and it worked.

For the second debate "In my opening statement, I will not pay any attention to my opponent. I'll just go 'over the top.'" Bell: "She's going to come after you like a flaming banshee. You just have to be nice to her." They kicked around the idea that he might chide her for moderating her positions. "I'm glad to see that the campaign has been an educational experience for you.' Pete didn't jump--"humor looks a lot different on paper than it does when you use it." It reminded me of his earlier comment. "The debate is not judged on issues, it's all judged on style. That's what's so frightening about them."

"I'll give her credit for this: she says the same thing to every group she talks to. She's consistent... I cheat a little more than she does, depending on the group I'm talking to." I said "I noticed that he had toned down his rhetoric when he talked to the women. Just talked in softer language--and he said "you're right."

Lou Gallegos hit a nice theme for Pete in his remarks at the Santa Fe lunch. "We have a saying in New Mexico: 'tell me who you're with and I'll tell you what you are. I'm with Pete Domenici.'"

Pete talked about abolishing the governor's office in Washington. and asked one of the State repres. to introduce it in the legislature. "It's no damn good. All they do is use it to beat up on me. It ought to be abolished."

In the same vein, he talked about looking into the community block grant program and he talked to Santa Fe councilman Mac Morgan about that. At one point he said about Anaya "We haven't said one damn thing about him in the campaign. But when it's over we're sure going to find a way to look into what's happening in the community* block grant program. It's being used as a political slush fund. My friends in the southern part of the state--who deserve them--are not getting their share." Again, a kind of party leadership--at least an anti-Anaya leadership.

Tom Padilla, riding around Rio Arriba and giving rule of thumb observations. "We didn't see a Judy Pratt sign in this county till last week. But, look, they are all on public rights of way and utility poles. You don't see them on private property. In Santa Fe county we have hundreds of Domenici law signs. And we have purposely put them on the lawns of prominent Democrats. People see that and get the message."

Excerpts from one of PD's "blitz" talks.

"I hope you don't think we politicians plan our careers with great diligence. I got into 'politics on a dare.'"

"I started on the Albuquerque City Commission. It taught me how to be a Senator, because I had to deal with people's problems. It was a real send off to Washington... The joy is to have people's problems in your

mind's eye and not to forget where you came from...to have participated in solving people's problems, from Little Raton and its water problems, the dikes up North, the Veterans Hospital. That is a great joy."

He rarely mentioned "my opponent" but he did twice. Once he said "She and I wouldn't agree on a clear day that the sun was up" and another time said something similar - night to day type contest.

"The Days are ^{over} when one party can win just by putting a person on the ballot. When I began, I went to counties that were 17-1 Democratic. I went to Republican control committee meetings with 6 people there. Now we have a chance everywhere."

"I went into politics on a dare. Five people met with me in Magnuson's Restaurant. Now, everywhere I go, people tell me they were at that breakfast. I've concluded I was in a rally and didn't know it. It's the same with my pitching career. Everywhere I go, all over the state, I find people who say they played baseball with me. If it's ten o'clock, they all say they batted against me. If it's after midnight, they all say they hit home runs off me." This gets a big laugh, but it touches his local roots, his growth in popularity, his ability to laugh at himself. Key fact that everybody wants to be associated with him now.

I heard Pete introduced in several ways "the only real budget balancer in the federal government," "the future President of the United States," "the next majority leader of the U.S. Senate," "the only true statesman in the history of New Mexico." There's a lot of pride in that--some of it is small state pride, I think; some of it is any state pride.

"I know more about NM than any New Mexican--from Raton to Las Cruces, from Tucumcari to Hidalgo County. "

"You remember those things when you sit around the room with 5 people and maybe the president."

"I never tire of coming home, sharing your problems and solving them."

Story of Wagon Mound--which I have on tape - more meaningful than UVa.