

*when put the name that
appears here
+ mispronounced.*

John Glenn

October 10-11, 1980

*not checked w/.
made a read
then*

Steve Avakian, Irwin Silverman, Mary Jane Veno, Louie Bauer

I flew to Warren Thursday night and got over in morning, to join Glenn party as he spoke to a businessman's group there.

Avalon Inn - Warren (Trumbott County) - Glenn speech to TMA T Manufacturer's Association.

Introduction by Executive Director of TMA. "Senator Glenn is a pen pal of mine. I often write to him telling him how I think he should vote. He seldom takes my advice..."

Glenn - "I think I got the needle there." Tells story about J.D. Rockefeller. Panhandler says to JD "I have come here to meet you because I heard you are a very generous man."

JD. "Are you going back the way you came?" "Yes." "Then I hope you will deny the rumor." Similarly, I hope you will deny the rumor that my views are hostile to the business community."

Government spending, productivity, energy as key topics.

Talks against constitutional amendment on budget balancing and across the board cuts and for sunset legislation.

Some talk about other Senators. "I went over to Bill Roth on the Senate floor and said to him 'Bill I want to vote with you but tell me where are you going to make specific cuts.'"

He goes through examples of his questions to Roth. "Are you going to cut social security 5% across the board; are you going to cut service in the paraplegic wards of the veteran's administration by 5% across the board, etc."

"I've been working on the sunset bill for a long time with Ed Muskie before he became Secretary of State..." said we aren't getting sunset mostly

"because the older committee chairmen don't want to increase the work load of their committees."

He departs from speech and gets most eloquent re R & D needs and comments on both by Servan-Schreiber - emphasizing that the success of America from plowing large proportion of GNP back into "inquiry" R & D--book written in 1969 and obviously made an impression on him.

Importance of R & D in energy - wants most of all to find way to store electrical energy (Steve Wilson says "He'll talk 4 1/2 hours on that subject if you'll let him." - will help, among other things, electric autos.

"If we let the Japanese and Germans beat us to the punch in developing commercially feasible electric car, we won't be asking the government to bail out Chrysler; we'll be asking the government to make Detroit into a national park on a scenic river...I hope no one beats us to that one or we really will take a drubbing in our automobile industry and in our trade."

Said if he could have one wish in energy area it would be electrical storage.

"I've been talking about the county. But what I'm talking about relates to Ohio. Of all 50 states, Ohio has more actual jobs related to foreign export than any state in the union--more even than NY or California. That came as a shock even to me when I learned about it 2 years ago... One out of every 7 workers in Ohio work to furnish products for the world market. It's not just a drill in semantics when we talk about international trade and American foreign policy."

Questions: B-1 bomber, power of EPA, Hazardous waste, Southern over-funding relative to northeast and midwest.

Re getting money for bomber research - "I put in an amendment and I won my amendment on the Senate floor. We had a good debate and got many compliments on the floor clarifying the problem."

B-1--16,000 Ohio jobs, 8 major companies - "We'd be biggest dollar beneficiaries of program. It's not only good for Ohio, but I believe in it. We must have capability of fighting conventional war." He doesn't want to build B-1; he wants to do research on something like it.

Re EPA - he emphasizes "pulling back on standards unless there is a health hazard." "I've argued with EPA till I'm blue in the face."

He answers B-1 question at much greater length.

Not in favor of superund since it taxes unfairly.

"I'm proud of what I've been able to get for Ohio...we have a booklet from 4 nuclear plants from Portsmouth to...(he gets into the Portsmouth thing). The question invited working together by NE Senators. "Hard to fight against the tide of normal demographic changes in the country.... The change is that people want to move south and west and it's difficult to tell people where they want to live. We have to out compete them. "We have here everything anyone could want." (Cleveland airport sign) Within 500 miles of this sign live 2/3 people in US. We are the hub of everything that makes - major industries of the country - her technical industry was his hard scrabble to some of finest farland - liberal, Klu Klux Kaln - every ethnic group that ever thought of being organized - summer festivals. We have everything that made this country great in the geographical confines of this state.

"I've taken on as one of my major purposes--an outreach program to make sure we get everything we are entitled to - 14 seminars - what's available and what do you have to do to get them - he lists the projects he has gotten. "As far as outcompeting other states...we need tax abatement programs and good school systems."

California - "It wasn't just beaches and palm trees that enticed people out there. It was the educational system and the highly trained people that were there."

He does not take credit for keeping NASA in Cleveland. And that is typical. He is modest, doesn't jump to take credit. Is very careful not to over-promise himself.

An idea: Senators don't work by mechanical formula the way House members do. Harder to generalize. But isn't that theme of Home Style too? Is Mayhew formula as good for Senate?

He's against personal tax cuts or large ones and says tax cut ought to be 1/4 personal and 3/4 business. Otherwise, will be inflationary.

"Ought to consider a R & D innovativeness innovation on the hallmark of our success. I would take R & D perhaps, and make it bottom line tax credit. If we don't get back to that we'll be outcompeted all over the world and we should be. Ohio can't afford to get back into trade war, Hawley retributive trade policy. I can tell you that President Carter is to be complimented in that area."

"The staff put out that I'm anti-business is nonsense. Chamber of Commerce put out a report card. I've told them that it was as a rating system as I've see since I've been in Washington....It was the most nonsensical bunch of stuff I've ever seen. They went back and restructured it and I came out 5 of 6. Number one item they rated us on was how you handle cloture vote on filibuster in the Senate. How you voted on that was the

test on how you voted for Chamber of Commerce. I was spastic when I saw that. With all the problems we have that was number one! The report cut down my fund raising somewhat. That's all right. But I'm not anti-business. It's the goose that laid golden egg in the country."

Kiwanis Club in Youngstown (Mahoning County) Intro by Clingham Jackson
of Youngstown Vindicator.

Politicians like to have identities so people will know who they are voting for. When you have candidate, no one knows it, puts terrible burden on someone who never heard of him. Now we come to Glenn - I never heard of him till I saw him splash down. You heard of Ferguson Act-- much talked about in Ohio. It was written by Sam Ferguson. Glenn came to the same town as Sam Ferguson. So you can identify him that way. He was from crossroads of America. He's a young fella to be a U.S. Senator. Born year I entered high school. John has middle name "Herschel." Herschel Hunt was president of this club. Can make identification that way! Now we come to Senator Glenn. He's in more turbulent waters now than when he landed in Pacific, I'm sure. "A pleasure to introduce a great American."

He gave speech on steel industry. I have a copy of it. He added a word or phrase here or there. But he read the speech through. See p. 6 for example where he departed.

Questions: Japanese competition. Are we second class military? Draft?

Questions on military said "I have confidence in what you tell us about our military."

Re negotiating voluntary restrictions on Japanese exports. I've talked to people of Japanese embassy and ministry of international trade in Tokyo (getting them to cut back on their exports). I wrote a letter to the President. I had a discussion with the President...Now we have a resolution in Congress.

He wants to cut back autos to 500,000 "units" to 1979 levels.

"After I had proposed this to the President, the Japanese ministry suggested that in Japan. Says President of Ford Motor now he's suggested same idea. His friend from college. "I work in this not just because of Ohio, but

because I'm chairman of the Far East Subcommittee on Foreign Relations Committee". "Our trade to Far East greater than our trade to Europe - 4 years ago it was and last year it fell back to about even."

"Permit me an unhumble moment to brag about some projects I have brought in for Ohio." Talked about Taiwanese he invited to Ohio. They bought 20m in soybeans, last year 126m of industry and agriculture and then 90m more because we invited them in." "I'm not saying I can sit there in Washington and invite people to come in and bring billions and billions to Ohio, but we can be alert and take advantage of opportunities like that."

Re military superiority - "trend lines are against us." "I think we are superior overall but the handwriting is on the wall or the yellow flag is up."

Speaks very knowledgeably on military - B-52's. JG - sons are flying same aircraft their fathers did. Russian military expansionism all around Persian Gul when they are just coming up in strength. What will they do if they become superior. Talking about why he wants a bomber of some type and how he fought out an amendment "on the Senate floor in the morning."

Draft - "jury is out" he discusses pros and cons. "I don't want to commit myself one way or another until I see all the pluses and minuses of the thing."

Senators can talk about visiting with President, Cabinet members, foreign officials much easier than House members can. They talk more important."

Boilermakers Lodge 85 - Rossford, Ohio

Reception - "He was an astronaut and all. The world is proud of this man and his achievement."

"Running as hard as we can and when people say you are a shoo-in, don't you believe it. I remember in 1970, people told me I was a shoo-in. My opponent came in with a last minute media blitz and I went home a defeated candidate. You may have forgotten that, but I haven't."

He got down off podium and got half way out of the hall. The MC came to mike to thank him and said that Glenn was once a plumber too. When Glenn heard that, he shouted "That's right. I was a plumber." And he turned and ran back to the podium and jumped up on it and ran back to mike. MC said "You don't have to come back." He grabbed mike and said "My dad was a plumber in Concord." *A better pd would have milked this return.* ↴

I spent my summers digging holes for septic tank and I hated every minute of it. (laughter) I was the pipe threader and reamer and cutter and I cut, threaded and reamed miles of pipe. And that's before you had machines. That was hard going." (Cheers) He waved and left.

Re boilermakers, Irwin Silverman said "These people were our enemies in 1974, when we were running against Metzenbaum. We didn't have a friend in the world. Now they are great supporters." A lady sitting there during Glenn's talk said he was Republican at the start and was more labor oriented. I heard the comment elsewhere.

Several times--in the two speeches and in response to my question about diversity, Glenn talked about Ohio's diversity. In original case, he was talking about the appeal of Ohio to industry. If I piece it together and put it in the context of my question to him in the airplane, it goes like this. "Running a campaign in Ohio is like running a national campaign. We are almost a microcosm of the entire United States. There used to be a sign outside the Cleveland airport that said 'Within 500 miles of here 2/3 of the people of the United States.' We're not a seacoast state. We are at the crossroads of American society. We are the hub of America. We have most of the major industries--steel, autos, rubber, glass, machine tools. We have the technological industries of the future. We have all political thought, liberal and conservative.

We have all types of geography. We have hard scrabble land and some of the finest farmland in the county--right down there ahead of us and all the way to the Indiana border. We have every type of people and every ethnic group that ever thought of being organized. We have almost everything anyone could want. It's a tough state to represent. But it's a challenge. It's never boring, that's for darn sure."

He went through the same list when he was talking about Ohio's appeal to people as a place to live. "We have here everything anyone could want." Or "It's remarkable. We are not a seacoast state, but we have great deal of trade."

"The most horrible part of politics is fund raising. I don't know any politician who wouldn't rather wrestle a gorilla on the grass over there than ask someone for fifty cents." He said this as we walked into the Lucas County fund raiser. It was \$125 a plate and about 1000 people showed up for the roast--all party people.

He was one of a half dozen "roasters" and he fretted a lot about that. A person he had just hired, Dale _____, from Commerce department had written a speech for him. It was a string of one liners. Some were slightly off color and he worried about them. Irwin drove us down by the Maumee River and we sat in the car while John read us the jokes, seeing what our reaction was and deciding whether to keep each on in or out. I helped them interpret one and change the wording and Irwin said "We'll put you on the campaign staff." It was a help in rapport. "I'll either be the biggest success of the evening or the biggest dud. We'll soon see which." He was neither. He was adequate. He delivered his speech very quickly, not waiting for the laughs and not milking the lines. The other roasters said things that indicated a real personal, localized, relationship with Boyle. John's comments had none of that touch. They could

have been delivered about anyone. He clearly was very uncomfortable. He left immediately afterwards. He did not work the crowd. Even the MC caught the incongruity of Glenn in the company of this very local crowd when he said "John Glenn has orbited the earth and yet he finds the retirement of Bill Boyle one of the highlights of his life."

Down by water working on roast. "I'll either be the biggest success of this evening or the biggest dud. We'll soon find out which." Fretted a lot. Maumee River - sunset - he collects pictures of sunsets. "Sunny sunset" 3 or 4 times

The subsonic jet in A-7-Corsair did all armament testing on them.

I've been wanting to get the business speech out and this seemed like a good place to do that. That was a high level management group there today. And if you want to talk about Steel, Youngstown is the city to do it in. The Kiwanis seemed like a decent group to talk to. I gave a speech, with two or three of the same points in it to the Iron and Steel Institute in Pittsburgh two weeks ago. A lot of the people there were from Ohio. But since then, Carter came out with his plan."

"Carter has got to come in here soon if he wants to carry Ohio. All the polls I've seen show him 5-8 points down... (The morning I left, the Columbus Dispatch poll had Reagan 14 points ahead. There is a mystique about the Presidency, when he comes to town it's not the President coming to town that counts, it's the presidency coming to town that excites people. Out beyond the Hudson and the Potomac, people have faith in the Presidency. I feel that way, too. The Presidency is next to godliness to me, and not very far from it either. It's very important to our system. Out here in Ohio, the Presidency is respected. I've been trying to tell the Carter people that." Then he described at some length how Carter came to Steubenville and got "lots of hoopla" and to Columbus--likewise--in Air Force One, at time of lowest ebb in

the polls. People all came out to see him." "He asked me to come with him on Air Force One and I did. But I was worried that it would be a real dud. He was at 18 points in the polls and I thought we'd have three old ladies in tennis shoes at the airport saying 'Mr. President.' But we pulled up and there was the bunting and there was the band and there were 1500 people who just came out to see the President. And that was at his lowest point in the polls."

Talked about how people need to be talked to in terms of hope. "When I say that the future is an opportunity to make things better for our children, their faces light up and they nod their heads. That's what people want to hear--hope for the future and faith in the country--not the backbiting Jimmy Carter is doing. That causes us to lose faith in each other. We can have partisan politics, but we've got to work together to solve the great problems of this country." He said he'd been "sounding the theme of getting together and stressing hope for the future a lot. He had a nice quote from R. W. Emerson about revolution any time as opportunity. He quoted it by heart. Said he used it a lot.

Several times during the day he said "Politics shouldn't be about who is in the rose garden or who is under a white sheet going to some Klan rally. Nobody cares about who will debate whom or whether there will be an empty chair. That's trivia. People want to hear about the problems of this country, foreign trade, economic policy, jobs, energy."

"Some of my problems with the media are of my own making. What I'm going to say will sound self-serving, but it is the truth. I don't get my kicks in politics from the adoration you get. I've had all of that. I want to accomplish something in the Senate for Ohio, for the nation and for our position in the world. I want to work on amendments, fights in the committee

or on the floor for things I think are right within the concentric circles I talked about. I don't think about tooting my own horn. Several times I've had it happen that I've won a big battle on the Senate floor, come back to the office all excited about my victory and yet never even told my press secretary about it. I have been very poor on the PR aspects of the job. My attitude was that the press would pick up whatever I did, that they should pick it up. Then I would be amazed later to find that nobody back home knew what I had done. I was taken aback when I went home and found out how little they knew. I didn't think that was part of my job. I've learned that it's part of your job to keep people informed. So I'm going to change. We used print out press releases, but we didn't target them at all. We never made sure that the farm papers had the farm releases or the papers in the cities had the city-related releases. I'm going to put more effort into telling people what we are doing. We are going to set up a bigger operation in the office. When I've done something/I'll call 6 or seven editors around the state and talk to them about it. I hate to waste their time doing that, but I'm going to have to. Another thing. You know lots of Senators put out newsletters. They send them out several times a year under the frank. Most of the time they just serve to glorify the senator involved. I decided not to join that crowd. I think it's a great waste of the taxpayer's money. I didn't make a big thing out of it, but we just didn't send out any newsletters. But there is a legitimate aspect to newsletter--if you inform people about registration and the issues and not make it a people advertisement for the Senator. Assuming I am reelected, we are going to start sending out newsletters--quarterly or every other month or whatever. I've been thinking about these changes all year. The campaign--going back and forth from Washington--has sharpened my thinking on the subject. But I won't start until next year.

If I started this year, it would look like too much of a campaign move. Maybe waiting smacks too much of the purity thing, but I want to start at the beginning of the six year term and work it in, so people will get used to it. I'm disappointed that the press didn't do these things, but I guess that's just the way it is."

I'm not sure I got all of the above just right and may have left out some thing. But I have the clear gist of it--two key PR changes being made and his dislike of PR. Not a natural politician in the nuts and bolts working sense. He never asked, in the car, what press coverage they got or commented on it; very different.

Campaign education
I started by asking him whether he was deliberately telling Ohioans something they didn't know when he talked about one in seven jobs being export related. "Yes, I am. Ohioans aren't aware of the interconnectedness. Betts started campaigning by saying that all John Glenn is interested in is foreign policy. So I've been saying, every time I had the chance, that one in seven jobs in Ohio are foreign related. And it used to be one in eight. We aren't talking about foreign nations, we're talking about Ohio. Well, he stopped making that change. But I still stick it in here and there because I think it's something Ohioans don't know and should." *The campaign has educated John - on PR & on Ohio's interconnectedness (via Betts)*

I asked him if he wasn't educating them and he said yes.

I said that I was probing the education idea to get into his notion of his job.

"I think of the job as having three concentric circles. First there is Ohio. This is the state I represent. These are my people. This is my base. And I try to do all I can for Ohio. That's a very basic part of my job. For example, we have an outreach program whereby we have held 20 2-day seminars in different parts of the state to tell people what grants are available.

We do most of these for the smaller communities who cannot afford to hire fulltime grantsmen--and we get 200-300 people to each meeting. Ohio is my basic concern. But there is a second circle and that is the nation. I'm elected to be a United States Senator and there are problems that are much larger than any one state. We have to be concerned about those. And the third circle is the world, and how the United States fits into the rest of the world. Sometimes, this circle involves Ohio. I told you about the Taiwanese. I don't travel around the world looking for money for Ohio, but I keep my eyes and ears open. But I go abroad and talk with people of other governments about our relations. That is part of my job of increasing understanding. I also hold ~~the~~ hearings--like those on the status of the Taiwan agreement--that have nothing to do with Ohio.

"So there are three parts of the job--Ohio, the nation, the world. How much time you spend on each of the three is a variable. When the SALT treaty was up, I was immersed in SALT. Everything else stood still. Two weeks ago I spent two or three days just working on UDAG grants with groups of people from Ohio. I spent most of the time taking ~~to~~ people to Moon Landrieu's office--people from Columbus, Cleveland and Cincinnati. That was strictly Ohio business."

"I knew Ohio pretty well. One group I did not know well were the ethnic groups in the northern part of the state--the Hungarians, Slovenians, Serbians, you name it. They are all organized. They are proud of their heritage. They all have their festivals, their costumes, their food, ethnic dances. I knew of them, but I did not know them first hand. Now they are among my strongest supporters. They are among the most patriotic people in the country. They are 1st, 2nd or at most third generation Americans and they appreciate this country. I think they feel especially close to me

because of my past. I let it all hang out in two wars; I was an astronaut; I flew around the world--all for my country. They identify with that."

Also said that he had gotten to know Jewish voters better since he has run.

At one point, he talked about 1970 as being a set of "special circumstances" but never elaborated.

When we flew from Youngstown to Toledo, he asked me if I'd like to fly co-pilot beside him. He owns a twin engine Beachcraft Baron. We both put ear phones on, which had a little mike attached and we talked to each other through this system all through the flight. Mostly I listened as he talked to Youngstown, Cleveland and Toledo as they passed us out along the lake, over Sandusky. And I watched as he continually fiddled with controls and "explained" them to me. He loves to talk airplanes to others. It was a gorgeous day and we could see across Lake Erie--148mph at 6,000 feet.

The first thing I said to him was that it seemed to be relaxing to him "I love it. It's my therapy," he said. He flies his plane all around the state and says he likes "to come home to the apartment in Columbus every night and sleep in my own bed. I've campaigned for 16 hours a day for the last five days, and gotten by on 5 hours sleep a night, but I've been home every night." He hates to fly if he's not at the controls. Doesn't like to fly in anything bigger than he can fly. He also would rather drive than be driven.

Both in the daytime flight and after the flight home to Columbus, he said "I never tire of night flying. All the little towns stand out so distinctly, just like a bunch of diamonds. When you fly into Washington at night, it's a wonderland."

I asked him about the campaign, what stage it was at. "Right now we are in an unusual phase. We will be campaigning every day for four weeks,

because Congress has adjourned. We are going around to talk to every major paper in the state. We are meeting with every group we can. We really started campaigning hard at the beginning of the year. There haven't been more than 3 or 4 weekends since the beginning of the year that we haven't been in Ohio for the weekend, or at least part of it. The hard part of the job is when you have to race back and forth trying to do your work in Washington and yet be home as much as you think you should."

Said he started fundraising last year. "This is a particularly hard year for fundraising. For one thing there is competition from the presidential race and all the other races. For another thing, people think I don't need it. They think I'm a shoo in and they are hanging back. I don't look at it that way. But it explains why we went to that fund raiser this morning. Imagine, 3 1/2 weeks out, and we are still fundraising. We can't do as much TV as we would like. But we have enough to put on a credible campaign. We have a 4 1/2 minute spot running mostly on daytime television, to catch the women and the elderly who watch a lot of television then. It's pretty good. A couple of heartfelt things came through. Peter Hart saw it by accident and called to say he thought it was the best political commerical he had seen this year. Then we are preparing a 30 minute program to run later in the campaign. I've seen the rough cuts and it's pretty good."

That's about all I got out of him on the plane ride. (Well, I recalled a couple more later.) On the ground, Steve Wilson mentioned that a poll showed that people liked him, but couldn't say much that he had done. "I doubt if people could tell you much about what anyone's specific positions were unless someone harped on just one issue all the time. I'm not a johnny one note. I don't care if I'm not known for one particular issue. I talked to you about the conception of the concentric circles. If I do a good job across the board

and people feel that I do a good job on the whole--then I'd be satisfied. (The comparison with Metz was implied because Steve mentioned it. But JG did not.

When Steve told him that Bett's polls showed Glenn's lead had dropped from 4-1 to 3-1, Glenn said. "If we win by 3-1, I'll let him have his gain in the polls." "They are thinking, themselves, in terms of 3-1.

That's why they are running a "relaxed campaign" in Mary Jane's terms. "There are certain things we don't think he has to do. He doesn't have to go 7 days a week. He doesn't have to debate his opponent. John believes this, too."

As for Glenn, my taste of his attitude came in discussing the weekend. "We are going to have a relaxing weekend. After you've been getting 5 hours sleep a night for a week, it begins to wear thin. We'll do a county fair tomorrow. A high school class down there has adopted me and that should be fun. Then Sunday there is a Columbus Day Parade in Columbus. It's a big event. But other than that, we'll just reconstitute ourselves for the next week's schedule."

Saturday morning he said "I must have been running on adrenalin when I got home. I read till 1:30 and then it was just like someone pulled the switch. I had a hard time waking up at 10:30 this morning." His staff thought he still looked tired, but better that rest. But I never got any sense of urgency about the campaign. It was "relaxed" and "credible." That was about it. He did go hard the one day we had. But Stewart would do that 7 days a week.

Apparently, written speeches--of which he had two yesterday--are a new thing with him. "I used to like in Abe Lincoln--two lines on the back of an envelope and let go." He kidded some about his "great speeches" and did not take them overly seriously. Steve said "It sure was good to have some speeches

to hand out to the press people." Many Jane laughed about how they stayed up till 4:30 a.m. getting them done. Said "We were so punchy that when it said "underline China" we typed in "underline China." Glenn said "No wonder my speeches were applauded so loudly."

One other conversation during the morning flight. I mentioned how pretty it was to see the football stadium lit up at night and he said "Tonight, my home town high school named after me, John Glenn High is playing one of its biggest rivals. Off the record, I'd a lot rather be going to the football game than where we're going. I thought iwas going to be a pep rally for precinct committeemen, but instead it's going to be a 'roast' for the retiring county chairman. It will be an unusual event." When we left it, later, he said, "That was a weird evening." The next day he commented mostly on how "some of the jokes were so raunchy I wouldn't even tell them at a Marine Corps stag party."

We flew into Toledo and went to the opneing of the Glenn Headquarters there. He and Lud Ashley spoke. There were people protesting lack of bus service for the elderly and layoffs of maintenance workers at the housing authority. John took them inside, sat and took notes while they talked and said he couldn't promise anything, but would look into it. The people said that federal grants were involved in both cases. He told them Louis Bauer was in charge and he would turn it over to him.

On way back to the car, he spied the Republican Headquarters and ran across the street and went in and shook hands with all the startled workers. They asked him if he wanted any literature. He laughed, waved and breezed out. The idea just appealed to him--a bit whimsical I thought--and "little boy" like. I saw that "little boy" in him several times.

The aldies at his headquarters had given him a bag of cake and cookies

he pencilled
out the
raunchiest
jokes in
Toledo -
just as he
did in
Repelco
speech
3 yrs later!

and when we got to the car, he said, "I'm going to sit in the back and eat cake and cookies. Politics doesn't have to be a hateful business."

As we pulled away, we passed a Brinks truck. "Look at the Brinks truck. Can we get some samples? We're having trouble fundraising."

At his headquarters, a woman asked him to autograph the story about his wife Annie, in People Magazine. It tells how she overcame her stuttering. "I'm so proud of what she did. I'd like to stop the campaign, buy up 3,000 copies of that magazine and hand them out on the street corner." Annie is obviously everyone's favorite. I heard from several people what a wonderful person she is that she can't be real. I didn't meet her. She was preparing a speech which she gave to women's Democratic group in Akron on Saturday and it was a big deal for her. On the way home, John got some cider and a pumpkin. "I've got to stop and get a pumpkin and cider for Annie." He also bought some fudge at the fair for Annie and himself. "I'm a chocaholic." I bought some and he ate mine all the way home. Often he would say to someone. "I'm sorry Annie couldn't come." He talked on the way down about how Annie loves sugar waffles that you get at the fair. He also noted that "when we were kids my dad and Annie's dad would take us around to the county fairs, the Muskingham County Fair, the Coshockton County Fair, the Lancaster Fair--now it's the Fairfield County Fair. There were some others, but those were the regular ones." His memories with Annie go back a long time. Irwin Silverman said they had "a great marriage," stable and very loving. "She loves her John and would do anything he wants to do. She's alive, she's fun, she loves to sing, she likes crazy people, etc. etc. Well, we'll see. I suppose the fact that she has overcome a handicap makes people admire her. But Irwin speaks of loving her "You'll fall in love with Annie." Well, Glenn seems awfully stable to me, and that's a help if his marriage is that good."

On the way from the Headquarters opening to Boilermaker's reception, it became clear that JG isn't great on names. Steve had to write out the names of the leaders. "Do I know him? I think I met him once, but I can't remember where or when." But let's not generalize. He knew Mary and Dan-- at the County Fair. "They are Southern Ohio salt of the earth people. There's Mary! Look at the hat she's got on." And he waved to Domenic out in the crowd at the opening. Domenic said later "All I want is that recognition, that wave to me in the crowd."

At the opening, I talked with Domenic Mulvalo(?) who was with John in 1974. He said that this campaign was "tasteless. It has no salt." He said it was unexciting and he said John was poor at politics. "We had to kick his ass every minute to make him campaign the way he should. He doesn't stroke people. He doesn't create excitement. It's hard to keep people working for him. They just fall away. He's a great guy and a great Senator, but he's not a politician. He's a hero. Look at him signing autographs. He'll never be beaten."

I asked if JG came home much. "Bad, bad," he said. "He didn't even establish constituency offices for three years--not until Metzenbaum did it and he copied him." If this is true, then the lack of district offices is like his lack of PR--something he had to learn, but which comes instinctively to former House members. Which is why I need non legislators in my group.

Of course John Glenn may not have to be an ordinary politician. He is a hero. At the headquarters and at the boilermakers, he spent an enormous amount of time signing autographs Steve said. "It adds 15 minutes to every stop. Still, it's not as bad as it was in 1974. He's a little more the Senator now and a little less the astronaut." At the boilermakers, the MC said, at one point, "The Senator is on a tight schedule. Anyone who wants an

autograph and doesn't have one had better come up right now. We want to start proceedings." At the reception, mostly he had his picture taken with each of the several union groups there and then signed autographs. (I wanted one myself!) I had never seen so much picture taking and autograph signing. It's hard, as Steve Wilson said, to look at him and not see the astronaut instead of the Senator.

"It took me three years to rid Sheriff--of Canton--of the habit of giving me the VIP treatment escorting me into town. He loved to use me as an excuse to run red lights with the siren going. I hated that. Finally, I told him if you do that again, we'll peel off and go in on our own on some other road. He stopped." Glenn doesn't like that attention. He's had it all.

Irwin told me a story about how "All the Washington correspondents were taking bets on how long it would take John to get a swelled head like every other Senator. I told them he wouldn't change. He had had all the adulation you could get from the whole world. If that hadn't change him, what made them think the Senate would. It didn't."

Steve was willing to have me come but was protective of John. He didn't make an attempt to introduce me till after lunch, on the way out of the YMCA. And he cut me out of the morning fund raiser entirely. And he didn't suggest that I go along Saturday; Glenn did. By the end, Saturday, when he talked about Senate staff early on and about 1974 over staffing, he was friendlier. But it was really only when he left Friday night that I got to know John a little and we hit it off. At the fair, Mary Jane said "He almost never comments on new people, but when he called this morning, he said he liked you and would like to have you come along." He also asked that I sit beside him as he drove so we could talk. And he tried hard to answer my questions. Some worked, some didn't; because he is essentially non political.

I tried several times to get him to differentiate his political support. He did not. I'm convinced that he doesn't calculate that way and that when he does, he sees his support as pretty much across the board.

Driving to the roast, I asked "Is this area a particularly good one for you politically or about average or what?" "I'd say it's a fairly good area, wouldn't you Irwin?" Irwin said "Lucas County gave you a big majority in 1974." (or something like that) John said "Lucas County is a good Democratic County. But I wouldn't say it's that much better than other Democratic counties. Maybe it's better organized than some." He stopped abruptly. The question just didn't trigger anything. Or, he was worried about his talk.

On the way to the fair, I tried again, starting from his idea of concentric circles of the job. "Would he I asked think of Ohio in terms of smaller circles--of support. "I suppose you could start with the Democrats. I get more votes in the big cities but that's because more people live there. You hunt where the ducks are. But it's not like a case where you are strong in the agricultural areas and not in the cities--or vice versa. We found something interesting when we went back and checked in 1974. We found that in order to get the vote I did in some counties I had to have gotten at least fifty percent of the Republican vote. We carried all 88 counties in 1974--the first time that had ever been done. So I'd have to say we have support all across the board." In another context, he mentioned strong support from ethnics--but he did not make comparisons and weights. Given his widespread popularity, I don't suppose he really needs to. But I could ask him about 1970.

Idea: a good question for Glenn. Could you represent California as well as Ohio--or Michigan.

I asked him about his media relations. He said they were OK, that he had no major complaints. But he went on to say that he wished reporters would just

write the straight facts and not inject their bias. He thought (when I showed it to Steve and Steve said "that's inevitable") that Steve Wilson's article, which played up JG's disagreement with Carter was not good. "All the reporters are writing anti-Carter tones now. If any one of them wrote a pro Carter story, he couldn't face his peers. There's a pack." Then he said, "And another thing. I wish the headline writers and the reporters would get together. The worst headline I got was "Glenn Zero on Morality." It was an article on the Christian Voice. They vote you on things like the Panama Canal vote. All the clerygmen in Congress got from zero to 20%. The story, when you read it, was perfectly all right. But what a headline--"Glenn zero on Morality."

He told a story about his relations with the publisher of the Toledo Blade which he said should be "off the record please." I went around to pay him a courtesy call in 1970. I was the astronaut then. I went in and he said "I believe in professionalism. What makes you think that an astronaut should be elected to the United States Senate?" So I told him that scientists could play a useful role, that there were too many lawyers, that sort of thing. He didn't say anything. He was a crusty old bastard. Then in 1974 I went around again. He asked me the same question. "What makes you think an astronaut would make a good Senator?" He had been trained as a chemist himself. So, this time I gave it right back to him. "What makes you think a chemist is capable of running one of the state's largest newspapers?" He thought about it for a minute and then he said, 'You've got a point.' It was like turning a switch. From that day to this, he's been as nice as he can be to me."

My guess is that the transition from astronaut to Senator was marked by many incidents of this sort--either gttng people to see him as a political figure or learning the political ropes. Attitudes and perceptions probably had to be ^{adjusted} through experience on both sides.

His ideas about staff are an interesting part of his overall philosophy. It came up several times--the first because Irwin hired his staff for him and we were riding with Irwin. "When I was elected...I hired Irwin to hire my staff for me. He was a management consultant before he started to earn an honest living. I hired him for 5 months. He threw himself into it and made it a full time job. I hired almost nobody from my campaign staff. I thought the job was much too important to entrust to people just because they had been on the campaign staff. I wanted the most experienced, most expert staff I could find. That put a lot of my campaigners noses out of joint. Some of them still don't speak to me. That's just too bad. Of course, I blame it all on Irwin."

Later, on the ride to the County Fair, he came back to the same subject, in talking about staff-leadership. "I have an excellent staff. I took it very seriously when I chose the staff. I told you how I hired Irwin Silverman to work full time on it. When I was at Quantico Marine Officers School, Douglas Southal Freeman came to lecture on leadership. I will never forget it. He had spent his whole life studying Robert E. Lee and had written the definitive, Pulitzer prize winning biography of Lee. He said he had become interested in Lee because he thought of him as the perfect leader. After a lifetime of study, he told us, he had concluded that the secret of Lee's leadership lay not in his ability to do everything himself, but in his ability to pick the best people available, delegate to them and remove them if they didn't do the job. And is why, after starting with a biography of Lee, he ended up writing those great books about Lee's lieutenants. I have them all stored in a box somewhere. Jimmy Carter would be a lot better off if he had followed Freeman's advice. I told that story to Stu Eisenstadt one day. The President of the United States has

the best talent in the country available to him. Who would refuse the President if he said 'I need your brains for a year to two years.' Some of Carter's people are good--like Eisenstadt, but too many of them are culls, and they are close to Carter. I'm proud of my staff. Most of them have stayed. Some have gone on to better positions. I told them "I'll do everything to support you if you want to leave but I'll pray like the devil that you don't make it. It's a great staff." (He listed people who have left and positions they left for.)

He believes strongly in staff in the classic sense. But it causes some problems--or did in the beginning. Steve and Mary Jane talked about it after we dropped John off at his apartment on Saturday. "John believes in hill experience. He took only 5 people with him from the campaign--his executive assistant, his personal secretary, his press secretary and a couple of others. Only three of the five came from Ohio. For the first couple of years, the atmosphere in the office was bad. The technicians from the Hill knew nothing about Ohio. They even had contempt for Ohio. I almost quit, the situation was so bad. The former campaign manager was still hanging around, too. He had a master strategy for making John Glenn President. He wasn't on the payroll. Eventually he went away. The technicians and the Ohio people got to like each other and work together. For two years, the office was very tense." Another transition problem, really.

Irwin talked about his job. "We had 1500 applications. People who graduated cum laude from Harvard, had a law degree from Yale and a Ph.D. from somewhere else were just average. We had the pick of Washington. He was a hot property. A lot of people thought he would be president. I learned there is a whole group of people in Washington who specialize in getting positions for other people. I was called by all the big wigs. It got so that one day I got a resume from a bakery driver." But he didn't work out. You

have to understand that John Glenn's chief aim in everything is excellence. That's the mark of everything he has ever done. There's so much pure intelligence on that staff, it can be a problem. I always thought the Senator's staff badly needed a bakery driver." I told him the Sam Rayburn and the sheriff problem. I used the word "leaven" and he said "That's exactly the right word."

Steve and Mary Jane also talked about the 1974 campaign staff. They spent 1.4 million, ended 250,000 in debt, and only spent 100,000 on media! The campaign was profligate--staffers ran cars all over the place, ruined cars lent to them, stayed in nice hotels, ate well, flew all over the state--a very fat campaign. Steve says it would make a great Ph.D. thesis, to study the waste. They had 40 paid staff; this year they have 13 paid staff. The 1974 manager "believed in a big field operation." M.J. said she quit because she was sitting around with nothing to do and because she was upset over the waste (M.J. is very principled. "John Glenn has never disappointed me.") At the close of the campaign, the staff was divided into 2 factions--one behind campaign manager and one behind man who became administrative assistant. "On election night, you would have thought we had lost. One faction wasn't speaking to the other faction."

When I told him I was going to travel in ND, I asked him if he knew Mark Andrews. "No, is he running against McGovern?" He's not exactly up on those key Senate races that all "liberals" are supposed to be worrying about. Mary Jane is worried.

Irwin talked about Glenn's speech to the '76 convention. Said he advised him not to do it, that he'd suffer by comparison with Barbara Jordan. "After the speech, I called his personal secretary. She said 'Irwin, I've never seen him so down. He's wiped out, completely drained.' And he's a

tough son of a bitch. He wanted to be Vice President. He wanted it. But he knew it hadn't gone well. He knew that was his chance. And he knew that you don't come back from the dead." Neither Irwin nor Steve nor Mary Jane thinks he wants it or thinks about it any more--President or Vice President. They describe him as "completely happy in his job."

Irwin says he hates to walk around and mingle. Irwin was glad we got to the roast late so he wouldn't have to. But Irwin says he does it well. The point is that he didn't mingle at the roast with the political crowd. But he did go over and talk to the family seated at the table eating at the cider mill. He has a warm smile and the easiest manner with people. They light up and he puts them at ease. He's a very quiet man. He mingled at the fair. He is good with people in unstaged situations. There's a lot of spontaneity to him. He loves to eat and wants other to eat with him. I mentioned how he ate from the bag of cake all day Friday and even took the remainder home at night. The day we went to the fair, he bought the HS kids and the rest of us corn dogs and coke. Then he bought fudge and ate it. Then he stopped and had regular cider, then half turned cider, then a corn beef sandwich. He went several miles out of his way late at night to show Steve Wilson how the plane makes an ILS landing--on instruments--a very nice thing to do at 11:00 at night after 5 days of hard campaigning. "I could have cut right through and made a visual landing but I went several miles east of the city and swung around to show Steve Wilson how we make an ILS landing."

On the way to the Fairfield County Fair, "when I was a kid I used to sell ice cream bars at the Muskingham Fair. We would scramble around the grandstand making 2 cents a bar, I would make \$5 or \$7 a day. That was big money--like making \$50 a day now."

Talked about how he took a pair of wooden skis to Vail with him. "They still had the crayon marks on them \$2.75. My initials were still burned in them. Those wooden skis with their leather straps got a lot of use. I'm never going to sell them."

At the Fair, as we were leaving, there was a woman burning his ear about "oil royalties." I don't know what the specific complaint was. But he used it as an example of what he learned when he was campaigning. "You saw the lady talking to me by the back of the car just before we left. She had a real complaint. She was upset about the problem of oil royalties. She didn't tell me anything I didn't know about the facts. But I got a heightened awareness of her concern. And right now I'm edgy with my staff because they haven't gotten out the materials we have on that problem. We're aware of it but we haven't done what we should with it. It's democracy at work. There's one woman with something on her mind standing there talking to one United States Senator. There was nothing staged about it. I can get a message from people when events are staged if they boo me when I speak--not that I get booed very often. But it isn't half as important to me to be told something by a group at a staged event as it is to talk to someone like that woman. And my response isn't as quick either."

On Saturday, they were all upset by the tone of the Cincinnati Enquirer's endorsement of Glenn. They endorsed him, but said his record on spending and bureaucracy was a "disappointment." They said that if you laid Glenn's record beside that of Metzenbaum "one of the most radical members of the United States Senate" there was "little to choose between them." "Glenn got upset. "They's typical of the press. They probably took 400 votes. If they took some of the most important votes--deregulation of natural gas, oil decontrol, defense--they'd find a lot of difference. We have that all laid out for them if they are interested. But they aren't." They have their biases and they print them."

*Media
2 Senators*

There is an undercurrent of rivalry between Glenn and Metzenbaum. After all, they ran against each other twice; they have different political styles; they vote differently. But I'll have to get at that one gradually.

On the way to the fair "Frank Lausche ran for office by campaigning at county fairs. He went to every fair, shook hands, and dropped in on the local newspaper and the local radio station. That's all the media there were in those days. He did that all summer--every county fair and every county seat in the state." He seemed to find it quaint. I asked him if he went to many. "A few" he said. On the way down they kidded him.

MJ - "The Fairfield County Fair is the last fair in Ohio."

JG - "That's what you told me about the Coshockton Fair."

MJ - "How else were we going to get you to go?"

JG - "I suppose next week you'll schedule me into the Muskingham County Fair, telling me that's the last one."

MJ - "No, that's the biggest one! But this one is really the last one of the season."

John Glenn is on the whole, pretty non-political, in somewhat the sense that Eisenhower was non-political. When you have served your country and been a hero, the outlook is different. The horizon is different. (Like the horizon on his plane). He's pretty open, too. I couldn't hurt him if I wanted to and he seems to know that. He doesn't cover up, When I left he said, "If I can answer anymore of your questions, let me know."

At Toledo, when we saw A-7 airplane landing, he exclaimed "I test flew the supersonic version of that plane, tested the armaments. That is the subsonic version of the corsair. It's a good plane. It was the last plane I tested." His life as test pilot.

He has had such a rich life behind him that I despair of "catching up," to see what events shaped his view of things. But I can see some of them

already--especially the idea that he's had all the glory there is and isn't interested in that part of it. Another is an emphasis on excellence, another is the emphasis on orderliness--a kind of military view of things, i.e., delegation. And a dislike for the routines of politics, the ingratiating routines--even while he is absolutely charming with people one on one, a modest hero. It's not an aw shucks farm boy kind of posture--he puts his coat on and pulls his tie tight every time he gets out of the car or plane, even though he takes his coat off and loosens his tie in the car and plane.

One thing I could ask him point blank is to talk about the relationship between his past and his present. How has it affected his view of politics.

The joke I liked best at the roast was about the guy who tells friend to drop in on him anytime. Friend, is in neighborhood at 3:00 am. Knocks on door. Wife comes to door. "Is this House?" Wife, "Yes... bring him in."

Somewhere I need to note that on Friday morning, while Glenn was at the fundriaser, an investigator from the County prosecution office gave Steve and me a tour of Youngstown. The steel mills along the Mahoning River are massive and many of them are shut down. The New Brier works, the Campbell works--both Youngstown Steel and ~~James~~ Laughlin have laid off thousands. They don't expect them to come back. Youngstown went first and they call it Black Monday. They laid off 5,000 people--who were averaging \$13,00 an hour. Steel just not competitive.