

JOHN GLENN

6/23/82 - 6/25/82

State of NY - a moderate
liberal who likes
electability some.
Southern meeting.

I catch the 4:00 Metroliner out of Washington for the Democratic 'Mini Convention'--the National Party Conference in Philadelphia.

Getting off the train, I run into Len Weiss, Glenn's man on Governmental Affairs. He says "I saw your name on the list to help Herb Hedden. You've been assigned to New York and something else" I gulp. I'd been thinking I might run errands, help with the xerox, sit at a desk while someone else went to lunch. But, no, they've given me a state delegation to watch over for Glenn. It's the first sign that the Glenn effort is pretty amateurish! We share a taxi and get to the Plaza Hotel. He is an electrical engineer and applied mathematician who taught at Maryland and who has been with John 6 1/2 years.

We go to the Glenn office here--Room 406--and there are the young Glenn staffers sitting around drinking beer, arranging rooms for people. I talk with Len, Sandy Spector and Kirk Stone. It turns out they have all been reading their "folders"--telling them what to do with "their" delegations. Kirk tells me he and I share NY. Sandy and Len have Minnesota and Delaware. (Why give Len, an old hand, the Mondale state? Looking for intelligence, I guess, Sandy says later "There's another explanation--putting the 2 office liberals where they can't do any harm. There is some desultory talk about some of John's positions--on the freeze, salt, nuclear proliferation. I begin to think how little I really know about John's positions. Suppose some NY delegate asks me how he stands on environmental regulation? Oh, well, I'll tell 'em I'm just a professor!

Len and Sandy and I find a nice little Italian Restaurant and eat. We talk a little about John. And one thing this conversation with Glenn staffers shows is that they are all very aware of his weaknesses. Also, they are not terrifically sophisticated politically--especially Sandy. Len is sort of a leftish academic type who must find Glenn's technological interests very satisfying but his cautious centrism a little unsatisfying.

"Glenn's gut instincts are almost always conservative, but he will talk out a subject and when he does, he will come back a ways toward the liberal side." says Len. As an example, he almost always comes down against strong environmental regulation and then can be talked back some. But his instinct is to go with business in the matter." "He's not a candidate for the dirty dozen!"

On liberal causes, he says, John "always votes right. His scores are very high on liberal rankings. But he's not an advocate." i.e., ERA, social issues.

"He has never developed an independent position on military matters. His disposition is to go along with the military, to accept the judgment of the military." "Unlike Gary Hart," says Sandy.

"He's a problem solver. When he tackles a problem, he always searches for the best solution. He doesn't seek a consensus. He tries to find the right solution." I'm not sure this means anything except that John is a technocrat of sorts, in the Jimmy Carter mold. There's a bit of the military-engineer in him.

Bill White has devised a little acronym that we shepherds are supposed to remember. They talked about it tonight, but I never could get it." Party Pros Win, in which P stands for something, i.e., "popular". Glenn is popular, etc., etc. It's all supposed to be in my folder. But the pitch is that Glenn can win, not that he'll make a good President.

I ask "when people ask what Glenn stands for, what do I say". The answer: "We haven't developed that side of it." But--I say to myself, this is an issues conference and he'll get ground up. (or I will!) The only talk I hear is that he's a winner and if you want Dems to get back in power, you need a winner. John may also be a healer. But no one talks about that yet.

Now, in the morning, I think the one thing John Glenn does not have is a ~~theme~~-an issues theme.

Sandy said last night "Some people have an agenda and want power to implant it. Others want power and create an agenda to help them get power. The way I see it, we're the second type." Len argued with that, saying

that you really can't distinguish the types (a valid point) but Sandy sees no distinctive Glenn agenda.

It's this lack of an agenda that ties into what I see as the lack of a primary constituency. He's not an "issues" candidate of the sort the traditional democratic constituencies cotton to. Len says re Labor "He's not comfortable with labor people. On their litmus test vote--situated picketing--he failed. He's in nobody's pocket, which is good. But nobody knows what he is passionate about, which is not so good--at the issues conference.

But--my thought--given the fact that the party has no future plan and given that it will probably remain devoid of a new theme for some time, maybe the best thing they can do is to have a unifier, who listens, who is a middle of the roader preside over the country for a while. The ideological momentum is not with the Democrats. But they can debate themselves towards a new theme while they are in power or while they are out of power. Glenn gives them the in-power option. Maybe I ought to ask the delegate how important they think it is to win.

So far the Glenn effort looks very amateurish. They speak of "the operation." It is the advisory councils. I heard something about "the point system" which I guess is a way of deciding which states are most important. Last night Bill White was having a high level pow wow with Paul Tipps (Ohio State Chmn.) and Vern Riffe (Ohio House Speaker). I think it's an Ohio operation pretty much and a congressional staff operation. All the shepherds were young staffers. When I asked Len if this was our force he said "Yes, and the whole operation has this much professionalism." He put his thumb and forefinger about 1/4" apart!

We had trouble dividing the check 3 ways because we had had to bring in

our own beer to the restaurant. Sandy said "Maybe someday we'll be doing the same thing over the national budget." Len said, "I don't think so. To me the whole thing is a lark." That's about the size of it, as I see it so far. Some whimsy; some entertainment--little prospect.

Sandy did not like Mark Shield article, because Baker and Glenn are not alike. I explained to him the primary constituency problem and he was so taken with it that he thought I ought to "write a memo for the team." Len thought the analysis correct. "There's something to it, but that's not all of it." "John does not have a romantic view of the country's future." But he thought primary voters responded to romantic views. John is not an ideologue and he's not comfortable with ideologues--not comfortable with the Naders and Fondas, etc.

Last night we are told that there's a staff meeting at 7:30AM. I go to the room at 7:30. A sign says "Staff meeting at 8:30." Off and running!

We have a staff meeting, get our folders. We get 2 sets of cards--one to announce a reception on Saturday and one to sign people up to work with Glenn. Especially "hype the event Saturday night...pump it up. We want a cast of 1000's. As it turns out, I do almost nothing with either of them. I don't wear a Glenn name tag and thus people don't see me as a Glenn person. The result is that they don't come up to me and volunteer to help. And, more generally, I am uncomfortable shilling for John. I lose too much objectivity.

I go to Bellvue Stratford and hang around and meet Larry Kirwan, Monroe County Dem. Chmn. And thereby starts my only first hand view of the amateurish nature of the Glenn operation and the ego problems of local politicians. Larry tells me that the Finance Committee of Monroe County has decided they want John Glenn for Oct. 21 or 22 as the featured speaker

for their County Fund Raiser. Glenn will speak in the evening, and the

next morning he will do an event with Pat Moynihan. They can do anything else he might like to do. Larry seems delighted that I'm in contact with Glenn.

"I came to see Paul Tobbs. But I'd like to do it through you. I'll give you the contract." I tell him I'll talk to Bill White and get back to him.

We go back for our 3:30 staff meeting to run out the kinks. (They will use name tags.) John Loftus asks what we do if someone asks to have Glenn come speak in their state or city etc. Bill says we should take their names and tell them to let us know what they want and we'll be in touch with them after we get back to Washington, and tries it" if they put the pressure on. I think about it and decide that that answer isn't going to help Larry. Larry has said, "I came here to get a commitment from Glenn that he wants to do business. I don't need a commitment on the date. If he's serious, he'll do it." So I ask. "Suppose you find someone whose main reason for coming to the convention is to get a commitment from Glenn to speak sometime? What do we say to them. They need to take something back home with them." Bill says "Give their name to Mary Jane Veno and she will call them when we get back to Washington." Ed Furtek says, "Wouldn't it have symbolic value if Mary Jane were to give them a call herself and make a contact?" It is agreed that that's a good idea.

After the meeting I give MJ a sheet of paper with the details on it and Larry's number. She says she will call Larry "right now." I go back to my room and call Larry and tell him that Mary Jane Veno will call him any minute." "So Bill White is not ready to make a commitment snaps Larry. I said "He isn't ready to focus on that question yet," I reply. "But Mary Jane is the Mike Deaver of the Glenn operation and he should take her very seriously. "I need to know if he's serious," says Larry. "If he isn't I'll get someone else. I want to make a deal while I'm here." He calms down a little, but I

see that he had been prepped for a quicker commitment than he's getting. "His pitch--and mine to MJ--had mentioned 3rd largest city in N.Y., one media maker, a Republican city that votes Democratic, one of few that went to Jimmy Carter. And I added to MJ--"it's the beginning of the midwest."

I had expected that if I gave the message to Bill, he would have immediately said we'll go and just schedule it. But I begin to see that the staff is too busy to handle the volume of requests of which this is only one. And, of course, Monroe County does not loom as large to Glenn as it does to me. I think it's a "natural", but it has no such obvious appeal to them. "I've done the best I can" I tell Larry.

Anyhow, I leave, assuming that MJ will call Larry and I will have showed Larry I can deliver.

In the meantime, one of the scheduled Glenn meetings is with the Chair of the Eastern States on Saturday. There is a letter for the Chairman of the NY State Dem. Party from John inviting him to the meeting. But the Chairman isn't here. So at the convention hall I go to the N.Y. Delegation and try to find a replacement. Not many officials are there, so Mel Schweitzer, who is leading the delegation, and I agree on Larry Kirwan to meet with Glenn. I figure that is extra insurance for Larry. He can do business while he's there. So at that point, I figure I've got Larry covered twice.

I get back back to my room after the speeches and there is a message on the floor. It's from Larry and it says that he has not heard from Mary Jane Venio. So she never did call him the night before. I'm upset. I call Larry's room. No answer. I take the message, another slip with all the info in it and put it in my pocket. In the Lobby I bump into MJ, as she waits for John to come down and go somewhere. I tell her I've just got a message from the Rochester Chairman who says he hasn't heard from you. Can you just give him a call and put him on hold." She says she has been too busy and that

The next morning I telephone Pat Buckheft, that Larry Kirwan will be coming to the meeting at 2:30 that afternoon. After the staff meeting I go back to my room to call Larry. I get his wife. He's having a meeting with Fritz Hollings. So I tell her the whole story--that I'm 'trying but, I say "The operation is a lot more amateurish than it appears when you read about John Glenn in the newspapers." She is nice, and sympathetic and says "The trouble is, these things pile up." I agree.

I go to the convention hall and find Larry. I ask him if he got the letter from Mel Schweitzer. "He tried to give it to me but I declined." I had something else to do and I didn't need to go." He doesn't want to appear to beg, I guess. Again he says "We are offering him an opportunity." I can't imagine why he wouldn't do it. But we can find someone else. I had breakfast with Fritz Hollings." I said "It's not that they don't want to do it. It is that they are absolutely *unable* to focus on the question while they are here. They can't even consider the question." Well, he says, he'll wait till Wednesday of next week for a call before he moves. I say that I'll call him if the Glenn office doesn't. We shake our hands and our heads, laugh and that's it. I tell him I've done all I can and he says he knows it.

Mary Jane is dizzy going everywhere with John, sitting in everywhere with him and can't possibly think of scheduling. Her problem is logistical. But someone should be able to make a phone call to make Larry Kirwan feel better and give him something to take back to Rochester. They can't. It's an organizational failing. The system is just overloaded at this point.

The most interesting event I attended was one I came upon by accident. Around three o'clock Saturday, after spending an hour or so writing up some notes, I wandered back to the trailer to see what was cooking, just prior to

leaving the convention hall to go back to the hotel, pick up my bags and leave. I wanted to find out, basically, who (if anyone) had turned up from the NY delegation to attend the meeting of the eastern states chairs. (No one--but Ed Koch came in at 3:30 and that was better). I listened in ^aas/Scripps Howard guy interviewed some of the Eastern guys as they came out of the meeting. Then Carol saw me and asked if I would carry a box to the limousine out back. I did. Then she asked if I'd go with her to the back of the hall and carry back a step ladder so they could take the big sign down off the trailer to take it to the reception hall. I did that. Then I had to take the ladder back, and I got Kirk to help. As we walked it back, we passed in front of Mary Jane, just coming out of the trailer. She laughed and said that was some sight, or something and I said "strong back weak mind" or something like that. I said goodbye to Kirk and left the hall, got a taxi and went back to the hotel. As I pulled up, John and his entourage were getting out of their limos and going into the hotel. I hung back so that I would not be seen by anyone. When they had gotten in the door, I decided the coast was clear and I went in. But John and Annie and MJ were still in the lobby talking. I walked by and John said hi and I said hi and I walked around the corner and I got on the elevator. Just as the doors were half shut, John came running around the corner, yelled 'Dick' and I got off the elevator. "I'm going to meet with some Southern State Chairs and I thought you might like to sit in." I said I would and we walked up the stairs to the second floor. As we walked MJ told John I'd just been carrying the ladder. He laughed and said 'I'll bet you didn't expect to be doing that when you signed up to come here.' I thanked MJ. I'm certain she told John to chase me down and that she would probably not have done so had she not just seen me carrying the ladder and been reminded that I was a good sport about it all. And, in

any case, my bumping into them--when I was trying hard to avoid them--was pure, total accident. Well, OK, so much for the research description.

In the meeting were John, Annie, MJ, Bill, Milton Wolf^F, Marvin Warner, Pat Lea (Missouri State Chairman), Bart Gordon (Tennessee State Chairman), Russell Walker (North Carolina State Chairman), Charles Whitehead (Florida State Chairman), Robert~~a~~ Enschede (representing Democrats Abroad), Paul Tibbs (Ohio State Chairman), David Price, and a couple of guys I didn't meet or know. The Missouri Chairman had his wife and daughter with him.

Paul Tibbs, as host, opened the meeting saying he knew there was interest in John as a possible presidential candidate, that John was thinking of becoming a candidate, that he was holding meetings with various groups, and that he wanted to hear their views. Turned meeting over to John.

John thanked them for coming, agreed that he was thinking "very seriously" about running but that no final decision had been made. He said he wanted to hear what they had to say "not only about national concerns like the economy or defense or foreign policy, but about any special problems in your state or region." He suggested going around the table. (Actually we were sitting in chairs around the outside^{of the} room.)

Pat Lea spoke first. I had listened to him talking to MJ before we sat down and I knew what he was going to say. He put it in somewhat less strong terms to the group, but the message was the same. "Several of the State Chairmen were visiting the other day and we agreed on what I'm going to say. Two of us are here, but I know we speak for three others anyway. " "We are tired of having national candidates that we have to apologize for when we talk to our own people. We won't have to apologize for you. You are the boy scout... You don't have any black marks against you. We can sell you to our people. I'll name the names--Ted Kennedy, Walter Mondale, it would be very hard for

me to sell them to the people of my state. I want you to run. But we need to know pretty soon whether you are going to do it or not. You may not want to make the decision public, but if you could let it be known informally that you are going to run, that would help us. You would find starting to form as soon as you did that."

Then he went on to talk about agriculture and the need to "get gov't back in" to help the agricultural economy.

(In private he had called John "the All American boy scout." He had said "If he could announce 10 days or so after the November election, that would be best. I don't want Kennedy and Mondale begging me. I want to be able to say I'm supporting John Glenn. If he doesn't run, I'll take on much more subdued part in the campaign. I'm not going to jump in and support someone I can't sell. I've tried that--with a Congressman. People would say 'Please don't tell me I have to vote for (Bill) Burlison. We've got to get rid of him' I had a loser. He told MJ that "Cranston is next" as his choice.)

John replied in part "Obviously, we are thinking very seriously about running or we wouldn't be here going through all these things. We're thinking about it very seriously, but no final decision has been made. I don't think anyone has announced a final decision."

Then they went to Bart Gordon of Tennessee. He turned to Pat "I think I was the one who suggested the get together that Pat mentioned. We have heard Paul Tibbs talk about you at State Chairs meetings. I agree with what Pat said. Democrats in our state look upon most of the people in the party as Kooks. Our local candidates for State office or Sheriff will run as Democrats, but they will completely separate themselves from the national party. If you were our candidate, I don't think we'd have that problem. I would be happy to have Ted Kennedy as President. But the candidates in my state

will not run with him. I'd like to enlist on your campaign, but I have a limited amount of time in which to decide. What I need to know is whether you are going to be a candidate and whether you are prepared to run a mean and tough campaign. If you do decide to run, what sort of plans will you make. You're behind."

John said "As I said, we are thinking very very seriously (two 'verys' this time!) and we will be making a final decision soon. I think that 14 or 15 months out from the election is enough time to put everything together. A year may not be enough time, but in a year and two or three months everything can come together. If we decide to go, we'll hire a big staff--you can't run a presidential campaign with a Senate staff, that's a mistake Teddy Kennedy made. And we will run as tough a campaign as is necessary. The big problem will be money. You can't do this without a great deal of money. But we will do everything that we have the money to do." He asked how Jim Sasser was doing (OK) and recalled a fund raiser for him that John went to.

Russell Walker opened by saying to Bart "Our governor has been active in the national party and we aren't kooks. Then he went on to talk about the state of the economy and interest rates. He in on the banking industry and how there would have to be a cap on interest rates. There was a populist, anti banker tinge to what he said, but mild. (He and I had talked about Bob Morgan before the meeting. He said Morgan's campaign fell apart in last 10 days. Had a benign tumor removed from behind his ear after the campaign.)

John talked about the problem of interest rates, the deficit, and the folly of the 3rd year tax cut. He did zero in on interest rates. "Nothing is going to happen in this economy until interest rates come down. We are going to see a saw tooth pattern, a little up and a little down in the economy. Reagan's great mistake was stiky with the third year of the tax cut. You

cannot take that much money out of the economy and still hope to bring the deficit down and get the government out of the borrowing market where it drives interest rates up."

A guy I didn't know spoke next. "You have two things going for you as a candidate. First, Ohio. We can't win the Presidency without Ohio. Second, one problem our party has is that it attacked for its lack of patriotism. But as Gary Hart said The flag is not a Republican or a Democratic flag. It is an American flag. No one is going to attack the patriotism of a marine colonel. You are protected on your right flank. That's what I came to say."

John managed a wry grin and said "I thank you for that."

The Florida guy arrived somewhere. John greeted him, said that they were talking about national problems and regional problems. "But the one problem seems to be the economy."

The women for Democrats abroad took the opportunity to talk at length about a variety of frustrations. This was the longest (and least relevant) part of the discussion. John talked about a bill he supported to cut double taxation of Americans abroad. Marvin Warner, former Amb. to Switzerland talked about problems.

Florida Chairman then said, "You will recall our conversation when you were in Florida." "I certainly do. We had a nice talk." "Well, the situation is the same as it was then... I say to you what I say to Askew, Cranston, Hart, Kennedy, Mondale. This economy is in terrible shape. We've just got to get somebody in there who can turn it around." (He held back--probably because his state must commit to Askew.)

John launched into a more philosophical discussion at this point. "Our party's problem, you might say, is that we have worked ourselves out of a job.

That may seem a strange thing to say, but if you think of it, when Franklin Roosevelt took over something like 51% of the people were at or near the poverty line in America. The program out of the New Deal changed that. Yes some the programs were excessive, yes, some of them wasteful, yes, they weren't all well managed--but they took people out of poverty. They brought about the greatest advancement of a whole people in a shorter period of time that has ever occurred in history--except maybe by revolution. These programs were built on the idea I talked about in my speech, opportunity, giving every person a fair shake. Now we have about 10% or 9% at or near the poverty line. We will continue to care for those people, but we cannot build a party by catering to the needs of 10% of our population. The New Deal programs are good, but we have to go beyond them. We have to worry about investment, capital, we have to find a new relationship between management and labor. There is a different attitude. I can go into a union hall and talk about the need for business investment. If I had done that a few years ago, either they would have walked out or I would have had to leave. We need to rebuild our economy so people can keep the middleclass dream of a little white house in the suburbs. A lot of people voted for Ronald Reagan because they saw themselves losing the dream, slipping back out of the middle class. So we don't want to turn our back on the Roosevelt program, but we have to go beyond it.

The Florida guy says "That says it." And everyone nods.

Paul Tipps sees it the moment to quit. Gets up and says thanks to John and says anyone who presides has to know when to start a meeting and when to stop and say 'the bar's open.'

Pat Lea says "I opened the meeting and I'll close it. I know an old man in Missouri who has been trading mules since he was 14 years old. He said to me the other day. The Democrats are going to have to spend less money this year to

win the election than ever before in history. The Republicans have done it for us."

They were pretty much treating John like a piece of meat. There seemed no emotional bond, no shared experiences. The North Carolina Chairman had told me they had a nice ride from and to the airport when John was there--but that was it. The little link with Sasser, in which John was part of a group, was another small link. There is no ideological link here. There was no personal staff talk from John, about himself that is, to give them a piece of him. Politics is, of course, a cold and calculating business. But it is also a business of trust and no exchanges of that sort took place. There was no underpinning to sustain it. These people, to put it another way, do not know John. They have not been through anything with John. He is a stranger to them. But they think he might be a winner and that might help them. It wasn't the 'country needs you'--it was the country needs someone, and you will be the and help to us. But ~~there~~ are state chairmen, not political activists. He needs some of the women who marched and sang, some teachers, some unions.

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When Sam Shipley, the Delaware Chairman talked to the press, he said "I had never met John Glenn. I only knew him as an astronaut. I have met all the others." He called John "a heavyweight," "a lader," "stable, serious, solid" etc. He also said "I just got my invitation yesterday, and the fact that I'm here indicates my interest in meeting the Senator." But, my point is, they do not know him. That's why he couldn't go to the issues meetings like the others. He needs to do what Kennedy and Mondale have done for years and get to meet some of the people they have known for years.

Kirk and I talked a lot about John. Kirk's project in the office consists of going through all John's speeches and Cong. Record statements to see what his

positions are. He's worked hard on that. But the conclusion he has come to is that John has been silent on a lot of domestic social issues and, on those where he has spoken, he has taken no advocacy, leadership role.

Some of his comments "very weak on women's issues". "on social security and the elderly, the aging committee question on forum, but he hasn't used it. There's nothing about social security solvency".

"On the whole gamut of social welfare issues, like school lunch, he is extremely weak, just nothing. He doesn't concentrate on problems of distribution." "on crime, a lot of attention to arson--one half of it is on arson." "He hadn't made a statement about voting rights in a year." "He's done things on drunk driving, but nothing on crime, nothing on the death penalty, nothing on drugs, on the justice department, nothing, just nothing." "on health there's damn near nothing there. He's sponsored a council to monitor the amount of radiation Americans get. It's scientist showing there not the social side. "There is not a word about health insurance, not a word about catastrophic health insurance or how to control costs."

"Ed Furtek has told John that they've got to do something about crime and health and Kurt's analysis has bolstered Ed."

Re housing, "There's not a word about the Lugar bill, nothing on the entire complex of what the government can do to simulate the housing industry." Re environment "A complete diaster--on acid rain, we've got to have more study before we can tell if it's a problem! With those smokestacks in Ohio? On clean air he supports higher standards. Down the line he has sided with business on environmental issue. There's nothing in his record about conservation, nothing."

He is big on international trade, on providing more capitol, on education. But while he talks about education, he does not talk about tuition

tax credits or federal aid, or prayer in schools. He talks about the need

for more, a lot more engineers and scientists." He says he's read 25 times his comparison between the Soviet Union, Japan and the US and cites the figures from memory. He has a bill in on scientific, main power. Again, the technological perspective on social problems.

For John the key to the economy is productivity--old fashioned Americanism.

An interesting instance of differing perspectives. On the question of the impact of the events of the convention itself on John's decision to run--Bob Andrews says "What Ronald Reagan does will have a lot more to do with his decision than the convention. He wants to see how well Reagan is doing before he decides."

Paul Dutton said he thought they were moving in the direction of deciding. He reported on a talk with Annie Saturday AM. "She is much more positive than I have ever seen her....Throughout the 1976 Vice Presidential thing she resisted... She said to me, 'Paul we came here with a handful of loyal people, put together hastily and we leave here with a large number of supporters... If we do make the decision, it will change our lives more than anything else could. So we'll have to sit down with the children.'"

Carl Ford says it's already been decided. "The decision was made some time ago. The key factor was Annie's attitude. She made it clear, without saying so that she would not object and was even looking forward to it. The ego, the drive, the ambition were there a long time ago. Bill White proved that he could greet the people, the buttons and put this convention thing together, so that moves him a little bit closer. The only question left is not whether, but when." He said that after Jan ., you get matching funds, so he might wait till then. If you get contributions in December, you lose!

Anyhow, the three see the decision at different points. Two say it's not made; two others acknowledge Annie as the key. So my guess is that Andrews

Paul Dutton re John. "He never put his stamp on local party politics. Don't let anyone tell you he controls the party in Ohio. A lot of people there--the Metzenbaum people, the Gilligan people--would love to see him fall flat on his face."

"He hates Commencement addresses. He once turned one down at his own college, Muskingham. I wanted to have him speak at the college where I am on the Board of Trustees. Bill called and said, Paul, 'how badly do you want John to do this?' I said 'Not enough to lose a big chit.'" Kirk and I both concluded he's not comfortable with words. That's why he'll never make good speeches. His cadence is wrong; his accents on words are wrong, his voice is soft and quiet.

Which brings me to "the speech." It is clear from the beginning that the major staff worry--when they have time to worry--is Glenn's Friday speech. At the staff meeting I missed before we came up here Bill had told the staff to position themselves around the floor, look bored and don't clap when others speak, clap for Glenn, say "Shh" if people talk, etc. (Terminal silliness.) But most of what a lot of people know about Glenn as a non-astronaut is his 1976 convention speech, which bombed. I'm not sure it matters to ordinary delegates. But the media remember; and so do the party pros. So they worry. And John worries, I'm sure. He practices it in the car as they from Wash. to Philly. He tapes it so his staff can hear it and he can hear it and make suggestions. He practices it in the trailer while the others speakers are speaking to the convention.

I sit with Len and Pat Buckhart during most of the speechmaking. Mondale wows the crowd with a Hubert Humphrey type speech. He touches all the chords that make the party loyalists sing. They are quiet, they listen, they love it. I say to Len "He's reached their guts." I find myself clapping. Pat and

Len sit loyally silent as the place goes wild. Len finally starts to clap a little. It's contagious. He says to me "These delegates are more liberal than the voters. Why doesn't the Glenn staff recognize it. Those conservatives on his staff don't know this when they talk about tax breaks for business, you lose these delegates. I was the only one on the staff who knew, in 1976, that the speech wouldn't go. And I was the only liberal on the staff."

I go down on the floor to take a spot and clap for Glenn. He gives an earnest, serious, complicated speech. Part of the time I am too bored or weary to listen. The hall is less than half full. But he holds their interest pretty well and they applaud regularly. A young guy near me says "he's an old time candidate". Doug Wilson rushes by "He needs more oomph." But I think he does OK. He's not been blown out of the ball game. He's a survivor.

I rush down to hear his press conference. I meet Carol. "What do you think?" "I give him second place. Mondale first, Glenn second, the rest third." Ed Furtek wanders over and asks. I say the same thing. No one else asks. I see several people after the press conference. Walter Beach says "he bombed out again." Larry Eikad says "I thought Glenn was pretty good. Mondale was so good". He agreed--second place. Ann Pride says "He had them in the beginning. Then he lost them. But he got them back at the end."

We ride back to the hotel with the speech writers. Ed says "I feel let down. I'd feel a lot better if people were crowding around telling me how good it was." Eric says "I wish he'd delivered it like he did in the back room beforehand." Mostly the ride was quiet. No jubilation only relief. I tell Dale that the Inquirer will be favorable. He seems pleased. ('The important reaction,' he says the next morning "will be what the OPED pages say.") Kirk says the people he talked to seem to think the delivery was poor and they are, on the whole, disappointed. Writing speeches for John is hard duty. The next day, though, Jim Flansburg says "It read well." And

Dave Nagle, Iowa Chairman, says "It was a good speech." As I say, he survived.

That night, at 11:00 the staff has a champagne party. John and Annie come. The relief is palpable. The fact that the party comes after the speech is significant I think. It's like they worked up to a climax and now they've got to blow off steam. John says "I want to thank you all for doing such a good job and I won't single out people for praise. But there is one person without whom this would never have come together. And I think it really has come together. That person is Bill White. It wouldn't have worked without you, Bill, so I toast Bill White." Everybody smiles and claps. John leaves after a bit and the staff sits around telling raunchy stories and laughing till after midnight.

The episode has had a very beneficial effect on the staff. They have been brought together and have pulled off something they never tried before. Their morale has been improved a lot I'm sure. Carol says "Dale says he's proud of the team effort that produced the speech. In an office that's very divisional, we've done something we can all be proud of. I'm going out and get drunk." Just like inside the Senate, the success of the Senator has a big impact on the staff.

The thing about this "operation" is that it really is a Senate staff operation. At the first staff meeting, Bill tells us what Glenn's day was like and says "If you have found someone you think needs to see the Senator, let us know. What we've done is move the office from Washington to Philadelphia and will schedule his time just like we always do."

At the second staff meeting, he said "It's going very well. Everywhere I go, I hear 'Your people have been here.' It's been a big job moving the office to Philadelphia. I'm very pleased with what we've done." To this point it is just the Senate staff plus Annie's "handful of loyal friends" that are doing

John's press conference was revealing in one aspect. About 40 news people there. After giving, perhaps, the most partisan speech of his career, he comes directly to the press conference. He's the only one of the speakers to schedule a press conference immediately afterward. It must be related to his concern over the speech. But, of course, Alexander Haig has just resigned and whatever else the reporters might have asked, they will now shift to Haig. When Haig's resignation is announced from the podium, the delegates clap and cheer. The atmosphere is partisan. But Glenn comes to press conference and starts by commending the administration for putting in a replacement immediately. "I congratulate the administration in that regard. I'm glad they didn't leave the position open... I'm glad they took action very promptly to put someone in place." It was pure Glenn. He's not comfortable being a partisan. Surely not an emotional partisan. During the ERA rally on the floor as some of the candidates stood and swayed on the platform, with arms upraised, holding hands, John stood back in the second row and clapped. He's not a swaying, singing, handholder.

They asked him how it went. "I was happy with it. People seemed to be paying attention. I didn't see anyone asleep." That was that. Mostly they sparred over speculation about Haig.

He told story about Metternich hearing death of Russian Ambassador said "I wonder why he did that." "That may be a corny story," he said but it made point about idle speculation about the resignation."

Later I asked Carl about his praise of the admin. Carl said he suggested it, knowing Glenn would pick up on it. "He was so nervous that day he couldn't think. Well, he could think, but not about Haig."

In his bones, John hates to criticize the President and Presidency. He's just got a lot of respect for the office. That came out when I was with him

in Ohio. Bob and Kirk and I talked about that over drinks. Bob said "He had major differences of opinion with Carter over defense policy. I started on him in March to speak out and state his position in opposition to the administration. I kept after him. He wouldn't do it. Finally, in June he gave me permission to start drafting a statement. It took three weeks for him to act on the draft. Then he decided to send a letter. It sat on his desk for several days. Finally he signed it and said (brusquely) 'All right, send it. But make sure it doesn't get into the press.'"

Paul Dutton said a couple of things about John. He agreed that John doesn't think in terms of groups, had trouble with Cleveland and first, his staff didn't see need for a black to be pictured in his brochure in 1974. He also says he's been told that Ohio Dems are really pre FDR type Democrats - rugged individualists and that that's part of John's heritage. His parents were Democrats. But Dem party was less touched by FDR than some others. So John doesn't have groups in his guts like Mondale does. And, of course, he doesn't talk that way. He talks about "opportunity". Mondale's speech was a call to class warfare. John would never issue such a call and he does not see the world that way.

He talked about fact that Ted K. wouldn't campaign for John in 1974. "John never forgave Kennedy. He can't stand Ted Kennedy." Paul says John would never take VP with Kennedy but might with Mondale.

He says John never saw 1970 coming. "He was suffering from hero worship. He'd done everything but walk on water and he hadn't tried that yet. But I give him credit. He gathered his resources - came back down."

Kirk has not yet seen Glenn and he's worked in his office for 2 1/2 months. The press people (his professional colleagues, but perhaps his rivals) only say hello to him. They do not tell him when press conferences are coming up, altho

he asked them if they would. I told Kirk I thought it was a cold office--relative to most of mine. Pryor is warm, Tsongas is warm. Quayle is warm. Cohen is cold, Glenn is cold. Specter, Domenici, Andrews have warm people in them, but the ambience is mixed.

Kirk and I decided that "careful" might be best word to describe John. Better than methodical or cautious--"careful hero", "careful patriot."