

CARL FORD

April 5, 1984

"The campaign staff suffered from the same problems as the Senate staff. But the problem was compounded by the size of the campaign operation. In the Senate, you could use guerilla warfare, touch a few bases and find out what was going on. But the campaign operation was too big. There was no organization, no delegation, no flow of communication up and down the structure. Bill began by hiring weak people. He did not give people clear jobs to do. He ran the whole campaign out of his hip pocket. The Senator gave him carte blanche. He delegated almost complete authority over the campaign to Bill. He could do whatever he wanted. Glenn wanted to be in on the major policy decisions. But he knew he would be on the road, far away, and that he had to delegate. He trusted Bill. He knew there was a potential problem, but he told me 'We're in a bind. I have no alternative.' He didn't know the national politicians, didn't feel comfortable with them. Bill could have delegated authority the way Glenn had delegated to him. But Bill acted as though he was going to lose his job, when there was no way he was going to lose his job. These organizational mistakes were made early and never got straightened out. The busier Bill got, the worse they became."

Carl pinpoints early problems that never got solved.

"Glenn would wow 'em in Des Moines. He'd have people excited, reaching for the cloak, ready to help. Then they would never hear a word from our political office. The campaign people didn't understand that Glenn's job was to get people fired up and their job was to keep them excited. Nobody from the national campaign communicated with our local people, stroked them,

said 'atta boy,⁴ you're doing a good job.' We had guy in New Hampshire who did nothing for 6 months except hunt and play golf. We didn't do anything in New Hampshire till 10 days before the primary."

"The roadshow was totally isolated from everything else...there was too much Gregg and too little Glenn. It got so Glenn wouldn't do anything without Gregg. Normally, he gives his own ~~trust~~ ^{twist} to things. But he stopped. If I gave him something to say, he would say it verbatim. I would say, 'My God, I'm going to have to be very careful. Most of the time Gregg was there. Gregg is very able, he'd been through it and Glenn followed his lead. It wasn't Gregg's fault; it was Glenn's fault.'"

He talked about lack of attention to groups. "I'd go out to speak to Jewish groups and everyone there would have had breakfast or lunch or dinner with Walter Mondale, more than once. But they didn't know Glenn. If you put Mondale's and Glenn's positions side by side on issues that matter to Jewish groups, they aren't very different. But we had never given them the kind of access Mondale had. The campaign never organized in terms of constituency groups. Their attitude was, don't bother me with constituency groups. How could you run a democratic primary without relating to the Jewish community--or raise money... We learned a lot about that as a result of the campaign..all of us--the Senator, too, from Ohio. The Senator will be a better politician for it, too."

He "quit" for a week--at time of CDM speech. He thought that was crucial--that Glenn didn't give CDM what it wanted (what role would it play in Dem. admin. and view toward Israel) and his positions weren't far from Mondale. "He attacked Mondale as weak on defense before the CDM. And he did so on the basis of votes Mondale cast 10 years earlier. That wasn't

what they were interested in anyway; Mondale had come around to a position very much like Glenn's; Mondale told them what they wanted to hear--that they would have an important place in a Democratic administration. And when he attacked Mondale, he sounded mean. I think that this speech and the one in Florida on the 'failed policies' changed the whole course of the campaign. The strategy devised by Schneider, Sawyer and Hamilton was exactly right--right for all the politicians they had ever advised. But John Glenn is not a politician and never will be. He had to run and win as the good guy. He might not have won, but he had to go with his strengths." Good on hired guns not knowing the man. "In the last couple of weeks, Glenn took charge of the campaign, ran it his way and he did better."

"We can't blame Hart or Mondale or anyone but ourselves. We committed suicide."