

GLENN TRIP

November 10-14, 1983

When I got to DC yesterday, I was not scheduled to go on the trip. I told Courtney Williams that MJ had told me it was OK, that I had my bags, that I had come to Washington for this purpose. And she started working on it, with Laura Logan, and they got me on. Laura remembered me from Philadelphia.

There are two planes heading for Mississippi, and 13 people. There are 2 people from NBC, one from the St. Petersburg Times, <sup>one from Knight Ridder,</sup> one from Nippon TV, a photographer, plus the two Glenns, Mary Jane, the press secretary and the advance man.

I look at my schedule---it says "Thursday, October 10, 1983 at the head of the first day's activities. The campaign can't be that tired."

I talk to Marianne from Figaro. She is interested in John Glenn. Will she cover Mondale? "No, I'm only interested in John Glenn... I'm going to interview Mrs. Glenn. I understand that she is a very nice person--intelligent and warm...I understand they have a very strong marriage." I talk to the director of the Nippon group. He is only interested in John Glenn, too. He is here to do a documentary on UFOs! and one on the astronauts. He is interested "in the connection between the astronauts and the election." The interesting thing is that the foreign media is not so much interested in the election per se, or who will be president, but they are interested in John Glenn the man, or John Glenn the astronaut. He is, simply, great media copy.

Marianne asks me if Walter Thompson, the man whose house we will

visit in Clarksdale, Mississippi is "the famous writer from Time Magazine." I tell her my guess is that he's a black minister from Clarksdale, Miss., since JG will talk to the NAACP before that. She seems puzzled. I want to tell her that "all politics is local." Maybe she sees politics as more elitist. But that's just a guess. She naturally assumed we were going to the home of a famous person. (He was a local White lawyer!)

I think, as I ride the plane to Mississippi that, for me, the important thing is to see who the local contacts are, what kind of Glenn organization exists, who is for Glenn locally, etc. Bob Barnes, from the St. Pete Times may be most helpful in this. I need to see what glue he has to his supporters. Does he know the local Democrats?<sup>2</sup> Does he care about the local Democrats?

I got up this morning, bought the Washington Post and there on the front page is the headline "Mondale Makes Impressive Gains over Glenn Poll Shows." I'll see if this has any effect. The key point is that in September Mondale led 41-28. Now he leads 48-20. And the poll shows significant gains in South and West and among men.

I see Mary Jane. She says, first, "It's not like the reelection campaign." The last few days have been particularly hard... But there are a lot of Fairfield County Fairs out there."

Sam Bagley, Pres. of Miss. Young Dems. "I've been very disappointed in the Glenn operation in Mississippi. They have a group of Mickey Mouse kids up there in Washington. And no organization down here. I met a Mondale guy last week and he said he was going to be in Miss. for 5 months. That's what we need down here. We have no organization--just a few cats and dogs like Walter and me."

Sees Glenn as "unifier."

"We're in a 65% black county."

Mondale has done nothing on the ground here." It's a caucus state.  
Mondale will get some of "natural constituencies" but not all the members.

Caucus are "friends and neighbors" and blacks participate a lot in  
caucuses. Governor has power in getting people to caucus. Lot of middle  
class whites <sup>may not get at</sup> and sit all day in caucus with blacks.

Sam "I think <sup>as smart</sup> ~~as any~~ <sup>man</sup> pol<sup>man</sup> in this state would go with Glenn. It would  
hurt his popularity to go with Mondale."

Mondale "your politician's politician."  
<sup>being interviewed by John Dancy for NBC-TV</sup>

Aaron Henry <sup>^</sup> "Glenn is not well known among the constituencies I'm  
a part of." Civil rights record "mediocre" but wouldn't be "disappointed"  
with JG. Sees Glenn as having to get around.

Question. " You said JG has no name recognition? " " Yes, we don't care  
nothing about people riding up there around the moon. We want to know what  
has he done for black folks down here. We don't care about that. " Waves  
hand up and then points finger at chest. NBC used this quote on morning  
TV Friday, and juxtaposed it with JG saying he was proud of civil rights  
record.

C. Smith - "We have a credibility threshold with blacks." <sup>He says they are using</sup>  
<sup>a</sup> New strategy in Iowa and <sup>a</sup> new person--astronaut a negative -  
mass approach not working - need to touch each group.

Speech at lunch by Rev. David Matthews of New Morning Star Baptist  
Church, Clarksdale. <sup>David-Goliath</sup> Gave powerful <sup>^</sup> speech about David defend<sup>ing</sup> God - <sup>drawing on a</sup>  
power beyond himself, can do things that are impossible, etc. Just like  
Barbara Jordan in 1976! What an act to follow. "We can conquer because

we have something to stand up for." Went on and on. "I'm not going to keep you much longer" (laughter). David "found something outside himself." On and on he went, with yes, yes "We need faith in God to go on and on. Sometimes there is nothing to hold onto but faith." Talked about father as sharecropper. "He didn't get one penny. I'm not talking about books. I'm talking about reality...Somehow we survived... I can't look back on that without believing God will provide." Shouting - "Are you listening?" "Nobody ought to teach us, we ought to teach America how to live.. You don't need to tell me how to live with window knocked out, as a sharecropper. I lived it. Work and trust God." Shouting. Poor John has to follow this.

Re Glenn. "He has been in outer space. And he has come back."

Glenn "That's the important thing." (laughter)

JG - "Pleasure to be here with old friends - Aaron Henry and James Figgs. Can count on them for advice and counsel." Some laughter. Invoked name of Aaron Henry in intro. and in speech. Yet AH had *knocked him in the interview & indicated he did not know J.G.*

Politics for "all the people" That's what it's all about. Introduced ~~as~~ Charles Smith - *who worked for NAACP and was taking Joe Grandmas's place.*

He is a much better speaker now. He worked off of one of the solos sung in the program "My life shall not be in vain." And with respect to the Reagan policy "We are going in the wrong direction."

We go to the cocktail party--where I talk to Senator Eastland. At the end, they give <sup>John</sup> ~~him~~ a tie that says Miss. on it. He clowns a little by putting the tie up close to PFs camera. Then:

John: "I have a two hour speech."

Annie (rolling her eyes): "I can't stand it."

John: "The other day when I started to make a speech, Annie leaned



over and said 'kiss.' I thought that was very sweet till I found out she meant 'keep it short stupid.'"

PF,-the Time photographer, says John has a great comic sense. I don't see that so much. But PF says he loves to clown in private--on the way back from the road.

Charlie Smith has replaced Joe Grandmaison. He came to Clarksdale and will leave to go back to DC. He comes from the delta area where we have been, says he is owed and "I'll stay around tonight and sell. I'm a collector."

<sup>Charlie</sup>~~He~~ said earlier, "We need threshold credibility; and the fact that he was an astronaut doesn't give it to us. The opposition has played up the astronaut thing beautifully; and it's a negative. All the buildup about the movie is a negative. It is so blinding that it shuts out everything else. Individual groups want to know how he affects their concerns. We've got to get away from the mass appeal and appeal to groups who have their specific concerns. To my way of thinking, the mass appeal is wrong."

He said they now saw the campaign in terms of "three windows" and they are giving top priority to the "first window" which is Iowa, NH and March 13th. They have a new organizer in Iowa--Vento(?) in whom they have great confidence. "Watch what we do in Iowa."

Charles thought it was good for John to sit through the entire black ministers program--"to have the whole black worship experience, from the soul, to show respect for them by sitting there for the whole program." Also thought John adlibbed well--as did I.

Brian Usher said John never went out of Ohio till 1981 - never went to Jeff-Jack. dinners and in that sense was not known in way Mondale was. That's why Grandmaison wanted to build "political structures" in lots of states.

Brian also says that John's answer re Grenada is a Senator's answer, not a Presidential candidate's answer--it's neither a criticism nor a back to the President position.

The plan was to use October for visibility and they did not succeed. Disappointing. "A bad month," says Brian.

<sup>M<sup>c</sup>Curry (p<sup>er</sup>sonal sec'y)</sup>  
Mike <sub>^</sub> re John, can't get support by schmoozing needs patty appeal.

White - story in meeting - have to create him.

Mike says press does have some attitudes re John that are commonly held. One is that he has been ill-served by his organization. That comes from disappointed people who have left his staff, says Mike. They also say he goes through people and discards them. Not so, says Mike. He says the Ohio papers are very much down on Bill White and blame John's mistakes on Bill. "They know him so well as a local person that they just can't believe he could successfully manage anything so big."

Then he said they see John as a loner, and that is correct. The way Mike sees the loner in John as hurting him is that he can't call on politicians for their loyalty--as Mondale can. "He is a loner. He can't go into the cloakroom and get votes for something by sidling up to another Senator or patting him on the back. He can win votes by the force of his personality or his argument. And he does; but he doesn't have the personal contact with other politicians that allows him to schmooze them. In the campaign, he can't pick up the phone, call people he knows and get them to work for him. He hasn't developed the connections to other politicians that Mondale has. So he has to go about it in another way,

by reaching those Democrats who aren't the leaders. He has to give them an argument that he is best for the Democratic party. He has to do some party building. He tells people what he wants for the country, but he won't go that extra step and identify his program with the party. His standard stump speech is good. But it has no party partisanship in it. He must develop that appeal to the party if he is going to win. Maybe it's too late. I don't know."

They laugh about October as their bad month. Brian Usher has a story that sets the stage for my trip nicely--polls down, Glenn people say they expect fluctuations, that they have a plan and it's not too far off line.

Re Bill White, Mike complains that recent Cleveland Plain Dealer story says the shakeup has lowered White's place in the organization. He says that is all wrong." "Nobody would write that if they understood the position of the AA in Senate office. Bill White is still the ultimate authority on the staff. And he has delegated more to others. In the meetings I attend, Glenn will participate in kicking around ideas, then sit back and look over to Bill White. If Bill nods, then Glenn goes with it."

And Brian adds "John Glenn once said to me." If Bill White didn't exist, I'd have to invent him."

Brian re campaign changes and Bill "It's less the pope and more a college of cardinals."

He thinks Bill as AA kept people away from John and guarded access. But he thinks Glenn wanted it that way.

John's first toe testing was in Mississippi, when he flew down with Lou

Wilson and P\_\_\_\_\_ Miller in his own plane. Hunger protesters stood silently in back of room while he spoke. They wanted restoration of all budget cuts in nutrition and John said he thought they could get some restored, but not all. The black anti hunger group was not satisfied. Brian called the Mississippi-Missouri trip as the first "toe testing" trip and Chicago the second one. So I should place Chicago in that light. He went to Mo. with Eagleton--who later endorsed Mondale!

Brian calls John "so cautious." He said this re. Grenada. "I've been trying to push him off center for two weeks, but he won't budge. He's so cautious. Maybe he budged  $\frac{1}{8}$  <sup>of an inch</sup> ~~lunch~~ today." Then--into the Senator vs. Presidential style.

Brian talks about John as being "strong on government but not on politics." He doesn't like to ask for money, he doesn't like to work a room (Annie is better at it than he is. But he's getting better.) In this context, he was talking about the contrast with Metzenbaum, who is more flamboyant and knows how to get 15 seconds on the nightly news. John does not know how to do this. His PR was terrible in the early days. Avakian and John both to blame here.

Again, Brian says that a lot of the knock on the Glenn operation comes from the Ohio people that have been left behind.

Brian Usher of Knight Ridder, John Dancey of NBC and ~~PF~~ Bentley Time photographer, are the only regulars on the Glenn campaign. NBC has made an extraordinary commitment this early to a candidate, working to gain access and familiarity with the campaign staff so that they will be in a better position when things heat up. When we talked about this Mike said he'd be more likely to give NBC a story than the others because of this building

relationship. But when I challenged him, he said "You're right. If I had a story I suppose I'd want to give it to whoever had the largest circulation."

Brian Usher has been following John since 1974. He, and Dancey and PF are all establishing familiarity and good relations with the campaign staff. And they are all following the campaign so that they can see the rhythm and notice any changes. PF "I go out on every campaign trip. The better I get to know John Glenn and the more comfortable he feels with me around, the better pictures I get. And I want to be around to take pictures if anything unusual happens."

PF - "Glenn is much better with me now. At first he didn't know what to make of my being around taking pictures all the time. He didn't know whether he could trust me. Now he knows that there are certain pictures that I will pull before they ever get to Time. When he's in public, anything goes. But when we are in the plane, off the record, and I take pictures, he knows they will not be printed. I'm going to present him with one today on the plane that he will love, but I would never print it. We have running gags now. For instance, he will not pose with a hat on and I keep trying to get a picture of him with a hat on. He'll put a hat on, I'll raise my camera and he'll take it off. We will go through this routine several times, hat on, camera up, hat off, camera down. He loves it. People say John Glenn is a stiff. They are completely wrong. He has a great comic sense. Politics is comical--not what they do with their power, but what they do to get there. In the beginning, John was not loose when I was around. Now he is. And he is a natural comic."

Brian - "When you are with the campaign every day, you become totally familiar with the pattern. You can recite the stump speech by heart. And that enables you to watch for change. When something new happens--bang, it hits you. Like Melbourne. Melbourne was where the war of words began. And it's where John Glenn stumbled. I could see it building. It began when Cuomo asked Glenn a question in one of the NY forums and expressed unhappiness with Glenn's answer, calling him the celluloid candidate. Then there was Mondale's response to Cuomo in the next forum, attacking Glenn on the tax cut vote, the nerve gas vote and his Salt II. Then there was Glenn's response to a forum question in which he said he was no celluloid candidate, that he wasn't doing Hellcats of the Navy, but was really over there fighting. He was prepared for that question and it was a strong answer. Then Mondale said Glenn wasn't a real Democrat. Glenn got mad and took out after Mondale and Carter in Melbourne. He likened Mondale to the first mate on the Titanic and then went on to talk about Carter's disastrous policies. He certainly meant what he said, because he said it 5 or 6 times. And I think the road staff debated whether he should say it. Bill White didn't have any idea what he was going to say. But after all, the candidate doesn't have to check everything with the manager when he's on the road. It was a mistake; and it cost him. But then Lebanon and Grenada drove the war of words right out of the news. And it hasn't resumed. I think there's some bad feeling left. For example, if Mondale asked Glenn to be his Vice President, I doubt that he would take it--not now."

Keefe re Grandmaison - "He's a lot better organizer than the shape he left us in."

We're on our way now from La. to Iowa. Iowa, like Miss., is a caucus state. And the Glenn people now know they have to organize caucus states in a way that they don't have to (necessarily) in primary states. Media will work better in primary states.

When John is asked about "The Right Stuff" he says he hasn't seen it, doesn't have any idea what effect it will have, but is proud of his part in it. Then he talks of Kennedy, of having "a mission" of "setting goals" (here he clenched his fists) and having pride in accomplishing them. He ~~remotes~~<sup>resonates</sup> to the idea of Kennedy's goal setting and would like to be thought of that way. Brian says the Glenn people expect only that ~~the~~ movie would cause people to pay attention to Glenn's media messages and to Glenn whenever they heard his name--more than they would otherwise.

The right stuff is the functional equivalent of 'tickets'. But when PT put articles, he had 12% name recognition. Glenn has 45% name recognition to begin with. How can he get people to listen when they already have him identified.

I spent my day in Mississippi with Alec Lamis, a political science professor at U of Miss. He's just finished a book on Southern politics. He and the law students with him tried to tell me what was happening in the delta. The story is one of Republicans attracting some old Dems--respectable, country club types--and getting conservative. The old Dems who can't leave the party (for whatever reason) are accommodating to the blacks, bringing them into the party processes, becoming attentive to their concerns. (Wayne Dowdy, Walter Thompson - Glenn's contact, Pete Johnson - who ran vs. Clark for Congress) boll weevils, in reference to their economic conservatism. Sam Bagley agreed when I called them "main street Democrats". He sees them accommodating on race and sees that as the key thing that is happening. People who were arch segregationists now are

moving slowly to deal with blacks. The party was both black and white. Jim Eastland was there in livingroom of grand home (Governor-elect Allain said to me 'I don't believe I've ever been in a nicer house. It's probably nicer than the governor's house.') with black people, eating gourmet hors d'oeuvres. Then there are populist Democrats "who just don't feel comfortable at the country club." Alec says you really do have to live in Miss. to understand its currents. He says "John Glenn is a natural for the white Democratic leaders of Miss. They will flock to him." Whether they will vote in caucuses and bring people with him is a question.

There was a lot of talk about Gov. Winter. He is popular and has an organization--leaving Mondale. Gov.-elect Allain has no organization. When asked about <sup>Allain's</sup> ~~his~~ support, John shrugged and made a coin-flipping motion. But they met in Clarksdale and talked. Their private meeting was not disclosed to press in advance. Allain pulls up in a van across the street to make sure there was no press and then drove across the street to where John was. They rode together to the Thompson reception and to the airport.

Speech in Sioux City, IA - applause on ERA - I'll keep peace.

I ride to the next event with the Des Moines Register guy. "He's not very charismatic is he?" "That's the same speech I've heard whenever he comes here--objectives and goals. It seems like he wouldn't be the kind of person who would make deals in the Senate. He would say 'I've explained it to you and you ought to agree with me.'"

At high school - "Nobody is going to negotiate harder for peace than I will" (applause) only applause of speech.



He uses the ~~Shaw~~ line "Why not". But he does it in a sing song way.

His answer to question on education is the best one I have on goals.

"We can set a goal of being best education system in world in 10 years and do it. We can set that goal and go for it."

Somewhere in here in the high school lecture he talks about "both sides of the aisle".

Talks re Beirut. "One of 1st things I learned in Marine Corps was - define your mission very very carefully and precisely and send in exactly the size force you need to do the job."

Again and again he says in different contexts that you can set clear goals and apportion resources to meet the goal and do it.

He's got a huge emphasis in his 2 Iowa speeches so far on the budget deficit. You could cast out John's votes over last few years.

He has trouble stopping his speech. Here in the high school, after the Q & A, he says, let me give more details on Agriculture and he goes into a several point program on agriculture, as if he forgot it and the air goes out of his balloon. Pretty awful, I thought, in terms of rapport with audience and sense. Then he thanks 'em and then he starts all over again on goals, Norman Rockwell, Emerson, etc.--an awful performance qua performance. It's like he has bunch of cards and won't quit till he's read from all of them. (go to next side of tape for last sentences.)

Ends by talking about "election season."

The speech has 3 or 4 endings. He shuffles points in and out.

John Dancey - "He's like Reagan. He shuffles the cards in and out; but all points are not equal." It lacks, I think, any sense of proportion,

of form, of beginning-middle and end. It may be that his emphasis on goals, on objectives and action to meet them is linear in conception, and not architectual. It's a configurative sense that he lacks, *and I think you need that configurative sense to recruit & hold support.*

*ATG. characteristic*  
Atlantic, Iowa speech - mentioned death of soldier in Beirut people who fight for country find it "embedded in their personality forever." Talked about "values our veterans defended." "America is promises---promises of an opportunity." He reads this speech and keeps eyes mostly on paper. Emphasizes "equality of opportunity". Says often "That's what this country is all about"---"one nation indivisible" or "equality of opportunity."

"In this political season we let our rhetoric get all out of hand."

Quotes Ike - "I've known war and no one values peace more than I."

He gives a very patriotic speech and it goes well for him.

Sioux City talk - starts out better, with vigor and punch gets hand for ERA.

On Lebanon, he started in "One of the first things I learned in the Marine Corps was--(see the tape - side #1 at beginning)

Great answer on union members.

Carroll speech - Larry Eikel - says he's better at working the crowd than he used to be. But he says John always drew big crowds. He says "There are a lot of Republicans here. The people who come to see Mondale are Democrats."

John Dancey says he's not changed his basic speech much--the borrowing of the bank metaphor is new. The ending from the pledge of allegiance is also new.

His questions at Carroll were on - merit pay, drugs in the midwest, meat and poultry stabilizing programs, help to other nations.

One thing that does strike me listening now, to that speech, that he does know a lot. He gets pretty knowledgeable about many things. He does pick up a lot of knowledge in the Senate. And that's a help in running for president. So that's one of the plusses of running from the Senate.

When he gets really worked up, he says "it's just flat wrong."

Is he trying to identify self more as a Democrat<sup>4</sup>, with <sup>his</sup> reference<sup>5</sup> to HHH and depression?<sup>2</sup>

We drove through snow flurries from Sioux City to Carroll and from Carroll to Des Moines. We went to a reception (which I have on tape) at a private home. Then we went back and had dinner and then went to a marine ceremony--to watch "the talent." (as PF would put it.).

The consensus at dinner was that the situation is fluid, more fluid than people thought when they came here. Mondale is ahead, but Glenn is getting good-sized, and attentive crowds. People do not have a really good reason to vote against Mondale. Glenn will have to give them a reason.

My answer is that Glenn will be a better president. What he hasn't got yet is a crafted reason why. His instincts may be moving him in the right direction, slowly. (MJ says leave him alone and let his instincts develop.) But as I see it now, it lies in bits and pieces and does not yet have coherence. John thinks in linear terms--objectives, goals, "let's go for it," into the future. Another linear notion is the building a country notion--moving out from the seaboard and settling in the west and building schools. He's a builder. He does not think in architectonic, configurative,

coherence terms. So it never gets pulled together. There is another sense in which he needs to pull things together--he ticks off programs. That, too, is linear. It is mandatory that he do this. But he will never "out-tick off" Mondale. (And the reporters commented on how many applause lines Mondale has compared to Glenn. He has "an ERA applause line, an environmental applause line, a peace applause line"). Where Glenn is different is that when he has finished ticking off the programs, he will not say yes to all of them. He will balance them one against another. In that balancing he will be steady and strong. (strong and tough are different--John's quality is strength). Not reckless or macho - just strong, in the way that courage makes strength. When he says "no one will negotiate harder for peace than I", people applaud because they want peace. They should be applauding, too, because they see John as the strongest negotiator.

John takes advantage of his linear thinking when he talks about accomplishments over time and reaches back to show continuity, stability--the emergence of various American strengths out of the past--the seaboard idea, the past breakthrough in research and what they have led to. Well, these are my ruminations on Glenn's themes. But it is possible that I'm really elucidating or discovering another facet of the transformation of Senator to Presidential candidate. I have two contributions I'd like to make. "We love Walter Mondale, but we need John Glenn." And "to each he's farthest star" as John's special way of expressing equality of opportunity. We shall see. Maybe I'll suggest them.

At dinner on Saturday night and at breakfast Sunday morning, the reporters talked some about things. Without a doubt, they get together, swap expressions and come to shared conclusions about things. They also

talk professional matters and gossip, and I was left out of that. Only Bob Barnes (and Marianne) picked my brains on John. The others assumed they knew all they needed to know. John Dancey and I talked Senate, and he was especially nice. But they are a little like a fraternity. Larry Eikal (now Knight Ridder) used to work for John Margolis (now of the Chicago Tribune) at Newsday and they went around together. Rick Manning and Tony Fuller of Newsweek were together much of the time. They all look respectfully to John Dancey, since his credentials are special. ("We're all known by our affiliations," he says to me at dinner. "And being with a national network is a huge advantage.")

Larry said he came to Iowa certain Mondale would win Iowa. Now he's not so certain. He thought Glenn's crowds were good and that they were listening. He agreed with me that John is earnest "He's the most earnest of all the candidates." I see this quality in the way he repeats himself--going over and over a point to make sure people know what he's saying and believe him. *My answer to B.H. White's suggestion to ask if he "sings" John was just getting his message across is: very serious.*

John said "But if I hold a gun to your head and said who will win, you'd say Mondale." And Larry said "yes."

John Dancey said after Carroll "That was a smash. This is the kind of group with which he always does well--middle American, middle class, white. They were really listening to what he had to say." When he got back in the van he shouted "Please let me see an audience that isn't all white."

Larry said he talked with a man afterward who said how impressed he was with John's answers to a wide range of questions--how well informed he was. (I had said the same thing in my own notes.) Dancey agreed and remarked how serious and very attentive they were.

They all agreed that his main problem is that he is too longwinded in his answers. "Keep it short" they would advise. John thinks he should do more Q & A. and I agree. He's impressive on that and he needs to convey what he knows. He's a good study and that's a Senate advantage, as I said earlier.

In the morning, when I asked the reporters what I should ask Glenn, the answers centered on organization and timing. "Ask him why his organization is so bad." "No, ask him why it took him so long to get organized." "Yes, they are getting better, but it may be too late." "They claim the Kennedy thing--Kennedy dropping out--threw their plans off, that they were thrust into the limelight before they had time to get revved up." Then--into the Ted K-JG relationship and the Van Riper book which talks about it. My only point is that they did talk about timing and rhythm.

When the plane stopped in Denver--MJ came up and talked as usual, about her power problem. It took off from the description of her in the Howell Raines article as "secretary." "That didn't come from me, and Howell Raines didn't make it up. That's the conception a lot of the campaign people have of my role--the Senator's travelling companion. But that's not the Senator's conception of my job. He and I agree that I have a political function, as trip director--that I should have the last say on scheduling, and that I should be present whenever he meets with politicians. That's my strength. I know politics and I know the candidate. These other people only know about him what Howell Raines and these other writers tell them. They don't know the candidate. But they want to put a man next to him on the road. I'm not going to give that up. Originally, I did it all. I was the first one to suggest that we needed more people on the road and I went out and hired them. Ted Rogers will come aboard and supervise the advancement.

That will split my responsibilities. And that's good. But I won't give up my role as trip director. I've told them I'll fight that to the end. There's a terrific internal struggle underway. I don't know whether Bill can handle it. But Bill cannot be replaced now. It's too late. Bob Keefe is moving in everywhere. He wants to control everything. He wants to control the road show. But the road show is going beautifully. This trip proved that. We were down, but these last two days in Iowa showed we are coming up again. I could feel it when we were down and I can feel it that we're coming up. The Senator was great. He was following his own instincts, and when he does that he's great. When Greg Schneider's on the trip, he talks to him all the time. But John Glenn is not Jimmy Carter. He talks to him right up to the minute he starts to speak; and when he gets up to speak he's got so many things going thru his head."

When she sat down, her first comment was "Did you read Howell Raines' article? We give away so much." She talked about how she had given him the Annie bits on promise that she not be named.

John and Annie at breakfast - re the 30 minute film. John: "After the film, some people who saw it criticized us for having Annie speak in it. And some asked us if we were going to use Annie's handicap to win votes in the campaign. The idea that I would use Annie's stuttering to win votes made me so mad that I just wanted to punch someone. If I never get any further than county commissioner, I'd never do such a thing. Annie thought they were criticizing her. She cried." And Annie said "I would never do anything to hurt John's chances."

All this was in the wake of Annie's talk with the deaf children at Council Bluffs. When I got there she was saying "I took speech therapy." And as she had trouble getting out the word, "therapy," she said "You see one of the hardest things for me to say is "the." She said to them "Life

isn't easy. We have to keep working." She told them that she couldn't speak for a long time. "Now I can talk to people, make speeches, have conversations. We have to work very hard don't we". All this was being interpreted by a teacher in sign language. They taught her to say 'I love you' in sign language and she practiced it with delight. Later she showed it to <sup>John</sup>~~Ken~~ and they said it to each other in sign language--the picture was in the Omaha papers. John gave one of the girls a big hug and kiss. Very unusual. John Dancey was "stunned". I got teary.

I asked her later at the airport if she thought the story in the Sunday paper by Ken <sup>Fuson</sup>~~Fuson~~ was "right". She said "I was just doing my thing." She said she had talked to them and found out that the girl with whom she was talking about their school had become deaf through illness and that most of them had been deaf since birth. And she went on to say that her speech therapist thought stuttering came from hearing impairments. No doubt about her--she would be the most popular first lady in American history, absolutely impossible to criticize. Larry Eikal thought the Annie part of the picture was not genuine and was blatantly political. John Dancey jumped on him very fast: "You are a complete cynic. That was by far the most affecting part of the picture." Larry admitted he was. And the next morning after a couple of cognacs with John the previous evening. Larry said "He's a real human being" as if he had just discovered something very important. For a cynic, it was naive, I thought.



## JOHN GLENN CAMPAIGN TRIP

November 10-15, 1983

Las Vegas Press Conference - 2 cameras - half a dozen reporters.

Brent Adams endorses John Glenn - right stuff - U.S. Senate - "he represents very best about our party and our country." "Our party's brightest star." Feb. 28, 1983 largest fund raising day in Nevada - Glenn here - can carry Nevada in general election. "will help every candidate in Nevada from top to bottom." Mayor of Reno helped by Glenn and is also supporting him. Glenn thanks him.

Glenn press conference - starts talking interest rates and affect on housing industry war and peace - are committments what they should be - civil rights enforcement, women problems, foreign competition; education, basic fundamental research. "Those are some of the major policy change areas we've been discussing."

Qu. - Do you have to catch up in Nevada? "No we've set out our own schedule in organizing. I felt we needed 14-16 months. Other candidates started ~~four~~ yr. campaign.

~~Am~~ <sup>Do</sup> We have enough time? Yes. We are on schedule, building up to the ~~promises~~ <sup>primaries</sup>, building up to Super Tuesday. That's a time frame we planned on all along. So I think we're moving the way we planned."

The recent polls and Jackson. "DK where Jackson camp <sup>aren</sup> will fit or who he will hurt... <sup>I</sup> support efforts to get 11 people registered and into the process. I don't take a back seat to anyone in my civil rights record."

Said he's gained 7 points in the latest Gallup poll(?)

Grenada and Lebanon. Again - Lebanon "very specific mission and size your forces to accomplish that mission." "Greatest danger is escalating rhetoric with Syria.

Trigger happy? and keeping congress informed? "have violated the war powers act" "18 months is too long" "I hope we aren't going to set out to sanitize all these countries of <sup>\$, 4</sup> ~~Cubans~~. That would be a disastrous situation. "

Right stuff? very proud of these days, times when we really had some objectives, some goals--pride in excellence that Pres. Kennedy emphasized-- can use it as a pattern for the future - "we're going to set objectives on a, b, c..." "They reflect a time when we set goals, had objectives and were moving ahead. That's the kind of leadership I want to provide."

Guys who say John has no spontaneous humor are wrong. When Harley Snyder, Pres. of Realtors introduced himself to Annie, he said "How do you do. I'm Harley Glenn." And without skipping a beat, John stuck out his hand to Annie and said "And I'm John Snyder." Big laugh all around.

In Las Vegas he found another applause line--the first one other than the peace line. "Our children are 10th in literacy among the industrial nations of the world. We should set a ten year goal of making every child literate,--13% of our children are functionally illiterate. At least we ought to make them able to read the diploma they get. Some of them can't even read them. No more social promotions." (All this he said elsewhere. ~~3~~ Then he said) "I know it may warp their little psyches if they are held back a grade, but I'll tell you it will warp their psyches a lot more when they get out into the world and can't even read the want ads in the newspaper." (Applause) In both private meetings after that he talked about "their little psyches." He picked up on the applause in the reception and used it again. A quick pickup.

After his realtors speech the wife of the state chairmen said "That was 300% better than he was when he was here last February. He looked right at them and gave it to them."

In an interview - "I'm somewhere in the great middle of the political spectrum, and that's where the great majority of the American people are, too."

Re Mondale - "I said at the outset of the campaign that I would not engage in personalities, that I wanted to run a campaign on the issues. Three times, he has made personal attacks on me and each time he has, I have answered him. I didn't start it. He did. And if there are anymore personal attacks, it will be his doing, not mine."

Re his campaign strategy. "I know it's a calculated risk. But it is based on my experience in Ohio...when I went into the union halls and told them about my record. In the places <sup>when</sup> ~~where~~ the organization leaders opposed me, but where I went in and talked directly to the rank and file--that's where I got my best vote." He went on to say, as he did in Iowa, that people think for themselves, aren't dummies, watch TV, don't want to be told, read papers, etc.

Annie, John, Rick Rosen, Mike and I had supper in the coffee shop. John's whimsy came out. Annie wants to go to Vail after the California swing later this month. John says "You keep putting that in there. I'm supposed to be campaigning. Well, we'll say we're travelling hundreds of miles in the heart of America." Then someone mentioned that Mondale skis out there, too and that they might meet. "We would have a skier race from Eagle Pass down to Black Beauty and the one who lost would drop out... I've been wondering whether I would take such a race and I've just decided--yes I would." Then Annie has two quarters she is determined to put into the slot machine, <sup>John puts</sup> ~~at the airport~~ <sup>John puts hand to his head and says,</sup> "Why don't you put your two quarters in a machine at the airport?" <sup>^</sup> I can see it now. 'Candidate's wife gambles in Las Vegas.' If you do it, go way back in the corner of the room. No, she wants to do it right on her way through the Casino. Annie went out and started to play and John followed. "She's going to do it anyway, so we might as well follow." It was a nice, warm, sparring match.

To every group in Las Vegas he said (1) We are proceeding according to plan and are going to keep right on doing what we've been doing. (2) In every poll I run ahead of Ronald Reagan and do better against Reagan than any other Democrat and let's not lose sight of the fact that defeating Reagan is our task. (3) Among Democrats, I began the campaign in March with a solid base of support from people who know about me from the space program and from my work in the Senate. On the warmth thermometers pollsters use I have come across as warm--~~whatever~~ that means--and with few negative opinions. But outside of Ohio very few people knew my whole record or what I stood for. So that has been our main job since March. We have been travelling all over country--90% of our time. And we have moved pretty steadily up 3 or four points each month. We've had some down turns here and there, but on the whole it's been steady progress till we are separated by about 7 points in the latest Gallup poll. So we have made steady progress and we intend to keep right on doing what we have been doing."

He talked again of campaign as pursuing a purpose. *Campaign itself is seen as setting a goal + going for it.*

Regarding each of the two private meetings in Vegas, John commented afterward that he was glad a certain subject did not get pushed so far that a serious disagreement broke out. Re the meeting with the realtors. "I was afraid that guy at the end of the table was going to ask me to support housing subsidies. I'm glad he didn't. I would have had to tell him I'm opposed and it would have broken up the meeting." Re the meeting with the Democrats, he said. "I was sure glad the meeting broke up when it did. I could see that we were heading toward a discussion of parochial schools and tuition tax credits. I'm flat against that. We have lots of monopolies, like public utilities, and we make sure they do a good job. Competition would ruin the

public school system. All you would have left in the public schools would be the disadvantaged and the dummies. That's bad. I've gotten into a lot of trouble in Ohio over that. Ohio is about 30% Catholic. I took that one teacher aside out in the corridor afterwards to make sure she understood that I was opposing tuition tax credits. But I sure didn't want to get into a debate on that subject."

The next morning in the hotel room, the women drivers all agreed (as did Bob H\_\_\_\_\_ the fund raiser) that Glenn's speaking had improved. "He's got a lot more charisma than he had in February. He gestures more, he makes you listen, he is move lively, he gets more applause lines. We've got to find a way to get him back here to talk again to the masses, to show them how much he has changed. We had 700 people in February. But I was so nervous when he spoke, I had to get up and leave. He's got charisma now." Can you imagine people spontaneously using the term 'charisma' to describe John Glenn? It shows how much the currency has been debased. But it also shows" an attractiveness in presentation that he had not had.

Re the advance guy was Rick Rosen.

In the Realtors meeting, he talked again about balance. Said he wasn't going to "over promise," that Carter had a book of promises six inches thick and that he never even addressed more than 38% of them. Then you've got a lot of disillusioned people.

They got about 25,000 from the fund raiser and will get 5000 from the Realtor's PAC. Bob calls it "nickle and dime stuff." He talked re the timing of fund raising." "It's going to get much harder. Right now, it's easier because we have the candidate's time. After the first of this year, we'll get very little of it, but will still have to raise just as much money. So

we'll have to set up 150,000-200,000 events instead of nickel and dime events like this one."

Bob said the realtor's event was a good one because it gave him good exposure to a middle class audience.

When I finally got to talk to John we were about an hour out of Chicago and I guess we talked for a good half hour. It was half devoted to my questions and half devoted to my telling him "as a friend and partisan" some gratuitous remarks which he listened to with attention and interest. The night before, in the coffee shop, he had asked me "Well, Mr. Fenno, do you have any observations or have you just been absorbing local <sup>P.21</sup> color ." I said my observation was that "you're doing OK." Mike said "You see he only said OK." and John said "That's better than saying I'm going backwards." Mike said "He has some very interesting observations." But I said no more. It was late, we were all sitting around having hamburgs and I wasn't about to talk politics. Anyhow, when I sat down beside him (Annie took my seat) I reminded him that he had asked for my observations. "I certainly did. I'd be interested in anything you have to say." I said I wanted to start "as a political scientist" and ask him some questions.

I gave him the list of events and asked him to rank them according to "politically important" and "personal comfortableness." He took the paper and was quiet for a while. Then he said "This is hard. I'll have to think about it for a while." Then he said....

"It's hard to rank them because it all depends what your purpose is-- wholesale or retail. If news of my NAACP speech travels through the black community network, it could be very important. Charlie Smith thinks it will;

but we'll have to see. When I visited Nashoba and Port Gibson last year, word travelled all over the state. That's wholesale politics. You talk to large numbers of people and hope they will talk to others... The speech to the Realtor's is wholesale. It could be very important to us if those people go home and talk. We will follow up on the names we collected (at the fund raiser afterward) and we hope to get some help in fund raising. I thought the speech was well received. But we won't know for a while what the effect will be." (Mike called it "a damage control operation.")

He turned to the Iowa events. "After a while, these events all blur in together." I went through each one and said something about it and he would try to recall it.

The one he picked out first was Carroll. That had made an impression on him and seemed easiest to remember.

"Campaigning in Iowa is retail politics. You meet people one at a time in small groups. You judge their political importance by the size of the group and by the enthusiasm. That is, did more people come than you expected and did they show any special enthusiasm. We were talking about it afterwards that more people showed up all over Iowa than we had expected--more people than we saw the last time we were here. And there was more enthusiasm."

Then he went up through the Iowa list from the bottom. "The reception at the Sieman home, the afternoon meeting at Carroll, Sioux City and Atlantic, those were the best. The meeting at Carroll was the high point. It was a good crowd on a snowy Saturday. The speech went well. Maybe it was because I branched out into agricultural policies more than usual. That seemed to draw enthusiasm. Several people came up afterward and mentioned that. But those four events were the best in the retail sales department."

Somewhere very early, after the NAACP comment, he said "As far as being comfortable is concerned, the marine ball would have to be first. I guess you could tell that!" He pointed to the <sup>unpleasant</sup> N.O. one; but I assumed he meant both. But he would not say he was "uncomfortable" anyplace. Still, he did not rank any of the others in terms of comfortableness, and I didn't pursue it.

He pointed to the meeting with a few people in Clarksdale. "With respect to the meeting with the small group of farmers and planters--these meeting with specialty interests are usually unpleasant. I do all right in them, because they are one on one. But invariably they come in with their own program and their own legislation. They want to know what you think about Clause 2A of Section 4 of Part 3 of some bill they are interested in. And if you don't know what they are talking about, they look at each other as if you aren't doing your job. They expect everyone in Washington to know just what their program is, even if it's only one of 1300 votes you have to cast. I don't say all of these specialty groups push their own programs, but 98% do. I don't like that.... But I'm not uncomfortable in those meetings."

I turned them to the campaign. And I asked him if he could tell me about the events of October--the war of words and the reorganization.

"I had always hoped that we would conduct the campaign on the issues and not get into personal attacks on one another. But it didn't work out that way. And I was the aggrieved party--if you want to look at it that way. It all began when Mario Cuomo asked me to describe the differences between myself and Mondale and I refused. Cuomo got mad and Mondale knew he was mad. So as soon he got the chance, Mondale lit out after me on a number of things. I had to defend myself and so I hit back. But I said I hoped that would be the



end of that kind of campaigning and that I hoped we would get back to the real issues. At the Iowa Forum, after I had spoken and had no chance to reply, he went after me again. So a couple of days later I replied. Then he printed that three page attack on me that was so bad he had to apologize publicly for part of it. Each time I said I hoped that was the end of it. And each time they have started it again. Now they are going around Iowa talking about binary chemicals, telling everybody that I'm in favor of nerve gas. 'Glenn is for nerve gas; Mondale is against nerve gas.' Now that is just the worst kind of flat out demagoguery I've ever heard. It makes me mad and I don't know what to do about it. I may have to take him on head on and all out. There are some things I could say that I don't want to say. I'm not sure Fritz would have the stomach for that kind of a battle. But I may have to do it. I can't let them get away with that garbage."

He says all this in a very calm way, but it's clear he feels personally insulted by Mondale. It's not a game with John and that's why he's not really good at talking politics in interviews. It's more like war. But his notion that Fritz wouldn't have the stomach for a real tough tussle is of the same order as his notion that Fritz wouldn't accept a challenge of a ski race. When I told him later that I had a motto for him--but one he couldn't use, the same assessment of Fritz emerged. I said his motto should be "We love Fritz Mondale; but we need John Glenn." And I went on to say speak of "ole Fritz who's always around, much beloved, etc." And I said "we loved old Hubert Humphrey and we love old Fritz Mondale." And he picked up very quickly on that and said "That's the way to do it. Say we love old Hubert and old Fritz, and tie them together that way." There is the notion he has, I think that Mondale is not really a strong man, that he would not be a strong leader, that

he doesn't rise to challenges like John. I think at bottom there's a marine quality in John that's important to understanding him. Strength is the idea-- not so much tough as strong. And not macho strong but strong in meeting challenge.

In talking about the give and take in the war of words, John Margolis said that "Glenn won the war when Mondale apologized. But Glenn didn't gain anything from it." (I think he meant in the polls.)

About the reorganization, it seemed as though he didn't want to talk about it. "Very few campaigns go through their entirety without staff turnover of one kind or another. In the beginning we had a lot of organizational work to do; but we had to move more toward media. Joe Grandmaison was closer to the organizational side of things. And he did not have much compromise in his heart. The parting was amicable. But it was a good change." I asked if there wasn't a difference in philosophy of organization at the bottom of the change and he said no.

"Bill and I knew from the beginning that we would have to review things and probably make some changes. We should have done it in the summer doldrums instead of the fall where it got so much attention.

I said I noticed that when he talked to the realtors he said his campaign was "a calculated risk." And I added that I had always thought of him as marching to the tune of a different drummer (he nodded) especially as regards the lack of a long lead time in organizing time. I noted, too, that he had--in talking to the realtors--that he had patterned some aspects of his campaign after his Ohio experience, <sup>and I asked him if his short lead time was a product of his Ohio experience too.</sup> ~~too.~~

"No. We just sat down and tried to figure out how long it would take us to mount a campaign and the number we came up with was 14 or 15 months. That was the way it was done. It had nothing to do with experience in Ohio. It was part

of our thinking that I didn't have the problem of name recognition that some of the other candidates had. If you had gone down the street in some town outside of Colorado and asked who Gary Hart was, they would have probably said he was a football player or something. I didn't have that problem. People knew who I was. But my problem was that they didn't know my record. We figured 14 or 15 months would be just about right to get that across. In that respect, what we are doing now is just like what we did in my Ohio campaign. People knew me. But I had to build up a record and let them know what my record was. And I did it. That's the very same process we are going through right now in the campaign." *But there's no talk about working the party infrastructure.*

Then he went into the story of his Ohio beginnings. "Gilligan and his friends had it all arranged for me and if I didn't go along I was to be dead. I didn't go along. Instead I went into the union halls and told them that I was following my own course. The news people glommed on to that in a hurry and they loved it." *OK - but why aren't newsmen 'loving it' now.*

In the middle of the interview he stopped to sign several autographs for people who came up--a boy born the day he orbited the earth, a woman who will vote for him, the airplane pilot's guest book--between Dale Bumpers and Tony Rubek! He is unbelievably patient with autographs. He signs them everywhere he goes!

I asked him the question about Senator and candidate again. "It bothers me that I can't participate fully in the work of a body of which I am a member. I can't get to the hearings I should. I try to be in Washington Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. They are voting days. But sometime's I'm only there for a day and a half. I try to make all the important votes and several times, I have cancelled engagements to come back--for instance on the

War Powers debate, on which I have been very active. It bothers me that I'm not a full time Senator, but I have to weigh it against the greater good I can accomplish if I achieve the other office I'm seeking." *Again, very civility.*

I said that my point was that why should he worry about it--why not just accept it. And he answered "Because I'm one of only 100 and I can have an awful lot of influence on events by the way I vote right now." I tried to slip in the idea that he should stop thinking like a Senator. But that question is a lost cause with him I fear. He just can't see or can't articulate the strain, except in time constraints. Maybe that's all there are, but I doubt it.

I talked to them about my conclusion that the reason people need to vote vs. Mondale and for him is that he will be a better president of the U.S. I said he needed to talk about governing--that people really wanted to decide whether he could be President. I said it came to me in the Sioux City speech when he talked about balancing interests. I said that was the only time he talked about being president of the U.S. and governing. I thought that was what's missing. He said "I got into that a little bit last night" (with the realtors) and I agreed.

He said "The reason I have not talked about the middle way and balancing interests is because it is just about as exciting as watching mud dry. Can you imagine stacking that up against Jesse Jackson speech on hunger and poor people and deprivation. I know that's the way you govern; but will it bring people out on a winter's night in Iowa to attend a caucus?"

I told him he could never out promise Mondale, and that people don't want a yes president anymore than they like a yes man. Takes strength to balance.

I went into the idea of balance as not just among interests but as a notion of steady growths. I said that idea of building was important; because it drew on past and looked toward the future. That the seaboard idea would be applied to civil rights, etc. John is a builder. Building takes hard work. It's a presidential job.

I also talked about his emphasis on children being an idea of the future. You can't talk about the future without talking about children. And he's got the idea scattered around--in debt discussion, in education, head start should focus that more as a future related idea--and I suggested "to each his farthest star." "I like that," he said.

"I appreciate those suggestions," he said as he wrote them down. "If you have any other ideas, let us know." "Are you going to be travelling with us some more." "Yes, I'd like to come back one more time and I'd like to come to the convention." He nodded.

"It should get interesting in January. I think it will be pretty hum drum between now and Thanksgiving. Then people will be occupied with family, Christmas, religion. It will pick up after the holidays."

I had breakfast with Mary Jane to tell her what I had told John. She talked, again, about the "internal organizational struggle"--which centers around Schneider and Keefe, who are moving in on her and Bill White. She thinks John is to blame for some of this "because he sent signals to people within the beltway that Bill White did not have his complete confidence. Bob Keefe came in knowing that. He has moved to take over the finances and the road show in addition to the field operations. Soon, Bill White will be campaign manager in name only."

Again she talked about how Schneider talks in John's ear all the time he's with him, how he rewrote an education proposal without anyone know it and got John to OK it, how he monopolized a meeting with Shanker and Glenn said

it was OK because he asked the questions John would have and how Shanker endorsed Mondale with the comment that he had a better grasp of educational issues than anyone else, how John "sucked up the idea of the constituency of the whole lock, stock and barrel ." I can believe the latter, as I said to MJ, because John's thinking in linear <sup>(set goals + go for it)</sup> and not configurative. So, when someone comes in who conceptualizes in configurative terms, he will fill a void and will be snatched up. My point is that even if you concede that the constituency of the whole idea is a viable electoral notion (which I think it is not) it is not a viable governing notion. In the electoral era it makes non-pandering such an absolute that every time you talk to a group in its terms you can be charged with pandering. It's too purist a view if you take it seriously. It is John's strength, to be sure, but, again, it needs balance.

Her best story was of the Melbourne statement--"a classic example of organizational failure." "At the Jefferson Jackson Day dinner, Mondale made an attack on John Glenn that caught us completely by surprise. We assumed it would not be complimentary, but we had no inkling that it would be as severe as it was. There was not a single leak. So there was Mondale with every major figure in the campaign there in the audience before an audience packed with supporters that he had brought and paid for through purchase of tickets, laying heavy criticism on John Glenn--after Glenn had spoken and had no chance to reply. I had to admire the professionalism of the performance. By contrast, our response, in Florida, was a disaster. After the dinner a group of us sat around kicking around what we might do. Greg Schneider came up with the line that electing Mondale would be like promoting the second lieutenant on the Titanic(?) He checked it out with Dan Balz to see how the national press

reacts to it. The next day before the press conference, Schneider and Glenn huddled to go over what he would say. And out of that came not just the titanic idea but Glenn's comment on the failed disastrous policies of the Carter Admin. We had three reporters travelling with us--John Dancey, Dan Balz and Brian Usher. When the press conference was over they ran to the telephones. That meant they felt they had a story and that we had set off a bomb. Before our press conference at the next stop, they jumped all over John. "What policies are you talking about? Didn't you support the Carter policies? Which votes did you cast in opposition? Give us specific examples?" John struggled to answer. Do you know we couldn't think of a single one. The reporters knew it and they knew we had made a big mistake. Dan Balz had called Marty Schram in Washington to ask Bill White what the statement meant and why John had attacked the Carter policies. Bill told Marty that this was all part of a well thought out plan to associate Mondale with Jimmy Carter's problems. But Marty called Dan back and said that no matter what Bill said, it was clear to him that when he asked Bill about it, Bill knew absolutely nothing about it. That was the truth. Bill had no idea what was going to be said. So, no research had been done and we had absolutely no back up available. When we did start researching, we couldn't find a single good example. Thank God that died. I hope it's gone forever. It was an example of policy being made out on the road without the organization in Washington knowing anything about it. It was a classic example of organizational breakdown." She thinks Schneider has too much influence on Glenn and that he wouldn't have gotten Glenn in that pickle had he had respect for Bill White. She's not even sure he has respect for John.

One of the sidelights of this story is the role of the press as interlocuter. Balz calls Schram who sees White, who interprets White back to Balz who questions Glenn on basis of Schram's hunch. And they can do this because of the phone. Another example--Schneider has idea and runs it by Balz to see

whether it plays with the press. Another example; David Yepsen calls Glenn campaign to tell them Mondale is running around Iowa saying Glenn is in favor of nerve gas. A communications link.

MJ thinks playing off the Ohio campaign is a way of explaining Glenn's presidential campaign is a mistake. In Ohio, Metzenbaum got endorsements of people who then proceeded to leave Metzenbaum "on his own." They did not try to enforce or do much to support their endorsement. That left John free to go to the rank and file. But this time, Kirkland will back up his endorsement of Mondale because it's his party that Mondale leads. "John is confronted with a stone wall with labor this time. He never found that in Ohio."

She also said that John himself never threw himself behind any endorsement he ever made. He will endorse (though he hates to) to lend his name, but never anymore than that. "He never went in and put his heavy support behind his endorsement game--and therefore does not believe other people will stand behind their endorsement. He sees them as perfunctory." MJ is saying that this time, the endorsements are real and do carry real muscle.

She thinks John still doesn't admit that he's a politician. And she thinks he should admit that he manipulated every opportunity he had to get to the top. He doesn't like the articles that say he manipulated his way through the astronauts program--and that he resents being called a manipulator. But she sees him as a person who made it the hard way--no Harvard or Princeton, she says, no family to put him on the path. He got to the top everywhere he went because of a drive inside of himself to excel, to be the best marine, the best pilot, the best Senator. (There, he did not succeed.) All this was spurred by my comment that "character" was the most important ingredient in a president. (And I told her of the Clark Clifford-Bryce Harlow comments.)



She thinks he could give a little bit of himself to others if he talked about his past, his ambition, his profession as a politician.

I said I thought John felt Mondale is a weak man. She agreed and said he thinks Mondale would be only a barely acceptable President. That followed my routine about we love good old Walter, we love good old Hubert, etc.