

John GlennOctober 23-25, 1986

I got to Columbus in the afternoon and went over to the headquarters to meet Jeff Berman who met me with the story of the campaign so far.

"The campaign is over...Kindness raised 1.2 million. He didn't raise that all himself. He got 700,000 from the Republican Committee and he raised 5-600,000 himself. Their strategy was to attack John Glenn's character on the theory that if they could destroy that, there would be nothing left. They emphasized his campaign debt; if John Glenn can't balance his budget, how can he balance yours. They tried to make the issue into a corruption issue, that Glenn was tied in illegally with the banks through the loan. So they went on TV in the summer with this message. In December we took our benchmark poll and we were ahead 62-17. In July after they had been on TV steadily for a month or so we took another poll to see what had happened. Nothing. Our lead was 62-21. And they had completely shot their wad."

He said the Glenn people had raised 1.7-1.8 million. They got 17,500 from Democratic Senatorial Committee "the obligatory amount".

John's one major spot just came in--a 5 minute spot on his career that "has no mention of his presidential campaign, the most important thing he did during the last six years." (says Jeff. He's right.) If that's any indication of their desire to forget, I'm going to have one very dull trip!

My plan is to not mention the presidential campaign for one whole day, and see if John mentions it. Then, the second day I'll have to say something. But what??

They have one 5 minute spot and 3 30-second spots--one on social security, one on trade and one on "character" in which he recites and explains the pledge of allegiance.

Jeff says he did the pledge of allegiance in Steubenville yesterday at a school and MJ said she saw children cry. That's interesting when you think how the Mother Jones and NY magazine, etc. made fun of that. Maybe the story is that John Glenn is back home and that's what I'll see. Far away from the "east coast crap". Back in a place where all those people don't ask all those questions that assume you aren't what you say you are. Where you are taken at face value.

First trip - to Battelle Lab to tour facilities. "Whenever I come here I have five minutes to see five days worth of your operations. Someday I'm going to come back for a whole day and just look around at my leisure." He said afterward that they had "more impressive" things they could have shown us--but there was press with us.

John has lots of questions, stops at every exhibit, lectures the group as we go up and down in the elevator--that the method of repairing turbine blades will lead to "savings of millions of dollars".

Press conference (taped).

"I've been coming to Battelle for many years...national resource...things that make country great--education and more in area of research than any other nation in the world." Starts in sounding a lot like the campaign even in pitch and tone--then goes on to Battelle.

After talking about Battelle Hotel, he goes into what he has brought to Ohio--then a campaign peroration.

Battelle - 190M volume per year. 100M in plant assets, 80% for

government--competitive procurement.

Qus. blue collar jobs--high tech he discusses change in job picture and his legislation on job training trust fund.

"I have brought back 3B in defense expenditures to Ohio since I have been on the AS Committee. I don't want it to be a pork barrel thing but, ..." (immediately wants to make sure people don't think it's politics).

Qu. re "star wars" - still talks of break throughs" and "basic research" - talked that way all day.

Worked with Bill Cohen to limit ^{SOP} SOS money to 3.9--just basic research. We didn't need a scientific breakthrough for Appollo - only a monumental engineering job. He spent 6 days going around to labs doing research on lasers and particle beams - need laser projection and particle beam projection before you do it - calls the head of "Let me run through this a little bit. I don't want to be boring but..." and he goes on to describe star wars. (I notice I'm the only person taking notes!!) His hands are working up and down "orbital altitude like I was at once"...reporters begin to smile--changing angles, changing rates of speed, "sensing and guidance systems", "fighting mirror" - over the horizon." "thousands of links and sensors" - "mind boggling research".

At end he points to reporter and says "You did it, I didn't". He made him answer.

But it's clear he knows his stuff on the technical side. Still very interested in verification. Can we transfer power via lasers? "basic research may come out of it or military research" "zapatank".

European nations want in - he wants to keep money here - "we're being out competed around the world" - He puts an amendment in to require money

to be spent here, i.e., no more than 3% spent abroad. "I want to see us spend our research dollars here...It doesn't make any sense to send research dollars abroad."

When we were standing in the lobby waiting to go, he was still talking about star wars complexity. DK if it can be done, but Russians think we can do it. He talked about star wars all day and next day in interviews and during foreign policy talk. His view of foreign policy very much a military view, not ideological.

1st comment to me was "Too bad you're not going to get to do any flying. We flew all over yesterday." In the car, I got a lesson in glide path and landings.

We go from Battelle to a Senior Citizens Center. I ride with the cameraman from CBS TV station in Dayton, so that the reporter (Debbie Countess) from the station can ride with John.

He has a written out speech at the senior citizens center that is more of a special interest type of speech than I've seen him give. He interpellates a lot, going into past family life etc. I think I have it on tape.

He is introduced by Ned Nick Zimmers, a State Senator who says "John Glenn is America" etc. John apparently was in Dayton last night at a fundraiser for Nick. Dole says the big political battle this year is for control of Ohio State Senate, that Republicans hold it by one vote and that John is helping out state senators. This is the second time in 12 hours he's appeared with Nick. And tomorrow we go to help out another Democratic State Senator. So it looks like John is helping the party some. How much is not clear. Some other guy with a margin like this would kill himself

working for the ticket. John is not killing himself at all. "We are just going through the motions" says MJ.

Anyhow as soon as his speech is over, a reporter asks him whether or not he wasn't attacking Kindness and doing the same kind of negative campaigning he is accusing Kindness of doing, i.e., the same old thing from the presidential campaign. (When Dale Butland met me I said deja vu and he said "As Yogi Berra said, it's deja vu all over again." Little did I realize!)

Anyhow, John answers that "It's not a personal attack sort of thing. I'm just campaigning as hard as if it were a one percent lead, I'll tell you that. We're campaigning 18-20 hours a day all across Ohio."

And he says "When you point out specific differences between our voting records that's not being negative. Those are facts. It's when you say things like no employees in the state or only four trips back to Ohio in one year--that's what I mean by personal attacks."

He tells reporter (and I may have this on tape) "I've come back and forth and kept closer touch with Ohio than any United States Senator that's ever represented this state." (I have this, and a long response to this question on tape.) Kindness' attack is that John is "a sidelines Senator", that he doesn't take an interest in Ohio, that he's too absorbed in national affairs. John sees this, (again, as with Mondale) as a negative, personal attack--or at least, he sees the specifics as an attack and he's mad. The idea that he's more in touch with Ohio than any other Senator ever seems very unlikely to me. But I don't know any way to challenge it. It's jsut one more bit of campaign hyperbole that is contestable--or uncheckable till after the election. He says it again during his WOSU

call-in show in the afternoon.

In the car, I asked him whether 1986 was a replay of 1980. He shook his head "It's very different. I never had an opponent who was so negative. My opponent is conducting a completely negative campaign. My other opponents differed with me but on the issues. This guy is saying things that are absolutely outrageous. Off the record, I'd love to stomp him 95-5 or 90-10. I'd love to get a vote of 75-80%, so that I could say that Ohioans have rejected negative campaigning, that we won't have that sort of thing ever again in this state. Actually I'll be happy if we do as well as the polls say we will. When you get involved in a campaign, the adrenalin starts running. Taking all the polls together, ours and others we have been dropped into, we're running in the low to mid sixties, 63-65% and he's running in the high twenties. I'd be satisfied with that. He says I've had only two staff members in the state. I've always had somewhere between nine and 12--averaging out about ten. I don't know where he got that number. He made a statement that I had only been here four ^{in Ohio four times last year. Why I've been} times in one week. He says I never got a single piece of legislation passed last session. I have nine pages of things I got done last session."

"He took a urine test and challenged me to take one too. I said I thought it was more important to find out if we could hit a Soviet missile with a star wars defense than to hit a bottle. But, off the record, I went to the physician at the Capitol and had a test taken. And I've got this certificate checking off all the test and all the results. If he brings that up in the debate, I'm going to pull it out and say here's my certificate, where's yours?" (He laughed all through this.) But the point is that he wants to be prepared in case! It's also a measure of his trust

that he would tell me that.

In the interview after the senior citizens speech, (the one MJ playing pool in the background) he talked about religion and politics. "I trust a person who has a strong religious faith more than I do someone who does not." Then he says how he objects to people who put their interpretation on what is moral and declare him immoral. He gives the same answer at WOSU. But he doesn't hit hard on the church-state separation, the founding fathers, the principle of liberty, etc. the way Mark Andrews did. He doesn't raise it to the level of a principle of the country to this degree. And never does. He doesn't take the opportunity when the question compares Falwell, Robertson, Jackson and ~~M~~King to speak to black voters by going to town on King. He doesn't see groups at all.

During his answer on prayer--stressing the importance of prayer, etc., MJ says "He's so Ohio." And I think to myself, Kindness has it all wrong. John Glenn is so Ohio that he lost the presidential bid. But it's not Cleveland, Ohio that he's part of, but Columbus, Ohio or Zanesville, Ohio. Mary Jane said that if it weren't for the intelligence and the worldly experience he'd be a small town hick--that there's a lot of the small town in him. She remembered him telling me that he wouldn't do well on the two coasts. His "pledge of allegiance" which he uses in his 5 minute spot and in oen 30 second spot--and which he used in the senior citizens center--comes so naturally to him, and it is so cornball on the east coast. But in Ohio, it's golden--at least Central Ohio.

He lost the presidency in part because he's so Ohio. I think that's where his public service politics begins. He calls Ohio a microcosm and thinks that that carries him farther than it does. it may be a

demographic-economic microcosm, but it isn't a cultural microcosm, and culture (as Byron Shafer says) is a large part of politics now. Oh, now that I've said it, I don't think it's so hot! He's very liberal on so many social matters. He just doesn't give it the right twist or the right emphasis--^{what} ~~what~~ the media ^{called} ~~called~~ passion. ~~It~~ It doesn't have groups in it; it doesn't have history in it. It's what he doesn't say, as much as what he does say that is the problem.

He's a loner really, like Arlen. Neither one is a great legislator or coalition builder. Both are influenced by their past.

The big pitch for John in his talks and his TV is what he's gotten for Ohio and what he's done for Ohio, plus (two related) his emphasis on a strong defense, the elderly and the pledge of allegiance. There is stuff about his career, nuclear non-proliferation, veterans, department of education. But it starts with Chernobyl and John's quick reaction to a radiation leak near Cincinnati then goes quickly through his early career and then to his accomplishments for Ohio, then to his views on things. There's nothing about his presidential campaign, nothing about his political rise. He's a hero and then he's a Senator in 1986. Very little astronaut stuff - that is downplayed--only a few seconds of that--maybe 2 or 3 only. And I noticed that today, while he mentioned several times that he was "in the Marine Corps for 23 years and served in two world wars", he never mentions the flight in space. Alluded to it once at Battelle when he was talking about star wars technology in space "where I was" but that's all. And he mentioned presidential candidates once (exc. for debt) in interview after senior citizens. Said after his presidential effort he had made more contacts around the country and developed better working

relations in Senate, and lost "Ohioans are proud that I ran and I'm proud that I ran.

So two subjects are hardly mentioned after one day--astronaut and presidential candidate.

In the spot there's one man who says He's not like most politicians, he thinks first about the country, not about himself. That's the way John thinks of himself.

John Glenn may be the ^{least} ~~most~~ vulnerable ex presidential candidate in history. At least for a man who spent as much as he did and had such hopes so dashed. Who is comparable? Udall? He is absolutely untouchable in Ohio. He has a suit of armor. Kindness' total lack of success is proof positive--nice man, qualified, Conservative, can't touch John, can't muss up the hero. He tried that route and failed; he tried to capitalize on the failed presidential campaign and failed. He tried to capitalize on the lack of passion for Ohio and failed. He tried suggestion of corruption and failed. Just failed. Ohioans want their hero. They'll forgive him a lot.

In an interview after seniors, he said that he had spent on average 62 days a year for 8-9 years. "I don't think anyone has matched that record."

I asked him why he gave up Foreign Relations to go to Armed Services. "Two reasons. I had become disenchanted with the Foreign Relations Committee. It didn't do much. Aside from confirmations, our influence was nil. In Foreign Affairs things are so changeable, tipping first one way then the other. It's not like dealing with hardware. Also, for a long time I had wanted to get on the Armed Services committee. Its work is less ethereal and more concrete. You know how much of this or that you have and how much the Russians have. And you have a greater influence on policy on

this committee than you do on Foreign Relations. In truth, I don't see how you can do the work of one committee without knowing the work of the other committee. How can you take positions on foreign policy without knowledge of your defense capabilities; how can you discuss national defense without understanding our foreign policy goals. I think the two committees should be combined. And I think I'll write a memo to that effect when we get back. I'm more comfortable dealing with armed services questions than foreign relations questions. I think they are better suited to my particular talents and expertise. I'm the most junior man on the committee and so I sit way down at the end of the table. I don't particularly like that. I was third ranking on FR. But if we control the Senate, Cl. Pell will be chairman. And Joe Biden is next. So I have no chance of being a chairman. On A.S. I get more questions about things than most others because of my background. So my expertise more than makes up for my lack of seniority. I don't want to brag but when it comes to airplanes or SDI, I know more than anyone else in the committee. And the other members look to me more on those subjects than to anyone else. I've made that my special responsibility. For 10 days in each of the last two summers I've toured the laboratories involved in SDI to familiarize myself with their operations and their problems. That's why I learned what I described this morning. And that's only one system.

Their latest tracking poll shows it 65-27.

One inference I draw from his spots and his speech (all written out like a presidential speech) is that he's decided to emphasize aging problems more than before. It's a side of him that didn't come through as much before. There were only 50 people there and he read his speech like

it was a press speech. At Battelle he spoke off the cuff. He's comfortable with research and not ageing.

I heard need for "breakthrough research" mentioned with passion three times today--at Battelle, in post-seniors interview in Dayton and WOSU. His themes are the same as they were on presidential trail. He's still most at home with research and technology. And on Armed Services, he's found a way to put that interest to use getting jobs for Ohio. He's bringing home the bacon and proud of it.

I asked him about farm problems. He said "Ohio farmers are better off than farmers generally. There is trouble, foreclosures are up, but it's nothing like South Dakota." He does have an agriculture mailing and a woman's mailing. They were doing the women's mailing while I was there, but were wondering whether to do the agriculture mailing. It was in boxes and untouched. *Can't believe they mailed it! No help!*

The campaign looks like the other campaign--no volunteers. People work from 8-5 or 8-6. There are a few chiefs--not a lot--and a few indians--not a lot. There were two guys and two women doing the office type work, on computers, stuffing, etc. The two women went home at 5 and 6 respectively. One complained that ~~regular~~ the regular Senate office people would not come help with the stuffing, etc. So that's deja vu, too. No volunteer passion for John Glenn; a job oriented staff. Of the two guys working, one wants a job with John in D.C., the other wants to go to D.C. eventually and is in OSU law school. Got a MA in public policy at Michigan--Matt _____.

Hard to figure why Dale Butland stays on with John. Does John need a speech writer? Does it have something to do with the debt? Bill White's

name comes up--is he helping with the debt?

John and MJ kidded about fact that he tacked a new ending onto his prepared speech. "Sometimes I have two or three endings; once I had four endings." The staff takes bets on no. of endings; they kidded about it all day. He had that problem in '84. And after the WOSU call-in show, as we went into his office building he said, "I was afraid that some of my answers were too long, that they should have been shorter. That's a problem I have, but when I get going one thing connects with another." That, too, was a problem in '84.

He recalled the Lancaster Fair and he said "Mary Benson was there." I said yes, she was and what a memory he had. "I remember" he said, "because she died recently--a slow, horrible death with cancer. She was one of God's noblest creatures." A warmth of memory that is the authentic John Glenn.

MJ told me, as I left headquarters to go to the hotel--appropos of all the Ohio emphasis: "The staff didn't want him to go to Cincinnati on Monday for some silly reason. So they began to talk about him going back to Washington! I said that I vote for him in Ohio and if he didn't care enough about Ohio to stay here one week before election day that would affect the way I thought of him as a person. They gave up the idea." Can you imagine anyone thinking that way. Mary Jane is the only honest god Ohioan around him--at least in spirit.

Lots of talk about 3B in defense contracts - 56 companies doing business with government that didn't as a result of his procurement conferences--way behind Quayle on this. 5.4 million for Air Force money (see end of interview after seniors).

Motto for election "Strength and integrity - in the Ohio tradition."

After we saw the playing of the tapes, MJ said to me "You noticed that we never mentioned our opponent. From that ad you wouldn't know we had an opponent. There's nothing in there that suggests don't vote for the other guy. It's all about John Glenn and why you should vote for him. I'm proud we did it that way." And I said "That's the way he should have done it last time." And she said "You're right."

John's TV spots are the one 5-minute general spot which has him talking a lot--in his office, and to a group of Ohio State students.

Then they have 3 30-second spots, one on the elderly which is an "outtake" from the 5 minute spot, one on general character which is partly an outtake but is a little bit from Annie, and a third which is different, on trade. All are strictly "positive" ads and never mention Kindness or even hint that there's a contest going on.

John says Kindness, put \$460,000 of TV and \$120,000 of radio into his May blitz. Glenn's bench mark poll was in December and then they took another poll in the summer to see if Kindness had had any effect. John didn't say what results were, but, those were the results Jeff Berman gave me--essentially no change.

It may be that in Ohio, the ordinary rules simply don't apply to John. Once he gets by the primary or neutralizes organized labor and the black community he is golden.

Re black community, we talked in the car after WOSU about the question about Robertson, Falwell, King and Jackson, i.e., weren't they all the same? MJ said "The only question you could have done more with than you did was the one about Martin Luther King. John had said only that

including King on the list "was a bit much." He said "I thought about that and decided that the safest thing to do was to lump them all together and get on to the next question...I was afraid she was going to ask me to talk about each one separately." And he said something to the effect that a lot of people in the listening area did not like M. L. King. Dale said that King *preached* tolerance and others didn't. John agreed and said that was a good point.

Then we went on to talk about school prayer. If he had to say yes or no was he for or against school prayer. Several times John said "The answer is yes. I am for prayer in the schools." Dale took the position that there should be no prayer at all. John could see the point, but wouldn't give. "If you took prayer out of the schools," he said "I'd have to take under God out of my pledge of allegiance." We discussed minority feelings, especially Jews, the political problem of being against all prayer, etc. When someone said what about non-believers, John's response was to the effect that he didn't care about them, hadn't thought about them and that they could think about anything they wanted during a moment of silence. It was more a midwestern small town response than a New York City response.

So - what do I infer about changes since presidential campaign--if I make the most political assumptions. 1. He changed committees so he could bring back more bacon and attach himself to Ohio. 2. He paid more attention to certain politically important groups--the speech to the elderly, the letter to women (and maybethe latter to agriculture). Seems more sensitive. 3. But the difference in the 1980-1986 campaigns he sees in moralistic terms. Wrong-fair, etc. 4. He is still most passionate

about education and research. We can out work, out invent, out produce, out compete "any nation on earth" - he says in his trade spot. And he said it all day. his main enthusiasms and themes have not changed. If anything the switch to AS is a retreat back to that theme.

On Saturday we took a caravan around the State Senate District (31st) of Gene Branstetter - 5 counties. We'd stop in each town at the court houses till it rained, then a shopping mall and in a legion hall. John would talk and I did quite a bit of taping - got good stuff on his negative campaigning stuff. My two long tapes were at Lancaster (1st stop) and Newark (last stop) I did Zanesville too, in the shopping mall with the Singers from John Glenn High School.

I asked John about the effect of the presidential race on campaigning and governing. He took the last first.

"It's been beneficial. I travelled all over the country and met a lot of people I didn't know before. I think that's helped me in the Senate." I didn't follow up, but should have.

On campaigning, "The presidential campaign is so intense that every little thing you do is watched so carefully and magnified and interpreted--interpreted negatively, too, if it is at all possible. That's not a complaint; it's a fact. But after you've campaigned in the big time--and that's about as big time as you can get--you gain confidence in your ability to handle things. So I'm much more relaxed now than I ever was before."

I asked him if he still thought of Ohio as a microcosm of the U.S. "I used to say that it was, but after campaigning all over the country I became more convinced than ever that it was true." And he went into the

topics. flat land, hill country, old industry, new industry, agriculture, mining, etc.

I said that I asked that because Ohio was so easy for him and rest wasn't. "Well, it took a long time. I've been in politics in Ohio for 20 years."

"Don't forget I took my lumps in the beginning. I lost a primary. I battled the Governor and Metzenbaum. If anyone in Ohio ever earned his political spurs it was me. In 1984 after the presidential campaign, we were worried about the reaction, about a possible fall off. So I spent a lot of time in Ohio over the next four or five months. That impressed people. And in the fall campaign I crisscrossed Ohio for four or five months doing nothing but campaigning for state senators and state representatives. And that impressed the party people particularly. The result was that there was no fall off. So--considering all that--do I have good rapport with the people of Ohio now? I sure do."

The upshot of that was it took him a long time to get that rapport, he thought he might lose it, he didn't and it's solid now. "Unshakeable" in Jeff Berman's word. We talked in the car, Paul, Matt, Susan, Jeff and I about John and we agreed that he has no chink in his armor that can be worked on. The attacks of Kindness didn't ring true to people, weren't even close--and hence they fell on fallow soil. The benchmark poll showed weakness with women, which accounts for the women's letter. Later they concluded that difference fell within the range of error. The poll also showed that on the integrity, character issue, he remained very strong; and that's what led to the slogan "Strength and Integrity: An Ohio Tradition".

There were not one reminiscence of the presidential campaign--with one

possible exception. Driving from Newark to Columbus we passed an aluminum plant. MJ said remember when we taped a Connell commercial there. John said, yes that was for the 1980 campaign. MJ said "No, it was in 1984." John said "Oh it was the national campaign; I thought it was for 1980." He couldn't recall the exact timing--hardly a reminiscence.

I asked John, as we got to the hotel, whether negative campaigning was the big difference between 1980 and 1986.

"There are three things. One, 1986 is post presidential. There is a different air about this campaign--that greater confidence I talked about. Second it's much harder to raise money. The money problem has me really worried. Third there has never been so much negative campaigning. This is the first time I've ever had an opponent whose principal effort has been to tear me down. Oh, I've had little things here and there, but nothing like this. He's attacking my integrity. With absolute untruths--four trips home a year, two people on my Senate staff."

"The campaign is pretty much catch as catch can now. All our elaborate planning, our organizing is out the window. We've had to cancel a lot of appearances. Now, we're just plugging holes here and there. That's the best we can do." The whole office staff rode in the cavalcade today. They weren't really needed in the caravan. It was just a fun day.

John gave me a tour of the map of Ohio--5 regions - central and four corners. He mapped out the contours of the line that separates the Great Plains from the hill country. Hill country has lots of coal. He showed me the lakes, the good farmland--best in USA in the northeast. He pointed at the western side of Ohio as German Catholic. "Paulding county was the only county I lost in 1980. It's German Catholic; and if you don't agree with

them 100% down the line, they are against you and they consider you a tool of the devil."

Said he used to go to the annual right to life dinners--even though he disagreed with them. (This was ^{DC} ~~in BC~~). "I always went and I would speak to them. I would say that I knew we disagreed on abortion, but I hoped we would agree on peace and defense and so forth. I went until the meeting where a Catholic priest offered a prayer and ended by saying he prayed God to defeat John Glenn, that God wanted John Glenn defeated and that he was sure I would be defeated. Imagine, a catholic priest praying for my defeat! I decided that I wouldn't go anymore."

Jeff said I'd find 2 interesting things in Germond and Witcover's book - a poll before Iowa that showed Glenn 10 points up in Alabama and close in NH. He dropped to 20 points down in Ala. after Iowa and dropped in NH. Jeff agrees that Iowa killed him and that it was an organizational failure there. Too simple.

They all agreed that to get the hero image Glenn has takes time. It doesn't take time to get people on issues. But it takes a long time to get 'em on trust. MA has it like Glenn has it. But Mark can lose it. Hard to do it. None of my other guys has it--maybe PD, not BC, PT, DP (maybe) DQ, AS.

John is, obviously, stuck on the negative campaigning idea. To him (see last part of last tape, it is immoral--wrong, not just politics.

Annie said, as we rode to Bexley High TV spot-making "More and more people seem to be leaving politics. It's too bad. They don't realize how much it disrupts their lives. To ~~say~~ in it you have to want to do something for your country." That's obvious to Annie--and John. You "do

it for your country."

Before I got my tape out in Logan, John said "I'm glad to be here to hear the national anthem and see the flags flying. That's what this country is all about." And then there's his pledge of allegiance.

I could use his joke about the campaign as a lead in somewhere - talk about the rainy day caravan to the 5 county seats and note that each time he opened with the joke that he always did what Annie told him, that she wanted him to run for Presidency in worst (way) possible way. And I did." Well, the point is, he did! (You have to start out with the fact that it was a disaster and then explain it. And, however, facetiously, he admitted it.

Annie said she listened to the Kindness-Glenn episodes on the call-in show and said "He's got a lot in his head. He remembers so much. He's got his mom's memory."

"Except for those papers which will endorse any Republican, I think I will get all the endorsements. I'm not sure anyone is influenced by newspaper endorsements. The only paper whose endorsement I really value is the Akron Beacon Journal. That paper has a lot of influence within its area. I think that began when Mr. Knight lived there. When he endorsed you, he really went all out for you."

We went to a taping of a get out the vote spot on Saturday morning. John and Governor Celeste were doing it together. Celeste said something about negative campaigning. John said something about owing it to people who fought for their country and died. "Keeping faith." He said it several times and I have it on tape.

The fact that John keeps coming back to negative campaigning indicates

a continuing, unresolved conflict between public service values and political realities. It is such a recurrent theme that it's got to be central. It's the conflict too between public service and ambition. Glenn doesn't have to succumb now or in 1980. But when he really wanted something, he did (As Jeff said on the trip to Lancaster) "Our polls showed that our negative advertising was cutting into Mondale in New Hampshire." He would never admit he used it, but he did. It wasn't him and it hurt. Ambition may have got better of him then. Well, he has to believe that he maintained his high standards throughout. My May interview made that clear.

If Mark Andrews in Lehr is the idealized picture of him, then I think the idealized picture of John Glenn is in the American Legion Hall in Newark. Just across the street from the courthouse square, with beautiful old county courthouse in a town noted as home of Heisey glass, at the edge of Ohio's south-central hill country, our caravan rolled into its last of 5 stops. About 100 people had waited there for over an hour (rally had been scheduled for courthouse square, but it was raining hard) for him and for the local candidates travelling with him. We had several vans, several pick up trucks and a bus that got escorted from county line to county line by police escorts front and back. He walked in and everyone cheered. He went to the microphone on a raised platform beneath a large POW-MIA flag. "We Have Not Forgotten" and a large American Legion Flag." The third grade class "studying the life of John Glenn stood right in front of him pushing and shoving one another. The adults started by ringing the large bell and Glenn and Gene Brenstood brought them in close so that they ringed the podium, holding signs and banners. Gene Branstood, the State Senator whose

district we were covering said "I know you didn't come to hear me speak" and he recited John's "accomplishments" "pushed through nuclear non-proliferation treaty" and then all others were his heros past. (I think I've got it.) John spoke. Man presented him with a replica of a Mercury project rocket and capsule for the 7th grade science class and asked for autograph. John reminisced about his astronaut days. That's the authentic John Glenn. It's not his primary constituency, but it's his constituency of the whole.