

## **ENGINEERING, BUSINESS, AND POLITICS**

### **Interview #1**

**Wednesday Morning, August 17, 2011**

**RITCHIE:** I wanted to start at the beginning. I note that you were born in Philadelphia, and I wondered if you could tell your childhood in Philadelphia. What was your family like?

**KAUFMAN:** Let me start with my present family. Lynne and I are truly blessed. First are our three daughters, Kelly, Murry and Meg. They have grown into wonderful people and three of our best friends. They also married three men we could not love more. Kelly met Fritz Lance at Dickinson College. They live outside of Baltimore, and have two daughters Ginna who went to Penn and Kirsten who went to Dickinson. We are very lucky that they both now live and work in Washington and we see them a lot. Murry went to Duke and met her husband Matt Pierce, a Michigan State graduate, when she was working for General Electric and he was designing cars. They live in Birmingham, Michigan and have two children; Natalie and Liam who we fortunately get to see a lot. Our third daughter, Meg met her husband Tom Hartley at the University of Pennsylvania and lives in Hammersmith outside of London. They have three children, Calvin, Martha and Lincoln. Between our regular trips to London and their trips to the United States we spend a lot of time together.

I was born in Philadelphia. My parents were both born and raised in Philadelphia. My father, Manuel Kaufman, was Jewish and my mother, Helen Carroll, was Irish Catholic. They both lived in South Philadelphia, on either side of Broad Street, and there was no chance that they would meet each other. Back in those days, and even when I was growing up, Philadelphia was a city of great ethnic divides, where the Italian, the Jewish, the Irish, the Polish, the black community, and—to the extent there was a Hispanic community—the Hispanic community each lived in their own neighborhood (s) with very little interaction.

They both went to the University of Pennsylvania, but didn't meet there. They met later on. They were both working in public assistance as social workers when they got married. The biggest thing was that back in those days an Irish Catholic was not very welcome in a Jewish family, and a Jew was not very welcome in an Irish Catholic family, so it was interesting growing up with these two ethnic backgrounds.

At Penn, my mother was president of her sorority and was a big person on campus. Interesting point, at that point the *Daily Pennsylvanian*, even though women had been there for a number of years, never had a woman's name in the newspaper. Even though they were students there, they were never mentioned. My mother went to John W. Hallahan Catholic Girls High School in South Philadelphia

My father went to South Philadelphia High School, and then went to Penn on a basketball scholarship. He was six feet one-and-a-half inches which in those days made him big enough for him to play center. He thought he may have been one of the first Jews to play in the Ivy League. He played and started his first year, but he hurt his knee and lost his scholarship—which is what they did back then. His picture with his team 1931-32 is on the wall of the Penn Palestra. He went back and earned a degree in fine arts at Penn. He then taught art in the city schools, and then returned to Penn and earned a master's degree in social work. He spent his career in social work and especially helping children. He finished his career as Deputy Commissioner of Public Welfare for the City of Philadelphia. My mother worked in a number of social work jobs and later was a teacher in the Philadelphia City Schools. In 1942 my parents had the first of my three wonderful sisters, Natalie Jane, who we called Lee Jane.

Philadelphia was a great middle-class or lower-middle-class place to grow up. I spent most of my early years there. Then we moved to Washington, D.C. We lived out in McLean Gardens, in a very nice apartment neighborhood. There were a lot of ex-military people. This was in 1946 or '47, or '47 and '48. My dad was down here working in social work. We were there for two years. I went to Hearst Elementary School close to home. My dad played tennis every weekend at Sidwell Friends. So I remember those years. It is also where we were joined by my sister Helene. Then we moved back to Philadelphia.

My mother's parents lived in a place called Logan, which is in North Philadelphia. We moved into their house, at 1500 Ruscomb Street. This was a great community, mostly Catholic. There was a big church, Holy Child. Just about all of my friends were Catholic. There were mostly Irish-Americans, with a smattering everything else. It was a great place. Kids went out after school and played in the street. Before we moved to Washington I had attended first grade at Holy Child. Then we moved back I went to a public school called Logan Demonstration School. It was called Logan Demonstration School because in those days they would bring people there from around the country and around the world to demonstrate what education was like in Philadelphia.

It was a neighborhood where everybody felt safe. It was a great place to grow up.

I went to Jay Cooke junior high school. I walked—I did not walk two miles through the snow—I walked probably a mile or so to this school. It was a good school. Two big things happened in 1952. One, was I was accepted in Central High School, which was about three miles from my home. It is the second oldest public high school in the country. It was what they now call a magnet school; it had high entrance requirements, and it was a great school to go to.

Second, we moved to West Mount Airy in northwest Philadelphia. Shortly thereafter we had my third sister Susan Phyllis, who we called Suzy. A little about my sisters. Lee Jane went to Penn and then received a PhD from the University of Virginia and taught at the University of South Carolina for years. She and Dr. David Whiteman, have two children Carrollee and Athey. They also have 3 grandchildren. Helene went to Penn also and then to Bryn Mawr where she received a master's degree in social work, and worked for years at US AID. She and her husband John Rosenberg have a daughter, Jessie. My youngest sister Suzy followed the family tradition and went to Penn, and received a master's and PhD from Penn. She is a clinical psychologist, married to Dr. Peter Waldron, and has a daughter Miranda and a son Jacob.

I was the only member of the family who didn't go to Penn undergraduate. My father went to Penn and got a master's in social work. My mother went to Penn. My three sisters went to Penn. I'm the only one that didn't go to undergraduate school at Penn. I went to Duke, but I did receive my MBA from Wharton at Penn. As I said before my daughter, Meg and my granddaughter Ginna graduated from Penn, so we're now four generations that went to Penn.

Central was a great place to go to school. It was a school where you learned a lot. It was a good academic environment. The large majority of the students were Jewish, and there was a great deal of give-and-take of ideas, the Socratic method. It was like the polar opposite of Japanese schools where you have rote education. There was a constant battle between students and teachers on just about everything. It was like pitched warfare. One of the great things about being a senator is that I was asked to speak at Central's annual alumni dinner and my class's annual alumni dinner. What I said was that never once in my life, in all the things that I did, and all the people that I met, did I ever feel like anyone could intellectually overpower me. Not that I was the smartest guy, and not that I

didn't meet people that were a lot smarter than me, but coming out of that background, you'd seen really, really smart people. I remember one time it was reported that Central, during the period that I was there, was second, or third in the country in the number of graduates going on to get Ph.D.'s The other two were the two in New York City. I can't remember the one—

**RITCHIE:** Stuyvesant?

**KAUFMAN:** Stuyvesant and Bronx High School of Science. Many of my friends went on to get Ph.D.'s or go into law or medicine. So it was a wonderful place to go to school. And West Mount Airy was a wonderful neighborhood. I think it was one of the earliest racially integrated neighborhoods in Philadelphia. It stayed racially integrated. It was again a great neighborhood. Central was a great place to go to school. It was a wonderful experience.

**RITCHIE:** You had two different sides of your family, a Jewish side and a Catholic side. How did that influence you?

**KAUFMAN:** Well, first off, it taught me that there's no monopoly on prejudice. When I was at an Irish event, like a wedding on my mother's side of the family, there were lots of people who were there who didn't know I was half Jewish, and I learned that they had certain feelings about other ethnic groups. And when I went to Jewish events, I found out that they had pretty strong opinions about other different ethnic groups. One of the things that I've tried to do in my life is try to understand—emphasis is on *try*—try to understand what other people are like. Of course, it is impossible to really understand what motivates people even if you know them for a long time. One of the important things I learned on this was from a management consultant when I was working for DuPont. He said that when you're dealing with an employee do not assume you know where they are coming from. He told the story, and it was perfect, about a manager who had someone working for him who had great potential but he left every day at five o'clock. The manager went to him and said, "Look, you have great potential. I'd like to push you up the ladder to get the prestige and money and everything else. But look, you've got to start staying later." The guy says, "Sir, you have to understand, I want to be a great professional bowler. So at five o'clock I'm going to go bowl." So I aspire to understand others, but I know when dealing with people it is always best to ask them what their aspirations are and not assume you know.

I think one of the great things coming out of that background was that I had a head start in understanding two disparate—at that time very disparate—cultural groups. Very distinct, very admirable in my opinion, to the extent that I picked up from them certain talents, but that would be the big thing, to get me off on a track where I really became fascinated by different people, different cultures. Not like studying anthropology or sociology or anything like that, much more of a: “My name’s Jim.” “Hey, Jim, where are you from? What have you done?” It is the ability to at least get on the same plane. Like the old thing about maybe it’s like a baseball game analogy, I’m not standing on second base, but I just want to be in the right stadium. I feel that gave me a real head start.

**RITCHIE:** What was it like having two parents who were social workers? How did that influence you?

**KAUFMAN:** Mom stayed at home until Suzy started school and then she became a teacher. What’s really interesting is that my parents and my three sisters all worked in the public sector helping people—one teaching in South Carolina, one at US AID, one a clinical psychologist, my father was a social worker, my mother was a teacher for most of her career. I was the only one that went into the private sector. The big thing was, how did I end up at the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania? That’s the real question, and it came out of a lot of discussions with my Dad, who became Deputy Commissioner of Public Welfare in Philadelphia, which is a big job and he was in charge of all the children’s programs in Philadelphia. Somehow or other along the line, I became kind of convinced that—and discussed with him—that a lot of people in the business community in Philadelphia had a lot more to say about what happened with children and those things than did my Dad. So I ended up being the only person in my family to go into the private sector.

People say they were the first person in their family to go to college. Well, I was not the first person in my family. One of my grandmothers, my mother’s mother, went to college. So I’m nothing new about that, but the one thing that I’m different about is that there’s nobody that I knew in my family that ever obtained an engineering or science degree—one of the big things that I worked on in the Senate was promoting Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math education, and I still do to this day as Co-Chair of the Delaware STEM education council. I was the only person in my family to go into engineering or science.

**RITCHIE:** Well, that's the question. What led your towards engineering?

**KAUFMAN:** At those days at Central, many of the really smart kids went into the sciences or went to medical school. Some became lawyers. Business was—back then many of the people who went into business said, "I couldn't do anything else, so I went to business school." Which has totally flipped since the '50s. I made my decision before Sputnik, but you could tell there was a technology boom coming. Another thing was I was 17 years old! Even then when you're 17 it's like what looks good, "Okay, what's the big challenge? I'm going to show the world I'm smart." I made the basic decision that I was going to be an engineer, which makes no real rational sense. And then, to top it off, I decided not to go to Penn but to go away to school. The reason for that is that at Penn the tuition and fees were \$850 and at Duke the tuition and fees and room were \$650. I had a great family, I always had great relations with my parents. I've always said my father and my mother were the nicest people I've ever known. So I wasn't in a rebellious stage or anything like that, but for some reason I just felt it was time for me to get out of Philadelphia. That's when I went to Duke.

I'm sure part of that was engineering, but in a rebellion like you see in the movies, or a rebellion most people have with their kids where they are trying to prove something. Maybe I was trying to prove something, I don't know, but I got interested in the south. My father had a woman who worked for him whose grandmother was still alive and was from Franklin, Tennessee. So I went down to visit her grandmother, and she told me all about the civil war and the battle of Franklin. I've read since that more people were killed per capita than any other battle up until that time. At one time there were five confederate generals lying on her mother's porch. It was the south, and I was interested in the Civil War. So that's why I went to Duke. I had never visited Duke.

The first time I went to Duke I got on the train in Philadelphia and rode 13 hours to show up for the first day of class. But I had never visited and I never knew anyone who went there. When I got down there, I found one other student at Duke that went to Central that I met, that I bumped into. He was a senior when I was a freshman. So that's how I got to Duke and that's how I got into engineering.

**RITCHIE:** Well, Durham is a lot different environment than Philadelphia. What was it like going to the South in the '50s?

**KAUFMAN:** You know, it's a terrible thing, and I'm sure that anybody who's my age or around my age can really understand how institutionalized segregation was. I went to Duke, which was a good school, and the only African Americans that I saw were the maids that came and made our beds very morning. I was not involved with the black community at all—I mean *at all*. It was really later in the 60s that the demonstrations started and things like that. So I just lived in a white world, much like I lived in in Philadelphia. I lived in a very ethnically divided environment, which was the way things were back then, not just in the South but in the North. One of the things that I found out early was that, the kids at Duke who were most prejudiced, the kids who regularly used the N word were the kids from the North and not from the South. I learned that many of the kids from the South had been raised in small towns, where they did know the black community, because they were just small towns where everybody knew each other and they interacted. It didn't mean there weren't problems, because there were, big problems. But my friends from the North, they by and large had never met a black person. We didn't play sports against African Americans. It was totally insulated.

Durham, even though probably because of the university was there one of the more, I wouldn't say liberal but I'd say left of center places. But Durham was also the headquarters for the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina at that time, at least eastern North Carolina. I can remember them demonstrating. But it was different. After I left Duke and went back and lived in North Carolina for four years, 1960 to 1964, I saw a lot more. That was a period when there was a lot going on and we had demonstrations and they passed the Civil Rights Act in 1964. My wife tells the story, she went to Duke and was a year behind me, that she and her friends went to a Fats Domino concert at the Armory in Durham. I don't think that I went, but I think some of my friends went to other different events like this one. But the way it worked then, this was in 1956 or '57, the African Americans would be on the ground floor and the whites would be in the balcony. Everything was segregated.

It was a southern experience in that there were a number of students there who were clearly from the South, but I had four roommates while I was there—the first year, I had one for my freshman year, he flunked out; I had one for my sophomore year, he flunked out; I had one for my junior year, he flunked out; in my senior year my roommate graduated. One of my roommates was from Memphis, Tennessee. Again, it was a great experience to meet people from the South. It's one of the things that enriched my life. We are a much less of a regional society now. Everybody reads the same books

and watches the same TV shows. But back then there really were dramatic regional differences in culture and the way people approached problems. I'm not talking about just the racial problem, I'm talking about all the other problems. Clearly there were big differences in racial problems, too, although again I have to say that many of the super-prejudiced students were from the North. But it was fascinating. I spent four years at Duke and then four more years in North Carolina, and I learned a lot about people in the South.

**RITCHIE:** If you had three roommates that flunked out, was Duke a pretty intense place?

**KAUFMAN:** Yeah. It was very different than it is now. And this is not just Duke—I've had friends at other universities who tell exactly the same stories. That is, they had an auditorium at Duke and at the first orientation meeting for freshman we had, I don't know whether it was the president or the dean of students or whoever got up there and said, "Look to your right, look to your left, and after a while if they're here you won't be." Now over the years, it's hard to get into the university, but once you get in you can stay. When I was in college lots of students flunked courses and flunked out. We had students—there was a big band leader called Les Brown whose son went to Duke. He flunked out by Thanksgiving of his freshman year. At the end of two months he was gone. In engineering, especially, you really had the feeling that it was a hurdle. You were going to learn a lot but they were going to put hurdles up to weed people out. And they weeded a lot of people out. One of my best friends from high school went to the University of Virginia, and then the University of Virginia had to accept anybody who graduated from a University of Virginia accredited high school. He said they sent droves of people home after the first report period. So the university was a different kind of experience, and Duke was insistent about that. Getting in was a ticket of admission but as demonstrated by my three roommates—they were not dumbos, they were smart fellows, but it was a tough school. I'm sure it wasn't as tough as going to MIT or something like that, by any means, but a lot of students did leave.

**RITCHIE:** What kind of engineering were you studying?

**KAUFMAN:** I majored in mechanical engineering. When I was in the Senate I met with a lot of engineering groups and I used to tell them a story, to put in context my remarks, I said that in engineering school back in those days, every student had to take a

year of engineering drawing. Engineering drawing used to use this linen paper. You'd lay it out and they'd give you this package of tools that you needed to use to put the ink down on the linen paper. They had a way to make lines, circles and squares and spirals. But the heart of the matter was a pen—they didn't have pens like they have now—it wasn't quite a quill pen but it was something like a quill pen with two metal pieces at the end. What you had to do was you had a little container of ink with a sharp fine-point on it. You put a drop of ink between the two metal pieces and you had to draw all your lines that way, whether you were using a compass or whatever you were using, that's the way you did it. Well, if you just made the littlest jot the ink drop would come out and you had ruined the paper. At the year, it may have been a semester but I seem to remember you had to take a year of it. It was a laboratory class and I think it met once a week for three hours in the afternoon. We were getting ready to end the class and the teacher says, "Everybody go, I want to talk to Kaufman." I went up and said, "Yes, sir?" He said, "You're awful. But I'll tell you what, I'm going to give you a D, but there's a condition." I said, "What's the condition?" I was so pleased I was getting a D! He said, "You can never tell anybody that you ever took this course with me." And that's the honest to God truth. He gave me a D.

The first year I was there, just to show how different it was, I was an engineer and I was in Air Force ROTC. Air Force ROTC took the normal class and then held a drill once a week. Because of the science labs, a freshman engineer at about any school back then was going to class something like 28 to 30 hours a week. It was very different than it is now. And they had changed from a program where freshmen engineers took chemistry and physics, they decided that year it would be better to flip and have freshmen take physics and then chemistry. What that meant was in the physics classes that year—and everything in engineering was done on a curve, and on a curve where so many students had to flunk—in that mix were freshmen engineers, sophomore engineers, physics majors, and then some pre-meds, like third-year and fourth-year pre-med, and then some science majors and math majors. Well, you can take a look at that bundle and figure out who was going to be at the bottom of the pile, and it really was the bottom of the pile! In fact, a number of students that later graduated flunked physics right out of the box and had to take physics all over again. So it was tough and we lost a lot of students in engineering in the first year.

Now, the one thing that—I don't know if this was determinative for me, but I know it was a factor in all the engineers' minds, was that at that point, to graduate from

Duke in anything but engineering you needed three years of a foreign language. So if you got to your sophomore or junior year and decided you didn't want to be an engineer anymore, you had to figure out how you were going to take three years of a language. So it was an incredible disincentive to leave engineering once you got to the end of your sophomore year. I don't know if that's the reason why I finished. I don't think so. Again, I was 17 to 21 and I'm going to accomplish this, to finish this. And I'm glad I did. There are parts of engineering that I really was fascinated with and enjoyed. But it was a hard, tough slough.

The other thing about Duke was that I used to come home at Thanksgiving and at Easter, and Penn used to be still cold, you'd be indoors, while at Duke, come March you'd walk down the Quad and the sun would be shining and the music would be blasting. Every weekend there was a party—a very different kind of a party than there is now, from what I understand, but the same in that there was a lot of drinking. No drugs, but it is a miracle that more students were not killed. Just about everyone was driving drunk. It was a tough place to study in that great weather, especially if you were doing labs every afternoon. It was more of a southern tradition than it was in the North, there was a lot of socializing. I always fall back on that saying that there's more to education than just what you learn in the classroom. I really believe that I learned a lot at Duke not in a classroom.

The other problem was that coming out of Central I had such a good education. They didn't have Advanced Placement back then—at least I don't remember them having it—but I had a big advantage in that my high school chemistry and physics and math classes were much more advanced than what most of the other students had received. So my freshman year wasn't as hard as it was for the other students because I had covered most of this ground before. So I developed a lot of very bad study habits. I like to rationalize—one of my favorite sayings is “Never underestimate the ability of the human mind to rationalize”—so I don't know whether this is just rationalization, but I felt I learned a lot at Duke even though I did not receive great grades. However, I also learned a lot at Wharton and received excellent grades.

**RITCHIE:** Later on, you were distinct from a lot of senators who had law degrees and came from different backgrounds. Do you think engineering trained you to think differently?

**KAUFMAN:** Absolutely. Engineering is really fascinating, and the classic is I worked for 22 years with non-scientist Joe Biden. I think if you ask him, he'll say the same thing, that we were kind of right-side of the brain/left-side of the brain team. I'm more left side of the brain – a scientist, and Joe Biden is more of the right side - a poet. That's what he used to say, and that was really true. We would approach many of the same problems differently. And remember, he was on the Judiciary Committee for practically his whole career, and he was ranking member or chairman of the Judiciary Committee for a lot of that time, plus there were a lot of lawyers on the staff. They took a legal approach. They were interested in the logical approach but seasoned by experience of how human beings behave. In law school you clearly learn a lot of laws and rules and take courses where you learn precedent and how judges have ruled and probably will rule. Tough courses like torts, intellectual property, constitutional law and many others. But there is also a lot of work on individual cases which introduces human or more irrational considerations. My experience in business school was very much like law school. Engineering was *all* rules. It was all laws. It was all rational. I'm not using irrational as a pejorative. I'm just saying when you do engineering you start out with a formula, and then you work out the formula the same way you do in mathematics. It's a very numbers, rational, logical approach. That doesn't mean you come up with the right answer, or it's a better way to get to an answer, but many times you end up with the same answer but you come at it from a very different way.

My experience in dealing with other senators, with staff, and with others was I brought a different view to many of the discussions, a different approach. That being said, when I became a senator one of the questions I was asked in practically all my early media interviews was: "Where are you going to be different from Joe Biden?" I said, "I don't know". I spent time trying to think about that because I was getting asked that question a lot. Loads of people asked me, but I could not think of an issue where we differed. I would say, that" I am sure over these two years there will be something I disagree with him on." But it really never happened. A lot of it, I like to think that over all those years with him it was a collaborative effort. He was definitely the person in charge. He was definitely driving the show. And he was where we ended up. But he and I many, many times—I mean even to this day, if you give us a problem, we will not start out in the same place. If it's a problem we've already covered, and we talked about, that's different. But if it's a whole new area, where all of a sudden we start talking about Zanzibar. If Zanzibar becomes an important place. What should we do about Zanzibar? We'd be guided by some overriding shared principles about what we should do about

foreign policy, but by and large we'd start at different places.

What was extraordinary, truly extraordinary, was how many times not just Joe Biden but other lawyers that I dealt with and I ended up at the same place. As you know, since 1991 I've been teaching at the Duke Law School, as one of the many things I'm doing, teaching lawyers. So to answer your question, yes, engineers and lawyers really do start out in a very different place. That doesn't mean they end up with a different solution to problems.

**RITCHIE:** The two most famous engineers in politics were Herbert Hoover and Jimmy Carter. Both were brilliant men but they had a lot of problems in office, I think because they thought the political world was going to be more rational than it was, or that the solutions were going to be more rational.

**KAUFMAN:** I don't know about that. Let me put it this way: China is run by engineers. I don't know if you know that. The top management in China, I think two of the last three leaders have come from Tsinghua University, which is China's best engineering school, not Peking University (which is Beijing University but they call it Peking University). You look at Harvard and MIT, Tsinghua University is China's MIT and Peiking University is China's Harvard. Their major leaders are not from Peking University, they're from Tsinghua. So I don't know. We were very close to Jimmy Carter. Joe Biden was the first elected official outside of Georgia to endorse Jimmy Carter—when nobody endorsed Jimmy Carter. Nobody endorsed Jimmy Carter until long after Joe Biden did in terms of that campaign. I like to think that I was a pretty good manager, and I'm an engineer. Jimmy Carter just turned out to be a very poor manager, in my opinion. But there are all kinds of stories about Jimmy Carter, and of course Herbert Hoover ended up not doing well, but there are just way too many incredibly successful engineering managers in U S industry to not believe that engineers make as good managers as lawyers. In fact, there are some people who think the reason the automobile business went in the toilet was because of hiring accountants and lawyers to run the major automobile companies instead of having engineers run them. It was interesting being on senate staff with very few scientist or engineers it was even more interesting being the only engineer in the Senate.

**RITCHIE:** You mentioned earlier that you were in Air Force ROTC. Did you have to do any reserve duty?

**KAUFMAN:** No, what happened was I was in it for two years, and then I couldn't schedule it. When I got to my junior year, I had failed a course in the first two years and in order to make it up, it didn't fit with the Air Force ROTC schedule. So I gave up ROTC only because I couldn't fit it into my schedule.

**RITCHIE:** The draft was still on at that stage, right?

**KAUFMAN:** No, not really. I graduated from Duke in 1960 and no one was being drafted. The other thing was when I graduated it was a tough economic period. There weren't a whole lot of jobs. I did not have a distinguished undergraduate record. So I had decided—because of Air Force ROTC I was interested in flying—I had decided I wanted to fly. I signed up to go to Pensacola as a naval aviator. I went through all the paperwork to go, and was accepted. Then I got a call from the Placement Office at Duke in August. They said, "There's an outfit looking for an engineer. They want to hire you. You'd do engineering work but you'd be working with consultants and architects and folks like that." So I interviewed for the job. They were going to give me an expense account. They were going to give me a company car. So, I went to the navy and I said, "Look, can I put this off for a year or do I have to go through all this again?" "No, no, you can put it off. If you want to put it off for a year, that's okay."

So I went to work for American Standard Industrial Division and found it really challenging and enjoyable and never went back. But at the time no one was being drafted. In 1961 Kennedy first introduced the Green Berets into Vietnam, and shortly after that the real draft started. By the time I was married and had two children.

**RITCHIE:** So you got married right out of college?

**KAUFMAN:** Yes, I was married right out of college, exactly right. Best thing I ever did. Lynne Mayo and I were married in Durham and then I went to work in Detroit, Michigan for the American Standard Industrial Division. Lynne stayed at Duke for her last year. I went to work in a six-month training program in Detroit. This company made two main groups of products. One was power plant equipment for big electric power plants, like electrostatic precipitators to take the pollutants out of the emissions, and mechanical draft fans, and other power plant equipment. Then the second piece of the business was equipment for commercial heating and air conditioning. What I did was to meet with the contractors, consultants, and architects and tried to convince them that our

equipment was the best equipment to put in their power plant or hospital, or new building. The six-month training program in Dearborn, Michigan, was pretty intense, and then I moved to Charlotte, North Carolina. I was there for two years. I traveled mostly in western North Carolina.. The engineering part of it was very interesting. I found the business part of it fascinating. I liked sales. I met some incredibly interesting people.

The biggest excitement while we were in Charlotte was that our daughter, Kelly was born. We really enjoyed Charlotte. We lived in a community called Selwyn Village with about 200 couples who had just graduated from college and were starting families.

But after two years the company decided they wanted to branch out and do more in eastern North Carolina. They asked me to open an office in eastern North Carolina, which I did. I opened an office in Raleigh, North Carolina. It was just a one-person office. We moved to Raleigh and I spent the next two years in Raleigh. At the end of our stay our excitement was that our second daughter, Murry was born. We enjoyed Raleigh every bit as much as Charlotte. We bought our first home, and traveled regularly to Durham for football and basketball.

While I was doing that, I found that I was really enjoying business. I also realized that the engineering part of it was good to have, but to really make the right decisions, which I thought were incredibly interesting, complex decisions about business, you really had to know something about business. So I decided to go back and get an MBA. We lived in Raleigh and the University of North Carolina then had a program in close by Chapel Hill, where you could get an MBA in a year. I had two kids, and so I figured I could take a year off and go back there. Then, in one of those things you do, I thought, "Well, if I'm going to business school, and everybody in my family, except me, had gone to Penn, I ought to apply to Wharton". So I did and was accepted. Then it was one of those things that makes life decisions so interesting - that is the safe choice versus the road untraveled. I was saying to myself, "Oh my God, if I pass up going to Wharton, and I'm really interested in this stuff, it's going to be a nightmare. If I pass that up, will I regret that for the rest of my life?" In the end Lynne and I decided that we'd take our two children and go back to graduate school at Penn. That's how I got to the University of Pennsylvania.

I took a very different approach to Wharton than I had at Duke. After all I had worked for 4 years in the interim and I was married with a family. I took the whole

experience on as if it was a job. No matter what time my class started, I commuted first thing in the morning and except for time off for exercise or squash, I worked the whole time. I logged a lot of time in the Van Pelt library. I never missed one class during the whole time. I thought every class they handed out lessons for life, dollar bills or both. The vast majority of the classes were on topics you would expect such as finance, marketing, and administration. One of the most off beat and interesting courses I took for a whole year every Wednesday for two hours was called "A Seminar in Managerial Philosophy". It was a freewheeling course taught by Professor William Gomberg. It had great readings from most of the major philosophers and economists and looked into the philosophy of operating a business, but even more what was important to employers and employees. In the intervening years I have found myself going back to what we read and talked about in that class while working in the senate, but also in the other parts of my life.

One final point: Many today put great importance on "going to the right school to make the right contacts for life." I, for one, if having to choose between my Wharton contacts and my Wharton education, would pick the education in a second. Contrary to Duke I did very well academically at Wharton, and learned a lot of things in the classroom which complimented very nicely what I had learned at Duke. It was a great experience.

The major reason that made going to Wharton relatively easy was that my parents lived in Philadelphia. We rented an apartment about three blocks from where my parents lived. I took the train or drove into school. One of the problems is that when we were in Raleigh we had a company car and an Austin Healey 3000 sports car, and I had to give up the company car.

How I got the Austin Healey is a story I always tell when I meet with engineering groups. Everyone agrees that to get students involved in science, technology, engineering, and math, you have to get them when they are young. You have to convince them to take the tough demanding course like physics, or chemistry and especially calculus in high school. To make that sacrifice they need an incentive. I find one of the most important questions to answer for everyone before they start a new venture is, "What's at stake for me in this venture?" I would say to STEM audiences "I don't know about you, but I hear these stories about making education more fun and relevant. That's great, but I always laugh when I hear about making calculus more fun." Engineering

groups all laugh. One time someone came up afterwards very upset about it. I said, "Look, there are some people who love calculus, but the United States cannot survive with the small number of engineers who love calculus and find calculus to be fun. Calculus is just one of those things you just have to buckle down and do in order to be successful in STEM. To students in high school there has to be a reason for taking the hard course, when their friends are sticking to the easy course; there has to be something at stake to make it worthwhile.

When I was a junior at Duke I was having a hard time in engineering and as I said earlier I was trying to decide what I wanted to do and I was talking with my mom, a very wise woman. I said, "This is a lot of work, and I don't see why I am doing it" And she said, "What's the single most important thing you want to get when you get out of college?" In a flip comment, I said, "A sports car." She said, "Well, get a picture of a sports car and put it up over your desk. And every time you're sitting there doing this stuff, look up at the sports car." Back in those days engineers were making a good living. When I got out of engineering school I think I started at \$475 a month. That doesn't sound like a whole lot of money, but it was a lot of money back then. So, when I got out of school, as soon as I could afford it, I bought an Austin Healey 3000 which was a two seater with two jump seats in the small back. It worked out fine because, as I said before, we also had a company car. The problem was that when I went back to Penn I lost the company car. So, God bless Lynne, we lived in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, with Kelly, Murry and a car that if she put the two kids in there she could barely get the groceries in.

**RITCHIE:** How did you afford to go back to school?

**KAUFMAN:** Fortunately for us, Lynne's grandfather was a veterinarian for the Seventh Cavalry. He was involved with Abbott Laboratories in Chicago when they were first getting started. Abbott Laboratories did very well, and he was a wise man. Her grandparents and parents gave Lynne and her brothers Abbott stock, which turned out to be very good. It turned out to be a true blessing. It wasn't a fortune, but it was enough so that when we came to make a decision about whether we could afford for me to go back to school or not, I could do it. So for two years it was sparse living, but we didn't have a whole lot of expensive tastes that we had gotten used to. So we were really thankful for these gifts that had been given to Lynne.

**RITCHIE:** You graduated in 1960, when a Catholic was running for president.

Were you politically aware back then?

**KAUFMAN:** No, I was not politically aware. My parents both were, especially my mother who was a Democratic committeewoman. She was involved in the party. I always tell the story about my mom in 1952. On the election day morning before I got on the trolley car I was riding to Central my mother told my sister Lee Jane and me, “Just hope that Eisenhower doesn’t get elected, because if he gets elected he’s going to change this country so we won’t recognize it.” She was a real Yellow Dog Democrat. The biggest thing I did was in 1952 in Philadelphia, the only political involvement I had—and I had forgotten about it until this moment—was Joe Clark ran for mayor of Philadelphia and Richardson Dillworth ran for District Attorney. They ran on a reform, home-rule platform. Philadelphia was very corrupt and very Republican—I’m sure that was just coincidental—it was very corrupt back then. Clark and Dillworth ran on a home-rule charter and I was involved in that, I hadn’t thought about that, it was probably because of my parents. But I went around door-to-door, not any major thing. Then when Clark got elected, he asked my father to become Deputy Commissioner of Public Welfare in Philadelphia. Dad was not involved in politics practically at all. Mom was involved in local politics.

In 1960 I wanted John Kennedy to win. I voted for Kennedy. But I was not politically aware, and I would say not really partisan. I was a Democrat and voted Democratic. I went through the ’60s when there were a lot of concerns about a lot of different things, but I didn’t look at the party as the way to fix it. In fact really until 1971 I had not done anything outside of petitions for the home-rule campaign. I had not done anything with political parties and frankly was not very aware of who was running outside of Philadelphia. Clark went on to be U S Senator and Dillworth became mayor, I was aware of them. One thing I do remember is when I was a freshman, the Air Force ROTC marched in the inaugural parade for, I believe it was Governor Luther Hodges. The reason I remember is because we had wool uniforms and it rained the whole length of the parade. The ride back in the bus we practically suffocated.

The other thing I remember is Terry Sanford, who became Governor, then President of Duke University and later U S Senator, a great man and very liberal for North Carolina—in fact, people talked about him running for president for the Democrats, a very liberal guy. The first time I ever saw an ad for him, they ran a full-page ad in the *Durham Morning Herald*. A bunch of us were sitting down eating lunch,

and someone said, "Who is this guy?" He showed us this full page picture in the ad of Sanford when he was a paratrooper in the 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne, top to bottom with his machine gun across his chest, his helmet on, and it said, "A Leader in War and a Leader in Peace: Vote for Terry Sanford." Years later I always harkened back to that. Terry Sanford, I'm sure he was against the Vietnam War, being the type of guy he was. But that's the only politics I remember.

The other thing I remember, and it wasn't politics, was when we were in Raleigh for two years. They had just started editorials on the local television shows. The guy who gave the editorials on the Raleigh radio and TV station was Jesse Helms, who ended up being U S Senator from North Carolina. But I was not involved in politics.

**RITCHIE:** Well, what were you thinking as you finished up at Wharton? What did you hope to do?

**KAUFMAN:** That's a good question. For most graduating MBAs back then, the first big choice was the split between: Do I go to Wall Street or management consulting which were based in New York, or do I go to work for a corporation? I interviewed with the big management-consulting firms, McKinsey, and Booz Hamilton, and with A.T. Kearney. A number of the guys who graduated with me did go to work on Wall Street, but after some thinking I decided that I really was interested in the business part of business, I was really interested in the big corporation part of business, but after that, I never really thought about going to work on Wall Street. It was a different world back then. Most of the big Wall Street firms were like family firms. But a lot of people went there from Wharton. But my big decision was that I wanted to learn business. Do I do it as a consultant at one of those business-consultant firms or do I go to work for a corporation?

After I talked to the consultants, I just didn't think that's what I wanted to do. I wanted to be involved in something, get my hands dirty early in my professional career. It was a totally different economic situation in 1966 than when I graduated from Duke. I've said many times when I have spoken to graduating students, that I'm really glad I graduated from college in the tough economic climate in 1960. Because of that, I always appreciated having a job because it was so hard to get one then. When I graduated from Wharton, it was entirely different with booming economic times. Some of the MBAs wouldn't wear a coat and tie to their interviews. They wouldn't shave. They would pick

companies to interview because they wanted to go to New York and see their aunt. The ego inflation that went on among the students was incredible.

Really, my final decision came down to—after I had interviewed with a number of companies— DuPont and IBM. IBM was probably the top marketing company back then, and I was interested in marketing. It was a tough decision, but in the end I picked DuPont because at DuPont during your career you could do marketing, then you could do finance, you could do manufacturing, you could get all into all areas of the business. At IBM you're in marketing almost until you became senior vice president level or higher. So I went to work for DuPont.

**RITCHIE:** What did you do for DuPont?

**KAUFMAN:** I was an engineer. I started out working for a year at the Chestnut Run Technical Services Labs in Wilmington, Delaware in the Plastics Department. It was engineering plastics, not like plastics for toys. People made gears and products that had engineering properties. If you had a customer come in and you wanted to show them a new plastic resin - how to design their part or manufacture it, or how to turn it into a product, or if they were having a problem, you brought them into this lab. Also, You traveled to their design or manufacturing locations. If they were having a problem, you'd be the expert from out of town. There was an old joke that "an expert is someone from more than 50 miles away with a suitcase in his hand". I'd be the guy with a suitcase in his hand, who would come and tell them why a machine wasn't working or why this wasn't happening. I did that for a year. Then I went to work in the Boston office, doing essentially the same thing in the New England area. After a year there I was transferred to Los Angeles—

**RITCHIE:** Oh, boy.

**KAUFMAN:** Yeah. Lynne and I moved seven times in the first nine years we were married. We used to say that every June our furniture would start moving toward the door. In California, I was doing more marketing. It was technical, it was all technical, dealing with designers, but it was more trying to figure out: How do we convince you to use our resins? I worked in LA and traveled to San Francisco. After a year there, we moved back to Wilmington. The best thing that came out of California was we had our third daughter, Meg, who was born when we lived in the Los Angeles suburb of La

Canada, way up in the foothills. It had a very good school system, a nice place, but Los Angeles was not the place for us. I really got the feeling that I had learned just about all I could learn in that kind of a job. So I came back, which was the great thing about working for DuPont. I went to work in financial analysis, which was fascinating. One of the things that made DuPont great was that Pierre S. DuPont had developed the financial system required to create the modern highly decentralized corporation. DuPont had owned General Motors, and if you ever read Alfred Sloan's books on managing General Motors how he made it the number one corporation in the world, a lot of it was based on the DuPont financial system. So it was fascinating working with DuPont. They've changed a lot since then but back then I worked with the original DuPont financial system.

I spent two years there and then I went to work on a product called Corian, I don't know if you've ever seen it, but it's a product used on bathroom and kitchen sinks. It was still in the research and development stage. I went to work in the Development Department to help figure out whether Corian was a product that could be a commercial success. I spent two years on that and then days before I went to work with Joe Biden literally right when I left they went commercial and it has turned out to be a very good business for DuPont.

**RITCHIE:** So you were really peripatetic at this stage.

**KAUFMAN:** Seven moves in nine years. Now, since then, we've lived in Wilmington, Delaware, for the intervening 43 years!

**RITCHIE:** I was going to ask, out of all these places, did you like Wilmington the best?

**KAUFMAN:** Wilmington is just a great place to raise kids. And then after you have raised the kids, a great place to be. You can get on the train and be in New York, get on the train and be in Washington. The Philadelphia orchestra, opera, museum, you're 45 minutes away from Philadelphia. But there is also a lot of things to do in Delaware. No, no, Wilmington is a wonderful place to live and raise kids.

**RITCHIE:** I noticed among your accomplishments that you were part of the Brandywine String Band.

**KAUFMAN:** Yes. This started when I was at Duke. Back then in the 1950s the ukelele was popular, so I learned the ukelele and guitar, self-taught. My boss at DuPont was in the Brandywine String Band and they asked me to come and play guitar. The best I can say is that I didn't do a whole lot of damage, and they invited me back. They used to perform before all types of groups— many of their performances were before shut-ins. Disadvantaged kids, orphanages (back when there were orphanages), a lot of senior centers, senior homes. It was fun, and I love the music. It was all string-band music, and I loved watching some of the banjo players and guitar players we had who were really good. I did that for a few years.

**RITCHIE:** It seemed like you were getting community-oriented. I noticed you were on a church parish council as well at that stage.

**KAUFMAN:** Yes, I was on my church, Saint Mary Magdelan's, Parish Council. It was a great honor. Fascinating dealing with the two very different views in the Church at that time on just about everything.

At the same time I moved from marketing to being in Finance and Development, which was very different than marketing. In marketing, I traveled and worked long hours. I moved back to Wilmington and it was incredible. In the Headquarters, at a quarter to five, everybody went to get in their car pool. Even back then, lots of people had car pools. I can remember at five o'clock you could roll a bowling ball down the halls. When I came back to Wilmington I did little traveling in financial analysis to the plants where we did manufacturing. All of a sudden, I had time. I'd be home relatively early, even though I worked later than most. I was ambitious, plus I found the work fascinating. But you're right, I got more involved in the community, and more time with the kids. There's a time in your life when the kids are coming along and you can do more things together. So it was great. It was a wonderful time. Then in 1970 I decided that I could start getting involved a little in politics. I called around and found out who was the Democratic chair of my local election district. I called him and he said, "We're having a meeting of the election districts in our representative district next Thursday, why don't you come?" I went to the meeting and it was a small operation and I got involved pretty quickly.

**RITCHIE:** What kinds of things were you interested in doing?

**KAUFMAN:** I had just reached the point in my life where I was following my

father's advice: Okay, I'm in business but I care a lot about these things, what's the best way to influence change and do some of the things I believe in? So I got involved in some of the things with the party, and it was a very welcoming group. In fact, they had a group out in the Brandywine area of Delaware where there were four representative districts that got together and called themselves the Brandywine Hundred Democrats. William Penn had divided Delaware into "hundreds" for taxation and the name stuck for politics. They used to meet as a group and they were of common mind on a lot of things. The leader was a fellow named John Daniello. John was a county councilman in our New Castle County Council, which is where this group was located. In 1970, he had run against a DuPont family member named Pete DuPont for the lone Congressional seat, and almost beat him. He lost by 14,000 votes or something like that. I got to be friendly with John. Incidentally, he was serving on the county council was this brand-new, young, 27-year-old Joe Biden.

John decided that he wanted to run for county executive, a step up from the county council. He asked me to help him. I became his campaign manager for a very short campaign. We had a Democratic straw vote of the county to pick the Democratic candidate, and I learned a lot about politics right out of the box. You learn from your mistakes. Well, I made a lot of mistakes, big time. I really did. I learned how important and difficult it is to count votes. You go to one of these things and you learn that when you don't hear from somebody, the answer is probably no. I learned body language and a lot more. John lost and later that year I became chairman of one of the four representative districts.

The next big thing that happened was the campaign for the Governor's seat then held by Republican Russell Peterson. He had worked at DuPont before I was there in the same Department where I had worked. He was up for reelection with a very difficult financial situation in the state, and everyone was pretty sure he was not going to be reelected. There was a five-way Democratic contest. This was in the day of caucuses, when we didn't have many primaries. Candidates were selected by a convention made up of those who were active in the Democratic Party and had been selected by their local representative committees to be delegates to the state Democratic convention, which was held in Dover, our capital. Those 250-some-odd people picked the Democratic candidate for governor, for senator, for all those posts, there was rarely a primary. You could have a primary, in fact we had a primary in 1970, but in reality they were the people who selected the candidates. It was pretty well assumed that whoever received the Democratic

nomination would probably be elected. The four representative district chairs in Brandywine hundred got together and we supported Sherman Tribbitt, who was the lieutenant governor, for governor, and Sherman won the nomination. That really set off the beginning of my work with Joe Biden.

I met Joe Biden in 1971 or early in '72. I lived in an upper-middle-class development outside of Wilmington. John Rollins, who was a major figure in Delaware had built a building near our neighborhood. He was CEO of number of companies he had started and was very wealthy. He had run unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor, he was an interesting guy, very big contributor to the Republican Party, very wealthy. Back in 1972 they didn't have campaign financial reporting, no one knew who raised how much. At the Presidential level they used to have an informal system much like what developed in Russia during the Communist years, where at the May Day parade you could see where someone fit in the hierarchy, based on where they stood at the top of Lenin's tomb. Well, the story goes at Richard Nixon's inauguration; Rollins was just two people away from Nixon. He was just someone who was very wealthy and a very big supporter of the Republican Party. The problem was that he wanted to put a helicopter platform on the building he had built near our neighborhood. Well, there was a school not too far from the building, and people were worried about the noise and things like that, so there was a major effort to stop him.

The President of my civic association, by the way my area was heavily Republican, called me and said, "We're having a real problem." I said, "What's that?" He said, "We want to stop the helicopter pad, but Rollins is so important to the Republican Party that none of the Republican county councilmen will take this on. I know you're involved with the Democratic Party, can you help us?" I said, "Well, I think you're in luck. There's a Democratic county councilman who is thinking of running for the U S Senate, and you might want to talk to him. Maybe he can help you." He said fine and I contacted Joe Biden and we set up a meeting for all the leaders of the civic associations of the developments around our area in my living room, and Joe Biden came out with his brother Jim. I had seen him at some Democratic events, but I didn't know him that well. He came out and sat with a group of these development people and said, "Yeah, sure, I think that's outrageous. There's a school right underneath it. This would be a real problem." In fact, one of the issues he ran on was how he stopped the helicopter platform on top of the Rollins building. That's how I met Joe Biden.

What happened next was Joe Biden's sister Valerie, who was his campaign manager, called me. This was in June of 1972, so the campaign was well along. I just have to tell this story about Joe Biden: I was sitting around with a bunch of these people in the Brandywine Democrats in 1971 and they said, "Who's going to run for the U S Senate, because nobody can beat [J. Caleb] Cale Boggs. Who's going to be the sacrificial lamb?" Someone said they thought it would be Joe Biden. Then someone said, "Well, who's going to be his campaign manager?" They said, "His sister, Valerie." Another guy said, "Great ticket. They ought to reverse it!" Valerie had been a top student at the University of Delaware. She'd been homecoming queen. She was an absolutely incredible person. Anyway, Valerie called me and said, "Look, Ted, I know you worked for Sherman Tribbitt and he will cruise to election. Would you think about helping our campaign?" I came down and met with Joe Biden in his office. He had started his own law firm. We talked about it and I said, "I'll be happy to help you. You're right where I am on so many issues." These were issues that not a lot of elected officials had been talking about: The Democrats didn't say much about balancing the budget. No one was saying that we have to do something about the environment. He was for a strong criminal justice system. That was a no-no among Democrats. The Republicans were the people who were concerned about crime. But Joe Biden talked about the fact that the people who were getting hurt by crime were our people. The people who were for us were the ones who were hurt by the criminals. He was strongly for civil rights and felt we should have a system that absolutely sticks to the rules on civil liberties, but once you're convicted of a crime you should go to jail. So there were a number of issues like that.

I told him that, "I'll be happy to help you, but I've got to tell you that you have no chance of winning." To give you some idea of how lopsided this race was, Cale Boggs had been a congressman, then a governor, then a senator. He was beloved throughout the state. Joe Biden was at that point 29 years old. He started out the campaign when he was 28. The southern part of our state is very southern. That's where a lot of the Democrats were, but they were conservative southern Democrats. He was Irish Catholic, which was considered anathema in that part of the state. He was a Kennedy-liberal from the northern part of the state. Cale Boggs had won by beating the Democratic incumbent Allen Frear because Cale had the support of the unions and Allen Frear was the right-to-work guy, so Cale started the campaign with good support among the unions. Biden was not only young, he looked young. The only thing he had ever run and won was for the county council. And then the most difficult challenge was it was 1972 and George McGovern was at the top of the Democratic column and Richard Nixon was at the top of the

Republican column. The problem is that in the northern part of Delaware the Democrats were pretty liberal. It's more like Philadelphia and Baltimore, right along I-95. If you weren't for McGovern, you were in deep trouble. The first question was: "Okay, are you for McGovern? We're for McGovern." The Democratic Party back then was pretty much like the Republicans today. If you know anything about the tea party, you can think about the liberal Democrats: This is our party, this is the way we want to do it. [Snaps fingers] Coming out of 1968 and the riots at the Chicago convention and the rest of that, they were not to be crossed. You had to be with them. At the same time, in southern Delaware, if you were with McGovern you might as well have just hung it up.

To this day I am amazed that Joe Biden could ever overcome that massive problem—but he did. He worked it all out. He had support from Democrats both north and south of the canal. The canal runs right down the middle of our state. He went back and got the total support of labor. He had no money. He just had absolutely totally no chance. I remember on Labor Day, I think the polls showed that he had only 17 percent of the vote—Labor Day, 1972. He turned out to be an absolutely incredible candidate, as has been demonstrated since then, and Valerie was absolutely incredible in running his campaign. His whole family was involved in it. And he just caught on.

We had a fellow named John Martilla who came down and did our media—and it was great media. Pat Caddell was a pollster. He came and did our polling. It was really a ragtag group of people, all young. The race got very close, and by God, he won. It was by 3,600 votes. On election night we had our postelection party at the Hotel DuPont which was ironic because practically no one in the upper management supported Biden in DuPont outside of some folks in the legal department led by Jack Malloy, Roy Wentz and Irving Shapiro. One of the things in my life that I always remember was that night, in the Gold Ballroom of the Hotel DuPont when they announced he had won. I can remember just as distinctly as if it just happened. I thought to myself, "I will never, ever believe anything is impossible again." That was in 1972, it's been almost 40 years. I've seen a lot of campaigns, I've been in a lot of campaigns, and I have heard about a lot of campaigns, but to this day the greatest upset was that race. The come-from-behind, 29-year-old (he wasn't even 30 years old on election night) running with George McGovern at the top of the ticket, up against an icon in the state. I'll put that race up against any race I've ever heard of in terms of an upset.

**RITCHIE:** What do you think did it for him?

**KAUFMAN:** Oh, I think it was a number of things. Number one, he turned out to be an extraordinary candidate and an extraordinary person. The thing about Delaware is that it is so small that it's all retail politics. Even in medium size states like North Carolina TV is key. I remember there was a candidate in North Carolina named John East a number of years ago who was in a wheelchair. Jesse Helms was the senior senator and wanted East to win. He bought a whole bunch of advertising for him so he could run on the advertising, and something like 85 percent of the people in North Carolina never knew he was in a wheelchair. In Delaware, it's all face to face. There were no TV ads in 1972. There were some radio ads. We had this printed paper, like a tabloid newspaper, that we put out just about every week that we distributed around the state. But it's face to face. It's not like hale-fellow-well-met. But, you've got to have a good personality, I think, but it's one on one. We did a survey in the late '70s and something like 150,000 people in Delaware said they had personally met Joe Biden. Well, he knew a lot of people there's no way that ever could have personally met that many people.

He was an incredible person, and so was his family. His wife, Neilia, was wonderful person and campaign representative. Everybody who met her was impressed. Valerie, his sister, as I said was well known. His brothers, Jimmy and Frank, his parents were well known and liked. His Uncle Frank was here. People just knew him, and knew him to be a good person. And he was the new wave of the Democratic Party. They talk about 1974 but most of the things that happened in 1974 Joe Biden ran on in 1972. So he ran on the issues. He ran a nationally creditable campaign. It is not exaggeration that he had thousands of dedicated hard working volunteers. He had wonderful help from John Martilla and Pat Caddell. But it was really the force of his personality, which happens in Delaware. That's one of the great arguments for small states. If you've got blemishes in Delaware, or Rhode Island, or Wyoming, or Nevada, you're in deep trouble because people really can get to know you, and that's what happened. It also creates the possibility for upsets, but the other side is Cale Boggs had been working the state for years, I can't even remember when he was first elected, but he had been a congressman, governor, and senator. Everybody knew Cale Boggs.

**RITCHIE:** What did you do during the campaign?

**KAUFMAN:** Since I was an officer in the Delaware Democratic Party they asked me to be the campaign liaison to the Democratic Party, which worked out very well. My two main jobs back then were registering voters, which was a big deal for Democrats that

year. We had a lot of people, which resulted in an incredibly successful registration drive, because we worked with the McGovern organization with all their volunteers. We had loads of volunteers. I'll never forget there was this one family in Delaware—I won't embarrass them by giving their name—but they didn't agree with Joe on a single thing, but they were all out working for him. He played football with them and that sort of thing. So we had this incredible registration drive. I forget how many we registered, but we registered *a lot* of people. And when I say "we," I really mean we, it's not like self-deprecating. The McGovern campaign especially, we really worked together well in registering a lot of people. The second part of my job was to get out the vote. Again, because of our volunteers, the enthusiasm of the Biden and McGovern supporters we had a wonderful turnout. To give you some idea of what a tough year it was, while we won by 3600, McGovern lost by almost 50,000.

The rest of the campaign we really didn't do much with the Democratic Party. It was an independent campaign, which was another new thing. Most candidates were very much tied to the party back then because caucuses picked the candidates by and large and the party was really important to you. But Joe Biden was one of the really first entrepreneurial candidates. He was out there working on his own. A big part of my job was to smooth over things with the party so that they didn't feel like he was running away from the party, which they didn't. Then we had this get-out-the-vote effort. The race turned people out, but I spent a lot of time on that. I had great people coming in. Back in those days you really used to get a lot of volunteers, and a lot of way-out quality volunteers, so that helped.

**RITCHIE:** The Boggs people were mad at President Nixon because he flew over the state but never stopped to campaign. Do you think that made a difference?

**KAUFMAN:** Well, I think up until the end it would be crazy for him to stop because Cale was so far ahead. Nixon had really been responsible for talking Cale into running to avoid a primary between the Congressman Pete Dupont and Wilmington Mayor Hal Haskell. Cale was of an age where, like a number of recent politicians, he wanted to retire. I think that Cale's retirement was one thing that is discussed about why Cale lost, but he ran the hardest, best race he could. It is overstated, the fact that Cale wanted to retire. The big advantage that Joe Biden had was that there was a whole series of senators back then that had never really run a modern campaign. I remember there was a picture of Cale, on election night getting election returns on a wall phone in his home.

There was a whole group of senators, Democrats and Republicans, during the '70s—starting with '72 right on through 1980—who got knocked out because they just didn't know how to do modern campaigns, and they couldn't change enough. Gaylord Nelson, Clifford Case in New Jersey, [Gale] McGee, there was a whole series of candidates who didn't know how to run modern campaigns. Cale was one of those who did not run a modern campaign.

And when I say a “modern campaign,” I don't mean a media campaign like right now. I'm talking about modern in the 1970s. Philadelphia was the third largest media market, and Delaware was only 6 percent of the market, so 94 cents of every dollar we would have spent on TV went to New Jersey and Pennsylvania. I think we raised a total of \$230,000, and we had a debt when the campaign was over of over \$70,000. The person who was probably most helpful in raising money was Al Gore's dad, former senator [Albert] Gore from Tennessee, who headed up a group called the Council for a Liveable World. They didn't actually raise money, but they sent out letters—they do this a lot now, but back then it was unique almost—to people who were interested, saying “Look, there's a race in Delaware, send money to the Biden campaign.” And they did. So we got a lot of money and profile from the Council for a Liveable World,.

One of the keys to success was when he hired John Martilla's consulting firm. John was from Boston and brought credibility and extraordinary talents to the campaign. He is another person that stayed involved in all the Biden efforts for almost 40 years. His plan helped because we had practically any money. John had had success in using newsprint tabloids in his campaigns. When I said we handed out these tabloids every week, they were on newsprint. We got them at the lowest price we could from some firm with a union label, in northern New Jersey. We actually had to have someone every week get in a truck, drive to New Jersey, pick up 150,000 of these newsprint brochures, bring them down to Delaware. Then we had to put them in the different headquarters. Then we had to have volunteers to come in and pick them up. Then the volunteers had to get out and distributed them. We didn't have the postage.

**RITCHIE:** Delaware, at least, was a small enough state that you could hand deliver them.

**KAUFMAN:** This was Delaware. A lot of this you couldn't do in another state.

**RITCHIE:** Billboards were still a way of advertising.

**KAUFMAN:** Yes, billboards were still a way, and we had some billboards. We may have had a few, but I just look back and see how few dollars we had. The big thing back then, in late 1971 or early 1972, were things called coffees. His mother ran the coffee programs. She and his Dad were both amazing people, and among other talents great at campaigns. Back in those days, most women were stay-at-home-moms. A woman could volunteer and say, "Okay, Joe Biden come to my house at three o'clock in the afternoon. I'll have 30, or 50, or 70 women here. We'll have coffee here and he'll have a chance to talk to them." I don't know how many coffees the campaign did, but it was way more than 100. They used to just spend a day doing five, six, seven coffees a day. That's another thing you couldn't do in a big state.

**RITCHIE:** John Kennedy used that device when he was running for the Senate in 1952.

**KAUFMAN:** That was Matt Reese, I think Matt Reese was his consultant.

**RITCHIE:** Well, Biden won, much to your surprise. Did he offer you a job right away?

**KAUFMAN:** No, no, no. Oh, no, I was not thinking of that. On election night we had no idea—and by the way, most Americans don't have any idea what kind of staff does a senator get. Remember, up until fairly recently senators didn't have much staff. Up until 1947, I think, they had a secretary. It was much like the British system where senators had two or three people, something like that. It was only in the '60s that it started to grow in size. For instance when Biden was elected most congressional staff was in DC. I think maybe Cale had a one-person office in Delaware, but I don't think the other congressmen even had an office in Delaware. We were the first to have big offices and major staff in Delaware. But on election night we had no idea what staff was and I was not interested in becoming staff. This was totally out of mind, so no, I was not.

And then, obviously, the big game changer for him, the big, big, big game changer for him, was that on December 18, six weeks after the election, his wife Neilia was bringing the Christmas tree home, with their two sons and daughter in the car and got hit by a tractor trailer. She was killed, and the daughter was killed, and the two sons

were in the hospital. I went to the memorial service. It was awful. I mean, he and Neilia were a real love match. They walked around holding hands. The worst thing is, you're on top of the world. You're 29 years old. You've been elected to the United States Senate. And then, bang, you get hit with this thing, blind-sided with this thing. He was really devastated. Later on, one of the reasons I thought he should be president and worked for him to become president was because he had so much character, and I saw that then. It was awful watching him go through it. It was just awful.

In January, Valerie called me and said, "Would you come and talk to my brother." So I went and talked to him, and he said, "Look, what I want to do is I want to change the way things are done in the Senate." Most of the Senate offices, there were a few but like 95 of the Senate offices didn't have anything back in their home state. He said, "I think with all this new communication equipment"—we had new things called fax machines, to compare it to a fax machine right now, back then it was a machine with a roller and special paper which operated very slowly. He said, "I'd like to have more of my staff back in Delaware where they can meet with constituents instead of on the telephone when they do case work and things like that." He said, "What I'd like you to do is come to work for me to help me set up the Delaware side of my operation." Because I told him I couldn't move, I'm working at DuPont. He said, "Would you do it?" How could you say no? So I went to my bosses at DuPont and said, "He just wants me to get it started. It may take six months or a year." They said, "Oh, yeah, sure, we'll give you a one-year leave of absence." So I took a one-year leave of absence and was one of the first employees hired, to set up an office here in Wilmington, Delaware, and stayed for 22 years. They say life is what happens while you're planning for it. This was not ever a part of any plan that I had. Even when I took the job it wasn't part of any plan that I had. It was just happenstance.

**RITCHIE:** What did you do to set up a state office?

**KAUFMAN:** Joe Biden had hired a wonderful chief of staff, back then they called them administrative assistants, named Wes Barthelmes, who had been working for Senator Frank Church. He had been the first press secretary to Bobby Kennedy, before [Frank] Mankiewicz. He had written books with Congressman [Richard] Bolling, with Congresswoman [Edith] Green. He had been the city editor of the *Washington Post*. He was in the 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne and jumped into Normandy on D-Day. When Joe told me his resumé I said, "You've got to be kidding me, there's nobody like that." But he was really

a great guy, a wonderful guy to work with. So I just set up the office in Delaware. Nobody knew the Senate better than Wes did, nobody knew the press any better than he did, so he set things up and because of my work experience I was doing a lot of the management—not that there was a lot of management. I was spending a day or two days a week in Washington, and setting up offices here, and Dover, and Georgetown, Delaware.

I remember when I told Lynne about the job. She said, “Is there enough to do?” Turned out there was a lot to do. It was a great job. If you ever want a job where you really can help people one on one, being in a district office for a United States senator is a wonderful place to be. The federal bureaucracy, as we know, is gigantic. I’m a big fan of the vast majority of people who work there, but it is big, and sometimes a word from the office of a United States senator can get a Social Security check delivered at the right time, or some young person can come back from the military overseas for one of his parents’ funerals. We just cut through the bureaucracy, and could do it. You would go home at night feeling pretty good about it. Another thing is you got involved in a lot of things in the state to make sure that the federal presence is doing a good job, in terms of projects that the federal government is involved in.

There used to be something that Nixon, of all people, had put in, Title 20 of Health and Social Services. The way I remember it, and it’s been a lot of years, was that any social service agency could go to the federal government and get practically half of any program paid for. I mean, it was an incredible program. Cooler heads prevailed around that time, I think before the election, and they said, “We can’t do this anymore.” So the first thing I got to do was to go around to all the social service agencies and tell them that the money isn’t there anywhere. They would say, “When Senator Boggs was a senator we got the money. What’s wrong now?”

But I got started and after a year I said, “Oh, God, I love doing this work.” I loved working for United States Senator Joe Biden. I mean, you had to pinch yourself. Working for the Senate? I had never thought about that. I never thought I’d have a chance to work in the Senate. Many times, people would say, “It must be a lot of fun.” I’d say, “No, it’s not a lot of fun, but it’s very interesting. And more important I never go home at night and wonder what I’m doing with my life.” Up until today, when I was working as the chief of staff to a senator, or even when I was working in Delaware, traveling to Washington, you come out of that door down in the Russell Building and start walking

down to the train station. You turn around and look up at the Capitol, lit up like that, and you say, "God, I'm part of that!" To this day I get goose bumps. When I was in the Senate, driving to work—we had an apartment at 7th and E Streets, NW. I'd drive down Constitution Avenue and look straight up at the Capitol every morning, God Almighty!

So after a year, I decided that I really wanted to keep doing this. DuPont was going to give me another year's leave of absence, but I said, "No, I think we're going to have a conflict of interest here." So I didn't take it. Then, tragically, in 1976 Wes Barthelmes got a brain tumor and died. Joe Biden asked me to become his administrative assistant and chief of staff. And I did. I stayed until December 31, 1994.

**RITCHIE:** You started off running a state office for a senator who came back to the state every night. Did he have a big presence in the state office when he was here?

**KAUFMAN:** You know, he really didn't spend time in the state office, even though he was in the state a lot. One of the reasons is because we were blessed with great people who came to work in the district office early on, and stayed for decades. The beauty of them staying so long is that everybody knew that when they were talking to them it was just like talking to Senator Biden. Bert DiClemente, was the state director for many years, was universally liked, and brought a business approach to the office. Dennis Toner had so many talents, and had made a big difference in the senate campaign. He was invaluable in both Delaware and DC offices. Tom Lewis, was always with him, when he was in the state, and did great work for the Delaware veterans. Norma Long was excellent at scheduling, Terry Wright was a jack of all trades and became a legend over the years to the Biden interns, Bob Cunningham was press secretary and an integral part for most of Senator Biden's early speeches, Vince D'Anna headed up the project work from early on and was the most knowledgeable person in the state on federal grants and funding. I will put the Biden staff over the years up against any group for their competence, loyalty, and length of service. I made the comment many times when asked about Senator Biden and his staff, that he is someone who wears well which is shown by the number of people that stayed involved with him for decades.

Back to the campaign; one of the reasons why I first thought he could win was because he was the first candidate I had known during a campaign who never came to the headquarters. The biggest reason was that Valerie was there and he could meet Valerie every night and talk to her. So, he was always out working with people. That was

unusual. The same with the Senate, he wasn't in the Wilmington office or the other state offices very often—Wilmington more than others because he was commuting from there every day. He lived in Delaware, so if the Senate was out of session on Friday, he was coming home Thursday night anyway, so Friday he would be here. So sometimes you had to be fast on your feet. But he commuted every day. That was one of the reasons why he kept getting reelected. First of all, people saw him there, and they knew that he was around the state. They knew that he cared about his family because he commuted every night, which was very difficult. Commuting every night was just horrible. When I was working for him in Washington, I used to take the 6:30 train home every night. People used to say, "What's the commuting like?" I'd rationalize and say, "Well, you know, it's not so bad. Going down in the morning I get an hour and a half to two hours to lay out what I'm going to do for the day. When I come home, I usually get home at a quarter to nine." Then, after I left his office, about two weeks later I took the train down in the morning and went through all that, rushing downtown, get the ticket, board the train, and ride down. I walked into Union Station and I said to myself, "You had to be out of your mind!" The thing about me was, 6:30 PM every day, I came home. I'll bet you easily a majority of the times, when I left, the Senate was still running. So he didn't take the 6:30, he took the 7, the 7:30, the 8, the 10, and he'd take them. He did not stay in Washington. The last few years he was in the Senate his son Hunter and his family was in DC, and sometimes he'd go and see them, but even then many times he didn't stay over, he'd go back to Delaware. It sent a real message to the people: Lots of politicians talk about family values, Joe Biden lives family values.

Plus it put him back in the state. As he's said many times, in Delaware you're standing on that train platform and somebody comes over and says, "Mr. Senator, sir, can I please ask your opinion on what you're doing?" Or more often: "Hey, Joe, what the hell are you guys in DC doing about this bill?" People see you on the street and they want to talk to you. He was out in the community a lot.

**RITCHIE:** In the beginning, didn't you drive down?

**KAUFMAN:** Yes, in the beginning—and I mean the very beginning—the rule was that Beau and Hunt sat in any meeting they wanted to. I remember when he met with [Henry] Kissinger when he was secretary of state, one of the kids sat in on the meeting. He said, "If the kids ever call me, no matter where I am, you find me. I don't care if I'm in a hearing, I don't care what I'm doing, you bring me out so I can talk to them. I never

want to be out of communication with the kids.” This was well before cell phones of any kind. The only mobile phones were the phones that you could get if you were wealthy, or were in a company, or had a real need in business, you could have a phone installed in your car. But it took up about half of the trunk. So the only way this worked for Joe Biden was to have a car phone. So we used to drive him back and forth. When he was on the train, he couldn’t talk to the kids. The other thing was AMTRAK was doing the Northeast Rail Expansion, which I will never forget. My God, it was like Russian roulette when you were going to show up in Washington every morning. So, yes, I rode down and back a lot of times in the car, and the train.

**RITCHIE:** What did that do to your family back here?

**KAUFMAN:** Fortunately my daughters were a little bit older. What I would try to do when I got to be chief of staff—remember I had half the staff here in Delaware—I would try to spend more time here. I probably was the first person to initiate the Tuesday-Thursday Club, where now the Senate goes in Tuesday and goes out Thursday. But I tried to spend Monday and Friday in Delaware, and Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday in Washington. I see it now with my sons-in-law. At that age you’re working long hours almost no matter whatever you’re doing, if you’re into something complicated. The beauty of my schedule was I was home on weekends, I was home nights. I did very little traveling. I propounded my theory a long time ago, and that is: You can have a really interesting job, you can really take care of your family, but you’ll never be a great golfer. As long as you concentrate on the job and the family, and understand that the family comes first, you can do it. One of the great things about working for Joe Biden, one of the great things about being his chief of staff was it was a rule in the office from day one: Family comes first. I used to tell staff all the time, “If you miss a major family event because you’re working, and he finds out about it, you’re in deep trouble.” Because his rule was, “I’m not going to miss the big family events. I’m not going to do everything, but if there’s a big family event, I’m going to be there. If something happens to my kids, I’m going to be there.” In the office, we had loads of examples of people who got into a tough family situation, we would say, “Do your job, but we want you home at night with your spouse and kids until the trouble blows over.” There are always trade-offs, but in the end, the trump was your family.

As I say to people, “The Senate really is a different place.” It’s not like being in the executive branch where the president has to decide whether to go to war with Libya

tomorrow. The Senate is a place where most of the time there isn't an absolute urgency at a particular moment to do a particular thing. You've got to be there for votes. You've got to be there for things. You want to attend meetings like that, but you only have to be in Washington to vote. That's the biggest thing cutting down on spontaneity. The Senate is a different kind of place. The founding fathers designed it that way, and that's the way it is.

**RITCHIE:** Did you find that you could use the train as an office on wheels?

**KAUFMAN:** Yes, going down in the morning it was really good, and it was very helpful for the senator because he was the most prepared senator at practically every morning hearing. The hearings were usually at ten o'clock, and he'd show up for the hearing having read the material and having gone through most of that stuff. Oh, yes, you could work on the train, but you would set up your day and what would happen was kind of like fate. You'd be on time. You'd be on time. You'd be on time. So you'd say, "Okay, I'm going to schedule something first thing in the morning." Because once you're down in Washington, back when you're chief of staff, you're just as busy as a senator or maybe even more so in some ways, so you're trying to figure out how you can get more minutes in the day. But you'd be on time, on time, on time, and so you'd set up something for right when you get off the train, and then bang-o, the train's late, you're late, and your whole schedule goes down like a stack of dominos.

The trip was close to two hours, when the trains were on time, from when I left my home, got to the train station, got on the train, went up the Hill to the Capitol. Then you reversed it coming back, two hours each way, so that was four hours out of your day, so obviously you did a lot of work on the train. One of problems when you are in DC is that from the time you walked into the office until the time you left, there was no time for thinking. You're sitting with people and trying to reason things out, but there was no contemplative time. If you didn't do the contemplation on the way down or the way back, you were in deep trouble. So the train was very helpful, and obviously a thousand times better than driving. Ben Cardin, the senator from Maryland, drives [from Baltimore]. He and I used to talk about it. Of course, he doesn't have nearly as far to drive, but the train was Godsend for us. However, you did keep bumping into constituents on the train. The number of people who told me, "I was on the train the other day and I spoke to Senator Biden for an hour and a half." I'm thinking, "Oh, my lord!"

**RITCHIE:** Senator Cardin said that one of the disadvantages of living so close to Washington is that people expect you to be back for events.

**KAUFMAN:** Exactly, and if you think Ben Cardin has to be back, take it and multiply it by a thousand in Delaware. In Delaware they expect elected officials to be here. Two things: number one, they expect their people to be there, and two, they're going to travel down to DC and they're going to come to the office and they're going to be treated special. And there's a lot of them. I used to say, when 75 people get together in Delaware, they expect the governor and the senators and the congressperson to be there. It hasn't changed in 40 years. We had a deployment to Afghanistan when I was a senator. I think there were somewhere between 20 and 40 troops being deployed. At that deployment ceremony was the governor, the lieutenant governor, the two senators, the congressman, and the wife of the vice president of the United States. In New York they can have hundreds leaving and nobody's there except the troops themselves.

I used to have people come up to me when I was chief of staff and say, "God, it must be great. How many counties do you have?" I would say, "We have three counties, and four subdivisions, because we consider Wilmington a separate political subdivision." They would say, "That's great! Four subdivisions. I've got to deal with 75 counties and 75 county chairmen." I'd say, "Okay, I've got it, but how often do you see those country chairmen?" They'd say, "Some I see three or four times a year, some I don't see for a whole year." I'd say, "Let me explain something, when you've got a problem with a county chairman in your state, it's a problem. You got a problem with a county chairman in our state, you're going to see that chairman practically every day or at least once week, so you've got a big very big time sensitive problem and you have to deal with it."

If you want to use the old saying, everything is a mile wide and an eighth of an inch deep in a big state like California. You know what Delaware is like? An eighth of an inch wide and a mile deep. Everything is an interpersonal relationship. The staff person who does the mail, until you get the hang of it, really is a nightmare. People really do think that Joe Biden signs the letters that come back to them. It's very satisfying. You get to deal a lot with the substance of things as opposed to appearances because your press releases don't make it. It's not a state where you're going to get a whole lot out of a press release. It's a lot of hands-on, face-to-face. But the big advantage is if you have an issue, you can literally get four or five or six or eight people in a room and find out what the

people really think. When I was doing healthcare in the Senate, I had three or four groups. I met with the hospital people. I met with the insurance people. I met with the docs' and the patients' organizations. I could sit down and find out, "Does this make any sense?" "No, that doesn't make any sense at all. Let me tell you what's going to happen." And most of this stuff is not Delaware-centric. It's just about how difficult it is to get a policy in Washington—because this is a big country—that works for hospitals on the basic level. Washington spends a lot of time on that, and they do a good job on the hearings and the rest of it, but it's still very difficult.

Another big advantage of Delaware is when I was doing the Dodd-Frank banking legislation, there was a banker here in town and I would just call him up. He never changed my position, but I would ask him, "Just tell me the alternative view." I wasn't in alignment with the big bankers very much when we were doing Dodd-Frank. But, he'd tell me his point of view. He wasn't like a lobby operation. I think there's a reason why, when you look around at the senators who are generally recognized for quality, a disproportionate number of them are from small states. Obviously, when you pick two senators from a state as big as New York, or California, or some of those other states, you've got a much bigger bundle to choose from. But it's extraordinary—look at the Democratic senate majority leaders for the last 40 years Mike Mansfield—Montana, Robert Byrd—West Virginia, George Mitchell—Maine, Tom Daschle—South Dakota, and Harry Reid—Nevada, pretty impressive and all small states. I think small states turn out some pretty extraordinary senators.

**RITCHIE:** There's been a big debate lately about whether or not senators are ambassadors from their states. The question always is that you're representing your state so that even though you're dealing with national issues, you've always got to be thinking about how is this going to impact back on the state. So you've always got to know what the state really needs and what it wants.

**KAUFMAN:** And that's not easy. For over 20 years, I have taught a course on the Congress at The Duke Law School and we spend a lot of time talking about how do you find out what your priorities are and part of that is what they want back in the state? You cannot even say just go with the majority. For if you have a majority of people who feel lukewarm about something, but you have a minority of people who feel really strongly, which ones best reflect the opinion in the state. And all different shades in between. Another thing, what do you believe is the basic philosophy of senators? Should

a senator be a delegate or a trustee? A delegate is someone who goes to Washington, who represents totally what's going on back in the home state? There are a lot of people who believe that, a lot of senators believe that is what you should be. In fact, the studies all show that a majority of senators believe that. Or are you a trustee? That is, are you hired by your state when you win the election, and then you go to Washington for six years, and then your state decides whether to rehire you or not? There are all kinds of decisions on how do you decide what it is you're going to do.

In this course, I use a lot of "if you're elected for life." Because people believe that a lot of things that senators do is totally so they can win reelection, but I believe they would do these things even if they weren't running for reelection. There was a great political science professor from the University of Delaware, Jim Soles, who died recently. Jim and I had this argument back and forth on over the years before I was a senator. After I was appointed Senator I said, "Well, Jim, I've got a chance to try figure out, how much do you do as a senator because you're worried about reelection, and how much do you do because you want to do a good job to represent the state?" I decided I'm going to be a great test because I'm not running for reelection. For instance, I marched in parades. Now, I will bet you people sitting on the side of the road when a senator marches by in a parade will think, "The senator's doing that because he wants my vote." And a lot of senators are doing it because they want their vote. But they are also doing it because that's a responsibility of the office. When you start asking students, over the years, "If you were elected for life, what would you do?" outside of eliminating fund raising and actual campaigning, not much changes in what a senator does.

I was lucky as a senator. There were a lot of issues that effected Delaware, but there were very few issues where my position was different from Delaware's. By the way, most senators' positions aren't that different from the state they represent because they are from that state and they represent its culture. Where they're different is from senators in states. For years they used to say the great conundrum of polling is that when you ask people if they support Congress, 13 percent approve of the Senate. When you ask them, "Do you approve of your member of Congress," 65 percent approve. They say, "Why is this happening?" Well, it's real simple in my opinion: Your senator is like you. On the simplest level, I mean, if you're from Louisiana, you sound like Mary Landrieu. If you're from New York, you sound like Kirsten Gillibrand. Now, if you're from New York and you hear Mary Landrieu, you say, "Oh, I don't like what she's saying." And if you're from Louisiana and you hear Kirsten Gillibrand, "Oh, I don't like what she's

saying." I don't like *them*, but *my* senator is okay.

But anyway, there was this one issue. In my opinion the people of Delaware's position and my position were totally in alignment. But there were some people that thought this was just me voting because it was a Delaware issue. I was talking to a very smart reporter—most reporters are very smart—and he said, "Why did you vote this way?" I said, "Because I really believe it and my Delaware constituents believe it." But also, I said, "I represent Delaware. When you see my name up there, it doesn't say Ted Kaufman, U.S., it says Ted Kaufman, Delaware. I have a responsibility to represent the people of Delaware. I have a responsibility to make sure the people of Delaware get as good an education as anyone else. I have a responsibility to make sure that things happen in Delaware." But that has to be worked out with a lot of concerns and opinions that I have as an individual. One of the best things I ever heard for a new elected official at any level was what Congressman Henry Hyde use to say at the orientation of new members of congress. He would say you have to figure an issue or issues that you are willing to lose reelection over. He was absolutely right.

I don't know whether it's that people aren't taking civics courses anymore or what it is, but lots of things that used to just roll off our tongue, like checks and balances, sometimes it would be clear from questions that students asked—law students—that they didn't really understand the things you get in Civics 101, like checks and balances and other basic principles of our government.

But it's clear that there are so many things that a member of Congress—I call them conflicts—I've got about 10, 15 different conflicts. Is this a good time to run through a bunch of them? Okay. Do I do what's right for the state or for the nation? You, know, Edmund Burke's a legislator's job was to look after the nation, not the state you are from. An example is defense contracting because a lot of defense contractors now are smart enough to put a little bit of every weapon in every state to get people to vote for them. So I think another of the conflicts you have on every piece of legislation is: Is there conflict in my role as a senator and as a person? There's a conflict between me and what my party wants. I'm a member of the Democratic Party. I can remember there was a senator who got elected and really got in trouble because there was a transportation bill and the leadership came to him and said, "I really need your support on this transportation bill. It's just a small bill, but we really need you." They asked all the freshman to vote for this bill, and he voted for it. And then all hell broke loose in his

state. "Why would you ever do that?" Another conflict is it may help the president of the United States. The president calls up and says, "Hey, Ted, I'm sending up a nominee for some position. I know you don't like him. I don't ask you for very much. You are a member of my party. Will you vote for this person?" Then you've got the House and Senate like we went through with the healthcare reform. "We've got to support the House." "We've got to support the Senate." "You have to support your committee, and/or your Chair". We've got to support the President. How are we going to do that? You have your primary responsibility to your constituents. But also to your key supporters, to the people in your kitchen cabinet, and last, but by no means last to your family and friends. The successful campaign to stop the use of gillnets which were killing thousands of dolphins started with Ashley Biden coming home from school with a crayoned picture of dolphins caught in the gillnets which hung on Joe Biden's senate office wall for years and resulted in notices on tuna cans that gillnets were not used to catch the tuna in this can.

I remember on the Brown-Kaufman amendment to the Dodd-Frank Wall Street reform Bill, just about every one of the committee chairs voted against me to support Chairman of the Banking Committee Chris Dodd who opposed our amendment. In addition, most of the members of the Banking Committee did not support my bill. So as a member of Congress you have a lot of different conflicts come up in how you make your decisions. It isn't just about you and your conscience. Now, I never in my two years as a senator had to compromise any principle that I hold, but you do have a bunch of different matrix of decisions, choices you make when you make your decisions as a senator.

**RITCHIE:** You weren't running for reelection, so you weren't raising campaign funds, either, which is another factor.

**KAUFMAN:** You are right, although I raised a lot of campaign funds over the years for Joe Biden. My theory on campaign money is a little bit different. If there's one thing I could do it would be to change the way we finance our campaigns, but the Supreme Court has made it extremely difficult, almost impossible, which is for another time in our discussions. But people don't walk into your office and say, "I'll do a fund raiser for you if you vote this way." Not to say that people don't try, but many people I have met over the years who aren't in the Senate perceive that. But what really happens was explained in Joe Biden testimony before the Senate Rules Committee in 1973 about this when he was running in 1972. It was so good, it was on the editorial page of the

*Washington Post*. He was for public financing of campaigns even back then. He told the story about going to a meeting in Delaware, it was down to the end of his campaign, and he was closing the gap in the polls. We weren't raising very much money, and there were a bunch of people in the room who could make a serious contribution. They talked very nicely, and they had a drink, and one fellow said, "By the way, just for our edification, what do you think about capital gains?" Joe Biden said later, "I knew the right answer for \$20,000. I needed money for my campaign. I could get \$1,000 from each person in the room." He said, "It was a real test. I like to think I would do the right thing, and maybe I would, but I knew if I went home and told my wife that I had given them the answer they wanted, Neilia would have killed me, so I didn't do it."

Most of the decisions on whom and what you are going to support and oppose are made when you run. You make a basic decision when you run about what positions you are going to take. And then, like the old saying, "You dance with the one that brought you." There was also a quote from Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania who said, "An honest politician is one who, when he is bought, will stay bought." Where the corruption comes is this, in my opinion: If Tom wakes up one morning, and Tom has spent his whole life worrying about the poor and disadvantaged, and children, and social services, and things like that, and decides he wants to run for the Senate; and Mary wakes up, and Mary has spent her whole time in corporate America, She believes that the only good tax is a low tax, that we should have no capital gains tax because that's how we're going to grow. Now when Tom and Mary run, Mary is going to start out with a lot more money than Tom. She is not going to be taking positions in order to get the money, but because she honestly believes that's what we should do. When you look at most members of Congress, and when you look at the big interest groups, and you look at where they are, that pretty much defines it. The problem is it's corrupting from the beginning because clearly politicians that agree with people who have a lot of money have a much better chance of getting elected than those who don't. That's the corrupting influence.

Now, are there issues—and I can talk about this for hours—but are there issues if you're on the East Coast of the United States and there's a water issue that doesn't affect you, you don't have any principles involved, you don't even have time to sit down and figure out what the water issues are, and Joe Brown comes here from the Water Institute of America and says, "Would you come to a fund raiser for \$15,000 for the Water Institute of America?" Does that go on? I'm sure things like that go on. Not Joe Biden—and I really mean not Joe Biden—and as you say, I didn't have to raise money.

One of the things I get asked a lot is, did I regret making the decision not to run? I've made a lot of tough decisions in my life and that was, without a doubt, one of the very easiest. There are a number of reasons for why I did not run. I know campaigns. I've done seven senate campaigns, two presidential campaigns and one vice presidential campaigns, just for Joe Biden, and then helped other people on campaigns, so I know more than the average bear about campaigns, and how campaigns function. I know that if you are appointed to a seat in the Senate for two years, the opposing party knows that their best time to knock you out is that first election after two years. So you're going to have a tough race in two years if you're sitting. If you look back on the races last year, Kirsten Gillibrand and Michael Bennet ran, and from day one they had to be involved in their campaigns. It's *a lot* more than just raising money. It's strategy. It's being back in the home state more than you would be otherwise. It's incredible.

The way I find best to express my feelings is what I said to Roland Burriss when he came to me. Roland, as you remember, was appointed in that crazy mess in Illinois to take [Barack] Obama's place. He came to me after we had been there about three or four months and he said, "Ted, I'm really having a hard time making this decision whether I should run for office. You announced right out of the box that you weren't running and seemed very comfortable with it. What's going on?" I said, "Roland, look, you have two choices. One is you can decide to run for election to the Senate. If you do, you will spend 65 percent of your time, mark my words, and 85 percent of the last two months, when a lot of important things are going to be done, involved in running for the United States Senate. If you lose, you've never been a United States senator. Your other choice is to announce you're not running and spent the next two years actually being a United States senator. Now, that to me is the easiest decision in the world."

It is a different decision for young appointed senators like Michael Bennet and Kirsten Gillibrand. There was a much bigger advantage for them of running for election—because if they were elected for that first term, both of them are very able people, they could spend 20 or 30 years in the United States Senate. Clearly for Roland and me, if we got elected, because of our ages, we'd serve maybe one additional term. So the upside wasn't as great for us as the downside was. It was really a very easy decision for me. And I'll tell you that, it was a wonderful, wonderful two years. It was a great experience.

**RITCHIE:** Well, I wanted to go back to the 1970s, but I wondered if you'd like

to take a break now

**KAUFMAN:** Do you want to get some lunch?

**RITCHIE:** That would be good.

**End of the First Interview**