

Jim Johnson

October 19-23, 1976

Wednesday - October 20

7:00 Breakfast with supporter and campaign group,  
Ft. Collins.

9:30 Wellington - toured Main Street

11:00 Downtown for coffee with Jim Harvey and  
telephone calls in old law firm

12:00 Lunch with Rotary

1:45 Radio interview

3:00 Interview at Woodward Company

4:00 Interview with Denver Post ~~and with their  
political company~~

5:30 Cocktail party at Cooks (on lake)

Thursday - October 21

7:00 Breakfast - Loveland

9:30 KLOV interview

19:30-12:00 KLOV interview

12:00 Lunch Elks Club, Loveland

10:00-12:00

12:00 Lunch Elks Club, Loveland

1:00 Estes Park USIR radio interview

3:30 Estes Park Trail Gazette Interview

5:00 Cocktail party - Estes Park

Friday - October 22

8:00 General Contractors Association breakfast, Denver

9:30 Adams County GOP Headquarters  
TV interview - Westminster

12:00 Chamber of Commerce Candidates Luncheon  
Adams County

1:30 Interview with editorial board of Adams County Sentinel  
news chain

Friday - October 22

3:00 Interview with Adams County Express  
4:00 Meeting with Secretary of Agriculture -  
Adams County Fairgrounds  
6:00 Letterman's Banquet - Fort Collins

JJ Home - Gregory Road - Telephone: (303) 482-9178

Arrived in Ft. Collins and was met by Cheryl Metcalf--took me to Jim's house by the lake (with the flocks of Canada geese) and I waited there till Jim came in about 12:00 midnight. Don and Sandy came in at 10:00 and we went out for a bite to eat. We talked for an hour.

Next day, up at 6:00 to breakfast with supporters--and finally I left the cocktail party at 8:30 and Ed and Don drove me home. The staff I've met mostly have been Don Childears, Sandy Colling and Ed Nesselroad.

When I arrived, Jim talked about the race. It's four cornered, with a one issue (anti Narrows Dam) guy from the east, a John Bircher named Dick Davis, Dan Ogden the Democrat and JJ. He is very optimistic--much more than last time. Says he'll carry Western slope by 10,000--about 7000 more than "last time." He said his campaign there was "a triumphal tour" because of his anti water diversion bill, Eagle's Nest. Also Flattops. Says he will do better in Adams County, which he lost by 20,000 to 10,000 last time--mostly because his last opponent was popular Adams County man. Says he'll cut margin to 2,000 or 3,000 "this time" i.e., losing margin. He thinks Weld County is in good shape and he'll do better there than before. He may drop some in Larimer, but rest will offset it. He says he'll win real big in the East, despite fact that farmers are sore about falling agricultural prices, i.e. cattlemen, sugar beet and wheat farmers. He says no one is mad at him. Says 200,000 people will vote and, at one point, said he could envision getting nearly 60% of the vote.

Re Ogden. "The same thing is beginning to happen to him as happened to all of us that ran against Aspinall. You start in April or May and you work your tail off for 6 months bouncing across the mountains, going to every meeting. You don't set your own schedule; you accommodate to every one else's schedule. Come September, you ask yourself how you're doing. And you find that you are worn out; broke and losing--after all that effort. So you get discouraged. And people wait for that discouragement factor. It's not that they are mean or nasty. It's just that they want to go with a winner. It happened to me, in my first race. In Kremmling, I was talking to the county chairman and I said "I'm going to lose." He said "You can't talk like that, you're the candidate." I said "It's the truth." And he voted for me, but he never worked as hard for me after that. The same thing is happening to Ogden. This district will kill you. It's killing him just like it did me. He would have to run twice before he would get any profit out of it."

Re Adams County, it still puzzles him. "The Chamber of Commerce told me I was neglecting Adams County--which I never denied--and I told them I'd come if they invited me. So they sent out 700 invitations, and do you know how many showed up--17. They were embarrassed, but I knew what would happen. I'm just as glad. Now I won't have to go back there again--not anytime soon. Adams County is a bitch."

Re population explosion in Larimer County. Voting registration is up 15,000 from last election. I asked if he knew who they were. "I haven't any idea who they are. You can't know. How would you find out? I've hired a full time staff man to help me in this county. I used to feel it was home. I knew everyone in it; and I had it in the palm of my hand. Now I come to Denver, rent a car, drive home and see the same people I always see. I can't find out who the new people are. Now out in the eastern part of the district, Fort Morgan,

*congressional way*  
*like*  
*phys.*  
*person*  
*style*  
*back*

Sterling, Julesberg, there's not so much change. When I go there, I know who to expect. And when there's change, I can move with it. A New jewelry store opened up in Yuma. Well, I noticed it as soon as I walked down main street and I went in and talked with the fellow who owns it--left Denver to live in a small town. And he was really flattered to have the congressman come in. I'll get him. But the new people in Larimer County, I can't tell you anything about them. It's getting to be more like a suburban district. It's scary."

He compared his district with Tim Wirth who worked hard and took the district away from Brotzman. "Don Brotzman was a better campaigner than I am, a better politician, a more experienced congressman--yet he got his district taken away from him by Tim Wirth. He didn't lose it, he had it taken away from him. Wirth worked hard, up and down the streets, in the media, in shopping centers. He didn't even live in the district when he started. You can do that in a suburban district--move in and take it over. You can't do that with mine--it's too big and too diverse. I may lose my district, if people become mad at me for something I've done, but no one can come in here and take it away from me."

He talked about how Broyhill met with some people in a situation where population was changing around him and he lost--despite fact he worked hard. "He lived in a district next to Washington. Every morning he would start with a breakfast in the district. He'd come into work in the morning and then go back for a luncheon in the district. Then he returned for the afternoon, before going to a dinner somewhere in the district and usually topping it off with a speech to some group. He did that almost every day for years; and he lost. The trouble was that 66% of his district turned over between elections. He was meeting with the same 33% over and over again." Appropos of his fear that his district is more suburban and he's losing touch.



He talked about the spread again. "Some of the people over here have never been in Grand Junction. They think all that matters is their section of the district. In fact every county thinks they are the ones that put me over in 1972. And the margin was so close, there's some truth in the claim of each of them."

As we were driving from one breakfast meeting to another one which we thought was going to be held but wasn't, which accounts for frustration. But he was talking about first group. "I'm convinced that 90% of a campaign is wasted. These people want to hold meeting all the time, get together to shoot the shit, and make themselves feel good. I'd like to meet just once and say to them, "you take the brochures, you take the bumperstickers; go and distribute them and do whatever has to be done and don't come back till election night when we'll all get together and get drunk."

One theme that runs through everything I hear on the front range is that he fears a suburban type of district (Broyhill and Wirth stores) and that he thinks he is getting more suburban, he fears. That's especially true if Larimer (Sandy and Don said it's 4th fastest growing county in USA). Also Jim likes to be part of a community and suburbia doesn't seem like that to him.

He doesn't think much of students - makes no effort to woo them. Doesn't think they'll vote. Doesn't think much of traditional liberal groups. When asked to meet with 5 representatives of Bnai Brith, he said, "Those five are the Bnai Brith in this district. I'll bet there aren't more than 5." When Ogden said JJ had missed 4 LWV meetings, JJ laughed and said "He doesn't know that people call them the Leauge of Women Vipers." But--he called Rotary Club --"ladies aid society"--he dislikes "meetings" of all sorts.

When asked what adverse reaction he'd had to Eaglesnest on front range, he said, "Aside from the members of the Water Board, almost none. We haven't had any mail. One group in Denver said it was very important that I come meet with them on the subject. They sounded important and agitated so I agreed to meet with them. When I go there they said, "Hello, Mr. Anderson." I said "I'm not Anderson; my name is Johnson." They said, "What do you do?" I said, "I'm a United States Congressman." And they said "But who's Anderson?" That tells you about how much trouble I've had on that issue. Yet for the Adams County Sentinel, it seemed like the issue that proved Jim was not representative of them.

Talked about the campaign as producing "the appearance of activity." "You've got to let people think you are around and busy." "Often, people say, as a barometer comment, "He hasn't been around here."

Re speeches. "It gets so I hate to make speeches. There's nobody there and nobody cares. They are just pro forma. I had 200 at Greeley the other day, but they were all going to vote for me anyway. During the campaign, it's a burden for people to come and hear you. They just come to do you a favor. They don't want to let you down. I do most of my speaking when I come home during the session. Then people are interested in what you are doing. I gave 12 speeches during Lincoln recess."

Re Ogden - in same vein. "He's a political scientist and he's naive. He thinks you should go to all these little meetings. He never worked in the community. He doesn't understand those damn meetings."

Said 2 years had been good "for my career in Washington." Never heard him talk that way before. He said it the night I got there--what a good year it had been for him as far as accomplishments were concerned. Said CIA committee "was the most important, interesting thing I ever did in my whole life." He asked Rhodes to go on - had always been interested in the subject.

Talked about staff--how he hired Doris Rosas and Bill Cleary, who had worked on the Hill before and they organized it for him before he even got there.

To Rotary Club. "It's been a fruitful time for me, for Colorado and for my ambitions. We all worry about how we will do there. But it's like Harry Truman said. For the first few weeks you stand in awe of the place and you look at the others and ask yourself how did I ever get here? Then after a few weeks you look at the others and ask how did they get here?"

To reporter. "It takes a long time before you have your district in the palm of your hand, so that you really know it." Appropose of Gerry Ford who knew his district and everyone in it and then had to digest the USA. JJ very impressed with this subject on both my trips.

Talked again about his first race "When I first went to Western Colorado, if it hadn't been for the party, I guess I'd have had to stand on the street corner and grab people as they went by." Then he went on to say he hoped someone would explain how Carter did it--his "marvelous achievement" digesting the USA.

A reporter asked him what "guidelines" he used in weighing constituency vs. conscience and Jim said "I don't have a check list. Are you a flyer? Well, flyers have a check list they go through. So do businessmen. They have rules and regulations they must follow. But lawyers don't think in those terms. It's foreign to our experience. I always think that people who ask that kind of question don't understand legislation. Legislation is kind of an art. A legislature is a human institution. You have to know what the House is like, what is futile, what is possible. You have to understand when to compromise and on what--or when not to compromise at all."

"The ombudsman function is getting to be a larger part of the job. That's what keeps ~~the~~ most of us in office."

"It's a 2 year contract. I don't look at it as a lifetime job. If I didn't want it, I wouldn't run. But I don't want to go into the reasons why I want it. They are personal. But I spent my own time and my own money because I want it on my own terms. Actually the lifestyle is not compatible with mine. I don't like living where I'm not a part of a community, working with the church, the boy scouts, the Chamber of Commerce. These bring remuneration to you as an individual. You don't have that in Congress. Some things you enjoy, and I'm getting pretty good at it. That's like any job. But I don't have to have the job for any personal reasons."

There are no unions in the district. The only one he mentioned was the postal workers.

He talks about "the guys" as the industrialists that cut timber or whatever. It just struck me that whereas union leaders speak of union people as "the guys", JJ speaks of industrialists as "the guys". A mark of closeness, I guess.

One thing Jim "learned" in Loveland was that Hewlett-Packard sells 40-50% abroad and thinks they'll have a lot of trouble down the line re metric conversion. JJ said he never heard of this problem before. Big loss will come unless they convert and wants government to do something. He asked guy to give him something "in writing".

"It's unbelievable to me how often people who deal with the federal government come, in desperation to the congressional office and all it takes is a telephone call to expedite the solution to the problem. We can't affect the decision, that's not our function. But we've had a lot of success in expediting things."

I'm sitting in Estes Park now with the cocktail party winding down and reflecting on the people I've seen JJ with so far--almost all middle age to elderly, all affluent, all local establishment types. This afternoon in

Estes Park, he showed the same lack of aggressiveness that I've seen before. He spent all afternoon talking to his friend who runs the art gallery and the artist next door. His tape on the radio interview was bad and they asked him to go back to the radio station to re-tape. He refused. He was going to walk the business district. He didn't. He said his art gallery friend would go to the business district for him. He does not hustle. He's charming, loves to talk with people, leaves the cocktail party last. But he never gets sweaty or grubby in search of votes. Low key is the word people use. Also, there may just be a different pace here in the west. The police chief told me there was. He gets up just as early and stays up just as late as anyone else. He just doesn't see many people. And not just because of distance. He just doesn't squeeze votes out of the district. Leisurely is another word that fits. He's not ambitious in that it sticks out all over him. When I talked with Don about this he called Jim "a lousy campaigner" and said he just won't do things he doesn't like to do sometimes and will then make little excuses or rationalizations, like the one that Jerry would do Estes Park for him. I said I thought JJ was an indifferent campaigner and he said that was better. Also said JJ doesn't thank people or show appreciation for their work like he should. Don sees that as his other "fault". But he's a much nicer person than, say, Studs who has the fame fault.

On way home from Estes Park I asked him what kind of a day and he said "We didn't gain any thing we didn't already have, but we reinforced some strength. It was an average day on the road. What did you think?"

As we got into the car, he said, "Just one more Thursday. That's the way I count off the time. In Korea, I counted the time left by how many Reader's Digests I would get before I went home." The comparison is apt. Campaigning is about as distasteful to Jim as fighting in the war.

On way from Estes he gave another insight into his constituency career. "I have to make an adjustment now that I'm the incumbent. People come to me and want to help. They come to the cocktail party to see me. When I first ran no one came to help. I was all alone. I'd walk down the street in Loveland by myself. Everyone was too busy. Today I could have had an entourage so big they couldn't all get in the stores. But the people who come to me are the same ones. It's part of the slow process of losing contact with your constituents. I think it's inevitable. People come to Congress through a close race, or in a safe district a tough primary, then they get up to 60 or 70% and last about 8 or 10 years and then they start carry down again. <sup>Brotz</sup> But a man lost the year after he reached his peak. I think part of it has to do with your physical health. You can't stay up, stand around and drink with them like you used to. You grow older. Your friends grow older. You don't meet the new people moving in. So you lose rapport with the active younger group. One of the active ones will challenge you sooner or later. How many Senators last more than 3 terms-- not many." Like last time, Jim has a sense of rhythm about the career.

I asked him whether his opposition to the war gave him a primary constituency that has lasted through the years. "Most active people were opposed to me on the war. Of if they were dissatisfied with the war it didn't show publicly. My strongest supporters are just people who are personal friends. Many of them don't know what I do. Like Joe Smith in Sterling. He carries that county by the largest margin of any county in the district. But I asked him the other night "Are you going to come to my speech tonight?" He said "Hell no, not if I can help it. You go over there and talk about all those issues, I don't care about them."

In his Adams County TV interview he talked same as always about why someone should vote for him. "I turn that question back to the voters. The incumbent runs on his record. If you like my record and accomplishments vote for me. If

not, don't." Sometimes he adds "I've <sup>cast</sup> ~~lost~~ 4000 votes so I'm sure you don't agree with me on every~~one~~ of them. But if you think the total record is a good one, if you approve of my overall performance, I hope you'll support me."

Then, he talks about the bills he had part in - says he can't take all credit but that he did play an active part in all and wrote some. But he won't really toots his horn.

"I think educating your constituency is the most important thing a congressman does."

"I want to close by telling a story that symbolizes the way people think about Congress." then the marine story.

Interview with Sentinal. "Is it possible for you to represent the western slope and the eastern slope at the same time?" "I don't know. But that's the job I've got."

Adams County representative said his people didn't think Jim "was around enough." "They think he's a good representative for the rural people." They pushed him on idea that he was a rural, western slope representative and did not represent Adams County well. They went through the water issue in which he said "It's not fair or just to take water from people who need it in one area to give it to people who need it in another area." Stressed Denver's ample supply.

Asked him how big his urban constituency was and what he thought their problems are. He said: economy, housing and unemployment.

Re method - when he told editor of paper who I was, he told him I'd like to ride around. "He's collecting a lot of information, I don't know what he'll do with it. But he likes to watch ~~these~~ things. He doesn't bother the women and he doesn't talk too much...so he'll ride with us."

"Those guys were so worried back in Congress about that 5 million dollars

that had something to do with abortion. I have only had one question on it during the whole campaign. I don't know why congressmen ever worry about any of their votes. Maybe the special interest groups are stronger in other districts than they are here. You know your opponent will pick on one vote or two, but you don't know which one it will be. It will probably be something inconsequential that nobody thought about or worried about."

Said Joel Pritchard is "my best friend in Congress." Said Joel told him to send post cards telling Adams County people he would be at such and such a place--to get a crowd. Said he didn't mail post cards but did advertise somehow in a recreation center of a trailer park "two people showed up."

When I asked him last night after Letterman's Banquet what was most important thing we did, he went over them and said "They're all the same. No one thing is most important. I have trouble picking out things that are most important. It accumulates. Some things may be more important depending on your relationship with the community involved. If I flubbed at the Rotary Club in Fort Collins, those guys would forgive me. They'd find some excuse for me. But I'd better not bomb at the Chamber of Commerce in Adams County. I'm not there enough and I can't afford to bomb when I am there."

When I asked him about which newspapers or TV interview was most important, he said "They're all the same. If the Denver Post and the Rocky Mountain News didn't endorse me, I don't think it would make much difference. They endorsed my opponent in 1972 and I won by 51%. They endorsed me in 1974 and I won by 52%. Did it make a difference? I don't know. If all the papers in my district were against me, that would make an impact. Or, if they all supported me, that would have an impact. Otherwise, I don't think so."

He agreed that district was segmented (my word) when I described his district that way. He called it "pockets" one and he campaigns via accumulation.



Re meeting with Secretary of Agriculture he said "I'm very skeptical of these administration farmers coming in here with their endorsements. So the Republican Secretary of Agriculture says he supports a Republican member of the Agriculture Committee. Do you think that impresses anyone?"

1/ke  
Bunker

Then Nancy said that Rogers Morton had come in to speak when he was running in 1972<sup>2</sup> and that helped. "It might have helped some, but hell I couldn't even get my picture on TV--all they wanted was him. I was right beside him and every-time I'd move over to get in the picture the camera moved over to keep me out. I ended up practically kissing him and still they wouldn't take my picture. Nobody knew who the hell I was and no one cared."

Re General Contractors meeting, where Jim, Armstrong, Scott (vs. Wirth) and Friedman (vs. Schroeder) spoke, Jim said. "They are a bunch of Republican contractors who haven't spoken to a Democrat for ten years." Appropos of idea that he didn't make any nickels there. There weren't more than 15-20 there.

On the way down to Denver for the Contractors meeting, I asked him what the group was and he showed a little irritation that we had gotten up so early and gone way down there, 1 1/2 hour drive, at 8:00 in the morning. We left Fort Collins at 6:45. He said: "They want to meet every thirty minutes. I've already spoken to them 3 times this year, once in Fort Collins. Still, I don't even know them and I don't think any of them live in my district. If I only went to things that I think are worthwhile, the staff wouldn't do anything. If they think I'm lackadaisical, they become lackadaisical. So I tell em to go ahead and set something up. It takes a lot of training to teach your staff what is worthwhile and what is not. It's that waste factor we were talking about. Oh, I'm just cranky at the end of the campaign this early in the day."

Each evening he said "Only one more Wednesday" "Only one more Thursday" "Only one more Friday." He can't wait for the campaign to be over. He doesn't like to campaign.

Three times during my trip--at every formal affair he told a story that was anti Congress. It was his key "story" at this time--told at Fort Collins Rotary, Adams County Chamber and Denver General Contractors meeting. "I want to tell you a story that symbolizes what people think of Congress. My wife and I went to a marine corps dinner in honor of a friend of mine. If you haven't been to a formal dinner of this sort you haven't seen anything--several glasses of wine, a band playing, everyone in formal dress. We drank a whole bunch of toasts. When we toasted the air force, the band played the wild blue yonder. Then we toasted the navy and the band played anchors aweigh. We toasted the marines and the band played the marine hymn. And the infantry. As it came my turn to make a toast, I turned to the person next to me and said, "What do you think the band will play for a congressman?" And he said, "Here comes Santa Claus!" When you put that against Jim's own pleas for fiscal responsibility, it's clear, he's attacking others and not himself. He's not Santa Claus; the others are. Anyhow, it always got a big laugh.

The big imponderable in the race is Dick Davis, the John Birch candidate. He's spending more money than Ogden and JJ together. His signs are everywhere. He's very visible, and he's unpredictable. He's drawing people from Jim--especially those who still hate Jim because of his opposition to the war. I asked the staffers to guess the outcome and it reflects their inability to assess Davis. Sandy predicted 53-37-10; Don predicted 52-40-7-1; Ed predicted 48-40-12. Jim thinks Davis will be lucky if he gets 5%. So that tells us what a spread there is regarding Davis. Jim goes on the basis of previous Birchers who have run before. He thinks people who will vote for Davis would never vote for him. He thinks Birchers stayed home or voted for Carroll after Landingham got killed last time.

The influence of "last time" is evident throughout Jim's thinking. He'll do better in Adams because "last time John Carroll was a local boy and popular.

We lost 20,000-10,000. There's no way we'll lose that badly again in Adams County."

He laughed when he got ACA endorsement. "I'll cut it out and show it only to those Bircher sons of bitches. It tells them that everything will be all right if I'm elected."

On way to Denver as we got to Adams County and the sprawling homes, apartments and mobile home developments appeared between us and the mountains on the plains, he said. "Now we're coming to the area that gives me the heebie jeebies. I don't know how to campaign here. So, mostly we don't. We come and walk around with our thumb in our ear. The Chamber of Commerce sent out invitations to come to hear me and 17 showed up. You can't find them. Joel Pritchard says you should send out post cards telling them where you will be and inviting them to come and ask questions. We haven't done that but we announced that we would be at one of their senior citizen community centers and 2 people showed up. We went door to door and nobody was home--just dogs. Husband and wife both work. You don't know who they are. Only the Democratic party seems to hold them together. There are no community leaders to talk with. We've put an office in the district and my staff man goes around to all the meetings, but I don't know whether that does any good. You win by 58% in the rest of the district and you think you're doing pretty well and you come down here and they cut you up 2-1. That's my pollution problem. There they are (sweep of arm) 100,000 of them. It's the most miserable, son of a bitchin place I've ever known. Most of them think Pat Schroeder is their congressman. Those that live there work in Denver and those that work there live in Denver."

He said he sent 2 postal patron newsletters a year and "that should help."

He said that when he went to that Marine dinner and spoke, he recited Rudyard Kipling's "Tommy Atkins"--which he memorized as a boy. And he went

on to say "You meet very few people in the House who do any outside reading. And when you do, you grab each other and hold on. I was riding hom from Jerry Litton's funeral with Paul Simon whom I hardly knew and we were talking about one thing and another when I wondered out loud what it takes to be a Lincoln and he said he had written a book about Lincoln's years in the legislature. We had a wonderful time. I find Shakespeare, Plutarch and the Bible more relaxing than any of today's so-called escape reading. You just have to make the time. I've read through Shakespeare's histories almost 3 times this year. Every human emotion is there. And he puts the most eloquent sentiments into the mouths of the most unsavory characters. Like the bitch in John I who speaks so eloquently about grief when she loses her son--'a harridan speaking so beautifully'" whereupon he quoted a few lines, and spoke about how movingly the Durants wrote about Shakespeare in their books. Later he spoke of Plutarch and certain apt phrases. And I noticed in the morning that Plutarch was on the floor beside his bed.

The tolerance that Jim has about his constituents views could well have been reenforced if not derived from his reading of Shakespeare. He believes everyone has something worth saying; so does Shakespeare, as Jim interprets Shakespeare.

On the way to Estes Park, I asked him about his career in the House and whether he had a sense for a career there, since he had noted in a couple of interviews that he had enjoyed success in congress this term and was "getting better at it."

"It's a matter of learning how to get things done, knowing the people and working without raising partisan hacklers. Guys like Seiberling and Ottinger and ? I work with them even though I disagree with them on most things and even though I don't even like the two of them. They will come to me to communicate to our side and I will communicate our ideas back to their side. Then when I want something it's easier for me than for some of my colleagues--like Sam

Step 2. He won't talk to the other side and they won't talk to him. But it's not that I'm a better congressman than a lot of people in my district would be. I'm nothing special. I've just gotten better at working the legislative process. Mostly, people know I'm not a political bullshitter. In Congress, people are wary and scared of guys who are ambitious. That's why Mo Udall <sup>never</sup> made the leadership. It's why people don't trust Riegle. I have no illusions that I will ever be part of the leadership."

I asked if he thought this description of himself was personality or whether it had anything to do with the district. "It's more personality I think. The attitude I have is that there isn't a grown man or woman alive that isn't worth listening to some time. People acquire knowledge, skill and insight in various ways. And there isn't anyone that doesn't have some ideas worth listening to. Some of the Birchers, I give short shrift to; but even there I spent two hours talking to five of them over in Ault the other day. And later one of them came back smiling to give me more information. My constituents are tolerant with me because I am tolerant with them. People might not be for me because of some issue, but there isn't any animosity toward me anywhere in the district."

When I said he had to balance interests, he put his hands out in front of him, palms facing each other and shook them rapidly while he grinned--one of those gestures that says so much yet cannot be captured verbally. I tried to get him to say that there was something about this kind of a district that made him tolerant and therefore, able to work the legislative process. He would not make the connection. He said that some of the candidates that had run against him could work the legislative process and some could not. Carroll could - "he proved it in the legislature." "Merson could not." He didn't think Ogden could either. He described Ogden as a John Wydler when I first talked with him--someone who would be a good soldier but not anything special.

About the only heat Ogden is putting on Jim has to do with his lack of attendance at committee hearings. Jim's explanation is that he was on CIA committee for eight months working all day and reading the stuff in the off hours. Also, he's on 5 subcommittees of Interior and Agriculture. But Jim answers in a very low key way. He will not blast Ogden. He will not go out of his way to bring up the charges--in fact he forgets them. He won't demagogue his CIA committee work, won't even comment on it as an honor or as an anti-CIA move (to satisfy liberals). His staff thinks he's too mild, doesn't take credit, doesn't strike back. When JJ said on one interview "He knows better than that", Sandy was ecstatic. Even the least show of aggressiveness is a bonus. But Jim doesn't name call, doesn't mention names. Privately, he said he thought these charges showed that "Ogden wants the job so bad that he's using these charges he knows aren't <sup>up</sup> true. I hate to see anyone want anything that badly. I'll bet after the election, he won't like himself for doing this." But he wouldn't say one word in attack or counterattack. Maybe he gives voters too much credit. But I think he doesn't really feel that campaigning is all that important. At least that hunch is consistent with his talk and behavior. He said on way back from Adams, as Don got excited about all the Davis billboards, "I don't believe any vote was ever affected by a billboard." And, of course, his lack of "hitting the bricks." (His schedule says "hit the bricks" at such and such a time. It sounds tougher than JJ ever behaves. Of course, it reflects what staff wants and not what Jim will do. What they propose as "hitting the bricks" turns into "two or three extended visits with people he meets." And these people don't have to be supporters. He'll talk to anyone--one on one. That's where he's the best. And it doesn't fit the standard idea of campaigning. ~~ev But if you believe, as he seems to, that~~ "the campaign" is a non-event and that he wins by accumulating support over the years, then he may be right.

"I'm not surprised on the issues, I hear the same things I've been dealing with all along. It's not: 'here's the campaign; now here are the issues'. The concerns are the same because the nature of the different areas is the same. A few issues came up once every two years."

When Denver post asked Jim a question about the district, he put it in perceptual terms. "I always think of it as pockets in my mind. There's the Western slope, the spine of mountain towns, Larimer, Weld and Adams Counties on the front range and the eastern counties."

He typically thinks of his election in terms of votes and vote margins, not percentages. At one point he said that "I'm not talking percentages, but votes." He will summarize in terms of percents. But the building blocks are always votes. That is he knows that he won by 52% but he does not know he carried the Western slope or Larimer by a percentage figure. He knows these by the vote margin or the vote. He says there will be 200,000 votes cast this time."

He called his trip to Western Slope as "a triumphal tour."

In Denver Post interview, he talked about explaining at a number of points. Said he voted vs Sugar Act and had to hurry back and explain to his sugar beet grower why he did it. Pt. was that in the course of writing the bill, it got bad and sugar farmers had to have it explained to them.

He generalized: "You do the best you can as a whole. I try not to worry about one group. I try to think of what they want, but not their reactions in terms of my career. I'll go home and try to explain it. If you're not fearful about the job, you are more relaxed in it, more confident. I don't know what it would be like to worry about every vote. Some try to calculate the effect on some group. I don't. It's a wasted mental process. It takes your energy away from the question: Is this bill reasonable? There's no reason to fear your constituents. There's no reason to look over your shoulder. Cast every

vote as you see it and then go home and explain it... People are tolerant and ask me to explain. They don't say 'you're a dingdong.'"

"The longer you're back there, the harder it is to keep up rapport. Your schedule is so hectic. The people you see are the same ones you saw before."

Only time he went off the record during the Denver Post interview was when they asked if he had any time limit set for his retirement. And only question he flatly refused to answer was when they asked him why he wanted to be in Congress. Career questions are very sensitive.

Speaking of his 5 district offices. "They are totally busy all the time. It's a service inaugurated as an experiment. I knew people had to have contact they didn't have. I don't think there will ever be a time when there won't be offices scattered around the district."

"Nobody's even mentioned the CIA report as I've travelled around in the campaign. I take that as a sign that no one is exercised about it."

Yet, the CIA report was something JJ saw as "the most interesting and important thing I've ever done in my life" and something where "All the staff guys said I worked harder than anyone else on the committee. I was the only person who read the stuff we were supposed to be reading. I was the only one who asked hard questions based on the material. And the others learned from me." Pt. is that something which for Jim was his career highlight and on which he was an important person brought no interest at home. If anything, his challenger was making a debit out of it.

	<u>Pol. importance</u>	<u>Comfortableness</u>
Breakfast, Wed.	3	1
Radio Interview	4	2
Denver Post Interview	lor2	2
Wellington	4	1
Cocktail party	3	1
Thurs. breakfast	3	1
Rotary Club	3	1
Woodward Plant	lor2	1



Bnai Brith asked for pre-election meeting with JJ. "You mean all five of them want to talk with me? They don't even have a chapter in my district. Tell them we'll meet with them after the election."

He calls the timber management companies "the guys" like union leaders speak of "the guys". The term is a familiar one for people with whom you feel at home.

He visits Steamboat Springs 3 times a year and the guy he stays with says "You're around here all the time." It is they are isolated and like it that way, (I guess).

When asked about 2 year term, he said that when he first won, Edgar Chenoweth called to congratulate him and asked him how he felt about the 2 year term. When JJ said he favored it, Chenoweth said good and seemed to have gotten answer to key question. Jim says only 10% of House members would support 4 yr. terms--on grounds that they are only institution in contact with people. "They take seriously the idea that they are the people's house."

He asked me what I thought of the Adams County Chamber of Commerce luncheon. I said there were more candidates than people. Then he said he thought they would appreciate his being there. Ogden's wife had said Dan was in Grand Junction and obviously JJ was thinking of that. He said "I think it was better for me to be here than in Grand Junction." Especially, since he didn't get there often "That's the most people I've ever seen in one place in Adams County."

Re Ford, "I'm a staunch supporter, but that doesn't mean I agree with everything he says and does. Our political party doesn't have the discipline of the Democrats. You can say anything you want in the Republican party." And he certainly does. He said that when he gave his extemporaneous speech on the CIA on the floor, "I got a standing ovation from the Democratic side. On our side everybody was silent." Said Ford was a person you could disagree with.

Coal trains running through Ft. Collins all day with Wyoming coal bothers people in Ft. Collins.

He was asked if he was campaigning any more as a conservative because of Davis. He said no "I've campaigned the way I always have. I've tried to explain to people why I voted the way I did... One opponent calls me on ultra-conservative; one says I'm an ultra-liberal. I don't worry about what they label me."

On energy he talked about jurisdictional problems, regional differences, large size of R & D, says we have a policy on energy which is to do what we're doing, i.e., dependence on foreign oil and price lids on US production.

Re Republican party he talks about difficulty of making people listen to idea of fiscal responsibility. Complains that Republicans get called anti-people, not caring, not compassionate. Says only a shock will change party allegiance. Cites history of Republican deomiance and the New Deal switch.

At Rotary Club he said, "We had some disagreements in the early days. But most of you are my personal friends and supporters through the years, whether you agreed with me or not."

"It's been a fruitful time for Colorado and for my ambitions in Washington. We all worry about how we will do there. Harry Truman said that for the first 6 months you look at the other House members and wonder how you ever got there. Then the next six months, you look at them and wonder how they ever got there."

His accomplishments were always the same - 2 wilderness bills - Eagles Nest and Flattops, BLM Organic Act, Sugar Tariff, Payment in lieu of taxes bill, Mineral leasing amendments - several projects - Narrows dam, Poudre project, etc. Sometimes he mentioned CIA.

He said a couple of things that I could ask him about. "Most representatives don't lead; they just follow." "I think educating your constituency is the most important job we have." Does he follow? Does he educate?

Another question--the gap between his interests (CIA) and his constituents interests.

Similarly, is he more moderate than his district.

Minister comes to guy looking at placques in vestry - "They died in the service." "The 8:30 <sup>or</sup> ~~is~~ the 10:30?"

Before Rotary, ~~he~~ <sup>cast</sup> took view that he ~~lost~~ 4000 votes and he'd discuss any of them if challenged. But said he wouldn't go into them.

When he rated the one day's events he picked Woodward and Denver Post for the scope of impact. Said that the #3 rankings were his supporters anyway. As far as the "comfortableness" index, he said that they were all the same except the interviews. "I don't want you to think I'm ill at ease with reporters. But you have to be cautious with them because of what they can do to you."

The themes with JJ seem the same as before--the diversity of the district and the low key approach he takes in dealing with it. He's confident that's the way to hold it--or, that he can hold it that way, which is his natural way. He's very natural, not demagogic, direct and thoughtful, not terribly compassionate yet warm hearted with his friends. At the Letterman's banquet he seemed quite at home--although he thought some of the jokes were too raunchy. He's got a private side, too--his religion, I think. He's very religious and yet never once has it shown or has he mentioned it. He's on the board of directors of a seminary. (I never asked him about this and probably should.) All in all a good congressman, I think.

- On the Thursday after election, November 4, I called Washington to talk to Patty Wilson and Jim was there. He talked about the 40,000 vote margin, the 200,000 total vote. Said it was 53% Johnson, 35% Ogden and 10% Davis. Said he carried Adams by 400, carried Routt <sup>county</sup> for first time and Aspen for 1st time. Said he carried Larimer by 13,000, Weld by 2000.
- "I carried the eastern counties by 1000 votes. That was a surprise. I thought I was in trouble out there." Said Davis' 10% was "a surprise".
- Again, he talked about Ogden and the district. "It's in effect four different districts. A guy can concentrate on only one of the four in a campaign, but he can't concentrate on all of them."