

By Phil not  
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style.

Philip Hayes

December 18-19, 1974

Wednesday

2:30 Talk with Phil Wallace in Executive Inn  
Dining Room  
8:00 Talk to Evansville Men's Democratic Club,  
Evansville Labor Temple

Thursday

7:00a Breakfast at Gundi's Restaurant, Mt. Vernon  
12:00 Xmas Party Lunch, Sterling Brewing Company,  
Evansville  
2:30 Hayes Law Office  
7:00 Party for Perry County people, Jim Braundschwigger's(?)  
House, Tell City

I was picked up at the airport by Phil Wallace, a political writer for the Evansville Courier who has been signed on by Hayes to do his press work in Washington. He's 26, says he's cut his long hair, bought some white shirts and is eager to go down and get into government. Typical young bright staff person.

He and I talked for a couple of hours in the Executive Inn. I started right in telling him how I had been out travelling with Zion this fall--after debating a long time with myself over whether I should or not. (It seemed easier and more natural and a better basis to start a relationship by just telling the truth.) He told me how he saw the campaign--and mentioned lots of items: (1) the targeting of areas via a telephone poll - "The most sophisticated campaign this district has ever seen." (2) Zion's "talking down to his constituency" by never addressing himself to the issues - rolling a soybean across the table when he talked

*(see Wallace's article in psm)*  
to the farmers, calling senior citizens meeting via telephone and talking about the weather and some pageant at the Capitol, always name dropping, etc. Wallace says "it finally caught up with him." (3) Certain issues like non-completion of I-64. (4) Hayes campaigned 12-15 hours a day.

(5) The economy - BUT in the end he said "I don't think Hayes would have beaten Zion if it had not been for Watergate and if Zion had not defended Nixon right up to the end. If he had bailed out earlier, he would have won." "I told Phil, people aren't going to vote for you, they are going to vote against Zion. I don't think the economy would have done it--not without Watergate." And that was the first thing Wallace started talking about in the car, how Zion had stuck with Nixon to the bitter end and that the district was more moderate than Zion on that issue. I asked him whether or not there wasn't a Republican hard core that agreed with Zion. "Maybe there was in the social circles he travelled in--over at the country club. But the rest of the constituency was more moderate than he was. Perhaps it was the influence of the press. One of our papers gets the New York Times service and the other gets the Washington Post-Los Angeles Times service so the Watergate story was played up heavily in this area. He bitterly accused the media of helping to defeat him--calling the Washington Post "The Washington Compost"--and maybe he was partly right. The anti-Nixon point of view was coming strongly into the district."

Hayes picked me up at 7:00 and we went to the Evansville Labor Temple for a meeting of the Evansville Men's Democratic Club. The contrast could

not have been more complete. The first place I ever went with Roger Zion was the Evansville Country Club to play golf. The first place I ever went with Phil Hayes was to the Evansville Labor Temple to drink beer and eat salami sandwiches.

"The Evanaville Men's Club started years ago as an anfi organization group. That's all calmed down now, and it's been pretty much taken over by the union people. Here they are holding their meeting right in the union hall. That tells you something about the close relationship between the Democratic party and the unions in this city."

"This is Southern Democratic country. It's the unions that give it its liberal push."

He said IUE (Whirlpool) is the largest union--8,000. "They are pitiful politically--nowhere. They went out on strike last summer, had the largest strike in the nation and from what I heard in my circles, they want back for less than they went out with. That's pathetic. The president of the union nearly lost the last election and the opposition was totally disorganized. If the opposition leader had had 3 guys working for him and 500 bucks he could have taken over the whole union."

The machinists are the "most sophisticated". They don't have the numbers, but their hand is sure there."

Then he went on to say that "The power of labor is greatly over-rated." He spoke of their threats at Kansas City as not being worth much--even their money, he said, wasn't that important and could be duplicated elsewhere, by other means or from other sources.

At dinner (where he had a hamburger and I a beer), he said that his top district guy was going to be a machinist--that the machinists were the strongest element in his labor support and he wanted to keep that strength. "Labor skated right in during the campaign and the machinists were the strongest of the group. I want to continue that strength and so I chose a machinist to be my chief district guy. He can help me keep the grass roots strength I had in the campaign. He's the real thing--a welder. He's not a guy with a Harvard degree slumming in the unions. The guys know him and there will be a district office they can relate to for once."

At the temple there was the same sense that the union men had had no representation with Zion and they said so. First guy he met at the bar said "Congratulations, we finally got that skin-headed son of a bitch out of there." And when Phil was introduced (to a standing ovation) his introducer said "For eight years, the ordinary working man had no congressman. Now we got rid of that baldheaded idiot. Isn't it nice to have a congressman again."

Phil talked to them about how he wanted to keep up contacts and counted on them to keep in touch. He said a lot of ordinary people never knew there was a congressional office to help them with their job problems, etc., but now there was. Said he hoped they would "tell me where the problems are, just like you did in the campaign. We'll do it the same way, until it proves to be the wrong way." He spoke to individuals in the audience "Kenny, you get a lot of complaints in your job. When you get them, I hope you'll let me know." "Ralph, it's good to see you here. You helped in the election. I hope you'll continue to help me."



Afterward, after he stopped to talk, he said "I overstayed my welcome, from my point of view. But they are so used to having someone scooped up and whisked away in a limo. Bayh and the others come in, shout and pound the table and leave. I want them to feel they have someone that they can talk to. And I only stayed an hour and a half." The whole exercise--the speech and the social hour--was an exercise in ID reenforcement.

Re Zion he said that he had disloyalty in his organization, that his polls were leaked to people who showed them to Hayes. "In October, when you were here, he was dead and he knew it. The polls showed me at 55%. Buzzie wasn't dumb. They told him what to do and he didn't do it. He just couldn't bring himself to do what he was told. He should have emphasized his strength--the service to the district. He had 99% name recognition. And people thought he was a moderate on the issues. All he had to do was stay on the white line and emphasize his strength. But he was all <sup>off</sup> over the wall. He played with bussing, and with abortion and he got into arguments he shouldn't have. He couldn't resist getting into the issue of campaign tactics and so we had a dirty campaign - clean campaign go around. Then when Julian Bond came here to speak, he had a radio ad which said that "Julian Bond who supports Angela Davis was in town supporting Philip Hayes. I just said, everybody knows Angela Davis wasn't supporting me. But why did he get into that side issue. He was all <sup>off</sup> over the wall. He was fun to run against, because his reactions were so predictable. Every time he passed, I was there to intercept." A picture of Zion losing the race himself because he couldn't stick to issues

he had going for him--the ones he had built up so assiduously from the beginning.

Hayes talked about his new relationship with the Washington press and how he got two hard headlines in the first two stories compared with Washington to the local press. Part was that he was in a new relationship to the local press since they now get their stories a hair from their Washington man. Just part of the 'new ballgame' feeling. - he was caught. - His media orientation was evident early on.

Driving back to town from the breakfast at Mt. Vernon--and the stop at the School Superintendent's office (where he complained in all manner of ways about the bureaucracy getting in way of educating kids) we talked about the problems of the elected official trying to get into problems that are very complicated and where balance is the real problem. "How do you deal with a guy like Zion who comes in and demagogues the issues and just opposes everything. He tells the workers that OSHA takes money out of your pocket and you don't want to pay for it. Then he goes down and punches the Chamber of Commerce types and tells them 'See what the government is doing to you, regulating your toilet construction.' Let's get rid of the whole damn thing. But where was Zion on the twenty amendments to OSHA. That was the problem, to vote intelligently on the amendments. But he didn't understand those and he just demagogued against the whole Act. He just gave people shit--pure shit. And he bonged the discontent people have with government. But he didn't talk about the industrial accidents in the district, the time lost, the lawyers' fees, etc. How much did that cost? And how can I explain that to people in the 30 or 60 second spots I had available to me. No way you're going to do that. The only way is to 'new politics' it--say, all right, let's you

and I go on TV and talk about it for four hours. Then I could handle that ageing, balding, insecure son of a bitch. I would deal with him head on and say (like Gibbons did to Obey) 'Why you son of a bitch, you're ignoring every complicating factor in this matter. You don't know what you are talking about. You're a schmuck!' You would bore in on him like a lawyer and jury situation and let the audience judge. They would like that and come to expect it."

*Again - the danger of getting into media - via media - style on the issues - would be his fault.*

*But then you wonder*

How you would handle the Hollywood type--the Phil Cranes. "Zion would have been pathetic in that situation. He's a designer, a Machievellian, but he hasn't the brains to carry a lot of it off. I think the new politics is the answer, provided you aren't tainted with money. You've got to keep clean on money or they'll come right back at you hard. And Zion will be back. He criticized me for union contributions. He had his big contributors broken down and accepted no more than \$200 per person. It was all organized. And here I was taking \$1,000 from Labor. How could I handle that and explain what he had done. The only way is to new politics. That, too. 'OK, let's you and I go on TV and discuss it for four hours.'"

People criticize the campaign consultants--the Matt Reeses--by saying that they make the Congressmen concerned about nothing but his reelection. I'm not so sure that's a bad thing. I think maybe the way to behave in this job is to do what you think you have to do--try to make some headway on complicated problems and then, at election time crank up the Matt Reeses and do what they tell you to do. Paint the white line and follow it. If the big issue is crime, talk about crime

and the hell with the economy. If the big issue is economy, talk about the economy and the hell with crime. Maybe the Matt Reeses have given congressmen the leeway to do what they want to do in Congress." Said people criticized Reeses for destroying party system.

"Most voters vote more on style than they do on issues anyway. And the key to style is being yourself. Sometimes you get so confused, you have to work at being yourself. And you ask yourself who am I. What is my style? But it can't be taught. If Lugar had just been himself and played to his strengths, he would have come much closer. He was an urban mayor, and he could have gone into every small town and talked to them about their sewer problems and how little the government had done about them in the past 12 years. But instead, they put him on TV in a plaid jacket talking about how his family owned a 200-acre farm in Marion County. It was ridiculous and he knew it. He joked about it when he was alone. Only 8% of the state is involved in agriculture anyway. He wasn't being himself. If he had, the race would have been very close."

Said, in same vein, that he hired a man from a Washington firm, Allen and Hamilton (worked for Florida politicians. Askew--mostly), to "hype" some money from Washington sources and this guy also consulted on ads. "He suggested one ad that said 'No lobbyist is going to buy me a free lunch.' I told him, that's going too far. It's phony. Every lobbyist in Indianapolis has bought me a meal at one time or another. That's the way you get together with those guys. You sponge a meal as

payment for letting them bore you to death with their conversation.<sup>1</sup> He said, ~~will~~ <sup>it</sup> carry the message that Zion is bought by business?<sup>2</sup> I said I don't know that Zion is bought by business. I wouldn't be surprised. He's the kind of guy who would be; but I say that because I don't like him.<sup>3</sup> So they changed the ad to say 'No lobbyists will be camped on my doorstep.' That just indicates that I won't be easy to get. I just wasn't comfortable with the earlier ad. It's easy to demagogue against big business--to get a little into the populist line and begin to lie a little--or lie a lot. I'm not comfortable with that and I have to watch it carefully, because it's not being myself."

"I see our congressman is here and I use the term 'our' loosely."

At Sterling Brewery lunch.

"I don't know how you define marginality but I don't see this as a marginal district. I see it as a mainstream, down the line Democratic district. I sat down before the election and counted up the county councils. We had them 3-2 Democratic--and that was before the election. So I went in to each county and used these people, and did what they did. If they were conservative, I'd emphasize the ways I was conservative and do some more things besides. The people in the district aren't afraid to pull the Democratic lever; far from it. It was just the vibes they were getting. So I didn't go in and meet the big shots--the bankers and the businessmen. I stayed away from them and went to the country councilmen. I got 2500 more votes in Knox County than any Democrat ever had. Zion only beat me by 33 votes and I know what I could have done to get them. And if you think we had Democratic strength in the counties before the election, you

should see it now. These organizations can protect your flanks for a long time against a primary. And coming into the election, they can drill the Republicans and keep em from getting started. That is, until they begin to develop talent, and you can't do that overnight. It took ages to develop a Democratic party that was up front and get rid of the older way of doing things. I think I ought to be able to hold this seat for a long time." He discussed Scammon and Wattenberg and said he thought county was a little more radical than they thought.

What got him started was when we left the Sterling Brewery Xmas lunch (they sell 1 billion barrels a year!) and he talked of Brewery as being political center of activity. They used to have "spenders" who would go around with pocketful of money and go to bars and buy drinks of Sterling for everyone. "Uncle Ben saw the promiser of the spenders" for getting votes. And he bankrolled all the mayors in this town for a decade. It was the old-fashioned, <sup>James</sup>hod of coal, bag of groceries kind of politics Wilson wrote about. And solid Democratic. No Republican mayor of Evansville has ever succeeded himself." Thence on into Democratic character of the district.

Brademas' field representative, Frank Sullivan wrote long memo on constituent service to the 4 new Indiana Congressmen. There "To be reelected will mean proving to your--in all cases--predominantly Republican constituencies that you merit their continued support. This you will achieve not so much by your voting record as by the quality of constituent service you render. This service must be 1) prompt 2) effective and 3) wide ranging."

When I asked him about ethnic groupings, he answered "WASP" and then went on to talk of some Germans, French and Swiss--and on to the German carvers who settled here and went into furniture business. (Tell City has furniture business. that's in top 10). Some of it has left. He put big stress on people coming from Kentucky and said "This is copper-head country." Not ethnic politics here. Didn't mention Catholic. He is Catholic and comes from Northern Indiana. "I don't come from here." His wife does. (Nancy).

When I asked him how he described his district, in thumbnail, to others, he said "It's rural but not primarily agricultural. The city of Evansville dominates the district, and it is industrialized. Beyond that, I don't know what you can say. There are all these miniatures that you have to describe individually. \*It differs from one county to the next." This followed on a contrast between Dubois County (which is Democratic, Catholic, and prosperous) and the next county, Crawford County (which is appalachian poverty, Republican and Protestant). When I specifically asked if he saw a "lowest common denominator" and he said no.

Earlier, I had asked if he saw Vanderburgh County as different from rest of the district and he answered first by saying that the people in the other counties were sometimes jealous of Vanderburgh as the dominant county, but he didn't make a big thing out of it. Then he said as far as his perception was concerned, there was not any rivalry. "I can talk about urban development in Evansville and rural development in the rest of the district. And I can talk about one to the other. If you look at it that way, they have the same problems."

He gave a fairly long discussion of way he went about his committee assignment. "I didn't want Judiciary. I'd been on that committee for 4 years on State Senate. I knew what it was about and knew I'd had enough. The one I wanted was Banking, Currency and Housing. The district needs public and private housing--Evansville is pretty well 'HUDED,' with about 8 million dollars they're trying to spend. And the district needs economic development. There has been no economic development planning --when unemployment comes to this district, it stays. I had the conception that I could hustle some business into the area off of the committee. Instead of 'crowbarring' the bankers for trips, I thought I could get some of those bastards to locate here or convince their clients to locate here. And I understand credit from my service in the legislature. I can bull shit money policy as well as any dude. Personally, I like Galbraith--mostly because he's got a sense of humor. I had a twinge about going on Public Works. Rivers and highways are so important to this district. But Zion was resigning from that committee. He had been on it for eight years, and the way he babbled about it back home you'd have thought he chaired the god damned committee. I didn't want to be in the position of seeming to pick up his droppings. Besides, I met Jim Oberstar who had been Blatnik's assistant, and knew what he was doing and was on a first name basis with Jones. He wanted Works and there was one position and I didn't want to try where I had no chance. We all went over to Lee Hamilton's house to talk it over. Andy Jacobs said he wanted Commerce and we agreed we should defer to him on that. But Commerce was Phil Sharp's first choice and Banking and Currency was his second choice. When he lost one he said



he wanted the other. I agreed to put in for Judiciary and let him have Banking and Currency. There was also some talk about Lee Hamilton taking Ways and Means, but nothing definite. So I requested Judiciary first and Science and Technology second. For/<sup>my</sup>Second committee, it was between Interior and Science and Technology. The environmentalists had come in heavy for me and you feel some obligation to those who have helped you. They wanted me to go on Interior, to get some of those guys from Oklahoma off there. I was tempted because coal is important to the district and we do have a national park--the George Rogers Clark Memorial in Vincennes. But I didn't want to sit on a committee that spent all its time on irrigation and indians. Science and Technology is doing some interesting things on energy. I'm not going to be intimidated because I'm not a scientist. I'll act like a lawyer and make them prove these cases. I talked with Ken Hechler and he sounded like he meant business. He said the question is who is going to make energy policy, private industry or the government. I liked what I heard."

After everyone had made choices, the news came "out of the blue" that Andy Jacobs had been given Ways and Means "after he had waltzed us all that time about wanting ~~my~~ Commerce." Then they had to get in touch with Brademas and get him to change everything around, i.e. Sharp to Commerce and Hayes to Banking and Currency. Which he did, since he was on the Policy and Steering Committee. "I don't know how he did it, but John said not to worry about it. He fixed it all up." But here is probably a case where the formal requests do not tell the true story.

I tried to get him to talk about levels of support by telling him about my theory about concentric circles. He replied very interestingly.

"Your idea of concentric circles is right, but they come in multiples. I have a circle of strong labor supporters and another circle of strong business supporters. (He was making circles with his left and right hands.) They are separable from one another and they don't interact with one another. That's because their perceptions of me are different. They will 'fight, bleed and die' (my phrase, repeated by him) equally for me, but in different ways. Labor gives you the manpower and the workers up front. And you need them just as much as you need the guy with the three acre yard to hold a lawn party to raise money. The labor guy loses a day's pay on election day--maybe you can pay him \$10.00 out of the \$25 he would get, so he loses \$15.00. The business guy gets his nice lawn tramped over and chewed up. Each one makes a commitment to you in his own way. You need them both."

Then he went on to add "the regular party organization people" in there, but I can't recall how he did it. So you might say that he sees his hard core as some labor, some business and some party. (At other times he talked about how he relied on party people in the counties who might be quite conservative). But he definitely does not perceive of his hard core as labor only. Labor is a part of it--but labor is not strong and dominant in the district--it's not enough to win with. He may have some issues that will force him to balance labor against his more conservative party regulars.

During this same conversation in his law office, he talked (as he did often) about Zion's mistakes in the campaign. What his idea boiled

down to was that Zion let himself be diverted from his strength. In the language he used so often Zion was "off the wall" instead of "painting the white line and following it." Hayes found he could needle Zion and make him counterpunch. He also found that Zion likes to take "pot shots" and that he could deal with them with "cuteisms" that would make Zion look silly. There was, on both sides, a sense of cut and <sup>thrust</sup> ~~think~~, in and out with a job during the campaign. Zion's accusation of unfair practices (which Hayes answered in a "dilatory" way "I was in no hurry"), his innuendo that Angela Davis supported Hayes (which got black ministers so enraged, they got equal time to rebut the charge), Zion's emphasis on bussing and abortion (which Hayes denied and suggested they debate on it), Zion emphasis on his voting record instead of coming home and campaigning ("Who gives a shit about a 98% attendance record when the problems are back here and the votes are going 420-1 anyway"?) All these things were examples of where Hayes felt Zion's campaign was deficient. "He was potshotting and not sticking to his strength. There were several places where I was vulnerable (he felt that his reliance on labor money was one) that he didn't press me on. Instead he kept getting drawn off into this right wing shit."

Anyhow, after this one particular recital of Zion's mistakes, I asked if he thought that was important to his victory and he said yes. Then I asked him to rank Watergate, party loyalty, Zion's mistakes, and his own record in terms of their importance.

"You would have to say that Watergate was the number one ingredient. Not just because of Watergate, but because of the things it allowed us to

say--that I was not going to go down there and vote anybody's party line, that I was not going to be a party hack, that I was an independent thinker --unlike my opponent who had blindly followed Nixon to the end. I'm not going to apologize for Wilbur Mills, or Lyndon Johnson or John Kennedy or Harry Truman or Franklin Roosevelt. They tell me Roosevelt was a fine man, but I wasn't even born then and I'm not going to defend him. I'm going down to think for myself and not follow anyone or play<sup>by</sup> the old rules. Watergate helped us to get that message across." He saw Watergate as enabling him to make points about himself. But most people I talked to said that Watergate was the key factor because it showed Zion in a bad light. Hayes tends to think people voted for him; most others said people voted vs. Zion. But there was, of course, a creditable alternative. Hayes said that where Democrats had good candidates in Indiana, they won--that the candidates vs. Myers and Hollis were terrible. (Re. the guy who ran vs. Hollis, who Hayes thought was pretty good anyway, he said "We had a saying in the legislature that characterized everybody in terms of 'who rattles his chains.' When we talked about Hollis' opponent, we would say 'The people who rattle his chains are the second hand mobile home industry'. That's how low he was on the totem pole.")

Anyhow, during same conversation that he made above comment (on our way to Tell City evening meeting) he came back to my question of the afternoon and said "If in second place or close to it, you would have to put my record in the state legislature. Forty per cent of my congressional district was in my state senatorial district, so people knew me. I had supported

metro-government and I did it against the wishes of my party and organized labor. The Republicans were most strongly in favor of it, and I think they realized I was an independent person. That one thing, more than anything else, convinced people that I was no left wing crazy and was a great help to me." Throughout, there is this effort to paint the image of independence. That, instead of a left-right dimension is what he's trying to get across. The first thing Allem said in his memo to "avoid positioning yourself on the liberal-conservative dimension." And his new politics, independence--even his populist tinge--does this. Style above issues.

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He said he was going around the district, visiting each county saying thank you and establishing communications. "They haven't had a democratic congressman and I want to establish lines of communication with them. With the party people, I want to say thank you and consolidate my position. Since I don't have to do it; it's surplus; it should help in letting them know I'm still interested. For a couple of days after the election I was so tired, I just took a bottle and sacked out for two days. If I had disappeared during this whole post election period, the results would have been very damaging to me." He said that it was a kind of preventative activity in part.

But he seemed to be campaigning about as hard as he could. Every-day, he had 3 or 4 functions and was hitting every part of the district. (Rich Obey said they could get anywhere in the district in one hour--except Bedford). We were up at 6:00 and to bed at 12:00 the day I was there. And previous day and the next day were just the same for him.

At one point, in describing how he was hitting some of the little towns, he commented in a way somewhat different than Zion (and more like Myers had spoken to Zion). "In these little crossroads towns, it doesn't look like there's anyone there. But if you stop at the gas station to talk, before long, ten people will have drifted in and out. Word gets around." He talked, also, about "the retinue" he picks up when he goes to a town "there's always one young lawyer!" who wants to come along.

Unlike Zion, who said all the district lacked was "a good ghetto," Hayes said "I say 'down there' (where the blacks live) because they are ghettoized." "Blacks make up 8% of the district. There's no way Zion is going to get any of those votes--zero. I'm going to appoint a black to my staff. That's a first for this district." He said that Mayor Lloyd was trying to buy off blacks with OEO money, coopting leaders--and having some success.

About the campaign, he several times expressed satisfaction. "I'm happy about what we did. We did everything we had to do, when we had to do it--the media, the targeting, the telephoning. If we had lost, there wouldn't have been anything else we could have done. And it was fun. Zion was fun to run against... I hope he runs again!"

He said Zion was "bitter" and was making the transition hard. Said he wouldn't speak to him in Washington and wouldn't facilitate transition in the district office. "They are playing games with us there." Both he and Phil Wallace said that Zion had refused an interview with the Louisville paper, accusing the paper of being part of the left wing media campaign against

him, (he accused Hayes and Wallace of making a deal before the election, thus coloring the media treatment he got from the Courier--which supported him editorially--Express backed Hayes.

"The blue collar voters elected Zion before this. But there was no way they were going to vote for him this time. He came out against things like OSHA. They finally caught up with him."

"Zion went out of his way to associate himself with the right wing crazies. The guys on 'Works' said he always injected that stuff into their committee discussions."

When I said I detected a certain belligerence in Roger, Hayes said "A closer observer might describe it as paranoid. He was a right wing crazy. He attracted crazy opposition like shit draws flies. People would come out just to boo him."

A couple of times during the day, he came back to his decision not to go on Public Works. It seems to bother him a little as he gets reminded, again and again, of its importance to the district. He would not have been aware of that, either, as a state senator (well, the highways he was very aware of because he helped get state money for I-64, but not rivers and harbors, and it was rivers and harbors that he kept-getting reminded of.) We spent our day along the ~~Ohio~~ River really. After the Mt. Vernon, breakfast meeting, he swung down along the river to show me the river. "It's a beautiful day out here today. Just look at those barges out there." (It was a bright sunny day and the river looked both

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busy and sparkling.) He said something to the effect that maybe he should have taken public works or if he had taken public works, he could help the port facility there. "But I didn't want to get logrolled all the time. I'm not sure Bob Jones is a very programmatic chairman. Besides, what we need are appropriations and not authorization. We need money; maybe I can find someone to help me get the money. Before the election, Zion was announcing money for these projects--rip-rapping the river banks, Patoken Reservoir--right and left. And as soon as the election was over--no money. I don't know Ash but I'm sure those guys sat there with a big map and wherever an incumbent Republican was beaten, they impounded the money."

Later, on the way home from Tell City where a deputation from the city told him of their desire to move the flood wall so as to open up more business district (they have 14 1/2% unemployment because GET, which made vacuum tubes laid off 1200), he said "If I were on Works I would just walk down the hall and get an answer. I'll have to find someone on Works to logroll with." I suggested Studds, he mentioned ODBerstar. He said "Hartke outdid me. He introduced them to a general in the Corps. I only knew a major." He had, however, had conversations with the Corps people in Evansville about all the projects involved--and found them "vague." He said that the lingo and the law surrounding river problems were complex and that he had learned some of it as a lawyer in Evansville.

"Smell that stench. That's the paper mill. Those sons of bitches have polluted the air so that ducks won't come in here anymore. And they



have produced a wide swath through the district where nothing lives. We've got to find some way of stopping it." Zion would never have made any such comment.

At Mount Vernon, at Gundis restaurant, he met with the business and community leaders, and they had a very good give and take session. He began by saying "I have represented Posey County in the State Senate for 4 years, and I'm starting my fifth year representing you. I want you to feel as free to communicate with me as you have in the past." ID.

Then he fielded questions. They all came from a business point of view. "What are you going to do about deficit financing which is ruining us." "What are you going to do about consumerism which is killing business." "What are you going to do to help us sell machinery for nuclear power." "What are you going to do about layers of bureaucracy?" What about needs of the district, and unemployment and inflation?

Each question, he answered by saying it was a problem of balance. You have to decide deficit financing on "case to case basis". "You have to draw distinctions." Deficit financing for education is good. Deficit financing for mass transit in Washington, D. C. is not. "I can't come back here and sell that project to the people in this district and I shouldn't have to."

Re consumerism. "I'm tired of the framework of the argument between the consumer interests and the manufacturing interests. It doesn't get down to cases. The consumer interests accuse the manufacturing interests of being greedy profit <sup>monsters</sup> ~~managers~~. The manufacturing interests accuse the consumer interests of being kooks and meddlers. That debate has got to

be put on a more realistic basis. Congress is a good place for making sure that the debate stays on a high level. People can't know everything and we've got to get the information out to them." This question of consumer faddism came from car dealer--seat belts, emission standards, etc.

Hayes went on to talk about water pollution. Olin chemical polluting the water. If water is cancer producing, he sure wants to know.

To man from Babcock and <sup>Wilcox</sup> ? industry who makes machinery for privately owned utilities (esp. for nuclear facilities), who wanted to know whether private utilities would get rate increases and whether nuclear power plants were to be declared safe--he addressed himself to question of who is going to make decisions on rates and whether public power might not be the answer. On matter of safety of nuclear power - "It's a balanced thing between what's possible and what's not. How do you stop the danger of leakage--especially in the fission area? I hope it will be dealt with wisely and quickly. But we have to remember that what we do affects our children and all future generations. So we have to be sure we do right."

To person who complained about local agricultural unemployment, he said that criteria for public service jobs had to be "customized" to fit areas like Posey County (which is mainly agricultural--soy beans, corn and wheat--3 milling plants). The present criteria are 6 1/2% for 3 months, whereas Posey has 10% for one month. And he put the problem in

perspective. "Congress is increasingly going to urban districts. They have a limited vision on problems. There are 3 or 4 congressmen in one small urban area, who only look at each others problems and all read the same papers. Their vision is short regarding districts like this. What do you do with a district like this which is 55,000 square miles and goes from a city like Evansville to towns like English? We've got to drive home our problems and customize some of this legislation to fit our kind of district."

On the public works areas, he spoke of impoundment problems and vagueness of the Corps when he talked to them.

On bureaucracy he said "Congress distributes its power too broadly. One of its problems is that it gives too much to the bureaucracy. We can more carefully hem in the discretion the bureaucracy has." He also talked of overlapping authorities dealing with the Ohio River and said perhaps we could have one overall river authority." Also says Congressman's job is to circumvent red tape.

After the meeting as we walked back to the car, he said "Now there's a bunch of consumer advocates! That car dealer--what a schlock. He's been unloading lousy cars on people for years. I zinged him with my comments on self dealing. When they developed the port facility here, he saw to it that they developed it on the land he and his brother owned. And they speculated in the land around it. That man doesn't understand the first thing about conflict of interest"

Later on the ride back to Evansville, he commented on the businessman who sells to nuclear power plants. "All he wants to do is sell boilers. Hell, he doesn't give a shit if the thing leaks around the faucets. Of course his engineers tell him it's safe--that's because the boilers don't leak. It's too important to make a mistake. I didn't say it to him, but as far as I'm concerned, they aren't going to go to nuclear power. It's not safe."

Both the comment about the car dealer and the comment about the car dealer and the comment about the nuclear machinery maker shows considerable suspicion of "the manufacturing interest."

At that meeting, he had been introduced by the Republican County Chairman and Chamber of Commerce President, Alan ? . He called him "little Alan." (I had a long conversation with Alan and the Democrat who had organized the meeting.) Later, he recalled the introduction Alan had given him." He told them 'We don't have to fear Phil Hayes. We can work with him.' He came right out and said it! They are afraid of me. Maybe that's too strong. It's got a lot to do with the language you use. Roger Zion would come in here and ring their chimes with his anti-government, pro-business talk. He told them just whay they wanted to hear, just the way they wanted to hear it. He talked their language. Well, I won't come down here and say what they want to hear. I give them more of a balance and it frightens them." Again, style indicates something deeper re. interests you identify with.

*Style in the message*

It's easier to "educate" your opponents as H. was doing in Mt. Vernon than it is to educate your friends. Thus, the education function is one performed before one's enemies and not before one's friends. The real test is to educate your friends. That's the crunch--Obey having to tell workers in paper plants that they must obey EPA, even though it costs jobs, etc. *But you can do it because they grant you credibility - Wiggins*

*Indiana*  
In my conversation with the Posey County Republican Chairman, he stressed that the big turnout had been an anti-Watergate, anti-Zion turnout. The idea that Republicans would stay home was a misapprehension in Indiana. They had big turnout and it was Republicans coming out to vote against Roger. He also said Roger had been a little "aloof" expecting another big majority. RZ had carried Posey everytime. This time he lost by 2,000 votes. Both the Republican Chairman and the Democrats stressed the independence of the local voters in that they would pick and choose carefully.

At a couple of points, PH showed his dislike of polls sent out by congressmen. At the labor temple he said "We won't have anymore of those phony Zion opinion polls. We won't have any opinion polls period." Then, when he was talking about Matt Reese he disparaged the constant polling as not too useful. Also, in line with this aversion (or at least unfavorable comment) toward PR gimmicks, he said when we went to the Mt. Vernon school superintendent's office. "I'll bet that flag flew over the capitol. Zion went all over the district handing out flags. I don't object to that, but just think of the cost. I'd like to hand ou a flag honoring the bicentennial, an early flag--something different."

His lack of financial backing was a constant theme and his rather poor background came through. At the supper club where we went when we first met, he talked about how much he had had to borrow--1st because he had an unexpected primary opponent--who spent 50,000--and then for the campaign. He said he was going to sell one car and ride the bus from his home to work in Washington. When we parked in his normal parking lot, he owed the attendant money. He bought the cheapest cut-rate gas. He said he started the University of Indiana with \$100, in his pocket and was poor all through law school. His thought was that "we will just about make it without letting our life style fall too far below what it has been." He never considered leaving his family in the district--said he'd learned how bad it can be when he lived alone in Indianapolis and the family got disoriented. They have two young kids. Said he was going to create a Congressman's Club - slush fund." People join and pay.

Re Dubois County. "It's Catholic, German and prosperous. Its children are plump, well fed and well clothed. They are against welfare and anti union. I got my biggest majority from that county--3500 votes. I only carried Vanderburgh County by 3000 votes. They will let you do anything you want if you wear the right stripes. Birch Bayh is opposed to them on gun control and abortion and they go down the line for him. I've never seen anything like it."

Then he contrasted Dubois and Crawford Counties. "You go to the Dubois County Fair and you see fat, beautiful prize livestock. And at the home economics booth you see complicated jams and jellies and baked goods. Then you cross the county line and go to Crawford County Fair and their livestock is put in a lean-to--four poles and a tin roof. The cattle are sick looking, mixed breeds that look as if they had been run all the way from

Tiajuana. And at the home economics booth all they have are some poverty

*Segmented district -*  
*8th sense of pockets & countries in the district*  
*Some rural counties, some urban, some*  
*Evacuated the area*  
*generalization*  
*look to well*  
*read to temporary*  
*1/27/74*  
*now 1/27/74*  
*Know counties*  
*2/20/74*

program, arts and crafts--like cords for whistles. My wife commented that she had never seen so many young women without any teeth as she saw in Crawford County. I don't suppose they have one resident dentist there. It is 92nd out of 92 counties in poverty. It's Appalachia. And another one of my counties, Orange, is 91st. What good did Zion's philosophy do for these people. Yet I lost both counties. Well, they won't be 91st and <sup>92nd</sup> ~~good~~ for long if I can help it. At least they'll get up to the 90th and 91st."

"The thing that amazed me when I went on the House floor was the great number of old guys. Back home, they would all be in the old folks home. You learn respect for the elderly in a big hurry. I never saw so much ass-kissing in all my life."

"I was intimidated the first time I went on the House floor. I had never been there before and I guess I had the Senate and the House confused. I expected each one would have his own desk. But they have benches, and no place to put things. I clutched this brief case and carried it everywhere I went. The second time I went on the floor--for the Caucus meeting,--I wasn't intimidated. It was just like the Indiana Senate--'What's up?' 'What's it all about?' 'How are we voting?' The same confusion."

He does not talk about how often he will come back to the district. I didn't ask him. But he did say he was going to have a mobile office--take a mobile home and ript it out and put office furniture in it. He mentioned someone who had one, but I can't recall. He seems receptive to ideas that others have.

He was not born in Evansville. He was born in "Northwest Indiana." But his wife is an Evansville girl (her name was Koelker) and her father was in politics for a long time. He now runs a tavern. Her brother was just elected to the county council. So her family is political. When I met her she said she had "had it up to here two weeks before the end of the campaign."

He said he hoped Zion will run again. "If he does, the only way he can win will be to out-incumbent me. And that will be hard."

The next day he was headed for Vincennes which he lost by 33 votes. He thinks he would have done better if the newspaper hadn't been against him. "The paper is one of the Pulliam chain and the editor says anything Pulliam tells him to. He praised Zion everyday during the campaign. With me he played shutout ball. (Phil W. told me he never mentioned PH by name and that the day after the election the headline was 'Zion loses to challenger'.) He's a social snob, too. I met him at a club once, and he wouldn't talk to me till he found out I was a member of the club. Anyway, we'll stop by and see him. There is a guy there that is supposed to be the key to the editor. The game plan is for one of my friends to talk to this guy who will then make everything all right with the editor. I suppose I shouldn't take it so seriously." (Editor was Bill Brooks--guy Zion talked of winning over via social contact.)

The first thing he started talking about (because we had met Flynn, a veteran reporter for evening paper, Star (?), at the Labor Temple) was how he saw the problems of going from local boy to Washington subject for the media. <sup>P. 87</sup> *Scrap* Howard has a Washington guy who covers



the neighboring Illinois, Kentucky and 2 Southern Indiana districts. But the center is Evansville. And he had two experiences while he was down there with the caucus in which he and the Scupps Howard guy misunderstood each other and PH came off with a couple of unflattering headlines. Seemed to be saying that it was a part of shifting gears to the big time. He also said he hoped the newspapermen would be busy enough not to make a big story out of his campaign finances. Throughout, he seemed very concerned about his finances--eager to be cleaner than clean on that issue. At one point he said people expected lawyers to know the law better and observe it better than anyone else. But he seemed vaguely concerned about something--his borrowings perhaps, or his union contributions.

It was clear that he <sup>feels</sup> tells a part of the DSG and that he was one of the reform troops at the Caucus. He said he spoke once--against saying things were "the position of the freshmen" because "I might want to roll off on some of the reforms." He gossiped about a number of people at the Caucus--Gibbons, Obey, etc. Said O'Neill did not know who Roger Zion was when he told Tip who he'd beaten. He said DSG "came through" with some money when he needed it - that Dick Conlan was quite a guy. "I'm amazed at all the energy he has. And the dedication to these 40 votes he needed to cold cock a guy." He talked about various of the reforms; approves of most. Said he'd read Dick Bollings' book.

His own view is that he's a "new politics" man. He asked me about a couple of people. "Is he new politics?" as if that were the

distinguishing characteristics of the good guys. That means, to him I think, no commitment to what went before and an openness of style and not necessarily on any issue position.

He called Zion's stand re. Nixon "imbecilic." Others called Zion "political", by which they meant too much ribboncutting and too little issue orientation. One guy at Tell City called him "responsive, but not creative."

PH is young, apple-cheeked, wavy-haired, slightly mod, very articulate and quite self confident. He reads widely and is receptive to new ideas. He is not ideological except on "new politics" (whatever that means to him). He is not lazy, and looks to me like he can hold on to the seat. But most of the comment I heard about the race was more anti-Zion than pro-Hayes. He was a good, creditable alternative, not a charismatic leader of any sort. He won a hard race, by running hard and taking advantage of national climate and Zion's weaknesses. There was nothing ~~fine~~<sup>pre-</sup>ordained about his victory.

The "targeting" of Hayes and the "non-targeting" of Zion is point of departure for contrasting view of his district. Hayes (and Wallace) most proud of targeting. But it was not a personal-ID kind of thing at all. Hayes picked all districts that were Bayh-Zion and went there personally, dropped literature, telephone, dropped more literature (if any pro-Hayes sentiment or wavering-Zion sentiment expressed) and then telephoned. They targeted swing districts. But no sociological sense for what they were--except kind of blue collar, maybe. (I should have pushed that question harder.)

Talk with Phil Hayes and Phil Wallace

April 25, 1975

I stopped by to see Phil Wallace and we talked generally about the adjustment period. He focussed on press relations and said they were good. Vincennes paper because of Roger Clark memorial which was scratched by Interior and which they are fighting for. Other people think he's better than Zion because he gets things for district and that Zion only talked about them. This does not seem like a very good perception to me. But the point is that Hayes is working almost entirely on constituency staff. Crane Ammunition Department fired 600 people, Interior cut out money for the George Roger Clark Bicentennial Visitor's Center, rive bank problems in Newburgh.

Hayes "The kinds of things that have come up so far are good things. The kind where you can take the lead in the fight against the forces of evil." Crane - Clark.

Phil Wallace said Phil H. had been home on the average of once a month and that "frankly" he didn't like to go home that much with his family in Washington.

Phil H. said he didn't go home till Lincoln's birthday and had been home most of the weekends since--but not all. "I've learned some tricks--like the one day trip. Nothing happens on Sunday. So I fly in Friday and spend 24 hours doing everything I have to do, hitting the press hard so everybody will know I've been home and then getting out and back to my family."

*again, the  
media explosion.*

Phil Wallace said that he <sup>thought</sup> through Roger did not go back to be with his family but that he went home because he was a compulsive and had to be on the go all the time. He indicated that Roger and Marge had an arrangement whereby they lived apart by design--that they had no decent marriage at all. I would not have guessed that; and he may just be reporting local gossip, but that is what he said. And I do note that Roger is living in Washington now and not in Indiana.

Phil Hayes called it a "strain" in the early days and spoke of the "stress points" that all came together then - his job. "You could sink here, just sink," his wife's adjustment and that of each of his children.

Wall Street Journal is doing an article on him and he sees himself as "one of the ordinary guys"--as opposed to the policy leaders among the freshmen. "They go out and knock their heads against this committee and that committee, the leadership, each other--and the debris flies all over the place. It has been my role--or at least I see it as my role to gather up the debris and try to make a policy out of it. At least in the Freshman Economics and Energy Subcommittee of which I am the chairman." Sees self as more of a worker, less of a flash in the pan than some others.

5014  
Says he got the Economics and Energy job because he and Paul Simon pushed Hubbard of Kentucky for Chairman of the Freshmen. "He's a neutral figure." But his district is right across the river from mine. Paul Simon nominated him, I <sup>succeeded</sup> him and off we went. "The first political payoff I got was the chairmanship of the Economics and Energy Committee."

He blasted Bayh and Hartke for their PR carnivals and unwillingness to do the work on Crane and Clark problems.

Says he can see the sorting out process going on. "We're flying into our categories."

In early June I was in the gallery when his Crane Ammunition Depot Amendment went through & he saw me & came up in the gallery to talk to me - mostly about the amendment. He was very pleased that he'd beaten (a turned around) the AS Committee & indicated he was the only person in the govt who understood it.