

*Re Zion - Man who hangs in
in district of other party by case
will will never come back because
when he has, behind part through
takes over.*

*There are some
people he can't
reach & he doesn't
try - unless, even
not at home in some
point and access.*

*Could Frank Menger
help me with this
district.
Check Burdick &
Thurbeck
Burr.*

ROGER ZION - July 3-5, 1972

Monday - July 3

1:00 Republican Headquarters
2:30 Golf at Evansville Country Club
7:30 Evansville Freedom Festival Bierstrub

Tuesday - July 4

4:00 Fourth of July Festival at Otwell
8:00 Evansville Freedom Festival Fireworks
11:00 Don Elliott's Suite at Executive Inn

Wednesday - July 5

10:30 Office in Federal Building with Virginia Owens
12:30 Lunch and Bridge at Petroleum Club
2:30 Christmas Lake
6:00 Dinner at Das Dutchman's

July 2 - Sunday

Roger Zion - 834 Plaza Drive

Arrived in evening; plane flew in over miles of cornfields,
medium-sized farms, slightly rolling land. Contrast to Cleveland.

But the town is industrialized. It's a river town and Mead Johnson
has big airport display of its barge, rail, truck port facility on the
Ohio River, i.e. Mead Johnson Terminal Corporation. Major industries
include Whirlpool (3 plants), Mead Johnson and Alcoa.

Cab driver had district twang--cross between Gomer Pyle and
Dennis Weaver.

*Y m. up to size case work -
could someone who work
employee & case work in
with the district*

*His run political
stance makes
in a longer*

*no vans,
bill board
etc
are person
related.
My experience
is changing
up, changing
the flag
advertising*

*Political - party
Public - business
Public - public
Public - public works
district.*

I walked down Main Street in evening - has look of very small town, low 2 story buildings. But they've made Main Street into a pedestrian mall.

Dave Koehler picked me up Monday at 1 p.m. and we went to Republican Headquarters and then to Evansville Country Club where Scott Zion (his son, senior at Dennison) and Roger and I played about 13 holes of golf! A very typical golf game, lots of kidding back and forth (Scott got a 41, Roger a 49 and I a 52 for the first nine). He was on Board of Directors of the Country Club at one time, was very proud of new building they were in process of constructing and was thoroughly at home here. Plays quite a bit of golf--called Les Arends one of the best congressional golfers and probably plays in Washington, too.

One nice blend of golfing camaraderie and political social insight. "When I play with _____ of Pepsi Cola, he gave me half a dozen pepsi cola balls; but I noticed he didn't play with them. He used a titleist. Then I played with _____ from Alcoa and he gave me some Alcoa balls, but I noticed he didn't use them himself. Scott gave me these Arnold Palmer's but I notice he doesn't use them. No wonder I can't hit the ball as far as they do." Point is that his golfing companions are big businessmen (as he was). He pointed out one guy on the course who was "general manager of _____ corporation. It must be the best managed corporation in the world, because he's out here playing golf every day."

Roger joked to this man as we passed. "What are you doing out here? We public employees aren't supposed to work but you businessmen are."

In the talk in the office with Dave, Linc (student from Hanover College), Scott, Leo--(State Rep. from Vanderburgh and Posey Counties), the idea of a campaign seemed more of a managerial and public relations thing than anything else.

"Dave is the campaign manager and we have five vice chairmen." One is Scott, another is Stu Riordan. "Stu is a student at Purdue. He sleeps on a waterbed and has a big moustache, but he's a hardworking guy." Scott asked "What's sleeping on a waterbed got to do with anything?" And Roger answered, "Only queer people like Stu and ~~Lyne~~ sleep on waterbeds, or sell them." Scott says "Want to buy one?"

Later Roger said of Scott - "Scott is just about the nicest person in the whole world. He knows his mother and I detest his hairdo, but that's the only sign of rebelliousness he shows. Other than that, he helps around the house, helps with the dishes, cuts the grass. He was cutting and trimming shrubbery today. His brother, Randy, is the world's greatest living athlete (he details his football, swimming and wrestling accomplishments). We're very fond of him, but he won't do a thing around the house, won't pick up his room. Oh, he'll cut the lawn, but not now that Scott is home. But he won't talk." Just musing about his sons--shocked to find that I had a son 22. Marge later told people Randy was "a problem." RZ proudly told how Scott,

on Student Council at Dennison, helped save ROTC there.

"I'm not a politician. I came to the job without any experience in politics. People on my staff who are half my age have had twice as much political experience as I have. My field man (Harry Cooper) has spent years deeply involved in politics." Idea was that he hired people to compensate for his lack. But his flat statement that he was not a politician was very illuminating.

He sees himself as something of a new breed in this area--the Republicans have recently taken over in Evansville and he is part of that. New mayor Russell Lloyd used to manage RZ's district office. His workers are all young. He called Link and Scott and others "the old men of the campaign. They've been with me since 1966." Dave began as a precinct committeeman--"the best in the city" and he's been a member of city council for several terms. He teaches government at Central High. Stu Riordan teaches gov't in high school too. He has what appears to be a very vigorous, well organized group of young people, and he works hard to keep them organized. He noted that his two vans with elephant on top, signs on sides and loudspeakers were good because "the young people like to drive them around the district."

How did Republicans win in Evansville? We out organized and out worked them. We didn't out spend them. The Democrats have always been better financed than the Republicans. They ran a machine here

and I guess you've heard of patronage politics in Indiana. They had the "messenger system" where people were paid \$10 to take a family to the polls. "And they sold \$100 tickets to city employees to events that never took place." Russell Lloyd told me that "The Democrats had been in too long. We caught them in a change of candidates. And we got them on the defensive, answering our charges, playing our game."

"We have had two Republican mayors of Evansville and they were elected only once. So when I got reelected in 1968, I was the world's record holder."

"This is a marginal district. I always win by less than 55%. No landslides here. It's a Democratic district and a liberal district. My predecessor, who was in office for 18 years always had high ADA ratings. They thought he was wonderful."

"The biggest part of getting reelected is casework. I have the best caseworkers anywhere, in the district office and in Washington. Virginia Owens here in Evansville, they call her mother elephant; she's a big red-headed gal who has tremendous compassion. Oh, how she suffers with every person's problem. And Mary⁽⁷⁾ in the Washington office knows all the right people to contact. When the head of Navy Department Liaison had a small farewell party for his friends; she was there. One quarter of all our casework involves the military."

"We get 40 requests a week for help. Half of them we can't do anything about. Some we can. But they all get a sympathetic ear. That's what people want more than anything else, a sympathetic ear." He keeps listed phone at home and "it rings constantly when I'm home. We don't discourage it." Newsletter goes to 40,000 people, it generates case work. A list of 6000 campaign contributors to whom they send special mailings. A card file of everyone who ever made a request of any kind. He's big on these constituent techniques and values them highly.

No opponent yet--the man who ran against him last time couldn't make up his mind, that kept everyone else out, then he decided to drop out and only people who ran in primary were two total unknowns, one of whom won. "Nobody in the Democratic organization knew him or who he was. They are holding meetings now trying to find a viable candidate. If they do, they will persuade this other fellow to withdraw and then the Democratic committee will choose. I'd much rather have a tough opponent. I have six years of casework behind me. In fact I want to run against the toughest opponent they have, because this is going to be a good Republican year in Indiana. The President will run very well here. And I'd like to take on the very best they have and beat him." I added, what I assumed he meant, that a solid victory against a good opponent would scare off future opponents and he said yes.

As we drove from country club to my motel I asked him about sections of the city and he replied, "this is the north." "This is the east"--but never in political terms or sociological terms.

Redistricting. "I needed to gain 6,000 people. I lost a county that was normally Democrat, but which I carried; and I gained a county which was Republican but which Lee Hamilton, a Democrat, carried. I would expect both counties to switch back now." So he'll be helped a little, I would guess.

Scott told him that he had read an article showing Roger low in ADA, low in COPE and high in ACA. "But Myers was higher. You were 88 and Myers was 94." And Roger said "Well, he voted against the 10% Social Security bill and for the 20% the other day. That will make him more liberal." Apparently there is some implicit competition between the two, felt by Roger. Scott also mentioned Bill Bray.

Some merriment at headquarters when it was noted that union label was on the Zion balloons, and when you blew up the balloons, the Union label grew almost as large as the name Zion.

He talked about the unions. "They fight me tooth and nail. They send in armies to work against me. When I ran in 1966, my literature had the union bug on it and my opponent's didn't. But that didn't make any difference. Why he even patronizes a non-union barber shop."

Reservations story. "When I was a younger man and was a good deal more brash--or had that reputation--than I now am; I once went to

Rochester to check into a hotel with my reservation slip in hand. They said they had no room. I said, 'I have my reservation slip here.' 'We have no room.' 'Then I assume you have covered me at some other hotel.' 'No,' they said. With that, I picked up my bag, went over to the corner of the lobby, opened it ~~up~~, next to a couch, hung up my suit coat and began to undress. I got down to my shorts when they came over and asked me to stop. They found me a room!" Actually he seems very mildmannered, soft-spoken--but very self confident with a hidden toughness.

In the evening we went to the "Bierstrub" in downtown Evansville. It was part of the Evansville Freedom Festival. About 65,000 people sitting out on benches (young and old) out in the open in downtown Evansville in what used to be the center of town--now a 16-block empty area--drinking beer and listening to rock music--also eating hot dogs, barbecue, corn on the cob, etc. From about 7:30 till 9:45, we walked around in this mass of humanity with Roger saying "Hi, how are you", shaking hands and greeting people. After we had been there for about an hour I asked him why he did it, was it useful to him.

"These are people I don't normally see or come in contact with--they are blue collar workers, the people who work at Whirlpool. You just don't meet these kinds of people at the Chamber of Commerce or at the Country Club. Today, for example, I had lunch at the Petroleum Club with the President of International Steel Company, the President

of the Citizens Bank, the President of the National City Bank. Those people won't come down here. I don't think I've met ten people so far tonight that I know. As I look around me now, I don't see a single person I recognize. Oh no, there goes _____ over there in the checkered pants. He was a major in the Air Force and just got out."

I asked him why he didn't go up and shake hands with people in this mob and introduce himself.

"I'm shy, maybe not shy--but yes, I guess you could say I'm shy. I don't like to go up to someone and stick my hand in his face. I'm backward in that way. If I were Vance Hartke or Birch Bayh, I would start at one end of this area and shake every single hand till I got to the other end. They both go to basketball games--that's Hoosier mania around here, basketball--and start at the top row, circle the stadium shaking every hand, then drop down a row and go around again. To me that's just bad manners. If a man goes to a basketball game he wants to see the basketball game and not have some idiot politician sticking a hand in his face. To me that's just plain bad taste. I don't like it and I don't do it." Later at Das Dutchman's he said, "If Birch Bayh or Vance Hartke were here, they would have gotten up and shaken every hand in the place."

Over the total evening, he certainly did shake a good many hands--but he seemed to know very few by name. Lots of people recognized him. I was surprised how many young people knew him. His two boys were

star athletes and that helped. Earlier that day he had said, "Marge and I spent half our lives sittting in the bleachers watching one of the children compete in some sport or other." When I commented on the young people who recognized him, he said "Scott was an all-city football player. He's small but he had that instinct--played offensive guard and defensive linebacker. Two years ago, people used to ask me about Scott. This year, Randy was an all conference tackle and tonight everyone was asking me about Randy. I hate to think of what I'm going to do when I have to run on my own." He has a strong feeling for athletics and certainly finds (like Nixon) that it's a good topic to converse about. I doubt that Ben Rosenthal knows a baseball from a softball! Just a different culture or set of personal circumstances--if RZ said once, he said four times how many country club swimming records his kids held.

As part of the conversation about campaigning at the Bierstrub he said, "If you want maximum exposure to the ordinary voters, there are three ways to do it. One is to stand in front of the Great Scott Supermarkets and shake the hand of everyone who comes out. Working people go there because they get things for a cent or two less. You can shake hands there until your hand drops off--morning till night. Second is the bowling alleys. I don't know why it is, but my friends don't bowl. The beauticians and the Whirlpool workers love to bowl.

So you campaign there. And the third is events like this--the Bier Strub. They have them or something like this in every county and town in the district all summer. There's a thing called Summerfest going on now over in Poseyville." The fact that he distinguished ways of meeting working people from other activities points up that they are not his natural milieu. But he doesn't seem reluctant to go out and meet them.

I asked if he polled and he said yes--^{Buzzi}Brugee or Bruce or something like that is the company.

"Two years ago they took a poll: Do you recognized your congressmen, what are the issues, what has the congressman done good and bad, and so forth. And the results were very interesting. We had very high recognition factor. And of all the things said about me, none of them said, he's a conservative, a liberal or he votes this way or such and such on an issue--none of that at all. There were ^{Buzzi}two things said. One, he works hard; and two he works for us. Nothing more than that--for us. So we made it our theme 'Zion gets things done' and emphasized the dams, the highways, the buildings, and the casework."

When we were talking to Rev. George Downs, head of Tri-State Youth for Christ, whose kids were handing out leaflets, Roger repeated one of his themes. "I'm not going to the National Convention. Why I don't even go to the 8th District political meetings. I'm no politician. I'm probably the most ^{non-}political congressman there is. I love the job. I love

the casework. But I don't like the cutting and the dealing that goes on in politics. I haven't been to a Republican State Convention since 1964. This year, I happened to be in Indianapolis and my plane home was delayed so I stopped in at the State Convention. Everybody hopped all over me. 'Did you see who is doing this, stop this or that.' I was never so relieved as when my plane finally left and I could get out of there."

"In 1964 I campaigned hard for Goldwater and myself. Goldwater lost by 50,000 votes in the district and I lost by 25,000." I asked if he'd have done better if he had not campaigned for Goldwater. "I'd have probably lost by only 20,000!"

"This district has traditionally been known as 'The Bloody Eighth,' the home of the most vicious, brutal politics in the state. Indiana is a very political state and this district has had the reputation of being the most bone crunching of them all. Up in Crawford County everyone in the party was on the highway department and if the party loses, everyone loses his job. As late as six years ago, they went in with baseball bats to help verify the electoral count. So you picked the right place to learn about politics." Party politics is strong here. And I think RZ has strong Republican base.

But his politics is a different kind of organization politics; it's the "new politics" of PR, balloons, sound trucks, vans, hats,

stickers, volunteers, dune buggies, card files, etc. Most of his talk in the office when I first met him was about the logistics of the vans, the hats, balloons, who was distributing what where, etc. And the cap "Every campaign year we have Z day. I get in a helicopter and tour the entire district, setting down in every area, making a short speech, handing out material and taking off. It creates quite a stir. I take with me whoever needs help on the ticket-- Ruckelshaus one year, when he ran for the Senate, Roudebush another year, probably Bob Orr (Lt. Gov. candidate from Evansville) this year. Sometimes we land right on Main Street."

I asked what he thought his image was in the district, and the answer was in clear business-labor terms. "That all depends who you talk to. Because of my long association with the Chamber of Commerce and with Mead Johnson--I worked for Mead Johnson for 20 years--the businessmen think I'm conservative. The leaders of organized labor tell their members that it will be very detrimental to the labor movement if I continue in office. Let me give you an example. The machinists union think of themselves as the militant left wing of the labor movement and they tell their members that I won't even speak to them. So when they invited me to speak once, I accepted. I thought it would be kind of fun. And I gave a rational, reasonable speech talking about the economy and what I thought should be done. Some of them started shouting 'When Winfield Denton was here we got this and that.'

'How much housing has been built under your administration.' "Well the truth was that no public housing was built here when Denton was in office. He was a dear sweet man, a good friend of my parents. But he was not a hustler, he didn't campaign. He just sat there in Washington in his big chair --a big fat man, sweet but not moving anything. Not a foot of highway was laid in this district while he was congressman. But they kept shouting. I showed them my literature with the union bug on it and I picked up a piece of my opponent's literature and showed them that it had no union bug. One fellow rushed up, grabbed the piece of literature from me and started yelling 'the union bug was here, but this son of a bitch erased it, he erased!! It was real bad. Later I got some letters from the members. I don't suppose they voted for me, but they told me they were ashamed at the way I was treated that night. I've always said that if you can be rational and reasonable and make your opponent seem belligerent and unreasonable, you will be the gainer."

"The local press has been fair to me. They don't give me a lot of coverage, but when they do, it is evenhanded. I can't complain. For example, Environmental Action has listed me as one of the Dirty Dozen. Well, they are an offshoot of the Socialist Labor party and began as an anti-war group. They tried to raise money at that and failed. Then they became interested in _____ and tried to raise money and failed at that. Finally they hooked onto the environment--all as a way of

raising money. When they listed the roll calls on which they had judged the Dirty Dozen, the first was the Whalen amendment on ending the way, the second was a procedural matter on getting a bill out of committee, and the third was I forget, but something else that had nothing whatever to do with the environment. In their editorial, the newspaper commented on the Dirty Dozen and told what kind of group Environmental Action was and said that many of the votes it used had nothing to do with the environment. I thought that was a nice thing to do. They printed the facts. I like that kind of fair relationship with the press. Then people can't say I'm being carried by the paper or being taken ^eaprt by the paper." Two papers--Evansville ~~Carrier~~^{City} (AM) and Evansville Press (PM) are in same building, separate doors to their respective editorial offices--RZ says they try to have different editorial policies. That one was Scripps Howard and one more independent but same man owned both of them. Siad that last time they both supported him.

RZ says there's very little oil left in area--lot of Texas and Oklahoma oil men came up here when oil was booming. "Now they just sit around the Petroleum Club and play cards." Some of them he mentioned as having businesses and I met one who bought machine tool business. Jack Brokelman or something. At lunch one ex-oil man said that price of oil too low to have enough left to hunt for more. "You need [^]soil to have enough to drill for more." ?

At end of day I had heard nothing about the outlying counties other than Vanderburgh. RZ and Scott had some trouble locating a town where Scott was going on the 4th. Hazelton.

Also no talk of issues except he talked quite strongly about need for new energy sources. He's on Presidential Task Force on subject and he thinks we'll have to double our energy output. Where to get it--he spoke of breeder reactors, liquified natural gas from Algeria, oil from Middle East, oil shale out West. And he talked of environmentalists and their unreasonable opposition. "It will take one or two national brownouts before people wake up to our energy crisis and do something about it."

One of the officials at the Bierstrube (that's the way the paper describes it) told me that last year they sold "well over 200 half barrels of beer" which at 33 gallons per half barrel comes out to something like 7000 gallons of beer. Roger says it was a custom started by some Germans on the west side of town, which used to be a neighborhood thing and grew to include the whole city.

After the Bierstrube. "If Marge (his wife) had been with us, we wouldn't have done so much walking around. She doesn't really like it. In the small towns, she doesn't mind. But some women are very sensitive to politics of this kind and they don't really enjoy it." He also said Marge was sticking close to home because her mother was very ill. She went to Bosse High in Evansville and her parents live here.

Behind
naked
woman -
since he
sees oil
run out!

"Usually from July Fourth on I'm working from 7 in the morning until 12 at night. This year it's strange, but we're still in low gear. We don't have any opposition--not yet anyway.

When I first met him at Republican Headquarters he said that they used the same kinds of campaign materials every year, he may have said the same strategy, too, but I can't recall. Anyway, that's when he launched into his discussion of his organization, the young Republicans, the balloons, helicopter, etc.

RZ seems to be not so much the leader of anything as a beneficiary of a slow Republican upsurge in a traditionally Democratic area. Dave Koehler said "For 19 or 20 years we have been chipping away at them, bit by bit. This year we elected a Republican mayor by a plurality of 9,000 votes. That's unheard of. Their organization is crumbling. It ran on money and the money isn't coming in anymore." RZ is a reform candidate clearly--but less of an issue-oriented than a reform-oriented politician I would think. Contrasted, say, with McGovern, for whom the war issue is the vehicle of reform. Roger is a good government candidate. At one point when we were talking to a policeman at the Bierstrube RZ said distastefully, "The Evansville waterfront used to be one solid row of bars and whorehouses." Roger is the chamber of commerce-country club candidate, using the most modern PR campaign techniques and riding along with a youthful band of volunteers who want to take over the city and Vandenburg County. He's one of them, a

good exemplar (not a front man), and he is a strong conservative by inclination. Maybe all Republicans here are conservative on the issues.

But it's an interesting question: Why not pick a liberal Republican if this is a liberal area as he says it is. Possibly because there really aren't any. *Poss. bec. no money for lib. Repub. Possibly minority party is more ideologically pure* He's an organization man without being a very

political man. His workers were handing out Orr for Lieut. Governor literature at the Bierstrub.

In connection with Rock Festival at Bosse Field on Sunday evening-- where 30,000 people came and there was a very minor scuffle with police, he said. "I went over there, but the police told me they thought I ought not to go in--that it might cause some trouble. I'm considered a representative of the establishment."

He professed considerable respect for Lee Hamilton. "He's a very conscientious, hardworking, nice guy. His father was the minister of the church I used to attend."

Perhaps a small indicator of RZ's constituency perceptions was fact that on the morning of July 4th, he played golf, while his son and Brad went to the little town of Hazelton with "the dune buggy" (another part of the new PR) to participate in a parade. This was the town neither Roger nor Scott knew exactly where it was. But RZ had better idea than Scott, who spoke disparagingly about "the boonies". He put Brad "in charge" of the five northern counties. But this was very unlike either Jack Flynt (or even Floyd Spence) who was a rural candidate and who

would not likely "play" when a small town in his district was having a parade. RZ did sit all day Sunday in long Evansville parade. That's where he said one guy booed him and he gave quite a demonstration of the fellow booing. RZ sitting beside the mayor and he said 'Lloyd, just look at that fellow booing you' and the fellow yelled back, 'not him, it's the congressman I'm talking about, boo, boo.' RZ cupped his hands and gave a very animated (for him) replay.

[The next day I revised my estimate here. He has and does pay attention to rural areas.]

Still another indication that his primary constituency is not rural. He told a story. "We've got towns in the district with names like Bumblenook, Normal, Oblong. Many of them have weeklies, and I write a column that runs in 24 weekly papers. A big social item in the papers will read "Oblong girl marries Normal boy." One of few jokes he made. It's not much, but it's a city boy's joke at the expense of the rural folk. It's not likely that a country candidate would make that joke.

Interesting that Roger didn't know the quickest way to get from the Country Club to downtown. Scott had to tell him. Barber Conable would never be in that predicament, nor even Ben Rosenthal in Queens. His primary constituency is not in downtown area--more likely suburban, or on the fringes. Or it could be that streets had been changed recently in some way.

Evansville seems to have a self-consciously tri state scope. In the paper there are 3 separate columns for Indiana deaths, Illinois Deaths and Kentucky Deaths. And you see a lot of Illinois and Kentucky cars around. The term "Tri-state area" is common. Businesses are Tri State this and that and he speaks of congressional friends in the area.

On morning of July 4th I walked around the downtown area for about an hour and a half. It's 1880-1890-ish for the most part. The center used to be nearer the waterfront, but that's now the area where they have been having the festival. They tore down 16 blocks. Most of it is seedy, dark brick, non-descript architecture. On the riverside, some of the older homes had a slight southern flavor--they were large, some had columns and some the wrought iron grill work reminiscent of New Orleans. The river takes a wide bend at Louisville, doubles back on self, moves swiftly, carrying a number of logs in it, a quarter of a mile wide probably and quite impressive in sense of its power and extent of country it drains. I saw lots of evidence, in terms of very nice buildings, of Shriners - two good-sized temples. There's one modern tall building in town - the Old National Bank--20 stories high. In the downtown area, the other modern building seemed to be banks--Citizen's National Bank and Union Federal Savings. Other buildings were rather old and drab. But the walkway--several blocks on Main Street cut off from traffic, with a winding one lane street and lots of fountains and plantings along the walkway is very pleasant. Roger opposed it on grounds that the money

should have been spent (1) on improving access to downtown area and (2) on improving parking downtown area. "They got their priorities wrong." But it shows that environmentalists are active in Evansville. And RZ said that business had picked up noticeably since the walkway went in. The other very impressive set of buildings is the New Civic Plaza Complex. These buildings are low, modern, cement and glass and cover 8 city blocks. That also used to be run down. City and County administration is there, city and county courts and police, city and county school administration, U. S. Post Office and Federal Building and a new Auditorium and Convention Center. Arranged around the county and with a fountain. Very pretty and obviously a center of civic pride. In stark contrast to the monstrous, ugly, grotesque old county court house made of marble, with its domes and cupolas and figures on every cornice. It's really a small downtown. A town, not a city really.

Climate is very humid. Scott mentioned this when we played golf. Temperature in 70's but I perspired terrifically. I noticed it walking around, too, temperature was 68 and felt like 80. The prevailing weather comes from Gulf. Actually, just like its politics, Canadian air and Gulf air meet. Roger hasn't mentioned Southern influence on politics--not yet. But at Bierstrub, two men I talked to said, "This was Jim Crow country. This is where the spades sat in the back of the bus." I have seen quite a few blacks around on the streets but I have no way of gauging numbers--5% maybe. Roger later said 7%.

I think District and Constituency are different. At least the answers you get if you ask a man to describe his district and his constituency may be different. I'll have to try. That is, his perceptions may be four-fold: District, constituency, reelection constituency, primary constituency.

He sends out questionnaires and I asked him if he ever got any surprises--he started to answer and got sidetracked, "I have one right now, on the subject of aid to parochial schools...."

Kathy, Scott, RZ and I went to Otwell to the Fourth of July Celebration run by the *Civilians* --a fair and barbeque in a small town in Pike County one hour from Evansville and in that context he seemed more attuned to the rural area--but not so much at home as he might have been. Kathy: "Do you suppose Otwell will have fireworks tonight?" Roger: "They can sit on their silos and watch Evansville's." But he showed shrewdness and attentiveness to rural area that I would not have expected before we went.

"This district is a microcosm of the nation. We are geographically Southern and politically Northern. We have agriculture--mostly soy beans and corn. And we have big businesslike Alcoa and Whirlpool. We have a city and we have small towns. We have some of the worst poverty in country--in Crawford County. And we have some very wealthy sections--though not large. We have wealth in the city and some wealthy small towns. Just about the only thing we don't have is a good ghetto.

Otherwise, everything you can have, we've got it right here."

*Very old
from Hays.*

"A lot of the towns in this part of the district are relics of the past. Many of them were coal towns and the mines have played out. Time has passed them by. They won't move and they don't want to retrain themselves. About all they've got left is welfare and that's the way they want it." As old fella up in Crawford County said, "If you take away our poverty, what'll we have left." Then a long story about how some people worked to get a small business into one of these areas, spent long time training them, opened the plant and they struck. Man folded and plant set to employ 200 lies idle now.

"To me the most important thing we can do is to increase the productivity of our national resources. And of all our resources the one we can do the most with are our human resources. I'm strong believer in increasing the productivity of our people." Surely the work ethic is strong and no liberal-type sympathy for the rural poor.

2-2

Talk about his district and Hamilton's. "Our political philosophies are different but our people are pretty much the same. Yet we both got elected. Issues don't have on dang thing to do with it. Lee Hamilton is a nice guy; he's a good looking fellow; he speaks well, he's back in his district all the time, has got great PR. Every day he sends out one or two beepers to the radio stations back home--on any subject he sees that might be of interest to someone in the district.

He and I are good personal friends. We play paddle ball together-- sometimes late in the day or in the evening. He was a star center on the basketball team at Central High in Evansville. I wouldn't say a bad word against him nor he against me. I spoke in his district once. I praised Republican principles and all the Republican candidates generally, but I wouldn't say 'you ought to throw the incumbent out because I don't believe that. And I told them beforehand that I wouldn't. Even if he were a wild-eyed liberal, which he isn't, I would respect what he said because I know they would be sincere, honest, thoughtful convictions."

This discussion of Hamilton followed a lengthy discussion on Hartke and Bayh and their general insincerety. Hartke because he promises everyone everything--i.e., elderly he mentioned specifically, free everything, no taxes, two 20% SS hikes, etc. And Bayh because he signed a letter calling for Zion's defeat as one of the "ten most dangerous Congressmen." and then, every time he sees him says "Hiya Rog old buddy, how are you?" RZ finds both kinds of insincerety unfathomable and distasteful. "Every time a photographer is around, old Vance throws his arm around me. I can't stand that." Bayh protests when RZ tells him about the letter (also Ken Hechler) and says he didn't mean it to be anti RZ, tells RZ to send him a copy of the letter so he can see it. RZ sends him 3--no reply from Bayh. He said this Ten Most Dangerous list came out of the ultra liberal DSG (I think he

meant "The Group"). He mentioned Edwards, Ryan, ^{at} Kessenmeier and Reuss-- Brademas--(he doesn't really seem aware of DSG since he thought it was just the ultra liberals. Anyway, they used this letter to get money from liberal groups ["Bella Abzug is the most coarse, vulgar woman in public life. Ryan is a gentleman." He called Allard Lowenstein "dangerous" because he is smart, articulate and active. He complained that the ultra liberals "are the most influential single group in the Congress. They get more of their ideas into the media than any other group. They control the media's view of Congress."

When I asked him who his strongest supporters were, he first said, "The chamber of commerce types, business and professional people. They finance my campaigns almost exclusively." Then he put the answer differently.

"Financially my strong support comes from the chamber of commerce types, business and professional people. They finance my campaigns. But if you are talking about grass roots support, the most loyal followers are the people for whom we have done casework.. You helped Bessie Whiteside with her Social Security check and our whole neighborhood is going to vote for you." I hear that all the time. Then there are the veterans groups and the civic and social groups. Before I went into politics I was very active in the Boy Scouts and there are a lot of scouts in this area. I headed the Red Cross Drive. And the veteran's organizations. I'm a member of all of them; and I get a good response

from the Legion, the VFW and the AmVets. These groups don't formally endorse candidates, but I appear before them every chance I get and they identify with me."

Later he spoke of the Jaycees. "They are very active in Indiana and they do more good than the Rotary (where the elite meet to eat), Kiwanis and Civitans put together." Probably they are another core of support.

"My campaign expenses have been the same every year I have run--\$60,000. And every year, I've been outspent by my opponents--by two to one in the media, TV, radio, billboards, newspapers. The Democrats in this district have gotten contributions from outside groups--peace groups, environmental groups. And the labor unions have passed money into this district. Then the city workers contributed. I honestly think that's the big reason why I don't have an opponent this year. When the Democrats lost control of the city, they lost all their patronage and all that patronage money."

I'm not sure what year this happened, but I think it was 1970.

"The Democrats tried to persuade Cox to run against me in the primary and offered to finance his campaign if he would do it. He was a labor lawyer and was therefore more favorable to labor than I. And in the State legislature he had been voted outstanding legislator for sponsoring a number of pieces of liberal legislation. I don't think they thought they could beat me; they just wanted to start their campaign against me early. But he refused to do it and he even went on television to tell

the people of the offer and of his refusal. I can't see any primary opposition arising in the foreseeable future. I'm one of the few Republicans who wins in this part of the country and that gives strength to the party. In 1970, I was the only Republican in this part of the country who won. Hamilton on one side, Stubblefield and Natcher on one side, Shipley and Gray on the other--all Democrats."

*The Postcard
connection
to state*

He later noted that all those neighboring Democrats were good friends of his and that they helped each other out--whenever requested. He gave some examples. "Some of my closest friends are Democrats. Sonny Montgomery of Mississippi is one of my best friends." Also Flowers of Alabama. Later, too, a eulogy of Natcher, his competence and diligence. Again, the sense of identification with the tri-state area.

During the barbeque, he spoke of his campaigning in rural areas--which tend to be Democratic by tradition. "In Southern Indiana, the man who wins is the man who shakes the most hands. People will vote for you if they can say 'I know him' or 'I met him.' And they will say that if they have shaken hands with you. The only Republicans who win around here are the ones who shake every danged hand in every danged county. Wherever there's a line waiting to eat, you stand where it forms and shake the hand of everyone who goes by. Why, right here two years ago my opponent stood on one side of the line and I stood on the other. Every little town has some kind of festival or celebration or fair in the summer. And I did the same thing at every one." I asked why

he wasn't doing it this time. "I should, I should. I don't need it this year, but it would probably help for 1974. On the other hand, the people will see me and they'll know I cared enough to come here and join them even though I didn't have to. Word will get around pretty fast that I was here and it will be appreciated. Word gets around faster in these little towns than in the bigger ones."

Roger Davis, the *Civitan* President who was running the thing said "These people are Dutch. They're of German ancestry. They don't come up and slap your back and shake your hand. But 75% of the people here know who Roger is, and they appreciate his coming." Later he was introduced and spoke briefly.

At this same time he talked about his caravans at election time. "Each election we take a caravan of cars--sometimes with several of the other Republican candidates--and we will visit every community in a county. At the smallest villages, we stop and go to every house and all the stores. We can't do that in the larger communities. In Posey County we visited every town and shook hands with nearly all the people everywhere except in New Harmony and Poseyville. I have visited and campaigned in every single community in my district."

"I come home every weekend. As soon as the congressional business ends, I head for the district. I have at least 4 separate engagements nearly every weekend. And once I had eleven. I go wherever I'm asked. If someone calls months ahead, I put it on the calendar. I don't do the

way some people do and say 'I don't schedule that far ahead' while they wait to see what the biggest invitation will be. I take the one that asks first, big or small. And sometimes I think an appearance before a small group is of more lasting help than one before a large group."

"This is Wallace country. You can tell a Wallacite because he has a pickup truck, a hound dog and a gun. He'll give you his dog and his pickup truck, but he won't give up his gun. I got more mail, by far, in opposition to gun control legislation than on any other thing since I've been in Congress. I was running 400 letters a day. If I voted for restrictive legislation, I'd better not come home. In any other year, that kind of vote might beat me. This year I don't think I can do anything inept enough to lose."

Any other issue like that? "Aid to parochial schools. This is a very heavily catholic district. A vote against aid to parochial schools might defeat me. That and gun control together would do it; and either one separately might." He told of one good state legislator who was defeated by voting vs. aid to parochial schools.

He spoke of Dubois County. "I lose over there every time--it's not even close. They are Germans. They hate high taxes, government expenditures and welfare and yet they'll vote for the most radical liberal candidates. I don't understand it. Winfield Denton could lose

Vandenburg County by 3,000 votes and go to bed happy because he knew he'd carry Dubois County by so much." He said that it used to be 2nd largest county in district but that now 2 others are larger--Knox and _____. Later, speaking of the people in Dubois he said, "They'll tell you it used to cost one bushel of corn to get a haircut, but now it costs 4 bushels. That's the way they talk."

When we went through the Negro section of the city--about 7% of all total of 135,000 said RZ, he said "The voters here were heavily influenced by the messenger system (whereby a man was paid \$10 if he got a family to the polls). The Republican candidate for mayor put several Negroes on his advisory committee, he came and talked to their groups, he shot pool with the boys. He made a great effort in these Negro precincts. And he got 20% of the vote here--which was double what any other Republican had ever gotten before." The blacks are not part of RZ's reelection constituency.

Three lengthy stories on projects on the way home. The highway system, the Poteka(?) reservoir, and the civic complex.

In all cases (particularly the first two) his position on Public Works helped. And he seems very project-oriented.

Re highways he spoke of the EW Interstate highway which now runs all the way through his district except for 20 miles, which is contracted and appropriated for (and of which not one inch was laid when he came into office) and the NS Route 41 which will also run throughout his

district in 4 lanes and that has been built or contracted for. It was always 2 lanes till RZ got in there. EW is 90-10 fed; NS is 50-50 state and federal and he stressed how important it was to have a Republican governor and himself on Public Works. The other big point was that highways helped local businessmen. And he listed 3 very good friends who were heads of companies who bid and who had a competitive advantage because they were nearby. One is president of largest earthmoving equipment in the area. Another is President of Vincennes Steel. Another is president of sand, gravel and crushed stone company that took this stuff out of Ohio river. He knows the men whose businesses benefit and knows them personally and well. It creates jobs, too, of course, but it was interesting listening to him tell of the names of the owners of the businesses. Just more evidence of his close business connections and his emphasis on getting productive industry into district.

The reservoir--needed for recreation and flood control--had long been stalled because Indiana and Corps of Engineers couldn't agree. He got Secretary of Defense Laird to pressure Secretary of Army to pressure Corps of Engineers; and he pressured governor of Indiana and they worked out a compromise in about 2 days just before election in 1970.

"I told Mel Laird, they're going to beat me down here if we don't get something done on this project. They're saying I'm holding it up and we need some action." He's going to dedicate it next week. Ken Gray also helped on this in Public Works.

On the civic complex he told how mayor failed to follow HUD guidelines and lost 12 million--how he got special bill through exemptory Evansville from deadline so that it could change its proposal and how mayor (Dem) got all the credit and he got none. Talked some about difficulty of getting credit for what you do--especially in terms of getting to announce a federal grant first. It helps to have your administrators, but leaks can go from below. "John Volpe once said in a meeting that the 12 men around the table were the only ones in his whole department who were completely loyal to him."

draw
He mentioned also how once the corn crop was ruined by moist air mass and how he got this declared a disaster area, which gave farmers 2% money to get started again and how the "Agriculture magazines" mentioned him favorably. He takes pride in these things.

He has phone numbers to call in Bedford, Vincennes and Huntingberg ^{Washington} besides his Evansville office. Harry Caper his field man makes "house calls" and visits these 4 places regularly. He got Harry (and Bob Tunk his AA) from Ralph Harvey. Took Harvey's recommendation. ("I didn't know anything about the business, about staffing or anything else.") He's been very satisfied--Bob runs office and he hired 2 of RZ's campaign workers. All have stayed.

After the fireworks at the Festival, we went to suite of Don Elliott, a Mead Johnson executive, in the Executive Inn. I talked with Mayor

Russell Lloyd of Evansville. He said the mail would influence Roger. And he said he had worked hard to convince him on revenue sharing. "I knew he had some strong reservations about revenue sharing. But I told him how much it meant to us--that the city could die if we didn't get help. I talked to him several times. He voted for it, though I knew he had reservations. RZ later said, "It was a hard vote" and Richard Lugar, mayor of Indianapolis and Lloyd had called him a lot on subject."

Lloyd said they took a survey and found the Republicans had 70% of the under-30 vote in the City elections. He painted picture of a tired old regime vs. a youthful, personable Republican challenge. Actually, I extracted that from a more subtle and complex analysis. But he felt the Republicans were aggressively attacking and Dems were defending. Republicans tapped pockets of disaffection--policemen and school teachers were two he mentioned--plus youthful volunteers.

RZ standard greeting is a high pitched "Hi, how are you?" And he looks like Ralph Huitt.

Marjorie said, "People know they can talk to him, and they call him Roger."

I really couldn't get Roger to generalize about his support in outside counties. But, importantly I think, when he did talk about them he talked organizationally--that here was a strong Republican chairman and organization, here the Republicans were feuding (Pike County).

I sensed no strongholds in these counties and he singled out DuBois as very weak.

When we got to Otwell, I asked him whether this was friendly territory or not. "You can't be sure. But I'd be surprised if more than 20% of the people here are Republicans."

He doesn't have the deep sense of place and *roots and identification* that Barber and Jack have. But his wife comes from Evansville. At least her folks live here. At Petroleum Club, he said "As soon as I found out how nice Evansville was, I stayed."

Another union story. "I used to announce when I would be campaigning at the factory gates. When I arrived, there would be 20 or 30 guys from the plant handing out anti-Zion literature. They would even form a V-like wedge to funnel people into the plant without getting near me. It was that kind of stuff. Now I don't announce ahead of time. I just go."

No question but what the unions are his non supporters. But he spent some time on the Otwell trip differentiating between the union leaders and the followers. "Most of the union members don't care about the issues and they don't understand them. With them, personality counts far more." He thinks he can get some union members away from the leaders on a non-issue basis.

"Last year the Senatorial Committee came to me and asked me to run for the Senate. I said, 'No thanks, I've got all the trouble I need trying to get elected down here in my end of the state.'"

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Roger is friendly, accessible; a hard, good campaigner without being a backslapper; he emphasizes casework; he is well organized; he is not a "pro" in the old sense, not a wheeler-dealer; he hates insincerity and demagoguery and ^{normal} ~~home~~ political bargaining and in-fighting. *He is also very competitive - as tough, scrappy.* I would judge he is very effective in his district.

He's a strong conservative. (In his home he ticked off the first four items on Dirty Dozen list: 1) Nedzi Whelan 2) Consumer agency 3) Women's rights 4) ~~Rude~~ 21--and when Scott asked him how he voted he said "I probably voted against all of them, whatever they were. I voted against all the pseudo-ecology issues, and for all the real ecology issues." Later in the car he was talking about the Education bill. "The education lobbyists were around supporting a 'quality education' amendment adding 1.3 billion to a bill that was already 1.2 billion. They had their buttons saying 'quality education' on them. They asked me, "Are you for quality education?" I said, 'I certainly am.' "Then we assume you are for our amendment." 'I am not.' 'I'm supporting a bill that authorizes 1.2 billion for education. How can you tell me I'm opposed to quality education.'"

"If it weren't for the fact that I don't really have an opponent this year, I'd be worried about the slow start we've made. Ordinarily we would have 2 vans going and we'd be hitting all the shopping centers. Our strategy this year is to match the opposition's efforts, but nothing else. We won't have any bill boards and won't do as much media work as before. The main thing I want to do this year is get the young people

involved. We always have; but they are voters now. And my next few opponents are likely to be younger than I am. We'll do everything we can to get the young people into the campaign."

*Heavily
campaigning*

"The first one in 1964. I kept my job and campaigned at the same time. Ordinarily, I would get to the office about 6:00 in the morning, work till about 1:00 then take off campaigning somewhere till midnight, go to bed at 1:00 a.m. and get up at 5:30 and go to work. That was too much--and I got clobbered by 25,000 votes at that. It was pretty disheartening and quite a blow to my ego."

Why did you run again in 1966? "I just don't like to get beat, I guess. Besides I hated to see all that hard work go to waste. I thought I had established enough of a base during the first campaign to go on from there. I had learned a lot about campaigning and knew I could benefit by that experience. Thirdly, 1964 was the Goldwater election and I thought conditions would be more favorable in 1966. So, I hated to get beat and I thought I could win. No one else wanted to try. A lot of Republicans said it couldn't be done. But as far as I could learn, the Republicans had never had a hard campaigner run for Congress. I left my job in February and campaigned right through until November."

Later he spoke of 1968. "I came home and campaigned--if you call it campaigning--every weekend for two years. That's how I got reelected in 1968. I only (he was wrong) won by 7,000 votes. The two previous Republican congressmen, Ben Merrill and Ed Mitchell moved to Washington

and became congressmen. They got to like Washington real fine but they didn't come back home often enough. Both were defeated after one term. I went to every event I was invited to if I could. My family stayed here in Evansville." Sees himself as a hard campaigner.

How did you get involved in the first place? "I was home one day with my two boys shovelling off the driveway so that we could shoot some baskets when the phone rang. It was former Congressman Ben Merrill, who had gone in with Eisenhower in 1952 and had been defeated in the next election. He said "What are you doing?" I said, I'm going to play some basketball." He said, "Can you come down to the Petroleum Club. There's a group of us here who have something very important to ask you. I said, If you'll tell me what it is, then I'll come down. He said, "No, it was very important and secret and would I come down." I asked him again to tell me what they wanted to ask me. I said, Ben, you know I'll do it if you ask me. I always had before-- whether it was Boy Scouts or Red Cross or the United Fund or whatever. My father always told me, If you have an opportunity to serve, say yes and then figure out a way to do it later. Well, he said, 'If we get a delegation together and come out to your house, will you talk to us about it?' I said no, again, and so he finally said I'll tell you what we want. We want you to run for Congress on the Republican ticket. When I heard that, I said absolutely not, that's the silliest thing I ever heard of and I hung up. I didn't even think it was important

enough to mention to the family. I had the normal disdain for politicians and for politics that many businessmen have. I was a registered Republican but I had done nothing whatever politically. I had helped run all the good guy civic functions but had never turned a finger in politics. Well a day or two later I was sitting in my office and Mead Johnson, the President, came down to my office-- something he didn't normally do! He said, 'Roger, I've been visited by this delegation that thinks you are just the person to run for Congress. If it's your job you're worried about, forget it. You will always have a job waiting for you here. If it's financing you are worried about, forget it and leave that to me. I agree with those men, but, I'm not going to tell you what to do.' This time I did go back and talk to the family about it. No way! They didn't want me to have any part of it. So I told Mead and the others--Ben Merrill, the County Chairman (whom I hadn't even heard of and didn't know), the President of the Old National Bank and the others--I told them no. Then I left the county to travel in Asia on company business, in Australia, Japan, the Phillipines, Thailand, Viet Nam and Hong Kong and while I was there I taped interviews with many people. I came back just furious about American policy in that area and began criticizing LBJ in various talks I was making--how bad our policy was, how we were neglecting our real friend Australia and so forth. Then the same group came back again and hit me real hard. They put it to me that if I felt

as strongly as I did, I should run for office or else I should keep my big mouth shut. That put it on the line. I talked to the family again and they still said, 'no way.' But I thought about it and 3 days before the end of the filing period, I went down and signed up. Absolutely and in every sense of the word I was drafted into politics."

Why did they ask him? "I had done a great deal of public speaking in the area--giving management training seminars and speaking in praise of the free enterprise system. They knew I thought as they did philosophically--that we should increase productivity, that we should live within our means, cut down on welfare and so forth. They also thought I was electable. Which of the two was the more important, I couldn't say." He was recruited by the Republican-business establishment and was known as a conservative. Whether a moderate would ever have been recruited I can't say. Probably not by that group.

Story about his non-supporters where he was least at home. "In Troy Township over here in Perry County I always lose by about 98% to 2%. The first time I campaigned there I was scheduled to debate my opponent Winfield Denton. Marge and I and five or six youngsters with their Zion hats and balloons and what not came over in one of our campaign vans going at an exorbitant speed over the narrow country roads trying to make the 3:30 debate time. When we got there, they had drawn up a big flatbed truck with a couple of chairs on it and the crowd was lying all over the truck and sitting all over the ground drinking beer. They'd been there drinking since 10:00 that

morning--the Democrats having brought the beer in early. They were all pretty drunk. One fellow had brought a donkey around and had backed him up to Marge and kept poking the donkey to get him to kick Marge. He'd poke that donkey and then laugh 'haw haw,' no front teeth. If I'd been able I'd have seen to it that he had no back teeth either! When the time came for the debate, Denton had been "unavoidably detained" as he always was. I had been challenging him to a debate, chasing him around the district and using the empty chair to point to and ask why wasn't the congressman here to defend such and such a vote. But the local Democrat leader, a big physical man got up in the chair to take his place and debate me. The first speaker was the Democrat candidate for sheriff. He got up and started waving his arms "If I'm elected you'll have the best danged food in any jail in the country." Hooray, Hooray! "I ain't gonna hurt you ^{none} ~~here~~." Hooray, Hooray! The crowd cheered and whistled and he sat down. Then I got up, with my glasses on, impeccably dressed and began to discourse on the balance of payments, the international crisis, price earning ratios and other great national questions. Silence. Then my "opponent" got up. "I'm full of martinis." Hooray, Hooray! "I don't know what this other fella just said but he's a dirty rotten liar." Hooray, Hooray! And he sat down. These were ~~the~~ youngsters from Evansville, well-scrubbed, clean-necked and popeyed getting their first taste of rural Southern Indiana politics. Marge said she'd never go back to Troy Township again and never has. It was quite an experience."]

He sees his image as "Roger" or "Roger Zion." Said he first became conscious of it when he went to a Democratic area to be in a parade and they didn't make a sign for his car. "They had signs for Birch Bayh and Vance Hartke, but none for me. Of course, they weren't there and I was. But I noticed when I rode by that people said, "Why there's ^{the 0 Comm} Roger Zion." The image has come through nicely-- they think of me as Roger or Roger Zion. So much so that I think my next campaign theme should be just "Reelect Roger" and then beneath it "Zion for Congress"--something like that. I think we've established an easy relationship--that we are interested but not in an overbearing way."

When I asked him who he would predict his voting record would look like he said "the other Indiana Congressmen"--that his record would look ("not by design") like Myers, Bray and Landgrebe and others. Same for Democrats. Then he said his record would look like Fletcher Thompson, Ben Blackburn, John Duncan and some other Southern Republicans, I can't recall. But he said he didn't think constituencies would tell the tale and he started ticking off real switch districts which went from liberal to conservative. Schadeberg-Aspin, Laird (whom he called a moderate) to Obey to Younger to McCloskey.

"Gerry Ford and Les Arends say we want you to support the President but vote your district. What is your district on these questions? It's

hard to say. Except on those two I mentioned yesterday--gun control and aid to parochial schools. There are about 40% who want aid to parochial schools. And for that 40% it's the most important issue in the world, whereas the other 60% don't care much one way or another. One State Senator here was defeated on just that one issue--the Catholics preached against him from the pulpit. Most of the Catholics are Democrats. And I can't get elected on Republican votes alone in this district. I need those Catholic Democratic votes. And I'd lose them if I voted against aid to parochial schools."

Committees? "My first choice was Interstate and Foreign Commerce, which was close to what I had been doing. My second choice was Armed Services, third Foreign Affairs. But Indiana had representation on all those committees. John Myers and I had to choose between Public Works and Agriculture. I didn't know a bean from a piston and John owned a farm. So he got Agriculture and I got Public Works. It's the most important committee for my district of any and is more helpful to me than any of the others would be. We have a lot of highway projects and watershed projects. I'm happy with it now and don't want to change. Last year I picked up ~~International~~ Security and already I'm second ranking. It's not a committee known for its longevity." I didn't ask him why he didn't try for Appropriations. After all Denton had it and Myers got it. I sense--because of what Scott said and because RZ didn't mention him much that Zion and Myers might compete. I asked him if his and Myers district were the same and he said, yes, except that Myers had a lot of colleges. "This is a geriatric district. It

has a higher % of people over 65 than most parts of the country. That's why we've got to bring industry in here--to keep the young people from leaving. Bob Orr will help as Liet. Governor. He's very interested in bringing in new industry."

"Unemployment in the district is only 5%. I have one county at 12% and one at 10% but the average is 5%. Crane Naval Ammunition depot is the largest in the country. It takes up half of Martin County. And it's phasing down its operations. That's about 500 jobs. And Atwell Corporation in Orange County closed, putting 1000-1200 out of work." We saw the Alcoa plant--many of workers come from Kentucky--Owensboro.

We ate at Das Dutchman's--Green River Fiddlers, Barbeque Chicken and Barbeque Spare Ribs. Owner Bertie talked with us about demonstrations and welfare people. "Roger, you know the Bible says 'Those who do not work shall not eat.'" "We can't have those kind of people around. We should put them in a line and just shoot them all. That's the way I feel." Later she said she didn't mean it but Roger said, "That's Wallace's sentiment and it's typical of what you hear in these small towns."

He talked again of Dubois County voting as inexplicable on philosophical grounds. "They are the most hardworking, conservative, thrifty people in the world. On all the issues they agree with me. They are hawkish on the war. "We ought to bomb the hell out of them." But they will vote for my opponent and for Bayh and Hartke. They are

German Catholics and they are Democrats by religion--Democrats by religion."

"his toughness was his weakness"

Funny story about how he took over a case from Virginia and Harry-- of irate Hatfield man who wanted Congressman to help him with an overflowing ditch and was both persistent and nasty. Roger "the world's greatest living expert on how to moderate your opponent's arguments" decides to call guy--to tell him just what others had--that County Commissioner has that job. Guy keeps profaning Roger so that he finally blows up. "You dumb son of a bitch, if I ever see you I'll break every bone in your body" and hangs up--then paces House Office building corridor to cool off. He completely blew his top. So even most ardent and successful case-oriented man has his limits!

RZ active in prisoners of war issue. Spoke to European parliaments asking them to help get Geneva Convention enforced.

Wain

His routine. "I hold office hours here every Friday morning. I used to come in Thursday night till they took the plane off. Now I come in Friday morning, Marge meets me at nine and I can be at the office by 9:30. On rainy days I'll stay in the office till about 11, go over to the Petroleum Club for lunch and bridge till about 1:00 and come back to the office. On sunny days I'll stay in the office till 11:59 and then go out to the golf course."

That is not a bad description of places I found him most "at home"-- at lunch at the Petroleum Club and at the Golf Course and Country Club

(and at the office doing casework). Much of the luncheon conversation revolved around golf, money owed, shots made, conversations held, etc. Roger raises \$6,000 for his "communications fund"--news-letters, TV, mailings--by holding "Zion Open Golf Tournament." Eighty-four golfers pay and play at Christmas Lake Golf Course in Santa Claus. Prizes donated by friends in business. Have buffet. We talked about it with Bill Cook over drinks when we were at Christmas Lake looking for a house for Gail--who will teach swimming at new consolidated school near Santa Claus.

On Wednesday, I started out by going to Roger's Federal Building and chatting with Virginia Owens. Then over to look at a prospective Main Street Headquarters. Then to Petroleum Club for lunch and bridge. Then to pick up Marge at Rolling Hills Country Club. Out to Christmas Lake and Santa Claus to look for house for Gail. Drove through Lincoln's boyhood haunts--Boonville to Gentryville. Then to Das Dutchman's for dinner and home.

Great camaraderie at Club. My bridge partner Monty owns a farm. Roger kids him. "The farmer's must be in tough shape when they sit around here in the Petroleum Club and play bridge." Another fella says "Better watch it Rog, you'll lose the agricultural vote." Another fella, "What does he need the agriculture vote for when he's got the labor vote sewed up." The conversation is full of reminiscences, in-jokes, personality talk and politics^{plays}/all around the edges. Some

are Democrats. One man's son ran against Roger (Wayne Kent). When we first went in, we were seated at table for 2. Roger said, "Let's go over to the big table where we can shoot the bull" and we sat at a big round table with 8 people. Lots of banter and jokes. Clearly "at home." They have top two floors of the Old National Bank Building--with magnificent view of the bend in the river, and of downtown Evansville. Plush decor--lots of oak. Gold-plated faucets, etc. Monty, the rich farmer, Jack the ex-oil man and present developer, Roger and I played bridge. Monty and I won 2 rubbers and \$19 apiece. ^{Near} At the table we left someone was having lunch with a black guy with a real big Afro. Change comes to Evansville! Upstairs the little old ladies were eating and some other people Roger knew from the Country Club. He identifies with these people and they with him. Virginia Owens said he is just as much at home at the Tennessee Diner eating a hamburger as he is at the Petroleum Club. I think he can seem to be and that's a trait of his that makes him successful. But I think his primary constituency is the Petroleum and Country Club group.

Similar to Spino
RZ's dad was a boy scout executive and was moved around, which accounts for his Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin history. A strong duty-service orientation in his background which may really have worked on him re running--along with his policy aims.

Boys didn't want to move to D.C while in high school. He thinks "quite probably" Marge will move to Washington in near future and he'll come home "every other week!" At least that seems to be his plan.

One common broad way RZ identifies his district is "Southern Indiana." He uses that phrase often. Nearly always, in explaining to others what I was doin, he said "He's writing a book about politics and has come to see how we do things here in Southern Indiana." There is a regional identification he invokes. But not once in the entire trip did he talk about the Southern heritage of the voters here.

Again, regarding casework. "In fifty percent of the cases we can help people. In the other 50 we either can't or we shouldn't." Long story about gambler that lived 2 houses from them, became "a member of the horsey set, acceptable in social circles" who got caught and sent to prison. His wife pleads tearfully with Roger to help get him out. Roger says man is paying his price, and there's nothing he can or should do. "How would that look in the papers. 'Congressman intercedes on behalf of well known gambler.' Besides, I don't believe I should do it. He picked that line^{of} work, his wife knew what he was doing, they capitalized on it, he got caught and has to pay the price. I know it's hard on the kids." Also doesn't believe he should try to get kids into college as he is asked to do. When asked to do this he says, "Do you want me to ask them to drop someone more qualified in order to admit your relative?"

He talked about his own family's continuing reaction to his involvement. "They still don't like it. There isn't any trouble

philosophically. (Scott helped save ROTC.) But when they hear that their father is in favor of polluting the water and the air so everyone will die from emphysema and water poisoning, they react as any family would. They are still very sensitive to that. I'm not anymore."

AT lunch, someone said to him "Congratulations, Roger, for getting on the list of that crazy group that called you one of Dozen or something. Roger said "There are three of these far out groups and two of them put me on their worst congressman list. I called the third one and asked them How come you left me off your list--didn't you make a mistake?"

There's a fierce independent, hard belligerence that comes through that soft demeanor every so often. Earlier when he had talked about the ultra liberal group that branded him one of ten most dangerous.

"One of them said, we're going to raise a lot of money and go in there and beat you. I said you'd better raise all you can get because you're going to need it if you come after me."

When he said he had a "geriatric district" I asked him how come he didn't vote for all Social Security increases. "That would be irresponsible. It wouldn't help them. By every principle of economics, it would just fuel the inflation. Everytime you put money into people's hands without increasing productivity, you drive prices up." Marge asked him "What is the answer. What are these people going to do in the short run?" He didn't answer because we were interrupted. (His answer is

industry and productivity.) I think that's when Bertie came to our table, said we ought to shoot the people who won't work and Roger launched into a denunciation of demonstrators in Washington and how new police chief was cutting crime and not afraid to arrest people. How leaders of poor people's leaders threatened to burn down a Holiday Inn if owner interfered. "And these are the leaders." How "Insurrection City" cost the city a million dollars to replace sod and how police wouldn't arrest people inside there even though they were committing crimes like mugging and rape." How "the liquor stores did a bigger business during the poor people's march than ever before." Bertie chipped in with her experience as delivery room technician when she saw "colored women comingⁱⁿ to have 5 or 6 babies, and they didn't know who the fathers were" etc., etc. The Southern background, perhaps, comes out in fact that they speak of "colored people"--not Roger, but the ordinary people--cabbies, Bertie, Etc.

Young well dressed lawyer I met at Civic Complex to ask directions. "I'm a staunch Democrat and I've just come from having breakfast with Birch Bayh. Bayh is a wonderful man and a great Senator. But even I'm going to go with Zion this time. (Why?) He'll do anything for you. And he spends a lot of time in Evansville."

Again, the weather as nice lead in and analogy to politics. "We are caught right between the warm Gulf air mass and cold Canadian air

mass. If the wind is blowing from the South we get hot humid weather. If the wind is coming from the North we get cool dry weather. And it can change from one to the other just like that." He said this as we were walking from his office to Petroleum Club,--appropos of the hot day we played golf, the cold night of the fireworks and the pleasant day Wednesday.

A nice example of the physical side of "Bloody Eighth" Politics. Ed Mitchell - one term Republican Congressman from the 8th was the man who threw a punch at Hale Boggs in the washroom at the Gridiron Dinner I think and knocked Boggs down. Roger told the story (probably for the umpty umpth time at lunch at the Petroleum Club and everyone roared. Boggs is in his cups and says something derogatory about Attorney General Mitchell at the table where he's sitting with Ed Mitchell. In the washroom, Boggs runs into Attorney General and tells him what a great job he's doing. Ed Mitchell is there and asks him why he doesn't tell John Mitchell to his face what he was saying at the table. Boggs says something and ex-Congressman Mitchell floors him. Zion, of course, gets story from Mitchell and he loves to tell it. Climax of story as Mitchell and Zion tell it: "There's Hale Boggs lying on his back, stretched out on the washroom floor waving his arms and calling, 'Secret Service, 'Secret Service.'" Great hilarity as Roger re-enacts that climactic scene for the boys at the Petroleum Club. Much embellishment: for ex. His office gets called by press and asked if RZ knows Ed Mitchell. Brent asks "In what context do you ask?" Reporter mentions

fight and Brent says "They are members of the same political party." More hilarity. Then reporter calls Mrs. Ed Mitchell to ask if it's true. "Yes; and that's why John Mitchell is Attorney General and Ed Mitchell is not." More hilarity.

On Wednesday morning he met a group of men who wanted to drill for oil on Crane Naval Ammunition Depot. RZ very interested; so much so that he changed his schedule next week to include a side trip to meet these people. "I think they may have a good idea there. I want to meet them, get to know them and talk with them so I can present this to the Navy Department in the best way. We need new energy sources and we need jobs in Martin and Orange Counties." He was quite enthusiastic and it, again, shows his emphasis on jobs, new industry, productivity. Here is where environmental clash comes in. His whole emphasis is on work, business productivity, jobs.

He spoke of a man walking six miles in his bare feet in Crawford County to come see Roger at some gathering. The brother of Dorie Clutinger who writes him letters all the time. Once wrote and said Roger would know her at the parade because "I'll be wearing my hat with the daisy on it and will have my teeth out." He did recognize her.