

Did you do anything different in 1974 from other years.

Roger Zion

October 4-8, 1974

Thursday - October 4

3:30-6:30 Folding and stamping Go Power Express Invitation

Friday - October 5

9:30 Mead Johnson Tour  
11:00 Drug Store Campaigning  
11:30 Press Conference  
1:30 Radio Interview - Vincennes  
2:30 TV Interview - Vincennes  
3:30 VFW Flag Presentation  
5:00 John Shakes House  
6:00 Hedstrom's Cocktail Party  
9:30 Dinner at Country Club

Saturday - October 6

10:00-3:30 Pike County Caravan  
4:00 Bloomfield Apple Festival, Greene County  
7:30 Bulls-Pacers Basketball Game

Sunday - October 7

11:00-6:00 Orange County Fall Pumpkin Festival and Parade, French Lick

Monday - October 8

7:00-10:00 Ride to Washington with Roger Zion

I think economic issues superseded world issues & that's what beat Roger. Yet -- if he had not been on his getting more for himself unless he have been swayed. It looks like he was a bit of a sheep by anything.

Ready to go, Roger comes across a man who keeps to do the same thing. Always prefer the tech type that keeps him from contact -- the ceremonial, the parade, the helicopter, the lot of direct contact. Yet... Otwell, Burtish. Hand to figure out.

In Roger's district, Evansville evening news gives the height of nearby rivers--Ohio, Wabash, etc.--just indicates importance of rivers to area.

I got in Thursday afternoon and went over and folded and stamped some invitations to meet Republican candidates' wives--Senator, Congressman, Governor, Lieutenant Governor (latter 2 not candidates).

His staff is YR-ties, have counter separating staff from volunteer, stiff in conversation, little placques on their desks with name and title. At the cocktail party at Hedstrom's Chuck Kothe (the 1st guy, and wife Barbara, I met) was trying to attach his desk placque to his lapel so everyone would know who he was! Roger says he and Linc McCurdy have been campaigning for him since they were babies. Neither one has any sense of humor. And that's what I sense most about the group. They work hard, are very serious, and are humorless. But they are very young and very conservative (I guess--or those I talk to are). Many are recruited via Roger's Intern program. He takes 'em (often on favoritism basis and often with eye to future campaign help) for one month each. Some stay longer (Linc and John Shake, Vincennes). He gets 25 or 30 a year this way, looks 'em over and keeps a string on the good ones.

Maybe an extra reason why everyone was so serious was because the staff was getting on each other's nerves and George Gossard was in process of being demoted. When I met George the first day, he outlined my schedule, talked about himself riding in the helicopter with us if there was room,

suggested he might be at the cocktail party, etc. "I love to campaign." The next morning, he was demoted by Roger from Campaign Director to one of several people in charge of a specific group of counties, under direction of Joel Deckard. Roger had to deal with a bad headquarters situation in which 1) George was demoralizing others by asserting his closeness to Zion, running up big phone bills, bullying volunteers--and in which everyone was in headquarters getting on each other's nerves and no one was out in the field meeting the voters. This "sales meeting" or staff shakeup was the topic of conversation everytime Roger got alone with John Shake, or Don Kellner or Linc. They didn't know whether George would quit or not--he wasn't speaking to some of the staff. They agreed he was hardworking but that the demotion had to be done.

"We have two vans, and all we have done with them so far--is to collect \$300 worth of parking tickets. They've just been sitting in front of the headquarters. I'm sure the people walking up and down sixth street are convinced we are rich. Now we have to convince the rest of the people in the district to vote for us. So far the whole campaign has gone on inside the headquarters. It's about time to take it to the voters." RZ was very upset at the inefficiency of the operation. "The purpose of the campaign is to get hundreds of people involved at the grass roots--in the schools, in the shopping centers, in the precincts." He does not talk in terms of groups--but in terms of across-the-board kinds of targets and arenas. We'll see this characteristic again and again.

We left the caravan in Velen and went to Petersberg Highway Department to get helicopter to Greene County. Roger had no idea why we were going--

only that we were going somewhere in Green County at the request of the county chairman there. It turned out we went to the Bloomfield Apple Festival--a fair on the county courthouse lawn. County Republican Chairman, Lavon Yoho took Roger around for 2 hours and then we went and had dinner with some Republicans. The place was not even in Roger's district--and he wanted to go to a basketball game in Evansville. As it turned out, we ate a quick meal, got a helicopter back to Evansville, landed on the roof of the Executive Inn, got RZ's car and did go to the game. But RZ missed part of the caravan and accomplished nothing. On the way back to Evansville, I asked him if it was worth it??

"No way. There's no way it was worth it. I spent two and a half hours and I'll bet I didn't meet more than 12 voters from my district the whole time. I had no idea what I was going to do here. I only came because the chairman has been after me for sometime and was getting very sensitive about it. So we told him if he got a helicopter we'd come. He did and we were trapped. I'd have seen a lot more voters if I'd have stayed in the caravan and gone into Petersburg. The only reason I came was to please the county chairman. Now maybe he'll think I'm a nice guy and he'll work harder in my two townships. The same thing with the caravan today. I could meet more voters by standing in front of the Great Scott Supermarket for 30 minutes than I did riding all over Pike County all day today. Maybe I met only forty voters, but there were 50 good Republicans in the caravan all of whom will work harder for me because I showed up. There's absolutely no way to judge your effectiveness in this business. If all you want to do



is meet voters, independent voters, the best way to do it would be to stand in front of a big supermarket all day, for three days in a row. You probably wouldn't meet any of the same ones."

He returned to this theme on the way home from the Orange County Fall Pumpkin Festival at French Lick with Linc and Barbara. One of the volunteers was going to go out and talk to individual farmers in their fields today and talk for up to 45 minutes and thus try to so impress the farmer that he'd tell his friends. I asked about this two step flow idea. Roger said "I'll bet you a quarter of a million bucks--no, let's make it a million since we can't prove it one way or the other--that three good lookin' kids with Zion hats on standing in front of the supermarket for one half hour can do more good than anyone talking to one person for fourty-five minutes.... Besides I don't think a farmer plowing his fields is going to stop to talk to some volunteer for 45 minutes!"

He went back to his standing in front of supermarkets theme. "I think the most productive way to spend an hour of my time is to hold a news conference or send a bleeper or something like that. But for someone campaigning for me, the most productive use of their time would be to stand in front of the Great Scott Supermarket handing out recipe books." Chuck and Barbara don't like the idea of interrupting people at shopping centers, and there ensued a discussion of that. Roger is big on "nice looking kids" with hats on and vans and stuff like that. But I kinda

think the vans are what the kids like--the volunteers. They fight over them anyway.

What Roger does not do is what Johnson does or Thone. For instance, "I was talking to John Meyers the other day and I told him I was having a hard campaign. He asked me what I was doing and I told him I had these vans, with the loudspeakers and the helicopter. He told me that he gets in the car, all by himself, and drives to a little town and goes into the grocery store to talk. He says that by the time he works his way up to the hardware store, the guys say to him 'We heard you were in town.' He says the small towns don't like the oompah, the noise. He says that it's all over town in no time when he goes." Roger does not see himself going like that, yet he clearly is not afraid to shake hands, meet people, etc. He's very outgoing. (He did once call himself shy.) I think it's because Roger doesn't have roots in the small town that it just doesn't come naturally to him to campaign up and down main street by himself.

After he walked in the Parade and we had driven up and down between French Lick and West Baden in the traffic jam, he was pleased. "Well, folks, we met some voters today. Things went well." He, Gayle and her dog Mandy walked in the parade, Chuck drove the van with the Zion song blaring, and a bunch of little kids in hats walked along the road handing out literature. (Hayes got there late and couldn't get in the parade. But he was riding up and down in the traffic jam when we left.)

"I think one of the most effective things we've done is on the gun control thing. We've had 5000 letters protesting gun control and we've kept their names. I wrote an article in Gun Week which has been reprinted all over the country--a white paper on gun control. We sent a copy to

everyone who had written me. We did the same thing with the coal miners. I wrote a letter explaining my position on the three bills--the Heckler bill to stop all strip mining, the Hosmer Amendment which would let Indiana do what it's doing now--a good law. And I drew a chart telling them what they'd have to do before they could mine coal under the Udall bill. I had arrows and bureaus and a tombstone with the miner's pick rusting out while he waited for permission from the Government. Three big companies mine 90% of the coal. Management was no problem. They gave me the names of all their miners. But I don't suppose they read it, from what I hear."

Regarding the letter in Gun Week he said, "All the letters I've gotten on that have come from outside my district. Not a syllable have I heard from my district."

He also had indicated that he did something with senior citizens by way of mail. So I asked him what he had done--that so many of the people I saw in their homes yesterday delivering the flyers in the little towns were old. "My district is like Miami Beach. It's a geriatric district. And I think the senior citizens are a weak spot for us. Birch Bayh and Vance Hartke promise them free dental care, free eyeglasses, free everything in health care and a 20% Social Security increase every year. That's all they have to do to win the votes of the elderly. I vote for social security but, in good conscience, I can't vote for free health care for everyone. The biggest voting bloc today is probably the older people. I think that's why Bayh and Hartke win. And that's where we are most vulnerable, I think. We can't get any senior citizens lists. They won't release them."

No sense that they ought to do anything about it. I never heard once that they were going to visit senior citizens places. RZ did say he picked up from Cavan Yoho that you should vote the elderly by absentee ballot early.

On the way to pick up Roger on Sunday, we talked about the blacks, how Republicans couldn't dent the black vote, how they did no campaigning there and only knew of one black person supporting them (he had federal job), and how they didn't dare send anyone in to campaign in black areas-- and I asked if they had any special plans to do anything there. Chuck said "We haven't targeted the blacks." Barbara said, "We haven't targeted any area or any group." They would know, because they are at the center. RZ never said it that way; but they do not target. It is much more an across the board kind of approach. Yet there are no mass mailings of any kind. I helped on a mailing of 1000 and that was largest they had. 120 letters to media was their largest. They rely on personal contact and volunteers and involvement. Hence, the hoop-la.

Chuck also said that the district was "racist"--which was the first time anyone said that. It came on the heels of an observation I had already made in my notes--that I heard more anti-black stories in this district than in Georgia. Chuck said it was subtle and not outspoken. RZ is sure against bussing and said so several times. Also he blasted Birch Bayh for voting for bussing and then telling everyone he's against bussing. Roger, incidentally, gets livid about Bayh--calls him a liar, schizophrenic, left winger, etc. Part of this is natural ideological

enmity and part of it is that Bayh is in Evansville all the time pulling for Hayes. And Roger thinks Bayh is going to hurt him. Lugar, on the other hand, is not helping RZ--he isn't even showing up in Evansville. Belle \_\_\_\_\_, the Orange, Lawrence County worker, with whom I watched the parade, said she thought Bayh would hurt Roger--that he could take care of Hayes alone, OK, but that Hayes plus Bayh worried her.

"When I talk to the environmentalists, I say I don't know my opponent's name, but I see his signs nailed to every tree in the district."

Re the self made man who owns the Executive Inn and is a Democrat.

"You would think, wouldn't you, that a man who owns oil wells and coal mines and builds highways would want to help me, since I spend 99% of my time worrying about oil wells, coal mines and highway. I feel very strongly that we need to develop <sup>alternative</sup> (dime too) sources of energy. You'd think he'd send me at least 100 bucks. He's never sent me any money. I suppose he would if I asked him. But I'm not going to."

By all the measures that make sense to RZ, he shouldn't have to shake that tree to get apples. The man ought to see the mutuality of philosophy and interest.

Roger was most "at home" with the people at the cocktail party in Vincennes (which is the only event Marge came to all weekend) and, especially, at the country club afterward. There, Roger came in and started singing with the banjo and piano combine "You're a Grand Old Flag" and "Yankee Doodle Dandy" loudly. Then when we sat down, it was announced he was there and he stood up and all the people eating at the country club clapped lustily and cheered. He stood up and acknowledged the applause

from his kind of people or, as he put it, "nice folks." He was pleased with the party (Don and Mary Jo Hedstrom--he sells wholesale electrical equipment) the people, the centerpiece (which he commented on later a couple of times). Hedstrom does this traditionally and after the party he writes and asks the guests for contributions. The group was nearly 50% Democratic Hedstrom told RZ.

Chuck also said something interesting about the district--that it was more conservative than Roger. The context was abortion and I think he meant social issues generally. This probably conforms to the impression I have that RZ folds to all pressure and most of it comes from anti gun control, anti abortion, anti bussing. Hayes called those "phony issues" in a speech--as trying to get off those and Roger remonstrated a couple of times that people felt very strongly about them and that they were not, therefore, "phony." The Zion camp sees the Hayes issue positions as fuzzy--"fair taxes," "will~~l~~ government be controlled by the people or special interests." The latter does seem to be the one theme of Hayes. Other is that RZ does not get "results", but just talks and that RZ's constituent services record is overstated and mythical.

When I met Roger and he first introduced me to someone, he couldn't remember what school I came from. And he kept calling it Rochester University after that. Real good for the ego.

In view of Virginia Owen's comment during my first trip that RZ was just as much at home in The Tennessean Diner as the country club, I asked Roger if he'd ever eaten at the Tennessean when we walked by one of them (I saw 2). He said "I never heard of them."

why?  
hired  
into!  
wads  
out the  
bullet!

He was upset that Hayes was saying that RZ slowed down highway I-64 by voting to impound funds. "If ever there was a champion of highway funds, I'm the one. More than any other member of Congress, I fought against the impoundment of highway funds. I even got a provision forbidding it, (which is probably unconstitutional--into the House bill. Before I was elected, there were exactly 7 miles of interstate highway built in this district. Now, just look at that vista, up and down I-64. "Brought to you by courtesy of your member of Congress--the Zion Highway." When the governor comes here, we are going to ride on I-64 from Route 41 as far as the pavement goes--holding a rolling press conference telling everyone what a great guy I've been for highway building in this district."

RZ sends every graduating high school senior a copy of the American Creed. Then, working from those lists, he sends them all a personal note asking them to register and vote. He says High Schools vary in their policy on that. Some send him the names of the seniors, some won't cooperate, some ask RZ to send them the copies of the Creed and let them hand 'em out. But he thinks his lists of high school students are pretty good. Like much of what RZ does, I think the best stuff is done in Washington and that his "campaign" is more a way of getting people involved than winning votes and getting a reputation.

Roger spent so much of his emotional energy this weekend trying to get his organization running that I wondered whether he didn't have too much of an organization, too much coordination or fit, too little actually getting done and hence the problem that he was getting sucked into it

more than he should. But as he said "I certainly don't want to hurt George's feelings. Work and energy and loyalty like his are hard to come by. But I want to get reelected. Everything I've suggested has been 'wrong'. Maybe so, but I think I've had more experience than anyone else. The fact that we can make as many mistakes as we have and still be ahead is reassuring. Our campaign is really just beginning. So I think things are looking better. He thinks that now he's ready to go to the voters and the organizational problems are mostly behind him. But he fretted all weekend about the demotion of George--who apparently resigned, then un-resigned, wouldn't talk to anyone, etc. RZ said on Sunday, "I'm going to call him so he can tell me how bad everything is."

I asked him to explain his comment that he was more rural than urban. "In the Public Works Committee, on votes to open up the highway fund for mass transit, I vote against it. On mass transit, I vote against it. On rural renewal programs, I vote yes. On urban renewal I vote no. I just think of my district as rural as compared to other districts." Any difference between way you treat Evansville and rest of district? "No. On education bills, where money will go to the cities, I vote no. By the time New York and Los Angeles and Chicago and all the other big cities get what's coming to them the amount that trickles down to Evansville will be less than the rest of the district pays out in taxes to support this program. I tell the people in Evansville that it's a poor return on their investment."

He has this persistently long run view of economic picture. At end I said I hoped he'd win and he said "I'm going to start hitting hard in



the next two weeks. I'm going to have a series of coal pile news conferences--call the newspapers in and tell the workers at Whirlpool that without coal, they won't work." On the close in issues--food stamps for strikers, for example, he is against them, but he really believes that in the long run, he is protecting their welfare--jobs. He talks of real problem of politicians who promise everything and end up by having "one out of every four people on the government pay roll." He's got a firm conservatism.

"I've passed the point where I ask myself whether I ought to be doing what I'm doing. Anyone has to be nuts to work an 80 hour week--so I can't really say I enjoy it. But it is stimulating. I like to have a variety of things to do."

"When Bob Orr comes to town, he visits each one of the newspapers and each of the TV stations, and talks with them personally. I hold a news conference, write up a press release and send it to those who weren't there. I do in twenty minutes what it takes him a whole day to do. But he believes in the personal touch." RZ does have this ambivalence--sometimes the personal touch, sometimes not. A wild inconsistency. He'll drive to Mead Johnson to see a few people. Won't go to newspaper people individually.

*On the ride home,*  
He, again, worried the problem of where he should be--at home or in Washington. "Two weeks ago, when we were doing rotten and feeling down, my staff thought I ought to come home and stay home. They think I should be there now. Today there's an opening of a building in New Harmony. Lots of dignitaries will be there. Should I be there shaking hands? All week, there's the Fall Festival on the West Side--the biggest thing

*his idea of  
productivity  
with Meyer  
with hand study*

*See p 21*

*But this runs counter to the idea that he's not known for radical issues.*

of the year there. You could walk up and down Division street all week and meet thousands of voters. My staff thinks I should be there. What they don't understand is that I'm better off having my picture taken having lunch with Henry Kissinger on Tuesday, complaining to him about Foreign aid than to stand at a plant gate. On Wednesday I'm going to get the Small Business Award. I'll take the trophy or whatever they give me and have my picture in the paper with it. I think I should be doing those things; my staff doesn't. How do you know what you should be doing."

He said that Hayes was not running a campaign that's any different from his earlier ones (save last year when "My opponent didn't know his knee from his elbow. I tried to give him as much <sup>exposure</sup> ~~experience~~ as I could"). He also said he wasn't campaigning any differently than he always had ("Go to every meeting and talk about the issues.")

"He's not a better campaigner than any of the others. It's just that he has these national issues going for him. Ford's amnesty proposal hurt me; and the pardon hurt even worse. Watergate <sup>he was involved</sup> hurt because people are anti politician and anti incumbent."

What was his position on impeachment. "I was one of the 20 people who were prepared to defend the President on the House floor. We had a meeting scheduled to divide up the work, two days after the President admitted he had obstructed justice. The leaders--Chuck Wiggins, Charlie Sandman and David Dennis said "It's all off, we don't have a case." But I made no public statement on it. A radio correspondent asked me. "How would you have voted?" I said "That's a moot question, now." He asked,

"If you had to vote today, how would you vote." I said "I don't have all the evidence; and I never vote until I have all the facts before me." Then he said. "Do you think the President was guilty of obstruction of justice." I said "Yest" Then he asked "If obstruction of justice is an impeachable offense, would you vote for impeachment?" I said "Yes." So the headline in the local paper said "Zion supports impeachment." Then people started coming up and saying to me, "I voted for you four times, but I can't this time, because you turned your back on our beloved President. And others said they were against me because I didn't speak sooner. The editor of the paper took that position--that "everybody knew" he was guilty. You can't win." *7 p 28-*

He talked a lot about a congressman he knew. How he would be in Washington when his wife was home and go back home when his wife came to Washington. ("Captain's Paradise"). How he had young girls everywhere, had a 50% attendance record and took nothing seriously, had 3 heart attacks, the last fatal one as he was opening the car door for a young chick (after his wife finally divorced him). He won some close elections and lost one narrowly. "If a guy like that, divorced, playing around and with a 50% attendance record can win or lose by 100 votes or so, it's hard to see how I can get beat. Yet he won twice and here I am with a 93% attendance record and a 50-50 chance of winning. How do you figure that out?" Later he said people said he had been best mayor his city ever had.

He also noted that he'd been so successful at getting money for district he's "embarrassed" to mention it in his literature. "My main

issue is inflation and holding down the cost of government spending. We've been so successful at getting money for this district--the year by year graph for FHA money goes shooting up--that I'm embarrassed to mention it. My opponent will clobber me by saying I'm talking out of both sides of my mouth. So our brochures will list the figures for one county only. People in each county will see only the money for their county."

Re Dirty Dozen. "I have a speech for the environmentalists--to be given at the University of Evansville. I'll point out that they aren't really environmentalists at all." Does it hurt?" It does with people who think I'm in favor of polluting the air and the water. But you can't dignify these people with too much attention. Six of the twelve of the Dirty Dozen got defeated last time. You ask if they hurt. I don't know. I do know that they pick races that are close to begin with."

He and Ron Mazzoli met when latter got on the plane at Louisville. They joked about paddle ball and how Roger hit Ron with a ball ~~in a~~ game ~~and~~ what a terror RZ is on the court, etc. These two guys probably vote very differently--but paddle ball keeps the partisan thing from deteriorating into personal enmity. Thus the gym makes contribution to stability.

When he got on the plane, he was carrying a copy of the articles in which Hayes said RZ was using "phony issues" like food stamps for ~~stickers~~, abortion, busing and gun control.

"That may be the dumbest thing he ever said. If I were the kind

who paid attention to my opponent, I'd repeat that nine times a day. But I won't. I'll let other people say it for me." He sees them as the real issues. He noted that at Whirlpool, Hayes will be for food stamps, but that in rest of district he'll be against them. Hayessmay be able to forge a "segmented coalition" in the district.

Blasted Jack Anderson for a number of wrong and unfavorable articles about him. RZ advocated taking 50 million of anti bill board money and putting it into program to repass "killer bridges" (where people have been killed due to problems with bridge). Anderson accused him of being bought by the bill board lobby. "The guy who does the billboards in my town is supposed to be a friend of mine, but he's never contributed a nickel to my campaigns. I'd be happy to take 200 bucks from him, but he's never offered me a thing."

When I offered him the slate of activities for the weekend, he said that most important thing politically was the French Lick Parade. "When you see 10,000 voters, that has got to be important." Then he said most "productive" event was the news conference. That got me more coverage-- on ~~all~~ the TV stations and in two newspapers. So that news ~~paper~~ conference was most productive." He uses "productive" often--in a time/exposure kind of ratio or a labor output per man hour kind of analysis. It's an economic way he looks at it. And he thinks a lot about the problem of the most productive use of his time. But he didn't seem interested in ranking the other events.

He was fussing, again, in the plane about how "Everyone presumes"

that when I suggest something, it's wrong." George schedules Orr's visit on Go Power Day ("I was hosed again"), Linc won't park the van where it can be seen; George doesn't want to go to some Catholic West Side Church, etc. I commented that I think each one wants to contribute something independently. He indulges them and it drains certain amount of his energy. He noted on the plane how Belden Bell cranks out enormous amount of work. (Also Bob Junk did the newspaper <sup>montage</sup> ~~montage~~ which Chuck dislikes and Roger likes)--which helps confirm my earlier impression that the Washington office is very efficient and the campaign office far less so and RZ relies a lot on the office staff--even in the campaign. Belden and <sup>Bob and</sup> ~~Barbara~~ the people he trusts for ideas and political advice. The people back home he lets fiddle around with vans and stuff. He likes that; but, still, he feels he can count on the Washington group more. He kept saying, during the weekend, "At last we're going to begin to do the things I've been saying we should be doing for the last 3 months." He wouldn't have to wait that long to get his Washington group in gear. Bob met RZ at airport with copy of Dubois Herald, talking about what Hayes had said in the paper, his picture, etc. He has a better idea of the overall picture than anyone in Evansville--or so I felt. I never heard any intelligent talk re strategy or issues or anything from the staff--just logistics and organization.

"I get my report card on November 5th. It doesn't matter how you do on the quizzes."

Roger has had 3 polls taken--by Buzzi(?) starting in the summer. The first showed him ahead 52-38-10. The second showed him losing

ground, but still ahead 49-43-8. Then, two weeks ago, the results of the third poll came in and it was 50-40-10. But, the first results from this poll--from Vanderburgh County only--showed him at 50-50. And that was the low point in the campaign. Everyone very gloomy at this point. He now feels, on the basis of the completed third poll that he's levelled off, has stopped sliding and, since his campaign is just beginning, he's not in bad shape. In fact, he thinks he will win-- and he regards 53% as a big victory!

He said his polls showed that Hayes was increasing Roger's negative image, that RZ still had a favorable image, and that Hayes did not have much of a favorable image. Haye's campaign had been essentially anti-Zion.

"Did you see his literature? That's what I'm up against. My polls show that he's making some headway in giving me a negative image. He's calling me the tool of the special interests and the tool of the oil barons. It's vicious, gutter politics. Though it's hard on my family, it may hurt him more than it hurts me. I have a reputation as a calm, reasonable person and of service to my constituents. He's just attacking me. He's not dealing with the issues. You wanted to see politics in Southern Indiana. Did you ever see such dirty politics anywhere else in the county?"

Later, he said "My instinct is to hit back by being even screamier than he is. But under the constant guidance of my wife and others I've stayed calm. That's my reputation. He's getting 70% of his money from the unions. That's special interest. Not more than ~~50%~~<sup>40-50%</sup> of my money is special interest money."

But he  
won't  
talk about  
don't say  
what

Later, when I asked him what issues the people were interested in, he replied in terms of this special interest image that Haye's is getting across. So, he obviously feels on the defensive here and is counting on the favorable image he has banked to pull him through.

As when he said, "Thirty letters a day for eight years has to be helpful."

On the way out to the Mead-Johnson research facility, he noted that Posey County was the only one he carried in 1964, and that he had a good organization there. He compared it to Warrick. "There are two factions, each of which wants the county chairmanship. That's the whole ball game. So you always have one half of the party for you and one half against you." Very much concerned with party organization in the counties--over which he has little or no control. (Typical)

"There are no bad counties where I get clobbered except Dubois and \_\_\_\_\_."

We toured the research facility--which is set up on a one or two person per big laboratory basis. Roger was disappointed that there were so few bodies. When the first doctor started talking about the work they did, RZ got very impatient. "I'm familiar with the work and narrated some film strips on it. Can we move along and look for the people. I need to reach 100,000 voters between now and election day." When he did meet them, he identified easily, via his years of service at Mead-Johnson, his son's employment there. "If you make the stuff, Randy will sell it for you."

But, as so often is the case, the 30-45 minute trip out and back and the 1 hour tour were not very helpful. "That was not the most productive



trip. It's a long way to go to see 20 people." Which is about what we saw. He thought they were good people, active in the community, etc. and tried to find solace in that way. But he later told Marge that "I saw 40 people in 10 minutes in the drug store and 20 people in an hour at Mead-Johnson."

*Yeh he didn't*

When we went to the drug store (he had to buy something to keep from getting laryngitis). We went to the West Side, near where he had worked and where he knew the druggist. "This is the West Side of Evansville. It is German-Catholic and a Democratic stronghold. The labor bosses live here. The best way to campaign is at the Church festival. They make Bergold(?) (a soup dish) and people stand in line for Bergold and a piece of pie. I stand at the beginning of the line and say "I'm the federal complaint officer" or I go up and down the line saying "I'm working my way to the end of the line, do you think I'll ever get and casework there?" That is, he emphasizes handshaking/in enemy territory.

As we drove through the West Side, he said, "It's a shame. First, you have to join a union if you want a job. Then you have to pay dues to support 8000 paid political activists. So you have to contribute to the Bayh campaign. If I went to the Whirlpool gates, I'd ask them, 'are you in favor of gun control?' 'Birch Bayh voted for gun control.' 'Are you in favor of bussing?' 'Birch Bayh has voted for every bussing bill.'" This was the first hint I got that Birch Bayh was bugging him. He really thinks Bayh will hurt him--Bayh and the unions more than Hayes as an individual.

"Every union hall has a 'Beat Zion' sign in it. I'm a prime target of organized labor. The head of COPE came in to speak against me. Food

stamps for strikers is their cause celebre. I'm opposed to that. They get beered up in the union hall and complain about me. I used a statement by Murray Weidenbaum telling how much it cost a day in taxes. But it won't make much impact."

He said that his news conference was designed to explain "what I'm doing for the average working guy." The thrust of the news conference was that we needed a tax bill, and that the average guy would get tax relief if we plugged loopholes. He wants multi national oil corporations to lose tax exemption and also foundations. These are two groups he wants hit. And he went after them in all his radio and TV appearances that day.

It's interesting that he attacked foundations "who hire eastern egg-head college professors to do social experimentation for left wing causes" with me right there and never said anything about it to me. Either he didn't realize that he was attacking me, because he doesn't think of people as being in groups and doesn't think in group terms--or he knew he was attacking my kind of people and didn't care. I guess that it was the former--that he thinks of me as an individual and that it wouldn't occur to him that I'm one of those he attacks so strongly.

Anyhow the tax bill he's pushing, which includes some kind of built in escalator to increase your deductions as cost of living goes up, was a bill concocted by "the good guys" and worked on by Milton Friedman. The idea, as he keeps stating it, is to put incentives back in the system. RZ feels that if person gets taxed more when he gets into higher brackets that he'll lose incentive to make more. Hence, the idea of building in

some kind of cost of living escalator so that person will want to earn more and won't have it taken away in taxes and reduction of purchasing power.

He blasted the "Democrat" controlled congress for not getting through a tax bill, called their lack of action a "cop out." He said Democrats want taxes as an issue and so doesn't want to act on it.

Consistent with his idea that he wants to maintain his image of decent, calm reasonableness he is going to have others do the hard stuff for him. He had the two former congressmen Ed Mitchell and Bailey Merrill hold a news conference in which they refuted Hayes' comments. The news men called it "The Ed and Bailey Show" and Hayes said that in last 2 weeks of campaign Mitchell and Merrill will be gone and "RZ will be all mine." Roger regarded the Mitchell-Merrill press conference as 1st in series of campaign turn-arounds.

*That was  
Ch. 11*

"We are going to turn the campaign 180° around. The two former congressmen held a news conference and rebutted Hayes' comments. I'm going to hold a news conference every week." If RZ wins, this will probably be what happened, that Hayes had the field all to himself early, gained some, peaked and then RZ started campaigning and won.

Part of the change in momentum was the staff reshuffling that went on this weekend--the demotion of George Gossard.

One element in the George Gossard story is that George--as he told me--wants to ride in the helicopter with RZ, especially on Z-Day. "I think George wants to ride in the helicopter on Z-Day. To have George heave his

300 pounds out of the helicopter with a Zion hat on is not the kind of image I want to create. I've had to invent excuses why he can't ride in the helicopter and I've told him that Gayle is going to do it instead. She's the kind of image I want." There is a good deal of stress on the physical appearance of his workers. He said Linc and Don had the kind of image he wanted. And George did not. George is a big slob--but he was the only one who gave some character to the group. I liked him the best--instinctively. He seemed warm, cranky, impressed with himself, and altogether human. The others are all alike--serious, hard working, faceless, humorless, cold and not immediately likeable. They are what Roger likes--neat, clean cut kids. They look good with Zion hats on. George would look silly in a Zion hat. But George has zest and I could imagine him telling a good story. The others could not be storytellers. They do not swear much, they do not reminisce, I cannot imagine them sitting around like the Studds group reminiscing and howling with laughter. They seem more mechanical. I could not imagine a Studds volunteer with a straw hat on--it's just not conceivable. Perhaps this has something to do with the relative sophistication of the two areas. Frenzel's young volunteers wouldn't wear hats either. Maybe heartland Republicanism is less sophisticated, more concerned with physical appearances, more respectability oriented, more conventional. Here is where RZ's district's social conservatism may come into play. RZ wants conventional looking people and conventional people to give him a conventional image. (In Vincennes, when he told Tom Emison that ~~he~~ John Shake was going to take over his campaign there he kept asking Tome "Is he well regarded in the

community? Is his family well regarded? It's an old respected family isn't it?") I don't want to exaggerate George's physical appearance as the cause of the problem. But it is my impression that in a lot of ways George was an individualist and that he irritated the others because he was so unlike them.

He doesn't think he's getting a fair press at all. Says when Governor Bowen says something about him, it's page 1a. When Mo Udall "the left wing representative from Arizona" comes to town for Hayes, he gets p. 1 and a picture.

At news conference: Are you running scared? "I have 100,000 votes to get between now and November 5. I'm running the same as always. I run hard. If we would have a recess it would help. But I'm proud of my 95% attendance record and I'm going to do what I'm paid to do. I'm going to campaign, but I'm going to continue to represent the people of my district."

They asked him why he wouldn't debate Hayes. (In the paper interview, RZ said quite frankly that he didn't want to give the challenger the publicity.) He said that Bayh and Lugar had had a debate that was "worse than useless" because Bayh had lied about everything.

On crime, he wants higher bail and better organization of courts and procedures to speed up trials.

In Vincennes, he said Knox County had been getting better for him. "The main reason is that the newspaper, which used to be against me is now very favorable. The editor Bill Brooks comes from Alabama. When he

learned I had been a Navy flier as he had and when his wife learned I had been head of the Red Cross Drive, as she had, they became very friendly. I helped get their boy into Air Force preparatory school." ID and favorable treatment related very closely here.

A lot of talk off and on about Seth Dunbo, the 8th District Chairman. "He's not working actively against me, but he's actively doing nothing for me. And there's nothing I can do about it. Just between you and me I'm sure he's a crook. And I don't know why he hasn't landed in jail." He's elected by vote of the county chairmen--over whom RZ has no control. They thought they had him beaten once, but he thinks a Dunbo supporter took an anti vote out of the ballot box and put a pro vote in. Anyway, Seth collects his own money in buckets at the fund raiser which climaxes Z-Day, and RZ never sees any of it again. RZ got Mizell to speak to an 8th district fund raiser once on agreement that Dunbo pay Vinegar Bend \$300. At end, Dunbo asks Mizell if he wouldn't like to contribute the 300 to RZ's campaign, which he did. But RZ never saw a penny of it and only found out about it later through Mizell. When Seth holds his functions, he won't let Roger speak. "I get to speak last, when everyone's gone, if at all--at my own 8th District fund raiser." And he tells Roger that there's no need to hand out any literature. So RZ is plotting to have people at the door with his literature as people leave. "If we can't go through Seth, we'll just have to go around him." Several times, he sketched this scenario on which he got around Seth's foot dragging. He thinks that Seth controls the majority of the county chairmen because he has something on them.

RZ in  
front of "Red  
He represents  
no part of  
non-politics  
the technique  
mostly. Not  
by on palmist  
But hint  
a degree  
I was  
very  
imply

Re Gibson County Chairman. "Seth has something on him, but I don't know what." "Seth is mad at me because Winfield Denton had his 8th District Chairman on his payroll, and I wouldn't do that for Seth."

Whenever we passed, or flew over a golf course he would make a comment about it--good course, I did poorly there, I wish I was playing golf etc. On the way to Vincennes, we passed one and he said longingly, "If this were an ordinary Friday, I'd be playing golf. But I haven't for two months. Look at those people over there laughing, scratching and cutting up. You have to be nuts to be in this business--60, 70, 80 hours a week."

In the Vincennes interview he blasted Congress, saying it wouldn't implement the Budget Control Act.

On right to life, he noted that "Rockefeller is poison. He wasn't my first, second, or third choice. I don't know whether I'll vote for him or not." But on TV he praised Rockefeller for making people come pick up their welfare checks and thereby cutting the welfare rolls. Cutting the welfare rolls is one of the major items he mentions when he speaks generally about his position on current issues.

I asked him who needed who more--media or him. "If they didn't need me, they wouldn't print my stuff. If I didn't need them, I wouldn't have asked them here. So it's a balance." This question was triggered when he observed, after the news conference. "You can see 200 people but if TV says you saw 20000 people, you saw 2000 people."

He said he did debate Hayes once--in Bedford--because they never told him what it was going to be. "I got conned into it. My opponent did a good job. I don't need to be exposed to that anymore."

In Vincennes "The Legion hall is a good place to drop in. My opponent is not a veteran."

On radio, he said again that he was talking about the issues and his opponent was attacking him.

At one point somewhere he said he thought he'd be all right. "If Ford doesn't do anything else to hurt me. I told him I had to swallow three times to take Rockefeller, then amnesty and that the pardon was even worse."

As we drove into the VFW parking lot for the flag presentation, Roger made one of the most interesting comments of the trip. And what may be as interesting as the comment is how seldom he talks this way. Anyhow he looked in the parking lot and said, "There's a couple of pick-up trucks. I'd love to get the pick-up vote. That's the kind I never get. The only time I ever get them is when I send out my annual anti gun control letter. That cuts across the union vote. Most of the people who own pick up trucks are union men, though some are farmers too." (This is the only time I heard him mention farmers as a group except when he said that farmers make up 4% of nation's population now--but in a district that's rural, he never thinks of 'farmers' as a category. Maybe he would if I came back. How do you ever know when you've got hold of the other fellow's thinking?) Anyhow, he hopes that his social conservatism on things like abortion and gun control help him where his economic conservatism ~~does not~~. His economic conservatism <sup>gives him</sup> ~~question~~ his base. His social conservatism (which Hayes calls 'the phony issues') is key to picking up

all my  
no text



others. It is in the area of social conservatism that Roger yields to constituent conservatism and it is in this sense that district is more conservative than RZ. Here's where he feels district pressure. His attitude on health program is matter of "conscience" and he won't yield. His attitudes on social matters are more flexible and necessary to conservative Democrats.

"I inherited Knox County from Bill Bray. He started a local custom of coming here just before election, going in to all the local bars and setting them up for the boys. Harvey Ramsey, the County Chairman called and said I had to come up on a certain day and do what Bill Bray did. So we went to about 10 bars; and everywhere we went, the boys would call out, "Here comes old Harv. Harv, we thought you wasn't coming this year." Harv had a glass of wine and I had a beer in every bar we hit. I didn't think I was going to get home. After that we changed the local custom.

"I picked up \_\_\_\_\_ County from John Meyers. The first event I went to, there was a bunch of old biddies lined up, looking up at me--waiting to be kissed." "'John Meyers always kissed us.' All I could think of to say was, "He did?" I wasn't going to do it. I'm not the kissing type. John is a natural kisser. I'm not."

"This is the squirreliest district. I will carry it and Birch Bayh will carry it; and no two people could be farther apart on everything than we are. We have no similarities--at least none that I can think of. You explain it."

That  
will be  
my re  
John  
Meyers  
9/10/74

whimsy  
As we were driving home about midnight from Vincennes, Marge said there was a man who wanted RZ to call no matter what time he got in. Gayle said, "Your opponent says you're only interested in big business and not the little folks." Roger said "Well, I'll find out who he is first. If he's big business, I'll talk with him. If he's little folk, I won't."

Roger rehearsed his staff meeting when we stopped at John Shake's house. "We had a sales meeting this morning. I told the staff the first thing you do is survey the market. We've done that. Then you evaluate your product. We've done that. Then you evaluate the competition. We've done that. Then you plan your advertising and promotion. We've done that. Then, you go out and sell your product. That's what we're going to do now. So far we've been talking to each other. Now we've got to talk to the voters. We've all got to become salesmen. We've got to turn the whole campaign around.

Someone asked, "is it close?" RZ "Yes." "Are you worried?" "No, I figure if I'm working 80 hours a week, it's the other fellow who ought to be worried." Some hint another time that Hayes is lazy.

There's a lot of talk, in the rural areas of somewhat shady election practices--especially what money will do, looking to see how people vote when they're in the booth, "voting nursing homes," spending a lot of money on election day. "I'll bet we could vote you in Orange County." I had a nice talk with Knox County Chairman, Harvey Rumsey at the cocktail party. He complained about the erosion of the 2% kickback custom, he bemoaned fact that though Republicans had a few county officers "there's no

patronage there. The county commissioners let out all the bids (and then get 2% kickback from contractors) and they're all Democrats." Said post office positions should not have been taken out of politics and generally praised patronage politics and bemoaned its decline. Said he hoped that on election day, the officials at the polls will not get "too technical."! Harvey was real good to me, introducing me to the editor of the Knox County Daily News, the guy from <sup>South</sup> ~~both~~ Africa whose wife bought him the paper.

RZ told another story of money and politics. "The first year I ran, the Pike County Chairman called just before election and said "Where's the money?" He said, "If you don't send me the money, I'll stand out in front of the polls and tell everybody to vote against you." That's the year I lost by 25,000 votes."

"In Spencer County, they tell me, 'We'll collect the money and we'll spend the money.' I never see it. And they spend most of it on election day."

He spoke of previous situation in Pike County. "All they did was fight among themselves. Everytime I'd be asked by some group to come into the County to speak, the Chairman would say "No, don't come, those people are my opposition. So I'd say, 'Why don't you have something and invite me to come.' "no, he'd say, that would just stir everything up." I didn't speak there in four years. We have a better one now." We met him, the day of the caravan--Alan Gladdish.

"To qualify to be a county chairman in my district, you have to weigh at least 300 pounds. If you are taller than you are wide, you are

disqualified." Again, the appearance thing. The two I met were, however, as advertised. He seemed to make an exception, to everything he said, for Don Cox, the Vandenburg County Chairman. He noted how well organized he was, how he knew who he had registered (whereas others didn't). He said at one point. "If you had to have just one well organized county, it's good to know it's Vanderburgh."

I tried to get him to think about the difference between Vanderburgh (or, Evansville) and the rest of the district. But he does not think that way (not at all like Charley Thone). I asked, "Is there any feeling between Vanderburgh and the people outside in the county." He answered "Yes, but Vanderburgh makes up 30% of the vote, so you have to concentrate there." The implication was not that you treated one differently than the other but that you spent more time where the voters were. Later on, he said Yes when I asked him if he campaigned the same way in Vanderburgh as Orange (or some county like that). As he said in Washington, and as I've observed in these notes, he does not differentiate sharply among groups of voters. He tends to see things pretty much "across the board." And he behaves that way. Not easy, therefore, to translate his perceptions into coalition-type perceptions.

Our caravan in Pike County took us about 100 miles or more, through every town in the county--some of them consisting of one general store and six to eight houses. I recall the trip from Union to Oatsville on a dusty, dirt road. A 27 car caravan can kick up an enormous amount of dust. I chewed it all day. Each candidate had a car. We were about 4th in line and we played our loudspeaker as we went. We drove through some pretty

poor rural areas with our music blaring "Things are gonna be great, things are gonna be grand"--if you just vote GOP. It seemed very incongruous and not terribly sensitive to the problems of the rural poor. But Roger seems to like it. "Let's give em a little music!"

We would stop in each little town--overwhelming it with cars and people. Our girls would hop out with their Zion hats and go put leaflets in the doors. I did some "leafletting" in the larger towns--Winslow, Stendahl, Pikeville (without a hat!)

RZ "The purpose of the campaign is to get hundreds of people involved at the grass roots. A caravan of 40 cars in a town of 30 people--that's involvement."

When the caravan would stop Roger would take his recipe books and hunt for hands to shake. In one small town he went up to a guy and shook his hand. The guy said "I'm a member of the caravan!" RZ said "I can't tell the people in the caravan from the customers." There were far more of the former than the latter.

We rode through pretty, woody, hilly country with corn, soy beans (two biggest crops), played out oil wells and lots of strip mines visible. When we were in Warrick County driving to ~~the~~ French Lick, we saw lots of strip mines and one shovel working (one shovelful of coal fills 2 box cars). He said 1/2 of Warrick County is strip mined, and that this area is a big coal producer. We saw strip mines from the helicopter too. They form ridges in the earth, some of which have been reforested, some not.

Roger's position on strip mining is that you need coal to keep industry going. The guy who drove us to the helicopter paid is a mine

worker and he was telling RZ how the miners were down on him--for his vote ~~vs~~ occupational safety agency and on strip mining regulation (Udall bill). RZ took name of one miner he said he'd call and explain his position. As Rod \_\_\_\_\_ said "You're not getting through to them, Roger." RZ's position on OSHA(?) the occupational safety bill was this. "I don't vote for these so-called consumer protection bills like OSHA. They just hire thousands of people and build up a big bureaucracy. Do you think the mine workers or the workers at Whirlpool want to pay taxes to support that kind of government bureaucracy. I have too much respect for the average man's pay check." He also said something to effect that where you have these consumer protectors, they can come in anytime, set regulations that might shut down your business.

RZ has no roots in Evansville. "I had no connection with Evansville. Marge lived here. And while I was waiting to go to law school I came and took a part-time job with Mead Johnson. I've been here ever since."