ITINERARY

Friday - October 23

7:30   Eddie Meath TV
8:00   N. Y. State Apple Growers
12:00  N. Y. State Bar Association
5:00   Walking tour - North Chili
7:00   Walking tour - Greece Towne Mall
9:00   9th Ward Card Party

Saturday - October 24

1:00   Lancaster
7:30   Gates Republican Dinner
10:00  15th Ward Party
11:00  Alden Party
       Whistle Stop Inn

Home at 2:15 a.m.
"My opponent has just about withdrawn from the race, and that's been a great disappointment to me. Campaigning becomes a drudgery without stiff competition. I suppose I shouldn't complain. About a week before our Channel 21 debate, my opponent called in and said, 'I'm not a serious candidate so why should I expose myself by coming down to debate. I'm not coming in.' The conservative called and said he had to work and that was more important than a debate. So a lady from the League of Women Voters asked me questions. My adrenalin was up so high that I sank my teeth into her lovely white neck a couple of times before I realized that I didn't have to be so aggressive. Maybe I should be holding premature victory celebrations, but then the thought occurs to me, 'what would happen if I were defeated?' That would be humiliating. Ever since then, I've had a strong temptation to sit back on my haunches.

Difference between Conable and Horton at Apple Grower's Meeting.

Conable tears into the import-export problem, technical language, etc. Horton says he's talked personally with the Secretary of Agriculture and that he's had one of his growers on the phone with Hardin. Horton's aide keeps running up with notes. Kept saying what he had done, called growers by name, etc. BC thinks FH "must be very unhappy with himself"--he's "laughable" in Congress and Party--going nowhere. People in district come to him for help on important problems.

Reform necessary to maintain credibility and responsiveness - he quotes Burke, "An early reform is an accommodation with a friend; a late reform
is a capitulation to an enemy. "At lawyers' speech, "I have an ash can memory."

Don Lubick called BC a typical, one of the finest in Congress - said he was a Radic-liberal and he'd vote for BC "for any office."

Topics on way to luncheon with tax lawyers

Seniority reform

Legislative reorganization

His career - a lot less interested in going along

"It's a wonderful feeling to know that you have options, that you aren't caught up in a box and can take fresh starts if you wish. I'm having a lot of fun now in Congress, but I don't have to stay there if it stops being fun. I have lots of options. It's more fun since I've been taking on the establishment. I like the work that's involved, and I like taking on the establishment. I've gained in confidence since I first came; and I'm much less interested in going along then I used to be. I'm not committed to a career in Congress."

This represents quite a change in view.

"I have a lot of options inside Congress too. I have to decide whether to go for the leadership in the 92nd Congress. Gerry Ford wants me to try for Bob Taft's job as head of the Research and Planning Committee. So does John Anderson. It would be a leadership position. I would go to the White House every week. And I'd have a chance to set long-term Republican Party Policy."

Then he went into fact that White House wants him to lead in Revenue
Sharing debate. And how this puts him against Mills and Byrnes. "Wilbur is upset at me because I'm disrupting his consensus. I've had trouble with him on the Trade bill already. And he and John Byrnes think revenue sharing is a gimmick." Barber went on to say he didn't care.

Re Seniority. "It was like a cracked bottle. You tap it and it all falls apart. I was amazed." Same with legislative reorganization bill. There were 7 of them who coordinated on Amendments--picked 11 and got 9. Everyone congratulated them for marvelous organization. But his point was that there was a constituency waiting for someone to take lead. The seven were Barber, Steyer, Dellenbach, Carman, Gibbons, Rees and . . .

He said seniority reform would not have been accomplished if he hadn't taken it on. First real individual accomplishment in Congress, he felt.

"I have always used the soft-sell. I don't spend any time in image-making. My image is that I have no image. Maybe that's a cynical thing to say."

"If an incumbent doesn't have the election won by the time the campaign begins, he's in trouble. If there is a big bloc of dissatisfied voters at election time, he'll have a difficult time confronting and dissuading them. For me, the campaign is a time for reassurance that I'm still the same old Barber and will still come around to talk with them. The most important thing is that you don't seem too big for your britches. You don't want people to say, 'What happened to Barber? Why doesn't he come around anymore?'"

Told how he left Buffalo; there were two reasons--he wanted to get out of Buffalo--company (the law firm of Cleveland & Fillmore) wanted him to be a corporate tax expert and he didn't want to be that narrow.
Everyone thought he was dead. They said, "You'll bury yourself in Batavia and never be heard from again." A Judge Fish had arranged for him to prosecute the pinball rackets and make a name for himself in Buffalo--Judge said Barber was a fool, etc. Later, in 1952, he had a chance to be District Attorney in Buffalo (No. 1 Ass't) and turned it down. Interesting he should want to be a generalist and go into practice with his Dad in a small town.

Saturday

Tom Benton - maples, barn, grape arbor, corn, "enough blue sky to make a dutchman's britches" on day we left for Lancaster. The contrast with Mike Goldenthal's 27th floor apartment with the view of Manhattan to Throgs Neck Bridge, the modern rooms vs. the country home contrasted the campaign.

Both Conable and Rosenthal have been bitten by reform--experience has changed them some. Barber re. his quote about Burke, "I'm getting some criticism about my reform efforts. And I'm a little sensitive about it. I want to tell people that reform is one job of a conservative. A conservative has to make the system work."

We talked at lunch about John Gardner--he thinks it naive--especially that he should ask congressmen for contributions. He wants to protect him--wrote him letter saying he ought not to expect too much. "I feel very protective about John Gardner. What I value most is his optimism. I've read everything he ever wrote. I find them reassuring. Some people find them superfluous because of the pall of optimism. But I find them reassuring." He had John to S.O.S.--John took him to meet with Herskell of Time-Life. He told Republican candidates at the school he ran to quote Gardner in the suburbs. He contributed to Common Cause.
Lots of talk about the ticket. "I'd like to run just once when the ticket is not an embarrassment to me--just once." This time, it's Goodell--"He'll cost me 10,000 votes. I suppose I shouldn't worry with a margin of 45,000 votes. But people will vote for Buckley and stay on the conservative line."

Then talk re. Joe Campbell whom Barber is helping in every way he can--as method of keeping strong in Gates. Also talk of State Senator Bill Adams in Genesee County--he was cleared of perjury charge and Barber is not helping him--considers him a crook--County leader trying to get them to a cocktail party together. "I'll just/we need a Republican Senate. But I won't help him personally in anyway."

Spoke of how he had to have own fund raising operation in each county and how he can't rely on regular organization to do anything. Leaving the card party last night, he said, "The organization just gives you a peg to hang your coat on. They have the party. But the candidate has to take all the initiative in promoting himself. They won't do a thing." Today, he said, "The only county where I could be in trouble is Monroe; that's because they are organized. They might cut me out for some reason--I might seem too independent for them. I've been pretty independent on some things. They flirt with labor and call me to vote for picketing--but I go my own way. I think they'll avoid an open confrontation at all costs. They won't dare take me on." Then a lot of speculation about re-districting. He talked about that yesterday--that he wasn't going to get tense about Erie County--would get a newsletter into the area next fall. "People are confused and upset. I have to spend most of my time explaining about the 37th District. They still think they are going to vote for Jack Kemp. I'll get even less than
the normal Republican vote. They'll see that Jack Kemp isn't on the ballot and they won't vote."

In Lancaster it was the first day of hunting season and Dick Young said he didn't think they could find a man anyplace in town. Hard to campaign. We addressed and stuffed envelopes for BC brochure and Dick's letter--then to Orioles bar--few people there--BC didn't enjoy that.

Tom Benton - "We decided to do a mailing in the weakest districts in Greece. But when we checked the election statistics, we found that the weakest district was one in which he got 64%. So we're mailing in those districts where Barber got less than 70% of the vote." Barber - "It isn't that we want all the votes, just that we've got all these brochures!"

In 3rd Ward, they've taken two adjacent districts where vote for Conable was the same and they are doing a complete mailing in one district and nothing in the next to see what will happen. "That must be a mark of our confidence; we're running an experiment!"

On way to card party

"If I was in trouble, I wouldn't go to these party rallies. I'd go to the shopping centers, as I did in my first campaign. I ran my legs off to the knees."

In 3rd Ward, Charley Woods has insinuated himself into Barber's staff--Barber skeptical at first but Charley has proven his value, gets paid $50 a week and will take Barber on a walking tour.

Re 11th Ward - "I won't do anything there. It's a deteriorating ward and is my very worst. Mostly Blacks and Italians. The Blacks don't like me because I'm a Republican; the Italians don't like me because I vote for civil rights. And they are such a low income group that they can find fault
with me on a number of counts. Low income Blacks are moving in and the Whites that have stayed are feeling squeezed. There is no Republican organization there whatsoever." This represents a ward where he won't fly the flag at all.

Two nice stories about Albert Watson

(1) When he turned Republican, he got a call from H. L. Hunt - congratulating him, telling him that he was just the kind of person Hunt wanted to support and would he like some help. Watson eagerly agreed. A week later a semi-trailer pulled up at Watson's with 30,000 copies of Hunt's latest book! Said Watson, "We burned them in the furnace all winter."

(2) At first Republican Conference this year, there was a move by conservatives to purge Republican liberals. Watson got up and gave a speech saying that what Democratic party had done to him and he didn't want to feel ashamed of Republican Party. He turned meeting around totally and was only person who could have done it. "He's a hell of a bright fella, but he's a racist."

Barber is growing - no doubt about it - he's enjoying his reform posture and he uses it in his speeches--some of them. I quote from one radio speech he wrote. "I believe a good congressman must try to balance both initiative and judgment. He should bring new ideas to government, but should also take the responsibility for passing intelligently on other people's ideas. He looks for a rational overall pattern, rather than a few isolated causes. A representative must understand the limitations as well as the opportunities of government, by over-promising, even though it might give him a short-term advantage to do so. He must constantly strive to maintain a positive and honest relationship to his constituents and his colleagues.
More than anything, a good Congressman must work constantly to make our system of government meet the needs of the people. If reform is indicated to make the system responsive, he must not fear reform. I took an active part in a number of serious reform efforts in the recent Congress. He then mentioned postal system, tax, welfare, Congressional reforms. The speech was essentially two paragraphs, one the credo; two, the list of reforms.

Re people in Lancaster - "They're a little nervous that my district includes half the city of Rochester. So here I have to trade in the fact that I live in the country - in Alexander, nearer to them than to Rochester. Actually, they feel left out here. Buffalo dominates Erie County politics and maybe they won't mind being represented by someone who lives nearby."

At dinner, we talked about why he emphasized reform in his speech. He said he was nervous about being cast as a reformist. "I'm nervous and therefore, I'm aggressive." Then after some inconclusive talk, he said, "Who knows why I do what I do." [Life is just fragments or something like that - idea of pattern not very appealing to him. Said Harry suggested the reform but anyway, I said I thought he was having fun with reform and he agreed.

Long talk about his 1st primary for State Senate as "high point of my career." In 1964, when he won everyone else lost and many of his people thought he had lost, too. So he couldn't celebrate--story of Ostertag stunned, in hotel room, saying "They got ________, ________," In his 1st primary, he ran very hard, wife was campaign manager and they did it together. "It was a brassy thing for a person with no experience to do and we ran it in a brassy way. On my key card, it said in three places that I was 'qualified.' And by the end of the campaign, people were saying that "at least Conable is 'qualified.'"
He didn't have hardly any member of Genesee County Republican organization on his committee that ran campaign—a volunteer group, recruited outside the organization. His lack of faith in the organization started early.

Re his reform work in Congress. "I didn't do it by brilliance, but by working hard, consulting everyone that should be consulted and by touching all the bases. Not too many people in the party are willing to do that."

"I have a very compatible relationship with my constituency, even the ones who come up and chew on me and say, "We don't blame you." My newsletter is my greatest asset there. I'd rather have 30,000 people feel close to me and know me than have a name recognition with two or three times that number. Maybe I'm wrong, but that's my approach." "When you are campaigning, you rarely hear from people who are mad at you. People avoid unpleasant confrontations. The ones who talk to you are friendly; those who are mad at you go skittering away in the corner. Every politician is surrounded with friendliness."

"When I walk down Main Street in Batavia, I go with the sickliest smile fixed on my face, saying hello to everyone. Four out of five say, "He remembers me." One out of five say, "What's the matter with him?" But 80% is probably a good percentage."

Where do you get bad news—"from here and there"—Bobby (of Barbershop Quartet) told him he was in trouble in Hilton because he couldn't get them door to door delivery—so he sent special letters there. He mentioned another instance, too. "I was afraid about Greece when the campaign began. But Bill Steinfeldt took a poll and showed me so far ahead of the ticket, it wasn't funny. Now I'm relaxed about it."

Talked about effect of his life on wife—she was very involved and now isn't. She's out of it. "I don't suppose she's very happy about our life
now. She never says anything about it. But she's not really a part of my life here. She doesn't know the people I've become close to here. She doesn't know Dick Young from Adam. There really isn't anything she can do to help. She feels like she's left out, not a part of it. And she isn't. But that's just the way it has to be. She felt bad about it, but couldn't do anything about it really—not at this stage.

At the Whistlestop Inn amid the rock band, smoke, and pitchers of beer, he got a chance to get to the microphone and he made his pitch. "You may think that you're getting a big city congressman, but I want to say I live in Alexander, just down the road-a-piece. I'm a lot closer to Alden than to Rochester." He said afterward, "You have to build bridges." Also, "Bill Dwyer is my major chairman. What does he know or care about these people?"

On the way to Alden, he talked a good deal about the Genesee Historical Society and how he had talked at the dedication of the new wing, trying to give them a shot in the arm and charting new directions for them. He donated a table he bought that came from Millard Fillmore's house and gave them a fifty dollar check to start a fund to allow the museum director to buy historical items when they came up for sale. He expressed great pleasure at being able to have some influence here—using his office to have impact on community along lines that interest him. He's very interested in history of area. Once was program chairman of the Society and brought older leaders in to talk, on tape, about changes in Genesee County in farming, business, medicine, politics, etc. Then the Society lost the tapes and he was mad. This trip there was Indian history than the last trip, but he did give me some on our way from Leroy to Churchville. "I can still give a pretty good talk on
the pre-history of this area. I've kept up my interest in it." But on that ride from Alexander to Rochester, when we poked along because we were so early, he amazed me by knowing something of the families who lived in all the nice old houses I pointed out.

"I must say that I would be acting very differently if I had a hard campaign. In my first Senate race, I'd stop the car to shake hands wherever I saw two or more people together. We wouldn't have these long pauses we've had today." At this point, we were really "killing time" eating in McCombs Restaurant in Churchville.

The 8th Ward is really something--John DeCeasre's ward. There, they crank out the Republican vote without any trouble. The Republicans always carry it and every Republican wins by the same amount. When I first ran, I went there to make a speech and John DeCeasre drew me aside and said, "I'll tell you what to say, no speeches, just say what I tell you." So, I said, "Well, what do you want me to say?" He said, "I'm the candidate for Congress. I promise to follow the traditions of Jimmy Pecora and to give the personal service that Harold Ostertag did." So I said it and when I stepped down, he grunted o.k. or something. I didn't have any idea who Jimmy Pecora was or what his traditions were and I still don't. That's the first and only speech I ever made in the 8th Ward." JDC heads a hierarchy--BC deals with him on favors for people in the Ward.

Talked about 15th Ward and how wife of leader, Mary Galardi, was cool to him until she asked him if he was a "Christian gentleman" and after he told her he was active in Methodist Church, she said she was relieved and has been great supporter ever since. He was only Republican to carry 15th Ward last time and he thinks it's largely due to the Galardi's.
"I'm strong in Darien because I have opposed the building of the Sandridge Dam. It will flood out 89 families. It's the result of bad planning downstream where the new University of Buffalo will be built in a swamp. Besides that, there is no need for recreation, with Darien State Park still mostly undeveloped. So I can oppose it with a clear conscience. I'm taking a hard line now, trying to force some alternate planning downstream. I'm sure I've got enough good personal relations with Public Works Committee members to stop it if I want to. I may have to back down later; but not now. The farmers I talked to tonight wanted me to reassure them in person that nothing is going ahead right now. And I did."

Talked of how Trucking Industry offered him $1,000. He said he'd take $50.00 and they should give rest to Rep. Cong. Camp. Comm. They said OK, if you take it and give it to Camp. Com. BC said no. Then they said, OK, if you designate people you want to help. BC said no. They went and called back a little later unhappy. BC told them he had already told Rep. Comp. Com. that uncommitted gift of $1,000 was coming from Truckers. A week later, he called Comp. Com. and they had received the $1,000. Shows how firmly he wants to stay uncommitted.

Bob McEwan set up meeting with Clifton White who tried hard to get BC to support Buckley. BC's position is "not unfriendly to Buckley" but said he would not come out for him for two reasons: (1) believes in two-party system (2) "My local political leaders are supporting Goodell. And I don't see myself as a local political leader taking initiative in these matters. A representative can be a local leader if he wants to be. I don't want to be; I support my local leaders in matters like this. If you want to convince me, convince them."
He talked about R'pon Society endorsement and a couple of times kidded with Tom about "us R'pon Society types." Actually, he was upset. He doesn't like to accept endorsements and refused ACA endorsement. But R'pon did not even ask him, just did it. Now, he appears lopsidedly liberal and wishes he had ACA endorsement to balance things. "It will cause me some trouble with my conservative colleagues in the House." R'pon endorsed him for legislative reform fight.

At different meetings, he performed differently--but nowhere did he stress the issues--mostly party-oriented people. At one point he said, "I don't have any theme for my speeches this year. Maybe I should have, but none has developed."

At a 9th Ward card party, he was the M. C. introducing all the local candidates, praising them all in traditional fashion.

At Gates Party, he spoke mostly in support of Joe Campbell for State Senate--urging Gates to work hard to give him by plurality and praising Gates Republicans for their esprit and force. Then mentioned Carroll and "greatest governor in N. Y. history, Nelson Rockefeller." Afterward, he thought maybe he pushed Campbell too hard and not enough for Carroll who is new town leader. Thought maybe he has a thing about Campbell. Actually, though he didn't mention it in this connection, he does see Jim Powers as greatest threat to him in Democratic Party; and if Campbell beat Powers, he'd be helped. He clearly has more interest in Campbell race than anything else, and it is self-interest--though he never explained it as such. He says Gates Republican organization is only one that gives him strength in the whole district. He sees it as more conservative than he is, but he rides with it. Says that some people in Gates feel he has "adopted"
Gates as his town. He sees Gates as Italian and we debated whether he should tell ethnic joke. I said no, that Gates was also very Irish and that there was friction there. He decided not to. But to him Gates is Italian, law and order Agnew-oriented party. Their support for him is a boon because he doesn't have to work Gates on a personal basis the way he works Greece--where he hasn't even met Fred Eckert, the Supervisor. At least that's what I think he said.

An incumbents' advantage--BR and BC both--he gets to speak early at functions so he can't leave--people assume he's very busy.

At 15th Ward party, we came late. He took the mike during dancing and said, "This looks like a swinging party--just like the 15th Ward. Vote early and often. Thanks very much."

At Alden, he made the "local boy" speech noted earlier.

At Lawyers' luncheon he worried about that speech. Spoke of W & M Committee, what was done last year, what may be done this year (re. taxes - especially, gift and inheritance) and ended with plea for reform. "That was the only mind stretching speech in the last two days." He said afterward that he should have had notes, that he "escaped without major bruises" etc. Actually, it went splendidly--he shows wit and intelligence and fluidity in his speeches--without notes. He did this for Don Lubick  "No mileage in it for me--useless."

He said a couple of times that the days hadn't been "rewarding" but when I asked what possible could be "rewarding" at this point, he couldn't think of anything. Like BR, he's going through the motions.
"This problem" of the Sandridge Dam is giving us more headaches and worries. Really, it's just a small, insignificant project--of no great importance in the large scheme of things. Only 89 families are involved. But a congressman is elected to look after the interests of all his constituents. And they all expect me to help take care of their affairs. I could just drop the subject, but it would trouble my conscience. As far as election results are concerned, I could write off the town of Darien and the town of Alden and never feel it. But I don't want to and I won't. I don't know what I'll do eventually, but I want to keep every bit of bargaining power I can to help these people. The State people think I have more power than I have. I can make trouble, but not as much as they think I can. I can't control the Public Works Committee--it's run by the Democrats and it's a backscratching operation. The only reason we were able to amend the authorization bill was because the Democrats aren't in love with Max McCarthy. But the governor thinks I'm a big obstacle and he's absolutely hysterical. He doesn't even understand the plan. He doesn't realize that the University and the new town are both safe without the dam. If they want the dam as badly as they seem to, we'll have to give in. But I'm not sure why they do want it so. If they get it, they'll have to make the human adjustments that will help the people of the area with their problems. I'll fight for that human consideration. Some of these families already been moved once in the last 3
years. The whole thing is a great problem for me. In the end I'll have everyone mad at me--the governor, the state authorities, the Corps of Engineers, the Public Works Committee and the 89 families. They think that just because I'm the Congressman I can control all the machinery down here. I can't win, but I can't let go of the problem either. It's such a nickel and dime problem yet so troublesome."

Barber talked about running for the Research Committee post. "I'm in a Scammellseque position, I occupy so much of the middle that the candidates of left and right are dropping out. (Brad Morse and Jim McClure)

There's no one running against me. John Byrnes has chewed me about that and Gerry Ford was unhappy. John says I'm tired and overworked and who else can help me run the Committee if you don't. Gerry thinks you should spread the action around. But why shouldn't I run. I've got as much right to entertain myself as anyone else. I hate to get on a plateau. If you're going to be here I might as well go as high as a man with my modest talents can go. I'm a nice guy but I'm not going to be a great leader. Still, what good is it to stay in the House and just make a pretty silhouette."

He doesn't think he'll have Erie County towns in next redistricting.