

Barber Conable

October 13-14, 1974

Sunday

9:30	Our House
10:00	Greece Methodist Church - Lay preacher
11:15	Greece Baptist Church Forum
1:00	Flag Presentation - Chili Fire Department
2:00	Holland Purchase Historical Society - Batavia
4:30	Batavia Club, Batavia
5:30	Lima Republican Steak Roast - Lima Country Club
7:30	Wheatland Republican Cocktail Party - Oatka Inn

Monday

10:00	Interview with Zionist Newspaper Group
12:00	Speech to Rochester Sales Executive Group
4:00	Shopping Plaza Campaigning - Southtown Plaza

"We had a campaign meeting yesterday morning to decide how to allocate the \$10,000 we had above what is already assigned. We decided to put some in radio and the rest into direct, mass mailings. Tom has done a lot of experimenting with direct mail over the years--sending it into one district and not another one next door. He thinks you can change the result by 5-7% that way. (Where are you sending it?) We'll have a mass mailing in Greece. We'll have a few selected mailings in the city. We'll have a delivered mailing in Gates. And we'll mail to all Republicans in Henrietta. I'm in the worst shape there. The morale of our organization is so low and they are so disorganized. And my identification is the weakest in Henrietta. That's why I've opened an office there. I've asked some of the Gates people to go over there to help man the office, hoping they will infect the Henrietta people with their enthusiasm. Livingston County is all computerized, and

we're sending out a mailing there. Midge has made a lot of headway with the Italian community in that county." I guess that's where he thinks his base has eroded.

"I asked John Robattella of the Gates News what he thought my situation was there and he said 50-50. I asked him why; and he said, "Midge is like a travelling show and everybody's enjoying it."

In Batavia he talked of how Midge had been at plant gates at Sylvania and some other industry. Said that they are circulating a rumor that Barber never answered a letter from Sylvania when they were in trouble. He has Harry looking it up. But he says he thinks it's wrong. "People say I haven't got two votes up there. Sometime when I'm in the area I'll go over and shake hands there."

Re the Baptist Church Forum. "It's funny how you get into some places and not others. I go to this church every year and they seem to look forward to it. But there are plenty of other Baptist churches in Greece."

Re the Q & A period there, he asked if he had done OK. "The main thing is to let them get a look at me. Most people don't listen anyway, so as long as I don't say anything outrageous, I'm all right."

Lima Republicans Meeting. "That was a disaster. I don't know what to do about Lima. It's a small town and maybe I shouldn't worry about it so much. If I'd known so few people were going to turn out, I'd have gone to Charlie Schiano's party--to keep from offending him anymore than I have. He doesn't like me. He's a pompous, conceited, arrogant jerk--otherwise, I like him."

"I did show the flag. And one specific thing I accomplished in Lima was to build a back fire against the idea that I'm out of touch in Livingston County. I didn't represent Livingston from 1970-1972! They all treated that as a revelation--oh, yes, that's right! So they have a reason not to believe Midge if they don't want to. Maybe I am out of touch. I think every Congressman is out of touch--at least as compared with the local politicians like state senator and assemblyman."

He said Tony Valenti--running for county coroner and beating the bushes--is giving him all kinds of advice on all sides. I said that if you listened to all advice of other candidates, you'd go nuts. "Yes, and if you listen to your colleagues in Congress, you'll end up not representing your own people. Every Congressman has a formula--a truth that is true for him."

He said he released the results of his August poll deliberately to keep his own people from getting "panicky." He tells his own people, too, that Midge's campaign manager is his pollster and that he may be kidding himself with his poll results. He's using poll results to "psych up" Costanza supporters (and Barber thinks he's deluding himself some in the process) and Barber wants to "psych up" his supporters, too. Hence he released his polls. He read the poll results to me as we rode along and I think they look good--but they were as of August. "I never read a poll like this before." A sign of his concern with the race--that he should pay attention to polls. But I get no sense at all that he's "running scared."

His money is pouring in as never before as "my friends are concerned that I'm in trouble." He told how a guy from Continental Can Company whom he

hardly knew who asked if he could raise money for him. Barber said "sure--no more than \$50 per person."

"I get offers like that all the time. And 99% of them never produce a penny. This time, we got about \$4,000 in \$50 contributions--and nearly every major corporation president in the U.S. had contributed. Tom said, 'Who is this?' I said 'President of General Motors.' 'Who is this?' 'President of Texaco.' 'Who's this?' 'President of Sears Roebuck.' I was flabbergasted! What should I do about it? Not much I guess. Each one contributed only \$50. But my opponent and the press would have a field day with that list of contributors. Of course I will publish them all--after the election. I've always done that, even though I don't have to."

He said he still has coffee "every Saturday morning" with his cronies in Batavia. "The group has expanded a little bit. And the meetings have deteriorated as my friends have become increasingly fascinated by my position and interested in my condition. The result is that they listen to me more and I listen to them less. That's bad. It defeats the whole idea of the breakfasts. I end up giving disquisitions on the state of government."

There's a lot of the self assurance of an experienced man. He said often during the day "I want to tell you"--as a preface to some comment about an issue. Or "Let me tell you...." The language of the teacher too.

"My people want me to attack Midge directly. I don't want to and I'm not going to if I can help it. But I may have to hit her hard on the experience matter." During the Greece Forum when he was asked about the race, he said he wanted to discuss the issues, but he said "it takes



experience on both sides to be able to discuss the issues." It was his only sally at Midge--and his audience laughed instantly and spontaneously. It's clear they want him to go after her. But he just doesn't think it's right to do so. He may if he is pushed--but not yet.

After his speech at the Holland Purchase Historical Society, he wanted to go to some fire company open houses in Monroe County. But he stayed to dedicate the Batavia Club as a historical landmark. "I'd much rather leave and go to some fire company/<sup>open</sup>houses in Monroe County. But Bill Brooks the manager of the radio station is in charge of this thing. He's a Democrat, but he's been smothering me with praise. And he's been telling everyone that I'm going to be there. If I'm not, he'll be offended. So I can't get out of it. It's a snotty club and I don't like the people in it much. I'm afraid there'll be a lot more days like this during the campaign."

Driving from Lima to Wheatland, he said this had been "a pretty leisurely day."

I asked him if he campaigned in bowling alleys and he said he had, some, in Greece. He said he thought people didn't like to be interrupted when they were bowling. "What I love is shopping center campaigning. I'll do that every time I get a spare moment."

In Avon, he said he'd work through regular committee, with Dr. Collins, his key man. In Lima, he had no idea. In Wheatland "it has always been a mystery to me." In Lima "there are two factions fighting each other all the time." "These northern Livingston County towns are always in turmoil. In the southern part of the county, they are a lot more tranquil."

From the standpoint of organization, my best county is Livingston. We are sending out a mass mailing--and the county is completely computerized."

I suggested that Joe Altobelli of Gates might be a good person for him to get an endorsement from. "Who's he?" "Manager of the Red Wings." "I've never been in Red Wing Stadium in my life." Later, he said he loved to watch football on TV and that his wife gets upset with him. But it wasn't really from the heart. The use of athletics as a method of gaining ID with his constituents is totally foreign to him.

He went through the Karl Bucholtz story again as we left Batavia. He started by saying, "I gave old Karl a hard time while he was giving me that elegant introduction before they gave me the plaque. I kept kicking him on the back of his knee. He told his wife he was going to act very dignified--so he was a little grumpy at me."

Karl introduced Barber as "our best friend" and Barber started his talk "Dear Friends." Afterwards he said "Those are good people--good friends of mine, as you can tell." He was at home there. He has donated several old things to them. And he thinks of that area and that historical society as a kind of emotional anchor for him. As we left his home in Alexander he said he had more emotional feeling for that house than the one he was born in. "The Warsaw house doesn't mean a thing to me." He called the Alexander house "an emotional anchor to windward. I have a great deal of feeling for that house. My wife can't understand me. She has no feeling at all for material things. I guess I'm the ultimate materialist."

Anyway, the Bucholtz story was how he met Karl and Karl as President of

Rotary got him into the Rotary. "Two weeks after I met him I was propelled into the Rotary Club--over the dead bodies of several local attorneys who had been trying to get in for years, and over the dead bodies of the two attorneys who were already members. It was a key move for me because it put me in contact with the business community of Batavia--120 of them."

"I think people who live by a stream are lucky. They can look at the stream and know that it comes from somewhere and it goes somewhere. It gives us a sense of continuity. We know we are not isolated. We have a perspective--just as the stream of history gives us a perspective." Holland office as point from which to take bearing. He said later, he'd have liked to have played on the theme of the river more, like Herac<sup>cl</sup>itus--but thought "I was getting a little too lush." He spoke very lovingly of Genesee as "the mother of counties" and of Batavia (which, because of a spring was a favorite Iroquois camping ground on their east/west route) as lying "at the big bend of the Tonowanda."

His sense of place and of history is phenomenal. And I think it is a key to fact that he remains relatively placid and confident while his supporters are "panicky." He simply has a longer view of things than his followers.

He agreed with my comment that he ran a "one man band" and he chimed in "that makes visibility very important."

At his talk at the Greece Baptist Church he spoke of the problem of the professional representative. "Early in our history people were successful in some other occupation and went to Washington for only three months

a year. Then they came back to their homes, plugged into the local values and recharged their batteries. And they gave an accounting to their constituents. They were not professional representatives. They were somebody's neighbor. It was the highest act of citizen participation. Now I'm very much worried that we have become professional representatives, skilled in the art of political survival--particularly in the manipulation of the media." He talked in the car about the same thing, suggesting a limit on the terms a congressman could serve so that we wouldn't have "a class of professional representatives." We are supposed to be generalists and amateurs he said. He was, as the recent example, upset at the politicians' reaction to the surtax idea.

Why did he not go to Columbus Day Luncheon and go to Rochester Salesmen's Meeting instead? "In the first place, I didn't know about the Columbus Day Luncheon until 3 days ago. I wasn't invited. In the second place, I was the main speaker at one event whereas at the other I would just be sitting over in the corner somewhere. I would get a chance to stand up and wave. Also, I wanted to take every opportunity to create contrast between myself and my opponent--even if it's not before my constituents. I don't believe Midge could have made a speech like that."

"I have always based my political survival on the enthusiasm of a few people rather than recognition by the many. That may not be good politics. But I'd rather rely on people who have some personal involvement with me and not on name recognition. That's why my newsletter is so important to me. This is all probably bad publicity, which is one of the reasons I'm so upset with representative government. Frank Horton sends out two newsletters

a year, filled with pictures of himself shaking hands with every important person in the world-- Golda Meir, etc.

Plus statements that "I have sponsored this bill, and that bill to give money to the wealthy, money to the middleclass and money to the poor!" And he has an easier time than I do."

Said how important his newsletter is to sharpening his own stand on issues. "I had planned to write my own newsletter for a while and then turn it over to Harry. I kept postponing it, till finally I realized how important a part of my regimen it had become. It makes me sit down and think through my position on the issues. And I feel much surer about what I think when I have finished. So I don't begrudge the time I take on that."

He's talking about inflation--(1) cost push (2) demand pull (3) mandated inflation (4) imported inflation--inflation via devaluation. Therefore we need a balanced program; and need to start now.

John Riedman and Barber made same point about the campaign--that as people believe Barber is in trouble they will rally round (Riedman) and that the arousing of voters will force them to think about who they want to represent them and have a more considered reaction than time for a change, new face, etc. (Barber) John thought maybe her campaign "is a blessing in disguise."

BC has less organizational interest and less of an organization than any candidate I have travelled with. When I referred back to our telephone call and said I had thought he should get off the inflation summit and come home to do a little organizational work, he said "If I hadn't been working on the inflation summit, I'd have been working on tax reform. You know God damn well I wouldn't have come home to do organizational work."

Those were indications everywhere of his lack of organization:

1. On Sunday, he was supposed to have gone to the opening of his Greece headquarters. He didn't even have it on his schedule! 45 people came and waited around for a couple of hours for him to show up. No Conable! He didn't even know about it. "The trouble is, when I come home, I hit the district running," ie. no time to get schedules straightened out.

2. When we went to pass out literature at Southtown Plaza on Monday, 5 women were waiting for us without any materials. We were late and they had been standing around for 3/4 of an hour waiting for him, looking at each other. All their time was wasted, because no one gave them the cook books.

3. When he talked to the LeRoy Women's Club, a teacher who was there said she resented teacher's group leaders coming out for Costanza when the members didn't support the leadership. What could she do to help? (talk to your neighbors, get them to the polls) Afterward he said he guessed he hadn't given a very good answer. He had no organization to plug her into. The President of the Club and the program chairman, both young women, asked him afterward if they could help him. He didn't know what to do with them because he had no one to send them to. He fretted over both these instances when we left LeRoy. And when he talked about what he was going to do the next day he said, "I'm doing to do a little organizational work out in the country." I think these reminders of his lack of organization bothered him.

4. We went around to Moran's Paint Store on West Henrietta Road to

look at the headquarters they had rented--a corner of a big barn-like warehouse. They were just putting up stanchions and rods, on which they were going to hang curtains to try to partition the corner off. They didn't know how they were going to heat it, there were no telephone facilities, no tables, chair or even light! Barber said probably they would have four phones in there. There are no rest rooms in sight! I sat in the corner and almost laughed out loud. Here--on October 14, Conable was at the stage Studds was at when I stopped at Lib's house on about June 15th. A vivid contrast between styles.

Studds, whose political career is a triumph of organization over personality and Conable who is trying to make his career a triumph of personality over organization! Yet they are similar in that both are very issue-oriented and verbally skillful and at home in verbal contexts.

There is, in this lack of organizational interest a reverse side--a kind of self confidence in his ability to run a one-man band. Part of this assumption that he can handle these problems himself is a confidence in his ability. Part of it, too, I think is the notion that he ought not to have to do very hard thorough organizational work because he is so obviously better qualified than his opponent that people will see that and vote for him. I don't know that Barber goes so far as to take the view that people are lucky to have him and should, therefore, vote for him--but there is some tinge of noblesse oblige or veiled arrogance along with his self confidence. He feels that he shouldn't really have to spend all that much time on organization and therefore he doesn't. He takes the burden on himself because he thinks he can handle it and because he sees elective

politics as very much a matter of personal quality--a la J. S. Mill. Hence, his desire to create a contrast between his experience and Costanza's lack of it; his emphasis on his personal probiting in campaign expenses as opposed to her being beholden to organized labor because of the huge campaign contributions she's gotten from them; his own long residence in the district and acquaintance with its problems as opposed to her never having lived in the district; the emphasis on his public record and her lack of any public record. "Who is Miss Costanza?" Or--people who know me, like me; if you knew me, you'd like me. A rural personal stance rather than urban-group symbolic stance. A word he uses often is "substance." He is for substances as opposed to symbols.

This puts a great physical burden on B.C. He said when we first met "I'm tired. I started the campaign tired." (That's why he wanted me to drive.) And on the way from LeRoy to Southtown, he said "I've lost the resilience of youth. I'm 52 years old and I guess it's beginning to tell." He was right. In the morning and through his first 3 talks, he was in good shape. By the end of the Southtown campaigning he seemed drained. John told him to go home the next day. "Walk in the woods" and "take a nap" in the afternoon. Barber wanted to do shopping centers. But he agreed. "I need a campaign manager to tell me things like that." The next day on the phone, John told me he thought it was "psychologically" important to the campaign that Barber not look tired.

Barber said whenever he had any free time, he had to go to visit his mother, who is 89 and in a nursing home in Warsaw, and that this drains him even more. So he probably did not go home and rest the next day, but



went to see his mother. He thinks the world of her and he goes and reads to her every chance he gets. Says her mind is still sharp and she looks forward to his visits. He said, quite frankly, that this was a big drain on his strength at this time. No doubt, he will be near exhaustion when he finishes and will show it.

"I have no illusions, I'm in the fight of my life," he said when he called Cape Cod asking me to drive for him.

On the trail, he said, "I don't think I'm in as much trouble as other people think I am. I could be wrong about that. One of the problems is that my own friends are panicky because I've never had such competition before. But I've always had competition. I've never had more than 68% of the vote. Midge is getting around to the people who have always voted against me. And they are all psyched up and talking to each other as they never have before. Their activity has thrown my supporters into a tizzy. So our biggest problem is morale." He made this comment after his meeting at the Greece Baptist Church and after he said as we left it, "I have a lot of friends!" He consistently was most worried about his strong supporters and their morale.

Bob Nowak called him to talk about things and Barber said "I'm not out of the woods yet. So I'm running around trying to jerk up morale and make myself as visible as possible. I'm not so worried about myself as I am the whole party. It's the rampant lethargy of the voters--especially the Republicans--that bothers me. We could lose the 2- party system."

This was a constant theme throughout the weekend--that "the Republicans are going to have to be dragged, kicking and screaming to the polls," and

how much it all depended on getting out the vote. It was in this context that John Riedman thought Midge's "travelling show" might get the Republicans out because they would realize BC was in trouble. The one evidence of this is that the money has been pouring in from Barber's friends (at \$50 a throw) even though he never asked for more.

Re the Henrietta headquarters, he said something as we left that's all of a piece with Studs and bumperstickers and Frenzel and billboards. "I'll be happy when I see that headquarters filled with volunteers all working their heads off. They might not do any good, but I'll feel a lot better. The rain dance didn't bring the rain, but it made the tribe feel good."

He thought headquarters in Henrietta and Greece were just right, because they are at opposite ends of the district, and because Greece is the biggest town and Henrietta the shakiest. I asked why none in Batavia. "I'm not worried about Batavia. I can have 100 women on the telephones without a headquarters. In my first primary, I carried Batavia 25-1 with that kind of help."

At Greece Baptist Church - "I'm inclined to favor anything that's decentralized--that's a good Western New York attitude."

At Greece and LeRoy he tackled the problem of not being in touch. "In my 10 years in Congress I've never been home less than 40 times a year and I've averaged 4 speeches every trip--mostly a weekends, which means I'm away from my family that much. I've had a 95% attendance record up till the inflation summit. Still I meet only a tiny fraction of my constituents. My

opponent says I'm out of touch; it's an argument that can always be used against the incumbent. I heard someone say the other day, 'That's right, I've only seen him twice this year.' What else can I do? I can't line up 500,000 people and shake hands with them every weekend. I'm doing the best I can."

In LeRoy he said that organized labor is mad at me because of my part in the trade bill. He said that economically (balance of payments) and philosophically (free trade) he believed in exporting goods. He also said that his district was an exporting district. "Rochester is the largest exporting community per capita of any in the United States. Kodak, Xerox, Gleason, Bausch & Lomb and Sybron all have big exporting business. If Eastman Kodak couldn't export, they have to lay off 7,000-8,000 workers. The unions don't care about skilled workers in these kinds of industries, they are worried about workers in textiles and shoes and industries like that--all of which want import controls. They don't care about exports. And they are mad at me for my work on the trade bill and my anti-protectionist attitudes. That's why they're trying so hard to defeat me." And he went on to say "Only 11% of the work force in my district is unionized. So why should I let a minority of that size dictate to me what I should do in Congress. I've always done well among the working men and women but not the labor bosses. The bosses aren't interested in long term solutions, just next year at the bargaining table. I'm not surprised that a group none of whom is younger than 75 wouldn't worry about the future but it's your future they are playing with."

He said he knew Costanza had made inroads on his base in the county-- particularly in the Italian community. In Genesee County the Italians live in Batavia, Mt. Morris and Oakfield and had been hurt by being a minority group. Talked, again, about how Mancuso was beaten in a Republican primary even though he was best candidate. As we left LeRoy, he also said "Maybe I'm spending too much time in LeRoy. But there's a sizeable Italian community here."

One possible gauge of his confidence is his reluctance to push his wife into any active role at all. She came for the fund raiser. "But she resents being put on public display, and I don't blame her." Point was that Charlotte's made a life of her own now--written a book, getting a master's, Trustee of Cornell and she doesn't want to be sucked back into Barber's life on call. She's been through the frustrations of worrying about Barber and now she's less involved in his career. But I wonder if he wouldn't use her if he felt it would make the difference. I don't know.

He used comment of hers often in talks "Barber, why have you tried so hard? Why have you been away from home so much? Why have you bent over backwards to be honest and to appear to be honest? Why have you accepted so much responsibility in Washington?--if the voters are going to say 'all politicians are bad,' throw them all out. Why have you worked so hard if the voters are not going to discriminate between the good and the bad?' That's a hard question to answer. "I think the voters have to give politicians an incentive to do a good job. If you think all politicians are crooks--you'll get all crooks."

On Monday morning, he had a meeting with Julia Berlove,,Editor of the Zionist paper The Jewish Leader in town. The night before he had said "Julia has been ver good to me personally, but I differ with them very strongly on Jackson-Vanik. And they are very emotional about it. I can't make any nickels with them, because less than one per cent of my constituents are Jewish. But I don't want them to say bad things about me. I can't win them over. But I hope to neutralize them." Afterward he said, "I didn't make any nickels there. She's tough. I'm in contact with them a lot even though less than one per cent of my constituents are Jewish." (He got the endorsement of The Jewish Leader later.)

I told him after the meeting with Julia and another man, and after his speech at the salesman's luncheon that it was a cerebral morning. After the LeRoy speech he said, "Was that too cerebral? I had the feeling most of what I said went over their heads. I'd rather overdo the contrast between myself and my opponent than not get the contrast across."

As we left the LeRoy meeting - "The trouble with meetings like that is that they leave me encouraged." I asked if he meant that it signified his base was holding and he said yes.

At Wheatland, Sunday night after the "disaster" at Lima, he was very surprised at the good turnout. He stayed and answered questions as the people at the party gradually came to coagulate around his table. Afterwards he said "That was very useful. I really cast my bread upon the waters. They were so interested that I gave them a lot of the inside stuff. I want them to feel a sense of personal identification with me. And so I stayed and gave them much more of myself than I ordinarily would. Everyone of

those people there now feels he knows me and has a personal relationship with me." He feels he's cemented a relationship and that it was time well spent--in keeping with his idea about having the enthusiasm of the few rather than the name recognition of the many. He told them about his relations with Nixon, with Ford, how he got to be leader, etc., etc. and they ate it up. Again, the personal approach rather than symbolic and attention to strong supporters. Maybe primary constituency is always dealt with personally and rest symbolically.

"One of the reasons for my considerable hatred for Richard Nixon was what he did to the people who had confidence in him. I felt especially angry at what he did to the 11 members of the Judiciary Committee. That's why I went on TV after Nixon made his disclosure and said "The only problem now is the orderly transition from the administration of Richard Nixon to the administration of Gerald Ford. Maybe I shouldn't have done it, but I did."

"I get bored talking about the same thing all the time. I like to open my mouth and see what comes out."

"That was fun" after the Greece Q & A period. "I love to answer questions." All this as appropos of his love of verbal encounter and verbal challenges. He's not only smart, he's articulate as well and he knows it and loves that milieu. He likes to speak more than listen, too. I think he's not a born listener; he's much more of a born expounder.

After Southtown, we got in John's car to hear latest poll results--Parma, Ogden, Dutchtown in city--Conable 42%, Costanza 33%, rest undecided. "That poll troubles me. I should do better in those areas. Dutchtown is Italian and low income, so that's not a good area. But the others should be better. I'd rather be ahead by 9 points than behind by 9 points. But I want them all."

When we were discussing his orange flyer--in which quotes from newspapers, magazines, etc. re. BC were listed, he said "The best one isn't even there. During the impeachment debate, the New York Times wrote that I was the key figure in the House, the most respected Republican in the House. If I'm defeated this year, I guess I can rest on that."

On the question of whether or not he is "running scared" and, hence, doing things differently than he has before, I'd have to say my judgment is mixed. There are some things he is doing that he didn't before--he has opened two headquarters. He is interested in polls. He held a fund raiser. He came home early. "Congress has not adjourned, but I have. They are dealing with cats and dogs." This is probably the most important difference--that he devoted an extra week to campaigning. But that is not very much considering the fact he could get beaten. He has not really paid Costanza the compliment of a radical revision of his activity. He didn't get started till this week. He's not using his wife. He spent all his time in September and early October on the inflation summit in Washington. He's campaigning about the way he always has. He really has no organization worth talking about. His home style is the one man band--personal ID--style and he hasn't changed it a bit. He must believe that he has the winning formula and that his constituents continue to like it that way. It's "business almost as usual" with Barber despite the putatively strong challenge he faces--and which he acknowledges. The idea that he is 'scared stiff' is the silliest thing I ever heard. (Of course, he might lose!)