

Thursday, May 17, 1979

DICK FENNO WILL ACCOMPANY YOU

7:45 p.m. Depart Washington via American Airlines # 309

9:52 p.m. Arrive Little Rock (Skip will meet you)

OVERNIGHT AT THE SAM PECK HOTEL - 501-376-1304

Friday, May 18, 1979

8:00 a.m. Barber Shop, Doyne - 374-4013

9:00 a.m. Roy Nix (3-4) Professional Engineers, 376-4128, Re: S.5

9:30 a.m. Bruce Haggard, Conway, 329-6811 office, 327-4832

10:15 a.m. Constitutional Convention, Executive Branch Committee,
Tom McRae, Room 138, State Capitol

Telephone Call: Mayor Ed Olmstead of Rison, Re: LEAA 325-6381

11:15 a.m. Glen Black, Arkansas Retailers Asso., 664-8680

11:45 a.m. Interview with Frank Thomas of Channel 7, 372-7777 - 15 min.

Lunch Bill Wilson

~~1:45 p.m. Mort Hardwicke of Paris~~

2:00 p.m. Alan Young of Texarkana, re: FHA, 774-7520

2:30 p.m. Tom Coyne, re: Farm Exports, 664-8285

~~3:00 p.m. B.W. Cranford, et al of McRae, Re: USDA, Cotton Program~~

4:00 p.m. Sam Peck

6:30 p.m. Pulaski County Bar Association Dinner, Pleasant Valley
Country Club, Jim Storey, 371-0808

OVERNIGHT AT THE SAM PECK HOTEL

Saturday, May 19, 1979

Depart Little Rock at approximately 6:00 a.m. for Cherokee Village

10:00 a.m. Coffee & Donut Reception followed by remarks and then
a question & answer period. (1000 people)
Omaho Center, Cherokee Village (Col. Abel - 257-3842)

11:30 a.m. Luncheon - TeePee Room, Omaho Center

2:00 p.m. Depart Cherokee Village airstrip aboard a Cooper Corp. jet.
2:30 p.m. Arrive Memphis Aero (take limousine to main terminal)
3:22 p.m. Depart Memphis via American Airlines #560 to Washington
6:10 p.m. Arrive Washington National

David Pryor

May 17-19, 1979

Trip to Arkansas - Skip Rutherford.

Sitting in airport. I asked him How's it going?

"I'm experiencing a little frustration in keeping up with the issues. I'm not getting briefed properly on the issues--we haven't set up a good briefing system. I'm being overbriefed on some issues and not enough on others. And then there are the amendments. The amendments may come from nowhere, at any time. The thing I had forgotten since I was in the House was the quantity and the diversity of the issues that we have to deal with. I don't have the grasp of the issues that I'd like to have. I was disappointed in the way the little hearing went that I chaired yesterday. (He and Bruce discussed how the Washington Post guy completely missed the point of the hearings in his article). I was talking to a senator the other day on the floor. I asked him if he experienced a low period during his first year. He said 'I've been here two years and I haven't experienced anything but a low period.'"

Earlier, in the office he had said "In the House, I flew by the seat of my pants." Idea was that he couldn't do that in Senate. He and Ray were talking about briefing problems with Nancy Darr.

We then bumped into Hillary Rodham, a lawyer and wife of Bill Clinton, the Governor, and a possible opponent of David's. I asked David about Clinton. "He's doing a fine job." What will he do after the governorship? You must have thought of it often. But I don't know the answer to that question." That was all he wanted to say. He went up to visit with her in the airplane when we stopped in Memphis, and he made a great deal out of her.

About Bumpers, he made two comments. On his speaking style. "Dale Bumpers speaks in the Senate as if he were speaking to 40,000 people in Veteran's Memorial Stadium in Little Rock." He hastened to say he wasn't being critical but the context was that the most effective Senate speeches were conversational in tone.

In the motel, when we were discussing Dave's letter to Carter calling for an energy summit, he said "Bumpers knows everything there is to know about energy. He has all the facts and figures, the number of barrels of oil needed per day per state and the amount of oil needed to make gasoline. But he can't talk to the common man. He can't make it understandable. He talks over their heads." I think the thrust of both Bumpers comments was to accent DP's talking down to earth virtues.

"Staff is very important. I have the smallest staff of any person in the United States Senate. I'm using only half my allotment. That's deliberate. You'd better believe it. I have a skeleton crew--because when I add someone, I want to have a specific job in mind. I don't want to hire a full staff and then figure out where to place them. When I came to the House, I made the mistake of hiring all my friends and I had to fire some of them. The first person I hire, when I do, will be a public relations specialist. Not a press specialist; there's a lot of difference. I want someone with monies and ideas who, when I deliver a speech on soy beans, will take that speech and mail it to every soy bean farmer in the state. 'Here are some remarks I made on the Senate floor, etc., etc.' And then send that letter out--whap!--to the soy bean farmers. And the same with other groups and other issues--or other things I might send. There are people who know how to do this and do it well. I don't know where to find them. But we have lists that could be put on tape from which to work. I'd like to have a person like that--but I probably never will."

"When I was 16, I was a page during the summer. There was, to me, a distinctive smell to the Capitol. It was part smoke, part granite, part leather and part something else, I don't know what. The other day, I caught a whiff of that smell I remembered as a boy."

"I don't know why I wanted to be a Senator, to serve people, to fulfill an ambition or to pass legislation. But my attitude toward politics was portrayed in the movie Patton. There is this battlefield scene with the dead lying everywhere, the vultures are flying overhead, arms, legs, bodies and blood everywhere. Patton rides in and stands there on his jeep taking it all in and then he says "I love it; I love it." That's just the way I feel about politics."

"I started to talk about the Senate and how hard it was for me to grasp because you have 100 individuals and he explained "That's the beauty of it, Professor Fenno, that's the beauty of it. That is the strength of the institution. Each person is a little island. And every other member respects the integrity of that little island. Every member respects, and protects, the rights of every other member. The other night, late in the evening, we all sat while a rather unpopular member delivered a defense of an amendment he said in advance he would withdraw. He talked for twenty minutes and then withdrew the amendment. Each of us was saying, "Oh my God" but each of us said it to himself. No one spoke to another person. Each one was thinking that if he got into that position and wanted to be heard, he would expect to be granted that same respect. That's what makes it a club--each member will protect the right of every other member."

"In the Senate honesty counts and intelligence counts, but the thing that counts the most is whether or not, when you get up to speak, you are prepared. If you are, you can go a long way; if you are not you will not go

far. When Sam Nunn gets up to speak, he is prepared. People know he is prepared, that he has done his homework and they listen to him. When Mike Gravel gets up, people know he is not prepared and they do not listen. People wonder why Bob Byrd is the majority leader. He is not pretty, he is not a great speaker, he was a member of the Klu Klux Klan when he was young, he got his law degree at night after he got to Washington; people make fun of his fiddling. He is the majority leader because he has done his homework. And he is the leader because he will protect every senator's rights, majority or minority, and he will protect them--with his life! He is an institutional man. The Senate is his life. On Saturday and Sunday he's over here working. A month or so ago he wrote everyone a note thanking them for the good job they had done. We all took out our letters and compared them. Did he say "good" or "nice" or very good. We laughed over our report cards. But everyone of us would vote for him.

He talked about the two senate dining rooms--the family one and the small one across the corridor--"the inner sanctum" it is called. He drew me a diagram. "There's a Republican table and a Democratic table. Republicans never eat at the Democratic table and Democrats never eat at the Republican table. It is an unwritten rule. If there was one Democrat and one Republican in the room, they would eat at separate tables."

"I eat there once every 10 days. Magnuson always eats there, Stennis, Hollings, some of the old timers. One day Herman Talmadge walked in during his ethics hearings. Everyone said "How are you Herman." "How's it going Herman" or whatever. Herman ate a bowl of soup and left. And do you know after he left not one Senator said one word about Herman's ethics problems. Not one thing was said about it. That's what the institution is like. I suppose everyone was thinking: There but for the grace of God was I."

He told story of how a Senator tried to get his wife into the inner sanctum, which is for Senators only. "That senator was blackballed from here to eternity. He wasn't invited to functions."

"I guess you'd call me something between a maverick and a moderate."

"I suppose I'm in the same position you are, right now, trying to figure out the Senate. Every day, I try to learn something about it. Two weeks ago I got out "Profiles in Courage" I hadn't read it in years. But I dusted it off. It's a pretty good history of the institution. It's a fascinating institution."

He loves the institution--no doubt about that. He's also a little insecure in it. And he shows the insecurity more than Cohen and Tsongas.

"Does Bill Cohen have any special issues, or is he a generalist like me?"

"I told Bill Cohen you were going to Arkansas with me and he lit up. He's very high on you. That's the first time I've gotten a rise out of him since I've been in the Senate. He was very animated."

Coming home "If Paul Tsongas and Bill Cohen and Pete Domenici had gone home under the same circumstances as I did, would they have done the same things and said the same things?"

"The House and Senate are completely different." "The other day I took a constituent on a 20 minute tour of the Capitol. We went to the Senate gallery and then to the House gallery. It was the first time I had been back to see the House in action since I left it. Looking down on it, it gives you the impression of a metropolitan area. The buse are going every which way, the taxis are crossing in front of the cars, the bells are clanging, the horns are honking. It's disorderly and confusing. When you look down on the Senate, you see a small New England town, with shade trees, no noise on the streets and everything in its place."

✓ "The House is a large Hall and you must shout to be heard. The Senate is a small room. The best speakers are those who speak as if they were in a livingroom, in a conversational tone--people who are comfortable in their surroundings. I do not feel comfortable in that room yet and do not have a conversational tone." Discussion of good speakers--Baker, Byrd and th^{p. 18} like Kennedy.

✓ "If I sat down beside any person on this plane and he or she was from Arkansas, there would be somebody we both knew. I guarantee it. Arkansas has only two million people. It's like a family"--maybe not quite, but almost." Later he said flatly "It's like a family."

"I was on the plane the other week and was talking with a stewardess who told me she flew on the plane with Senator John Tower. She said he was the sexiest man she ever saw. Well, he's just a little bitty fella about 5'2". But it was the power. You don't need to put this in your book but I could go to a bar and sit there, with 40 women around and no one would pay the slightest bit of attention to me. But if word got around that the guy at the end of the bar was a United States Senator, they'd be all around. It happens to singers, athletes, anybody who gets publicity."

We talked with a very zesty stewardess much of the way and I asked David if things were that way wherever he travelled "Travel time for me is usually solitary time. I read and catch up on work. I can be very anti-social. In a lot of ways I'm a recluse. I like to be alone--no children, no wife--just by myself. I cherish the time at our lake house where I can be alone. It doesn't happen very often, but I love it. Some of my political friends, if they were coming into town as I am would go to a night spot to see everybody. Or, if they went to their hotel room, they would start calling people on the

phone. I'll go right to the hotel and read and go to bed."

He didn't! He and Skip sat up till after midnight talking about his call for an energy summit. I stayed too for a while and then went to bed.

He talked on plane about lack of time--went through how he got to office, made calls, met with staff, went to hearings onto the floor, did this and that. And "before you know it, you time is all gone." This was one main theme, really, of his conversation. "I haven't gotten on top of my schedule yet" he said a couple of times.

Re going home. "For the first three months I only went home once or twice. The last four or five weeks I've been home every weekend. That's too much. But this weekend, I'm speaking at the Pulaski County Bar Association meeting. One of my old friends and strong supporters pressed me and pressed me and pressed me. 'I supported you, I did block work, etc., etc. I'm in charge of the May 16, 1979 program.' So I agreed. That was back in 1978 and I said, sure, sure. Now it's here. The Senators who make the best use of their time run their own schedules instead of letting their schedules run them."

Constitutional Convention - testimony - supports 4 year term and not one only - one term produces lame duck - should be able to run for reelection - not certain re 8 year limit - would like people to decide - feels same about 65 year retirement.

Doesn't think salary should encumber the constitution. Should be flexible.

Strong supporter of state highway department being non political. Highway director and game and fish director should not be appointed by governor. 10 year term too long for highway and game and fish directors.

Pardoning power - consumes a lot of time.

No time to get budget prepared in 60 days after election.

TV crowd around afterwards to ask him about latest headlines re. leaving cars home once a week.

Office hours

1) Engineers won't change regulations to help dealing with government.

2) Bruce - opponent of 3 dams on Cadron river (to prevent flooding) - farmers split - small upstream, old timers vs. it; newer, richer, large downstream farmers are for it--they have best land. Bruce thinks it's "a boondoggle" "low key, cost-benefit ratio. He's a biologist from Hendrix. "It's the closest thing to a free flowing river in central Arkansas." "Has Dale Bumpers committed on this?" "Are the farmers split on this?" "Have the farmers opposed to it who have lived there a long time or have they recently moved in. Later: "My heart is with that fellow, but I don't have all the facts." "The Log Cabin Democrat is opposed to it. Why?" "Will the dams affect the canoeing on the river?" (No, but it would have a psychological effect on canoeing. And it will give us flat water fishing as opposed to stream fishing and we don't need any more flat water fishing in that area." Later: Skip said. The people who are against the dam will not vote for you no matter what the who are for the dam will vote for you if you support them"

Comment on Schlesinger. "He is a smart man, but he's a theoretician. He is aloof and is not in touch with the problem of the ordinary people at the gas pump. He should step aside in favor of someone with common sense and courage." He called for Schlesinger dismissal 18 months ago and still thinks he should step aside. Calls Schlesinger part of the problem.

There is in this, and in his call for the energy summit (which gives some credibility to conspiracy idea) his common man approach.

His former secretary, whom we met in the Capitol said to me "David Pryor is one of the last great souls in America."

Skip says "He's a prince of a guy". Can a likeable generalist it?

KATV - Channel 7 interviews on energy and housing bonds.

✓ Al ⁸⁻²⁸ "I like the Senate. I like the Senate as an institution.

I like the people. I like the staff that runs it. I like it a lot."

"I never had any regrets about my first race for the Senate. It was a hard clean race. I got beat. I came back and had the chance to be

✓ Governor which was a great opportunity for me. Perhaps I wasn't ready to be a Senator then."

Says he would like to write a chapter on a campaign for a book in which each of old time politicians would write one chapter. He said he would write on ^{Cherry -} Chairman Faubus campaign.

M. Wilson came for lunch. "He has the largest law practice in Arkansas-- a huge, huge huge law practice." They went off to lunch together.

Discussion at lunch with Shirley and Skip. "We'll have Clinton in 1984. There's no doubt about it. There's no place else for him to go."

"There aren't any big ^{blocs} ~~blows~~ in Arkansas. Parties don't mean a thing. Regions are most important. Pryor's stand on agriculture--opposing Bergland-- has gotten him solid support among the farmers in the eastern delta area. And he's strong in the south where his congressional district was. The big advantage he has over Clinton is that he has a congressional base and Clinton doesn't. Clinton's support is up north. Central Arkansas will be up for grabs, as it always is. Labor will be for Clinton, but that will help Pryor."

"There's a myth that Pryor is vulnerable because McClellan beat him. Bumpers is established because he beat Fullbright."

They don't think it will be a 2 person race in 1984, they think Tucker may get into it.

Skip thinks Bumpers is getting a Fullbright type of reputation.

Skip said that since his early days "Pryor has moved consistently to the right." And Shirley said "to the center."

We started the political discussion when Shirley noted that everyone knew everyone else's business in Arkansas.

It is most like Jack Flynt travelling with David (He likes to be called David). He continually inquires about individuals. Often refers to individuals he appointed or had something to do with. In the Capitol today, he knew tons of people by name and greeted them all.

"How are you all" his favorite greeting. "We appreciate your help."

Man whose farm is being flooded wants FHA loan at low interest. "When I was a little boy of 13, in the midst of the depression, my daddy said to me, "Son, when you grow up you want to get to know a doctor, a lawyer, and a politician, you can never tell when the politician may need help and you may need help. You can help him and he can help you. I never forgot that." Told DP how he put posters up for him.

From scrap books - DP after election. "I see the role of David Pryor as a studnet going back to school, not only as a student of the Senate but of its procedures and rules. The first year I expect to spend a great amount of time in study and learning." 12/3/78 Springdale News.

He called time between governor and Senate "political purgatory."

On idea of change from one election to another - Pryor said "Twelve years ago when I went to Congress the big issue was Vietnam and LBJ and his War on Poverty, social programs which certainly today have taken a back seat. I voted for all of them, OEO, the War on Poverty. And now I no longer think we can solve a lot of our problems by new programs with federal dollars." Springdale News 12/3/78.

He talked about contrast with McClellan, who was great pork barreler.

"I don't think pork barreling is going to be as prevalent in the next decade as it has been in the last 4 decades because we will not see the need of it as much as we did 40 years ago. I think that we're going to see some environmental issues right here in Arkansas. I think the whole question of the environment is going to become very very prevalent." Springdale News.

At lunch Skip and Shirley called DP "the darling of the environmentalists." Yet Skip's talk later about the Chadron dams seemed to indicate shaky support among environmentalists.

Picture of him and Barbara loading furniture from mansion into a rental truck to drive it to Washington--from Mena Evening Star 12/15/78. "Mr. Pryor told newsmen he is going to do his own moving, poor-boy-it so to speak, because professional movers cost too much. This may be a good man... We think Senator elect Pryor has the right idea in demonstrating that his new riches have not inflated his ego to such an extent that he is not too proud to drive his own furniture van to Washington."

Pryor to me. "It's a great little ole state. Everybody knows everybody else. It's just like a family."

Arkansas Radio Network. He talks into the phone to a guy who immediately clicks into 83 radio stations. "As soon as I get through talking to Don Corbett, he'll push a button and my voice will be sent to 83 radio stations throughout the state. In ten minutes, at 3:30, I'll be on every station. And it'll be on several times more today and even tomorrow. It's a honey of a setup. During the campaign, we found it was our most efficient way to advertise."

During his talk over ARN he had said, re. his energy summit proposal. "It's time to shell down the corn" and I asked him about it. "I don't know why I said it. But I can see some ole guy driving a pickup truck down the road."

He'll say that's ole David Pryor saying we've got to shell down the corn. That's tellin' 'em." He laughed.

Skip on way out said "That was a good day. We got a lot of things done. And we got good media. That's important for the image. When you come home, you want people to know you were here. We had all 3 TV stations this morning and we'll get some newspaper coverage with the speech tonight."

Next morning at 6:00 a.m., when he walked into motel to meet us, he said "Did ~~we~~ we get any press?" Always in mind.

There was talk at several points at the office during the day about whether or not to hold off the call for an energy summit till Saturday. The reason was that he already got good coverage for his appearance at the ^{Con Con} ~~CanCan~~. But they decided that since they feared other people would get the idea so they decided to go ahead. (As it turned out Bethune held news conference and got the play--Pryor was a minor part of the Bethune story. "We should have held a news conference. No, I should have gotten them all together after my testimony and told them.") Also they thought if he announced it, he could make it the centerpiece of his talk tonight and that would give it added punch. Anyway, they believed people would want to hear him talk about energy. And they had called one reporter to be there.

Another thing that happened today reminded me, again, of what it's like to be senator. The morning paper (Gazette) lead story was Toby Moffet's idea that everyone should give up driving one day a week. After his testimony at the ^{Con Con} ~~CanCan~~, all the TV people crowded around and asked him about his reaction to that plan. (Negative). But the point is that Senators must comment on the morning headlines--I reminded him of this on the plane and he said he hadn't thought of it that way.

Richmond Arnold now a federal judge. Story of his appointment of his--men wore long sleeves to jacket. "His sleeves ^{hung} ~~hurt~~ way down to his knuckles.

When he shook hands, everybody wondered if his hands were ever going to come out from inside his sleeve."

Introductory remarks re. DP. One man gets up and tells story of how Dave and friend go to law school professor to task his opinion as to whether they should set up a partnership in Camden. Judge pauses and says "It'll be a case of the blind leading the blind."

Introduction. "The announced subject of his speech is great cases I have won. If that's his real topic, the introduction will be longer than his speech. If his speech is humorous, and with that title it will be, I will refrain from telling any jokes in my introduction."

DP story. Early day as lawyer--no cases walking around with empty file folders and drinking coffee - judge asks em to defend murderer who allegedly killed 3 people - paid \$200--said "We're awfully busy but we'll take the case." Start out with partner for Calhoun County. They took constitution, Magna Carta, - go there, nervous. 'We're looking for Sheriff Duncan in 24th year as sheriff. 'We're here to see Mr. So and So.' Went upstairs - saw client in a windowless jail, wrapped in army blanket huddled over a charcoal bucket - "We have been appointed under of law - went on for 15 minutes--man sat there smoking a cigarette--now I know what it was--watched us with beady eyes and finally said, "Ya, I think I can get \$500 to bribe the judge."

"When I was governor people asked me why I didn't go down to state prison to see the guys down there. Most of them are my clients."

Governor's introduction of me ended with --"He has studied the senate carefully and out of one hundred senators, he has chosen 4 who are destined -----(laughter) for jail."

Discusses 2 subjects: inflation and energy.

On inflation, he supports constitutional amendment on balanced budget - no deficit except for 2/3 vote.

On energy he talked about his call for energy summit.

"We have a prairie fire going in the county and we've got to do something to stop it until it consumes us."

Crisis won't go away, will have to make unpopular decisions.

He worried about speech afterward and felt lousy. "I feel so bad about calling Bob/Ron/Charlie. I sensed it as soon as I said it and made a note to come back to it later and make up for it. But I never did. I think that's why my speech didn't come off. I was worried about my mistake during the rest of the speech. It was like driving with a flat tire. Maybe not everybody heard it. Well, we'll recover."

He was really low about it. "I never spoke for that long in my life." Skip told me it was not one of his better ones. He thought it too long; but it was calling the Chancellor of the University at Little Rock by the wrong name that bugged him. He depends so much on knowing names, given his style. The next morning he said he had decided he took too long on humorous part of it and did not link the two together well.

Skip was preoccupied with Carol Griffie of the Gazette. He was pleased when she came; worried when he couldn't find her in the room. ("She must be here. Her pocketbook is over there.") and pleased, again, afterward when he said "Carol Griffie was there. She left right after you stopped. I think she'll appreciate your giving her advanced notice. If we get a story in the Gazette, that will make the evening a success." His concern is with the press. He didn't much care how DP did so long as the story appeared.

The Gazette did not support DP. The next day he called it "the Crazy Gazette" Skip said they really raked him over, and endorsed both Tucker and Thornton.

Skip said--appropos of a talk we had outside the country club about his concern for elderly early on "When he was in state legislator he was known

as a reformer; in congress, he was known for his concern for the elderly, as governor he was known as a fiscal conservative; in the senate, it's too early to tell."

I asked DP after the speech whether they were his supporters (Pulaski County lawyers). "They are a difficult group for me--young lawyers. In the last election Jim Guy Tucker was their age group. A lot of them work for Wit Stevens' interests and they were for Ray Thornton. A lot of my friends were there though I guess it would be about one-third--one-third--one-third from the last election. Maybe I had a little less. It wasn't my crowd.... I run a tad of a risk with them by coming out for a constitutional amendment on the balanced budget. They think they are too sophisticated to fall for something hokey like that. But I believe in it and I wanted to give them some facts--17 out of 18 years with a deficit, the budget from 75 million to 550 million in 22 years--to prepare them for the introduction of that amendment next week. Twenty of us are going to join in introducing it if we can agree on the language."

The love of the state comes through--"Bald Knob", Strawberry Capitol of Arkansas--people lined up 50 miles when strawberries come in. We stopped in Bald Knob for breakfast.

"Have you ever floated the Spy river . The water is so cold in August you have to wear a jacket. Mmmmm, a beautiful river. Beautiful bubbling water. Life is too short not to do some of these things."

"Evening Shade--that's the prettiest name in Arkansas."

"Strawberry - we got them some drinking water when I was governor. I went up there and they put on the dog. 1st governor of Arkansas to go by Strawberry."

Looking at my map and calling off the names of the small towns. "When I look at the map I wonder if I'm taking time to enjoy life. If a man can't

enjoy life in Gaston's Resort, he can't enjoy life." "I'd like to go to the lake house, sit out, look at the moon, listen to the hoot owl and just take some time for myself."

Cherokee Village--retirement home - all states - 25,000 average income.

"He's a real gentelman, he's a real doer and he's somebody you can depend upon."

Talks about senior intern program and Harold Jenks and Dizzy Dean would have said, he "slud" into second and broke a rib.

Inflation and energy - same as last night.

"I'd like to see Congress can police itself. But I'm here to report to you from my experience in Congress and as a governor and as a Senator that Congress needs restraint. I'm here to say Congress needs a restraint on us and that restraint can only come through our amendment to the constitution. Calling for a budget that must be balanced except by a 2/3 vote of Congress. Congress must be restrained."

"I think the major oil companies are telling us what they want us to hear. I can't prove that but I think it's true. I just have a visceral instinct on that."

The answer to new sources of energy may be in someone's garage, someone's basement, someone's back yard, I think we may go independent."

"I think there's an anti-bigness syndrome in the world. (Chicago, Thatcher) Mergen of oil and Zillenbach "unconsciousable, greedy."

"Small business people and small farmers are the cement that has held this county together." (Their innovation creativity....)

"I've been running for something all my life. "I ran for 3rd grade calss president. My mother had been 1st womean to run for office as Arkansas clerk. Father and grandfather were sheriff. I had politics in my blood and I loved politics. I would hand out cards at the rallies and the feeds. . 55

I remember when I first met Fullbright - 4 of us running for 3rd grade Elementary School ⁱⁿ McCamden, Miss Betty Wheeler told the 4 candidates to leave the class, I remember. Tom and me went outside in the hall. I prayed. I prayed that if I just got elected president of the 3rd grad I would never aspire to any other office in my life. Miss Wheeler came into the hall and said 'David, congratulations, you've been elected president of the third grade.' Before I got to my seat I was trying to figure out how I could be president of 4th grade!

"If you like people you'll like politics. If you can't laugh at yourself and make fun of yourself, ^{you won't} When I was Governor I told everyone of my Cabinet that if they made mistakes, admit it. Don't try to cover it up. If you don't admit mistakes, laugh about it and laugh and go on from there. That's what we've lost, that's the soul of politics--to admit we are fallible. If we do that we will pass on the system to our children in spite of ourselves and we can move into the future with confidence. (last line garbled a little)

He asked if Kennedy cast a shadow over Tsongas and I asked him if Bumpers cast a shadow over him. "More in Washington than in ARKansas. But not much. He's been there longer. With him running in 1980 if there's something that has to be announced I will defer to him. I will exercise that option when I have the chance. I'm very sensitive not only that we ^{get along but} ~~that we~~ should appear we get along. In Arkansas, the tradition has been that the delegation is very tight and that they work together for the state. Whenever there's a conflict, the media get very interested and it becomes a big story. I have broken with him on some votes. But I have not gone out of my way to publicize it or let people know about it. Right now he's very uptight about his reelection--running home all the time. He'll win overwhelmingly no matter who runs against him. But he's very nervous. We don't

talk to each other about politics much. But I told him the other day that I had seen a poll that showed that if Bill Clinton ran against him, he would win handily. We don't talk politically unless he asks me. He's a good man and a good Senator."

I then asked him if they had the same support in Arkansas and he said "A little bit different, but an awful lot is the same." Then he turned away to nap. He had said all he was going to say.

Throughout the day, as is clear, he spoke of retiring, spending time by himself, enjoying life, etc.--the other side of the pressure. The countryside is pretty, like New Hampshire. After we left the Ponderosa restaurant, Skip and I stood outside reflecting on whether he could retire and what he might do. Skip said maybe he could (as he had said) say that he'd done it all and come back to Arkansas. Then he said he didn't think DP would do it.

Then, when Skip and I were alone in the car and the Colonel was taking Dave to the community center in Cherokee Village, Skip talked some more."

"He's in his element here. I can tell. Did you see how he enjoyed that coffee and home made pie at that restaurant. And visiting with the people there. He's going to make a good speech today. He doesn't make good speeches in Little Rock. In Springdale the other night, he was tired, he had a cold, but he gave a great speech. Technically the speech he gave last night in Little Rock was the same one he gave in Springdale. But in one case he had the crowd and in one case he didn't. He doesn't like the country club atmosphere. You heard him say how he picked at his food last night. He didn't enjoy it. He likes dirt roads and streams and the countryside. And that's where he gets his votes." Skip filled in the blanks here on the comment Dave made last night when he said, "They aren't my crowd."

In the Ponderosa he had mused "Do you think I would be happy retiring after one term in the Senate. I could say that I've done it all. I could spend some

time at the lake house. I could float the Buffalo River and the Illinois. Would I be happy doing that, do you reckon?" "The peacefulness of the place, triggered lots of retirement talk.

Talked on the private plane going from Cherokee Village to Memphis about Skip and how fortunate he was to have him. Skip worked in the campaign and organized NW Arkansas for the runoff. DP took him because his good friend Steve Nichols a law professor at University of Arkansas recommended him.

As we walked into National Airport, he said, "I don't know if this was a plus trip or a minus trip."

I said Skip thought yesterday went well. And David said "Last night's speech did not go well." That was the last he said. But the speech bugged him.

At Cherokee Village: "Arkansas is an exciting state. The Delta is a different world from where we are now. Fayetteville is a different world. The Southern part of the state, where I come from, is a different world. It is a diverse composite of separate entities."

On the phone with Dan Tate of the White House on aid to Turkey. "I will do everything I can reasonably do. But I need to retain some flexibility. You can put me down as probable--even highly probable. But I need a little hole to crawl out of."

When he came off the phone, he said "I told him I'd let him know. He didn't like that. But I've given those folks a lot of votes." He noted at some point earlier in the day that he had no Turks and did have Greeks.

I asked him who the nice conservatives were and he mentioned some. "Then he said "Jesse Helms brings up all those amendments. He just murders us, just murders us. He puts everybody on the spot. His amendments are no win situations."

"The President of Exxon called the other day after he heard I was complaining. He said, you get 8 or 9 of your friends together and we'll have at it. We're meeting Wednesday morning."

He told story about "ole Senator Oliver Williams" who had lost touch with his constituents. He decided to do some campaigning. Goes down long logging trail and finds a guy under his logging truck working on it, legs sticking out. Oliver hollers at him: "how you doin'?" "Fine." "I'd like to talk a little politics with you." "Well, I can't get out from under the truck." "I want to talk to you about the State Senate race." "Well, as long as we get rid of that SOB Oliver Williams, I don't give a damn what happens."

Appropos of his schedule he said twice "I haven't been out in the sun for 30 minutes all spring."

Re his lake house. "If I had seven days to live, I think I'd go to the lake house and live it out."

"I'm going to be honest with you. Since Thanksgiving I haven't had--except for maybe a Sunday--any time off. We are going to take the boys to the lake house in August and I'm going to sit there and rest. I'm going to look at the moon and listen to the hoot owl. I may even grow a beard for 30 days."

I asked him in the plane if he was conscious when someone interviewed him with a tape recorder. "Yes, I am. I have the feeling it's permanent."

He talked of how "John McClellan was insanely jealous of Bill Fullbright. And Fullbright couldn't have cared less. McClellan never set foot in Fullbright's office. He was the senior senator--by 2 years--and Fullbright always went to his office. He didn't care."

Told story of how McClellan and Fullbright sat down over a list of 7 possible appointees for federal judge. McClellan found that first six had

not supported him or some relative of theirs had not supported him and so, finally, they accepted the 7th choice--a man whom neither McClellan nor Fullbright had ever met or knew. "It was selection by process of elimination. That man must have been the most surprised person in the world."

Everywhere we went on the drive to Cherokee Village, DP had a story to tell.

As we got to Sharp County he recalled the guy who started the Sharp County Citizen. "He would print stories like. Helen Travers, wife of Will Travers, was seen sleeping in room 109 of the Clover Motel with Sheriff Bill Wilson, husband of Mavis Wilson. They usually sleep in Room 112. They can be found in the Clover Motel almost every Wednesday after prayer meeting. Stuff like that! Why people would line up for hours waiting for each edition to come out. The paper folded after several libel suits."

"Ole Sam Hanks has a beautiful home built on a bluff above the river--all glass in front. He has a graveyard down near the river. His tombstone is there; and he has his epitaph carved there already. Every year two days before dove season opens, they have a big party in the graveyard. People gather at the tombstone and drink beer for two days, sleep in their trucks at night and get ready to open the season."

"~~E~~lton Skelton operates the store here and he is known as the world's friendliest man. He is. They say nobody has ever heard him say a bad word about anybody. He sells everything and he runs around from brassieres to hardware making everyone feel that he is their best friend."

And there's lots of talk about who is married to whom and especially talk about who is "doing well." There is a kind of preoccupation with people who have made it, who are successful, who are making money. It's a measurement

that Skip and David use--much like Floyd Spence and Sonny Sonders. Stories of people who started with little and have built up their businesses come into the conversation often. Even his introduction of me (which he makes in all his speeches) carries a little of that, I think. There's a preoccupation with "success". Same with Sam Nunn in the Senate and his questions of me regarding other Senators. Charlie Thone was a handicapper par excellence. Dave is not a Charlie Thone--and he's certainly not a Floyd Spence--but there's a kind of personal politics that is more important than issue politics to him. Yet he's much more issue-oriented than Thone or Spence. He's shrewder and more interesting than they are. He's like Flynt in the person to person skill, but unlike Flynt in the media orientation and the issue side to him.

He recalled that I had been around during the nerve gas decision. "The press dropped it completely. It died. But they didn't go through with it."

I asked him, again, if people expected same thing of him as Senator as they did as Governor. "They don't expect a Senator to be around as much as they do a Governor. Governor is considered a higher office in this state than Senator. People feel closer to the Governor than to the Senator."

(John Cooper, head of Cherokee Village noted in his talk that it was harder to raise money for Senate race than any other kind of race.)

Dave and I joked about Cooper, his house, his village, etc. afterwards. Dave jokes re the pictures he took. "There probably wasn't any film in the camera."

We talked a little on the plane about necessity of staying in touch over the years. I mentioned Manny Celler. I don't recall what was said--maybe the story was about Fullbright. I said you needed a few people to run a campaign - he noted a school teacher in Jefferson County (Pine Bluffs) who carried the county for him in his 1st election for Congress. How he didn't

know her, etc. I said you need to keep finding people like that. And he said--returning to something he said earlier that day ("Garry Buckner seemed to be very well liked by the lawyers last night"). "That guy Gary Buckner--one of these days I'm going to give him a phone call." He had discovered a new talent, a worker (Secy Treasurer of Bar) and someone with sense of humor etc. Gary had said at the dinner "Doing a good job in an organization is a little like wetting your pants in a dark suit. You feel warm all over, but nobody notices what you've done."

Do Senators act liked Congressmen at home? Yes. The differences are (for Pryor) (1) a greater emphasis on the press; (2) a wider (higher?) recognition level--Pryor was governor) everywhere we went someone came up to talk with him. And he would invariable end up talking to someone "How you all doin' this mornin'" or "how you all doin." Politics at home is politics at home; (3) ~~has~~^{is} a greater drawing card. Pulaski County Bar Meeting was full and they turned away 50 people. Cherokee Village turned out 250--at lot less than they expected. Dave's characterization of them was "They aren't natives of Arkansas. They all came from out of state. I wouldn't guess any of them had been here longer than 6 years." They were not his people in the sense that he felt an attachment to them. They were outsiders.