

Added if known who his opponent was!

Donald Stewart

July 13-16, 1980

Peggy Long
Jimmy Stewart
Doug Williams
Al Lapierre
Ed Brown
Arthur Young
Franklin Skinner

*the treasurer. ing. by
"Albama pulber"
It means something
① fear of failure
② better - big boys
③ changing
④ surprise - fear
Stewart with
en.*

Lulu Stewart
Ann Gholson
Bill Lester
Ronald Stewart
Sarah _____ (in office)
Jane and Bill Halsey
Stuart _____ (tall guy)

I got into Birmingham about 4:30 and waited around till DS made his speech to the Barbers and Beauticians Convention.

Waiting around, I met Doug Williams and "Jimmy" Stewart (Donald's nephew) and we talked a little while the conventioners were eating and before the speech.

Doug is now his campaign coordinator and worked on the 1978 campaign.

(Al Lapierre is now a coordinator. He worked for Baxley--is old pro from Holyoke.)

He said several things. "Our campaign organization never shut down after the 1978 campaign."

"In the first 16 months he was in office, Donald came home almost every weekend. He would usually come home Thursday night and go back Monday morning. And he still had a 96% voting record."

"We raised 50,000 last week. In 1978 we couldn't raise that in a month. We ended the campaign with a six figure debt--300,000. And by the next we had retired the debt completely. This year we have raised 500,000 already. In 1978, we didn't have a fundraising operation. This time we had the state broken down into seven regions for fundraising. Each region has a committee, with a northern coordinator, a southern coordinator and a roving coordinator. We just came out of southern Alabama with 35,000--and that's a poor section of the state--amazing."

Later, I heard about the regional set-up and the "kick off" scheme it flopped - raised 2,000 and spent 4,000. Hoped for 100,000.

Originally they had designed a decentralized regional campaign organization, with a committee to run it. But they decided they needed centralization. So "I won the prize" said Doug. He came back to Alabama from Washington in September and worked on staff "scheduling, etc." till June. "Then I flipped over to run the campaign, and I'll be here till November."

By end of session.

"About ten people wanted to run against us this year; and every one of them would be stronger than the two opponents we got. But they found they couldn't raise any money." DS said, in talking with Raines that several people were offered money to run vs. him "the same old crowd", and sense I got was that these people couldn't come through with big money.

Stewart gave a prepared speech, but he ad libbed at outset and at the end.

In response to some comment by man who introduced him, DS said "I started running for the Senate four years ago. It seems like a lifetime."

Started by saying "It's a pleasure to serve with Senator Heflin and to serve the people of Alabama" - wants to associate himself with Heflin--who is better known. Gave sense that they are a team.

he was now in Alabama

"I've been in 165 towns and cities since I have been in the Senate. I've been in places where sitting Senators have never been before. It's a rare privilege to represent you. We've worked hard in addition to coming home. I have a 96% voting record. I've spent almost as much time in Georgia as I have in Alabama, because in order to get to Alabama, you have to go through the Atlanta Airport. I ought to own stock in Delta Airlines." (some laughter. It was a cold crowd.)

Some of it

Re economy. People of Alabama are hurting. "It's not the best time to serve or to run for the Senate."

like that

A constant theme was anti-Washington.

difficult

"People in Washington had solutions to our economic problems. One was 20% interest rates. The other was to let unemployment rise. I must say they did it about as well as anybody ever had. When I was elected to the Senate, there were 9500 people working in US Steel. Today there are 2000."

"I didn't agree with the policies in Washington. I didn't have to go there to find that out. I just had to come home."

We need a tax cut, but the "rinky dink Bob Dole" Republican tax cut will give only 150 to "my people in Alabama" and most of it will be taken away at the pay windows.

He wants to defer social security increase, reduce unemployment with "a supply side tax cut."

Wants more research and development. Japanese and Germans are getting ahead in o & D. 80% of patents being given out here now go to Japanese and Germans(?).

"There's probably more common sense in this room than there is in Washington. Senators ought to come home and visit with their people and then go back to Washington and do what's needed."

"We must free up the free enterprise system."

Re synthetic fuels bill - "It's pretty hard to get the administration to talk about what they have done. But they have done something very significant (re. synthetic fuels) and they ought to be talking about it."

"I don't want all the alternative methods of producing energy to be run by big oil companies."

Re energy bill and his part in it. "I'm most proud of what I did in the area of alcohol fuels. We have a lot of experience in Alabama making alcohol from grains. Over in my part of the state, when I was peace justice, I saw about as much technical expertise as there is anywhere in the United States."
(again, just a trace of laughter---very cold)

He got a decent response from story he told at the end. If he'd been less tired (his staff said "he's beat and he's just going to crash at Rich's house), he might have told it at the beginning.

"When I was campaigning the best place I found to hand out literature was the barber shop. The first time I campaigned, I almost didn't do it again. I was up in Jacksonville. The people of Alabama are very direct and plain speaking; they tell you what they think. It was the first time I campaigned outside of Anniston. I walked in to the barbershop and told them all that, if elected, I would lower their utility rates. There was an old man sitting there reading the paper. He lowered the paper and said "This little old man isn't going to do a damn thing. The job of fixing utility rates belongs to the Public Service Commission." All the others agreed with him. Then he put the paper back up. And I went back to Anniston. I almost never went back to a barbershop. But I found they were the best places to campaign." (laughter)

At Halsey's, he told story about barber cutting hair - 2 guys comes in. "Who's the fella with you?" "He's the mayor." "Oh, I thought Sam Watson was still mayor."

Re barber. "I combed my hair when I came in. But I was embarrassed. If you would tell me a good place to get my hair cut, I'll go there next.

One theme of the talk was that small businesses are overregulated. Doug said a guy with a little store stopped him in 1978 and told him that it cost him \$2500 a year to comply with regulations. It made an impression on DS, and he went on small business committee and talks about it a lot.

who said this? "When he was elected, the business community thought he was a liberal with horns. That's because he fought the Alabama Power Company's rate increases and, three years in a row, he filibustered against increased interest rates. Now they see he doesn't have horns. Our chief fund raiser in Birmingham is a

a banker. We have S & L people helping us all over the state. The ACA, a conservative group gave him a 100% rating, right up there with Goldwater."

Well, that ends my first impression--from a 20 minutes speech. It was delivered flat; the audience was flat and not very interested. There was no tub thumping.

Went to breakfast in Bessamer (eggs and issues).

"Can't pick a better place to serve than Senate and can't pick a worse time to serve."

"I disagree rather sharply with some of policies passed in Washington. I am for and was for balanced budget. I pushed for that - as a way of getting a handle on economy. We're moving toward it. We may not make it in 1981. But the budget discipline we exercised is that proven benefited you. A lot of programs got cut out!"

"Other policy was tight money. They tightened up too much. Five weeks later they said we were wrong. I hope it's not too late. A lot of businesses went under at that time. They could have found that out by going home and visiting with the people.

R & D - lack of R & D money - hurting us in competition - tax cut will stimulate growth.

"In addition to family farmer, they are working hard to force small businesses out of business. That's why I asked to go on the Small Business Committee. We've got to maintain competition and allow the small business to grow."

"I'm not going to stand here and tell you we've got an easy, simple solution to our problem. That would be a bald faced lie. But I am saying that more emphasis should be put on the supply side of the economy."

Regulation: Good chance to get change. There are new people in the Senate. Wendell Ford and FTC. Re. legislative veto--we have it in authorized budgetary process - Bentsen - regulatory

Microphone beeps. "I apologize. I'm trying to get near it and away from it. I don't know what to do. Maybe it was made in Japan... I'll set it aside and holler. I've been stumpin' for a week and I can holler pretty good."

Re Iran - less publicity and attention - got better equipment because of malfunctioning of helicopter in rescue.

Defense - (came across throughout the trip as strong defense advocate-- especially pay).

Auto and steel - what's being done?

Super fund - He didn't know about that "I never heard of that" and he asked man questions.

Tax benefits to help business.

Veterans medical service.

11/6
wt
Reagan? "I'm elected to serve 2 years in the Senate. I'm not a political analyst and I know some newspaper people who aren't either (laughter). I don't think I'd have trouble with anyone." I think we ought to run on our record, what we've done. Other people are running on me. So when we can get them out where we can see them, we'll run on them a little. One of 'em is going to hide behind Governor Reagan and ride along behind on his coattail. You've got to do something beside catch phrases and one word solutions. Let's lay his record along mine. That's the way to campaign."

"I'm not campaigning for President Carter. I've been there a year and six months and I hope to heaven you aren't blaming me for all the regulations."

Cooperation between management, government and labor as answer - less of an adversary relationship, he keeps advocating.

11/6
wt
Are you a liberal? "Being for balanced budget and voting for cuts that I've caught hell for I'd say is moderate to conservative. Trying to remove regulation

on small business, I'd say is a moderate position. I don't know what they mean when they say 'liberal.' It's what people say when they want your job. They are governed by the most noble of motives, they want the job. The Chamber of Commerce picked 11 out of 500 bills. And some of them then asked me to vote for them. Then they say I'm liberal. Hog wash! I was born in Mumfords. Hog wash."

When we came out of the Bessemer meeting, he said "That guy who said his company was leaving the county because of regulation! Shit. Those guys won't level with you. The Xerox and Control Data presidents told us regulation had very little to do with it."

He talked about how Xerox and Control Data presidents had come before the Small Business Committee and said regulation had very little to do with it-- taxes, exchange rates and poor management. ("Those companies have bureaucracies that are just as bad as the government." He came back to that guy (from Hercules) two or three times during the day--could it be that his ignorance of super fund hurt?

He talked with Ann about how the campaign went in Southern and SW Alabama the day before. Called it "the best reception I have ever had in that part of the county. We took in 5000 in one dollar tickets for the dinner. In 1978 we never could get anything going down there. (They raised 4000. The prize was 1000. Some guy won it. "I would have given it back; but he kept it.)

"I didn't hear a word about the primary. Those two guys running against us aren't saying anything. They throw the word liberal out once in a while that's all. We'll beat them 75-25 the way it looks. Armstead is working. If you work, you'll always get some support. I had some fun with him in Union town yesterday. I said 'you don't want to elect a switch hitter, a flip-flop, a man who doesn't know what he is, do you? For years he was a Democrat. He got all he could out of that party and now he's a Republican. He's the liberal!'

He wanted AS
as
WFF.
Oh, they were hooting. I asked them if they knew his address. 'It's Falls Church, Virginia. He doesn't even live here. I said, 'if I had run for the Senate (House) in 1968 and been defeated, and I thought I had something to offer the state, I'd have stayed here and tried again. I wouldn't have run off to Virginia the way he did. My address is Alabama. His is Virginia. I know what the people of Alabama think. How can he. He doesn't even live here.' They were yelling 'Go get him.'"

Intro - in Talledega--a more political meeting. Best word to describe Donald Stewart is "accessibility".

"Most difficult thing to do in politics is raising money. I don't apologize for it. We've got a broadly based constituency contributing and I think that's a reflection of the kind of representation I've given."

WFF
"Because of fact I've come home as much as I have, fact that I've talked to people like you as much as I have, any solution I advocate will have your interests in mind."

He talked of grants he'd gotten for Tall. County--especially alcohol field. "I wrote the national legislation on alcohol fuels, along with Herman Talmadge. We didn't slight the rest of the county, but we didn't write it to hurt Alabama and Georgia either! We wrote it so that we could take advantage of the possibilities in that bill." (laughter)

"I've come to know the people I represent as well as any 40 year old man can...I've got seniority that's very important to us and we ought to keep it."

Again - support for increase in pay for military (200,000 military are eligible for food stamps). "I've been called a hawk--but I'm not ashamed of that."

WFF
"There is a fellow running around saying awful things about me. Let's run this campaign on the record. They say I don't represent the people of Alabama, that I'm too liberal. I've been ⁱⁿ on 165 ^{towns} tours - places where a sitting Senator

never went before. My views reflect the ideas and thoughts of the people of Alabama. I resent a fellow who says I'm 'alien' to Alabama. I'm an interesting fella, but I don't think, Mike, that I'm that interesting. I'll say this in front of my wife (hugs her). I'm not interesting enough that people want to focus on me for four months. I want to run on my record and on his record. And we'll leave it up to the people of Alabama to decide. I come from them. I carried my case to them. All these pundits and the few who like to pick governors and Senators did not choose me. I went to the people in Clay County and a fellow was coming up the street. I didn't ask him how important are you? "how much are you worth? They're just folks. This is not my seat. It's the folks' seat."

I was down in Notasaugh the other day. What's doing in Notasaugh? "I'm looking for voters. They count 'em one at a time and we want your votes. I told him I'm from Mumford and people didn't know where Mumford was. I guess they know where it is now. We even went to some big cities--Uriah, Excel⁵¹⁰ ~~as~~ to Frisco City. We want all the votes. And we only run a campaign to win."

Thanks all people by name--punctuates speech with names of people. A characteristic habit of speech to insert "Bill," "John" in middle of his answers to questions.

Re Jack Anderson story. "It's only of interest to one Northeastern reporter. His column usually appears on the comic page and that's where it belongs."

Said in response to question about an amendment of his re higher education. "It took the guts out of what Claiborne Pell and some of those other northeastern Senatorial folks were trying to do to our colleges in the South and particularly here in Alabama." There's an anti Northeast strain along with an anti-Washington strain."

*The
pundit
wrote then
this.*

In car, re his race against Selden. "So far so good. I'm sure he's got some support. He's talking against me, but it doesn't appear that anything's digging and holding."

Jimmy says he did better in cities "with the blacks and all" last time and that this time, he'll do much better in the rural areas.

The ride from ^{from} Bingham to Talledega (Ta la digga) was a lot like Jack Flynt's district, woodsy, hilly and pretty. Kudzu country in the non-woodsy areas.

DS went to two TV stations to talk with new directors and/or general managers. He didn't ask me in and so I sat with the driver (Jimmy) outside in the waiting room. It was better than waiting in 106° outside but that's all. (That was the pattern throughout the trip.)

"The United States Senate is the most glamorous, most exclusive, club in the world. Once you are in it you never see your children, you go broke, you ruin your health and your marriage. Otherwise it's a great job."

After Talledega lunch, he mumbled to Jimmy about his dissatisfaction. He was unhappy all day about that. "Some lazy people working for me who didn't do what they were supposed to do." Then he asked me what turnout was like in NY. Said there was a hot race in Selma recently and turnout was only 37%. "The general feeling about the election this year is just like that meeting--Blaah. Maybe they'll get interested in the presidential election and that will bring them out. I hope so. Last time the big interest was in the primary, and in the general it tailed off. I was the only one who had real opposition. This year it will be the reverse."

He said something about winning by 57% last time and how that was good but not spectacular. So I asked if that encouraged others to take him on. "About twelve of them. And two of them got into the race two weeks before

the filing deadline. You can't run for the Senate that way. I don't know why they did it. I'm having trouble enough running my own campaign."

wmy from
After doctors. "Dick, you having a good time rambling around Alabama? Anybody who wants to work as hard as we are can have the damn job. Boy it's hot. It's hard campaigning when it's hot. It will be hard on Armistead - he's 20 years older."

what
How did it go with doctors? "The way it always goes with doctors. They are greedy, selfish, and ignorant of everything that falls outside their baliwick. They have no conception of how the ordinary person lives. They are the richest group; they have more money than they know what to do with. They are just mini banks. But they have less influence than any group. They wanted to talk about my philosophy and my image in the state. It started like they were going to talk about money, but then they wanted to tell me my philosophy and image are ^{wrong} working for the state, that the doctors aren't with me. I had to bite my tongue. I wanted to suggest to them they might talk a little ^{but} about support. They opposed me last time and I whipped their butts. Now it looks like I'm going to win again. And they are telling me what I have to do to get their support. Don't you think they have it backwards, that they ought to give me a little support first and then we could talk about what we might do."

how is the way Stewart talk - group
I asked him about support. "We've got a good base of support. Last time we had fair labor support--no, good labor support, this time we have excellent labor support; we had good black support ^{for} ~~this time~~, this time we have excellent black support; we had support from the farmers, this time we have better support from the farmers. We have better rural support, better support from the business community. There has been some slippage. but mostly expanding."

Campaign--"Basically a lot of hard work. We'll soon have ^{my opponent with} ^{his tongue out of his mouth.} ³⁹
We'll have him in a corner without many votes. He plans to run Selden into the ground.

"I practice a fair amount of country law--not anything big--just ^{over} ~~once~~ here in Calhoun County. But I had a diverse practice. And you learn a few things. One thing I learned was that people's attention span is very short. You get your presentation and your summation to the jury and that's about it. That's what you're doing when you're campaigning. Another thing is that people won't stand for bullshit. They want you to speak plainly and directly. Finally you have to know your opponent. I know mine. He's a pompous ass; and before he's through I'm going to make him look like a pompous ass. He was in Congress for 16 years and we're going over his record thoroughly. We've got a plan ~~is~~ all right."

That was on the way to Moulton. When we got there and saw all the cars in the cow pasture he was delighted. "Didn't I tell you this was a strong area?" Lawrence County is TVA country and very strong Democat.

When I asked him how he could lose support quickest, he said "If you had an issue where there were deep-seated feelings, like the Panama Canal. That would be the most difficult." He then went on to say that he voted best he could and would try to defend it. Talked at some length re. best vote for the people of Alabama and country and then defend it.

"If all he's got to talk about is me, he hasn't got much to talk about."

The question is: Who ^{is} best man ^{continue to} ~~is~~ to serve in the Senate over the next year^s.

"They call me liberal. I don't know ^{what} being on Agriculture Committee, keeping the family farm and making things better for the farmer is. I don't

know whether you call it liberal or conservative. I call it doggone good representation." He had a litany of things like this.

"I was born in ~~Mum~~ford and lived here in Alabama all my life. At least I can say that I live in Alabama. I don't live in Falls Church, Virginia."

"I've come home every weekend but 3 and I have 96% voting record."

"Peace loving hawk." "I've voted for every defense *appropriation* on the Senate floor and I make no apologies for it." "I know I'm a young Senator; but I ~~learned~~^{all} it honestly." When I started out I had 2% of the vote. I know; I paid for the poll that told me I had 2%. I was Donald who."

"You ~~are~~^{all} been good to me and I appreciate it."

"Both my opponents come from the same county. That's stupid. That's no way to get a base. But neither of them ever did get high marks for being smart..."

"One of my opponents (Folsom) told Harold Jackson that his home county cast 2% of the vote and that he would get half of that. One percent of the total vote is not much of a base. He did real well when he ran for Congress one time. He got 19% of the vote. Now he wants to run for the Senate."

"If we have to have a runoff primary then we're in big trouble."

"One reason I don't want to get beat is because I've made so many good friends up there." (After a discussion of Moynihan.)

Jimmy said the 2 opponents entered because they thought DS would be indicted, because of Jack Anderson's story.

I asked why the Birmingham News would write that there was a real primary contest going on--which they did in the paper I read. "I have never had their support. They opposed me in 1978. And I never will get their support. I'm not the choice of the choosers... Al Fox wrote the story.

He's an old drunk and he has to keep his job. They probably told him to slant it."

There's a bit of a jugular instinct vs. his opponent that I haven't seen and a political interest that is different from most. He loves politics.

Says he majored in history and still reads the Durants. "I thought since we were in such trouble, I'd see what happened to the Roman Empire."

Tuesday a.m. "Everyday is like yesterday. (We had driven 320 miles.) When I campaign that's all I can think of and that's all I can do. We only take time out Sunday to go to church. We campaign on the weekends too. That's why I know we won't get beat."

^{Ch}~~Chairman~~ of Comm. - Gadsden.

"I have as ^{fine}~~fun~~ a staff as any freshman Senator could have. But this morning my staff has overdone it. They have prepared a speech that's 15pp. long. I don't know where I could give this speech. I'm not even sure I could give this on the floor of the Senate. It would take 2 hours. This is supposed to be an issues and answers session and I think my staff decided they would educate me. So they provided me with a 15-page speech. I'm going to lay it aside on the table here and if you want to know what I would have said, you can stop by and pick it up. John, you might even editorialize on it and say it's the greatest speech I ever gave."

Speech on R & D.

80% of patents re. reading machine are Japanese.

"Regulatory budget" as regulatory reform.

Need to use our tools re FTC.

"As a Freshman Senator with the tools available to me I did something about the health care service, the energy department and the agriculture department. The way we did it was to hold hearings and ask them "what in the world are you doing that for."

Fella hadn't seen sitting senator for 15 years and he stood up and told me what he'd been storing up for 15 years."

Question: proposed veto power over management decisions to move plants?
Will it pass?

"We've got a real problem in the NE corridor of the county. They came at the Tennessee. *Tombigbee* If you support NY City, it's an investment, but an investment in Southern Alabama is a boondoggle. I'm concerned about their problems but I think that kind of bill would be ridiculous."

"I learned a little something in Alabama and I could use that in the Senate and we could put that bill to death."

"Washington's a pretty insulated community. They make a living no matter whether we are working or not down here."

more open about stupidity of other than
Talked here, as he did in car coming over, that government, management and labor should have less adversarial relationship. In car he said that "a lot of decisions were made by some of the stupidest people in the county. And there were management decisions." re. our competitive position.

On way from Anniston to Gadsden, he was much more talkative than the day before--about the job, the Senate, Percy(!) and a little about the media (triggered by story about Jack Anderson's articles which appeared in last night's paper and which I read on the counter in DS house when we got there in the morning.)

Re Percy, he talked about him (with voice imitations!) "When we are dealing with the most controversial legislation, and are just about to cut the knot-- at 12:00 at night when we all want to go home to our wives and our children-- Chuck will get up and say "Mr. President I ask unanimous consent--and by courtesy you have to give it to him. Everybody will look at each other and Bob Byrd will sit down. And Chuck will say "I want to say a word about A.E. Jones who just died. Then, let's say we have been talking about military procurement--he'll say Mr. President we are facing the greatest energy crisis

in our nation's history. It's discourteous. There's a time to say those things in the morning hour or when no one's there. But not when we're all sitting around tired and just about to vote. Someday when he asks unanimous consent I'm going to say "I object." And if he asks me why I'll say it's discourteous to the rest of us. But what can you say to a man who's over 50? 'Didn't your momma ever teach you not to spoil the fun of the other 99 kids on the playground?' He was probably raised by a nanny who taught him 'Chuck, you're a good boy.' (Heinz is same way - puts in amendments in Committee "Where are they?" Some rinky dink staffer is typing them up in the office.

I know them all. I have to. Any legislative body is funny. You are thrown together. It's a weird relationship. But it's like a family. They are good people. Even the ones I criticize are all right."

Again, in the morning, he talked about the life. "There's nothing glamorous about it. Do you call what we are doing glamorous? How would you like to make a living this way? The pay, I tell you honestly, is a joke. There are compensations. It's a good job. People who go into politics do so to be of service--unless they are crooks, and I suppose there are some of those. They are under more media scrutiny than ever before. Every reporter wants to be a Woodward and Bernstein. I'll always come down on the side of free press. I knew what I was getting; but sometimes I think I'm getting more than I bargained for."

*typical
Woodward
Bernstein
1/2 WF*

Gadsden Times - 6/6/78 - On Allen's death. First page. "Senator Allen's success was due in great measure to his insistence on remaining in close touch with the people back home. He maintained six offices in the state and made himself available to every Alabama citizen who had anything he wanted to talk over. Nobody was ever refused access to Senator Allen.

Older Alabamians had remarked repeatedly that it is necessary to go back at least to the era of the Bankheads to find the kind of rapport that existed between Senator Allen and those he served."

Also re Allen. "Allen's last great political fight centered on the nation's right to retain the Panama Canal. He lost the fight but became more than ever the political hero of Alabamians. His refusal to give up until the last roll call vote was to put him once more in the national spotlight and gave strong expression to the views of the majority of his constituency."

"He was considered unbeatable."

"We have some deep-seated problems in this economy. The solutions won't fit on a 3 x 5 card or a campaign jingle."

Guy said to me at lunch. "I got to know Donald in 1975 and he's been working as hard as he is now ever since. I used to think he was in it for the personal glory, but he doesn't stop working long enough for fame to catch up with him."

Intro me in Anniston (his home town).

"I'm not going to travel around this state saying this is a terrible country. A son of a cotton ginner and a farmer, a man who worked hard all his life, a man who never got more than an 11th grade education, and who was successful as he was couldn't talk like that."

Gas situation. "I've talked to Bennett Johnston who tells me that the surplus is a short term situation and that we are going to have long term shortages."

Scandal Coleman. "I'm not going to dignify that with a comment."

Abortion. "Thorny problem. Toughest position for me to take."

Afterward "Joe B. Walker was the only religious nut in the crowd."

"What do you think about abortion, Senator?" "What do you think about abortion, Joe? What did you think about it when you went with those girls you went with?" That's what I wanted to say. When you come back to your home town, you know people too well. What did you think about abortion, Joe, when you were getting drunk and catting around. He's forgotten all that, I'm sure."

"Donald, what are you going to do about the weather?" "We're working on it." "That's what you politicians always say." "I want to say that Dr. Sell has been an inspiration to me. You preached a sermon that hangs on my wall. I thank you for that."

Chamber of Commerce Hearing.

In the morning, when Jimmy looked at the schedule, he said about the hearing on small business. "That's a three hour ordeal. What will you do?" "I'll listen to my people. They have to listen to me. Why shouldn't I listen to them." Just another example of differences of viewpoint between officeholder and staffer.

THE early
DS story
like
might
maybe

Jimmy and DS got talking about some guy from Anniston, Fred _____. Fred said to me once "You'll never last..." "There was a bill allowing loan companies(?) to charge as much as 150%. I didn't think that would be of much help to the people. So I was fighting it in the House. Fred had pushed it very hard in the Senate and it had passed the Senate. You can't filibuster in the House but I was proposing a lot of amendments. I ended up with 11 votes on the final vote and I couldn't even get anybody to have a drink with me afterward. I had really gotten my butt kicked. And I had almost been censured. Of course they couldn't censure me, but they kept declaring all my amendments 'out of order'. I had been humiliated. I was feeling about that high. That's when Fred came over to me and said "Tell me, how's the

people's man doing now?" I don't know why he did that to me. We had been friends. I had worked for him. I had organized for him. I had organized his campaign the first time he ran for the House. But there I was. I literally couldn't get anyone to go to the bar with me and have a drink. I had thought someone would have stood up with me but no one did. So I went home that night feeling low, about an inch high. My belly was dragging on the ground. My wife asked me 'How did it go today.' I told her 'I got my butt ~~w~~hipped today' and told her all what happened. And I told her what Fred said, "how's the people's man doing now?" She said 'Hang in there.' I said to her. 'I've made one decision today. I've done one positive thing. I've decided to run against Fred and take that Senate seat away from him. I trailed that asshole for the next 6 months. And I whipped his butt. I got 67% of the vote. I carried every box and beat him with more than 2/3 of the vote. I wanted to ask him how he thought the people's man was doing then! But I didn't have to. The people had given their answer." This story shows enormous determination on his part. It has the same single minded zeroing in on an opponent that his comments re Selden show.

The attack (m)
The reporter asked me what I could say about Les ^{Colman} ~~Ederman~~. "I said he wasn't a significant player in any enterprise that I'm interested in." At lunch he had said "I'm not going to dignify that with a comment. I've been in public life for many years, and the one thing I have never had to face was a question about my integrity. I'm not going to talk about it. The charge was politically motivated and when find out who politically motivated it, I'll talk about it--loud and clear."

"Where are we going?" "To the Rotary." "The Assholes of the World. Assholes of the World, Unite! Join the Rotary."

When he gets in the car, he lets "the big boys" have it--doctors,

businessmen, Rotarians, etc. So I guess I'd like to see him with his strongest supporters, i.e., the folk's ^{at} Moulton came closest.

When I asked him about his support, he said, "We have a good base of support all over the state."

At Centre in Cherokee County - "Last time we ran out of this part of the state. This was our strong base---and in the large cities. This time, we have expanded our support into the rural areas."

Alcohol - fuel? "That's the kind of thing I think our Senators ought to be doing. Rural health care - we have new office here in Alabama.

"I've served on good committee, I have the seniority. I'm a young man and we can build on that. I have a problem because I said we should have a young man in the Senate and now my opponents are younger. I think 40 is about right - not too young and not too old. My seniority is significant because I took office before any of the other 20. I now rank 80th in the Senate. Gives me capability to chair 2 subcommittees. The South has always done that, elected people to build seniority, to serve this part of county - look at JS, RL, ^{p.68} HT. They run a large part of the Senate. The reason they do is because the people of their states sent them there and kept them there."

"I hope people of Alabama have sense to make independent judgment on who President is and who Senator is. I'm running my own campaign."

"I've worked hard in the economic area. I've worked hard in the defense area and I have a good record."

"I opposed credit controls as strongly as I could. I thought it was a stupid mistake and it was. The reason I opposed it was because I came home and talked to farmers and builders and small businesses who were about to go under."

Ed Yarborough - talked about a bill that was going to bring benefits to all but SE states - old people's fuel bills. "He explained to 'em it gets cold here just like it does in Chicago. He stopped the bill and made them include the SE state. It was one of the small things, the underneath things. That was a real help to us.

DS - "We add money so that Alabama could get its share. That's what we did. Sometimes those newspapers....."

"I have been home. You send me to Washington and I'll be back in Centre. I have to. It's where I come from. I come from Muford. I learn a lot when I come home so that I know what to do when I go back to Washington. This is an important kind of representation. I listen and it makes me a better Senator."

B. Lester - "He has a quick political mind. He knows how to manipulate the other candidates." Very important idea.

A friend - "He's not a liberal. He's just like a firefly who shows his tail once in a while."

^{station WEIS}
Cherokee ^{re} Weis - questions Cuban refugees.

Combatting inflation - He changed the amount of benefit under "rinky dink" Dole proposal - used to say 100-175; said 75-100.

Hostages.

He sees Alabama people as "having difficulty keeping their head above water."

Second radio station - "I was a little known Senator for Calhoun County. Back then I was Donald Who... The people of Calhoun County were good to me."

"I got a head start on everybody else. I'd like to say it's because of my brilliance. But I just got there before everybody else. I'm the ranking member of the Freshman class."

"I wrote the alcohol fuel~~er~~ bill. It was 1.3 billion and I'll be watching over half that program as chairman of a subcommittee on agriculture."

"I'm an Alabama Democrat" at breakfast - in contrast to Selden.

We visited with Albert Rains. "I managed a lot of bills besides the housing bills. I had no trouble managing the bill. And I could get 50-60 votes nobody else could get. I had my back packed full of things. If a fella wanted a housing project, why he'd vote for TVA. Over the years, that built up. By the end, there wasn't anything I couldn't get."

During interview with Rains. DS went out and came back. "We just got some good news about Selden. He's raised 164,000 and spent all but 25,000 of it. He's going to run out of money, that's what's going to happen to him.. and we just got a poll from the unions that has leading 64-26 with 20% undecided."

Introduction at Kiwanis. "I'm fixin to introduce a real worker to you."

"I have selected certain committee assignments because I thought they would be good for Alabama but they led me into other fields where I thought I could help solving some of the problems of the county. (nice phrasing) Steve mentioned energy. I don't serve on the energy committee, but the Banking Committee got into it and Agriculture got into it."

"Put shoulder to the wheel."

"We are not importers of energy with all the resources we have. If we do what we can do we'll become energy exporters." coal, methane gas, nuclear in TVA area.

You gained from balanced budget - 2 examples. (1) 500m from travel. "We found there were 20,000 government employees in the air at any point in time. Didn't know where they were going. Didn't know what they were doing." (2) cut consulting. "It's a revolving door. A fella works for a department,

resigns, goes to the beltway, sets up a consulting firm and then consults with the department. And you are paying for it."

"Dee Huddleston and I worked hard on the small business committee----

"Anybody who runs around in the campaign wringing his hands and saying how bad everything is and doesn't do anything about it is not giving us the kind of leadership we need."

me thinks
To Kiwanis about me. "He's a yankee, but a good one. We gave him an experience this morning in Centre, Alabama. Northerners don't eat right. They make the worst mess when they cook beans. So we gave him a real Southern treat--sausage and biscuits and ham and biscuits. That was something he never ate before. He'll go home clutching that experience to his heart. We may make a Southerner out of him yet."

*Some
had a
a chance*
The Kiwanis meeting in Gadsden was cold. It was Jim Martin's club and Martin was DS' opponent in 1978. "That was the worst meeting I've had. But I like to talk to groups like that. You'd be surprised how many people came up and said they were sorry for the way I was treated. We'll pick up some votes. When I talk to those groups, I speak better, I articulate better, I'm tougher and meaner. I scare 'em. They'll say he believes that shit and he can sell it to the voters. I got the same kind of reception when I spoke there in 1978 and I whipped his ass--in his own county. They haven't forgotten and they're still mad. That fellow who introduced me didn't help when he said 'Jim Martin was to have been here to introduce you but he had to be at the Republican Convention.' That got it off to a bad start. It opened up old wounds, deep wounds.... Those were the people, I'll tell you that. Not the guys in that room. I'd say we have about six votes there."

He got 2 questions - one on his ADA record. One on abortion--both hostilely worded and hostilely followed up."

"There's no way you can answer that kind of question about my ADA record. So I ignored it by saying I don't pay attention to those Washington ratings. I only care about the ratings by the people of Alabama. If you get into the habit of answering those questions of defending yourself against attacks, that's all you'll do. So I just 'don't know' about those scores. It made me even madder that I would ignore them."

The 'ADA' guy said Jim Allen had a zero ADA record, what was yours? I asked him "Do people compare you with Jim Allen?" "Not much. Each person makes it on his own. Only the right wing kooks, like that guy saying those things." It wasn't a great answer but probably wasn't a great question either.

Driving away from EPA ceremony. "I'm thrilled that he's only raised 151,000. That tells me something. It tells me he's not getting off the ground. We've raised 600,000 and we have 175,000 left. That's ^{more} ~~more~~ than he's raised all told. We'll raise another 200,000 before the primary and then another 400,000 for the general. We'll raise about 200,000 of that in Washington and out of the state and about 200,000 in the state. We'll spend about a million two all together."

After the EDA ceremony I asked him if he could make a difference in getting something like that. "We're working hard with EDA and UDAG and SBA and we're getting better. You have to kick ass and even act like a horse's ass on occasion. Sometimes we do that with pleasure. But it takes time to learn to work with those people and toknow who to work with. It's not a straight competition.

DS reminds me of Don Matthews!

Sitting on the plane going to Atlanta he put his two hands up to his face. "One of my supporters told me today that I shouldn't put my hands up to my face when I get up to speak. I said what else do you want to change, you man. It was Bill Lester. Can't you leave me some of my characteristics?"

I get that all the time. People want to change me."

Some funny stories about Cleburne County as we drove to airport - people beat each other up. He and LuLu arrive in town and big fight going on on Main Street. Chief of Police gets in car and runs siren.

As we landed in Atlanta, he mused again about Selden's money and how he couldn't buy enough "rating points" of TV with the money he has.

On the way to the airport, he talked about some guy who complained to LuLu about something when she was campaigning. DS called the guy and was upset that he had criticized Lulu. Talked about how cantankerous this guy was - kept saying that he told him "I wouldn't do that to your wife and I don't expect you to do that to mine." Then he said "I'll whip his butt up there." That is one of his favorite phrases--I'll whip someone's butt or someone got his butt whipped. There's a sense that the electoral process settles things--that if people oppose you, you whip his butt.

I didn't ask him about Washington and he didn't talk about Washington. But at one point, he said with reference to some Senator "he's not good at putting together coalitions." (I forget who)

During our first ride--with Lulu to Talladega he said "We started running four years ago and it seems to me that's all we've been doing ever since." And when we were landing in Atlanta he said "It looks like there won't be any let-up in the schedule till November." His hard running is also a characteristic--a basic one.

He is determined, hard running and competitive.

At the party at Halsey's, he and Ronald cut-up, telling stories about their college days mixed in with politics, keeping the men in stitches in the kitchen. Ronald is very funny. Donald plays off him and is funny too. It was relaxing. Jane Halsey said "He calls at 5:00 and says, let's get everyone together at your house." He was with his primary constituency.

Some of those people had been with him since the Senate race--and even the House race.

When I asked about his nucleus for his Senate campaign Ed Brown and Arthur Young said "the same people who were with him in his State Senate race."

People talk about "loyalty" that Donald commands. He's good one on one. People who meet him and like him work very hard for him.

Another point is that he does see himself (and the people around him talk this way, too) as the champion of "the folks," "the people." Ed Brown spoke of his (Ed's.) admiration for the "grubby people". I love 'em as opposed to "the muckers" (I guess the big mucky mucks is where it comes from.) Jimmy talked about the "big ikes" who were at McCullers, and was afraid to interrupt that conversation because they were very important people with "big bucks". "You could see their wallets sticking out of their pants!" He told story about how he took DS to "The Club" in Birmingham. "They were the snotty crowd from Rose ^{to go} Mountain". After 10 minutes, Donald said "Let's get the hell out of here."

Arthur said, in answer to how's it going. "We're doing well among labor, with the farmers and with the blacks. The bankers are with us, the S & L's, the Nursing home association. That leaves only the country club types. We'll never get them." There is a kind of mythology that the only group that DS can't reach is the country club crowd. "They are the enemy, really, more so than "the business community," which has some detractors, but which can be brought around by argument. DS often attacks "the big boys" and defends "the people who work with their hands." It's a populist strain.

He and Albert Rains agree that there is pro Selden money put into DS two opponents campaigns. DS thinks St. John's is in it because he's had a career in the Senate, is now 48 and feels that time is passing him by. So

he wants to reach further before it's too late. Problem is, Stewart got there first.

At Atlanta - "I wish you success with your book. I admire writers."

He asked me what I was doing when I first met him. I gave him one sentence. He was quiet and went to other things for a while. Then he asked again. "I didn't understand what you are trying to do. Maybe I'm slow." I elaborated, he seemed satisfied. Then he said, "I sure as hell hope what I do here has some relationship to what I do in Washington."

After he asked me about my book, he asked about Javits and we talked about that.

Re John Buchanan. "He's a Republican and a good one. He's probably got a better liberal record than I do in some areas." It's interesting that he would talk about a "better liberal record than mine." It indicates that he does think of himself as liberal and wants to have a good liberal record--or would like to have one in the best of all worlds.

Ed and Arthur talked about casework and how each office has some specialties--one office handles SS, Anniston handles HUD, SBA and FHA, etc. They both say they think they'll get better treatment from agencies if they have a six year term. But they can only prove it later on. We agreed Congressmen can get elected with casework. Senator can't get elected with just casework. But Senators need casework too. So we concluded Senators need a balance. Ed's idea was that Senators are more aggressive with casework and will rock the boat. Congressmen less likely to rock the boat; they depend on quick replies and communication. Senators depend on victories. They wouldn't want to give it up like Domenici. They think casework and projects are very important. Arthur says that the fact that there was a campaign on (in fact) during first 2 years hampered him from undertaking

as many projects as he'd like to. He just didn't have the time, mostly because DS was home every weekend and he had to accompany him everywhere.

When Hoyt Adair was turned down for his Agriculture grant to make alcohol fuel, he was hopping mad. Got a phone at 10:00 to Dan ^{Du}Pitko "If the department of Agriculture is doing what I think they are doing they are violating the ^{intent} interest of the act. They're cutting the little farmer out and giving it all to the big boys. I'm going to make this a test case. We'll do it the nice and easy way first. But if we don't get results, I'll kick ass and make them wish they never tangled with me." etc.

Re 1978. "We were supposed to be a quirk. But we had a very solid organization. What we do we do very well."

Bill Lester said in 1978 that labor didn't support DS, because they supported Heflin when Stewart was in the race for Sparkman's seat. Then when DS switched labor came over, "They called us; we didn't call them." The blacks were anti Stewart, kept in line for Allen by Democratic organization candidate--did not get help from the Democratic party. Bill says they couldn't get into the business community. (He's a kind of outsider--Gadsden Times Editor didn't know him at all.) Donald says S & L "have always been supporters of mine". Bankers have come around--he's on Banking Committee.

At the Moulton Barbeque at Hoyt Adairs, Maynard _____ introduced S (Afterward "Maynard is a great introducer"). Told story Hugo Black told--old guy driving through county comes to crossroads. No signs. Stops and sees young man on a tractor, waits till he gets to end of row. Where does the road go. Don't know. Where does this road go? Don't know. You don't know much do you young man. No sir, I don't know much. But I ain't lost."

Then goes on to name, by name, the leading Democrats in all the nearby hamlets, and lists their traints and accomplishments--mostly that they are "good Democrats". "This is one of the strongest Democratic counties in the state and one of the strongest Democratic counties in the United States. So you're not lost here Donald."

"This young man is a member of the Agriculture Committee. His biggest interest is Agriculture. He's a friend of Herman Talmadge; he's a friend of Robert Byrd; he's a friend of Russell Long, he had his picture in the paper the other day with John Stennis. This man has friends. I've known John Bankhead, John Sparkman, Lester Hill and Jim Allen. This young man will have as great a career as any of them."

Moulton was great and there were 300 people at the barbeque.

Lulu has a scrap book.

DS talked about Judge Brandy a guy in Southern Alabama "who was at one of his meetings there and who could speak well." "He made me feel like a green kid." "He's a con man. Yes, but he's our con man."

That led to story about Jim Folsom--a legislator has candidate for judge and takes him around to be checked out by Folsom. "This man was very prim and proper. He didn't know the bolks. So Jim Folsom sat there listening to Senator Rankin all his qualifications and finally he said, "Rankin, is he our son of a bitch? This prim and proper man was shocked. That wasn't exactly the way he expected to get the vote. But he kept quiet. All he could say afterward was "The governor has an unusual way of expressing himself."

After the staff flêp the first morning--Ann was upset and unglued, Jimmy was upset, DS was irritable, etc.--Lulu came by when I was in the office and said. "I hear you saw the real Donald Stewart this morning." I laughed.

All in all I got to know him a little and he said it would be "my pleasure" if I came back in the fall. So I will.

Another example of populist attitude was his mimicry of Jim Martin at Halsey's. A reporter is talking to Martin. "Didn't you schedule a meeting at the Birmingham Country Club with your supporters." "No I didn't have anything to do with that." Didn't you have a get-together at the Union League Club in ^{p. 102} *Montgomery*. ? "No I didn't know that was being set up". Didn't you meet with a select group at the Executives Club in Huntsville. "I don't have anything to do with my schedule." Lots of laughter - painting Martin as a club man, friend of big boys, etc. and yet trying to deny in some way, the closeness of his affiliation.

We talked some about Selden's age cohort having outgrown him and that some supporters didn't want him to run for that reason. You get out of touch and younger people come up to challenge you, backed by young cohort. He talked some about Herman Talmadge and his fight, which DS admires. So does his staff. They have interest in HT because of proximity and because he's Chairman of Agriculture Committee. From Stewart's point of view, he's probably the best chairman he could have--because of proximity.