Karen Thurman (D/FL) August 23-24, 1996

August 24, 1996

9:00-10:45 A.M.	Candidates	Forum	Brooksville
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12:45-2:00 P.M. League of Women Voters Downtown Gainesville at the Hippodrome Theater

Chie 352-344 3044

4:20 P.M. Old Courthouse Rally, Downtown Inverness

6:00 P.M. Levy County Democratic Rally Bronson High School Football Field

Karen's office staff:

Anne Morgan: Boss

Patricia Ortolano: chief of case workers, campaign work horse, NY accent, very tough broad.

Blanche Vogel: born in NH, Reading, MA, quiet, hard worker, veteran's specialty.

Patrick Thomas: all purpose constituency work.

Liz Fort: scheduler, "stressed out" in campaign context.

Kevin Picart: on leave in Gainesville to Dems. (Ian - his substitute)

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Book 1

- On way to Brooksville, Anne: "We have to start getting our campaign organized. Up to now, we've spent every wgsking moment on John's campaign."
- Karen: "I keep talking to our Democrats, so their feelings won't be hurt. I tell them, "Don't expect your Democratic candidates to come to your meetings every Thursday night. We're out campaigning. Why don't you find out where your candidates are and go help them."
- On way to the Brooksville meeting, Anne: "It's strange to see Karen so nervous." I said that may be she really hadn't focussed on her campaign yet, and Anne agreed that may be so.
- On the way, she fretted about being on time, about who would be there, and didn't bring cigarettes, wanted gum, was driving fast, didn't like Steve's notes. Hoped that lady who monopolized her time everywhere would not be there (she wasn't).
- Re her complaining about cars slowing her down, she said, "See, I still talk to cars."
- "I talked to Steve. I don't need all this Congress rhetoric. What have I done?" She had two sheets she carried to each event. One, votes cast, and two, money produced.
- Last night, Karen woke me up (I'd fallen asleep in motel-about 8:30) with a call from her auto. She was on way back from Gainesville and wanted to talk. Worried about the St. Pete editorial slamming (and I mean really slamming) John as too tired on the job, poor health (even after transplant), had two decisions reversed, not active in community. She worried that: had she not had her job and had he not been so supportive of her and stayed home, he wouldn't be in this fix. "I don't know what to do. What can you do? Just keep 'licking and sticking' (envelopes) I guess." It turned out John is going to write "a rebuttal."
- John was picked up "weaving" one night and falling asleep before he had the liver transplant, when he was on dialysis, but the idea that he's not up to it and it's time for new blood, is clearly around. When he was asked a question to that effect at a forum, Karen said, "I didn't have any idea what he would say. But he got up and said, "I have two things to say. First, I hope you'll consider organ transplants. And second, I hope you'll vote for me." I was so proud of him."
- She babbled on for quite a while about her opponent, her day and said she was on her way to do some envelope stuffing, etc.

and Patricia's house (staffer). That there was pizza there and "I'm bringing the beer." (When she got there: "I made two stops on the way from Gainesville--one for cigarettes and one for beer.") If I wanted to come, she said, why didn't I? So I called Pat, she said no. Anne called and said 'come along.' I did and spent from 8:45 or so till 11:30 working at Pat's house, folding and stuffing--along with all of Pat's relatives, Blanche, Anne, John's law clerk and wife and son, John's secretary, etc. They are trying to get out 17,500 letters and brochures by Monday (that was Friday night).

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On phone, Karen asked about Glenn Poshard. "He came up to me one day on the floor and talked about you. He said, 'What have you two got going?'--he has such a good time. I told him, [I put him in the back seat and let him watch me put on my Pat gilstrap among the 3 hunthien condicates make up and I feed him beer !"

- Brooksville--only Gil Strep appeared-Came on as strong speaker, Karen came on feisty. She's tired, but it didn't show. On the way, they laughed that she was "the lady who bowed her head during the Star Spangled Banner!"
- She's consumed with John's election. Much of the talk in the car had to do with (1.) the St. Petersburg Times editorial (the Jime Jim Ross did it because John dissed him once.) But after countless analysis, KT says "there's a piece of the puzzle that we're missing." (2.) will the mailing get out on time Monday. Here, they seem to be behind the opponent pretty He has more signs; a bigger booth at the Inverness badly. square event; his brochure went to every household this week.

"John and I are running totally separate races. But people connect the two. One of the reasons I'm concerned about John's race, quite frankly, is that if he should lose, that would be taken as a sign of weakness for me, too. If I show weakness, they won't want to drop a lot of money into my race. I'm worried, too, because John's ballot position is the worst you can have, at the very end of the very last group on the ballot. I hope there will be some name recognition. I have spent \$2 million dollars over the last 14 years getting elected. You would think that will help, but who knows. As of now, our understanding is that the Republicans have written off my race. But if we show weakness, they may reconsider. That has me very concerned. If -- of I should say "when"--John wins, I'll have a normal race. You asked me what votes I'll have to explain during the election. The only way I'll have to explain any vote is if they put money into the race. No money, no explaining." So, a lot is riding on John's race-it's not just wifely love and sense of obligation and pay back. It's for her, too. They are separate; but, they are a political team, too.

On her car phone, when she called my motel, she said, "wait till you see my opponents. You're in for a treat. They are a piece of work. They make Big Daddy look ordinary. But we haven't a clue who will win--not a clue."

When John came in to Pat's we were folding and stuffing, he sat down next to me and talked about Karen's opponents. "One of them is so little, he can't see over the podium. The other one has flaming orange, that sticks up straight and reminds me of Harpo Marx. All he needs is that beeper--honk, honk, honk. The other one is not so bad now that he has his teeth back in. I call 'em Curly, Moe and Larry."

John is very funny, but "a very private person" (says KT) and not outgoing. He <u>is</u> getting around, and she's proud of his effort in that respect, since she knows it's hard for him. He's also out of practice, 12 years ago, he had a competitive race (he challenged an incumbent). But six years ago, he had no opponent. And, of course, judges can't campaign. A lot of car gossip involved other judges, their relations with one another. John is the administrative judge and a no-nonsense judge (they say) and there may be some jealousies. On other hand, she says that they want him to win because if he can be beaten, other judges may be next.

"The (St. Pete) editorial threw me for a loop. It made me sick. I couldn't imagine why anyone would write that. I don't know what to do. What can you do? Just keep on licking and sticking." They have 17,500 pieces of advertising to get out.

When we stop for gas, KT hops out and washes the windshield and back window, talking to the guy at the next pump. She is unbelievably social, hugs all the men she knows. "I just got two hugs at this table" (at Inverness fair). She drove all day. Anne in front most of the time. She and Anne laugh constantly and gossip about people. Karen smokes a couple of packs a day--but doesn't finish most of them. Her front seat is littered with bags--constantly losing her lighter. Puts lipstick and eye shadow on as we approach each stop--driving and looking in the mirror.

"I love the job I have campaigning. I really do. There are so many great people out there--wonderful people. And there are some horse's asses! I talk to them all. When I think back to 1982, when I first ran for the Senate, I think the reason I won was because I talked with everybody. My opponent would only talk to people if he thought they were important."

Anne: "Last week at this time, Karen and I thought we were going to the Democratic convention." But they got involved in John's race. As we were coming home from the last (Levy *Q*ty)

event and she was tired: "I'm glad I'm not going to the convention. We've got a week's work here. We had our tickets and room reservations."

- She's got a 19 year old son, Mackie, and a 17 year old daughter, Liberty, that she worries about. She decided to stop at her house on the way home from Gainesville. So she called on the car phone once on the way to Gainesville to tell them she was coming and telling them to clean up the house before she got there. Then after we left Gainesville, she called again to tell them we were an hour away. The first call, she asked them to pick up their clothes, take the dishes out of the dishwasher, put the dirty dishes in the dishwasher, vacuum the ruq. "I want the house picked up and cleaned up when I get there. If not, there won't be any money and you won't be able to do all those wonderful things you do on Saturday night. I love you. Remember, no money unless the house is clean. I love you." (Anne says, "Bribery still works!") KT says, "I hope so. The place is a mess."
- The second call, one hour out, to check up and had the same tone, but a new twist. "Have you cleaned up the house? I mean, have you cleaned it up enough so I can bring a man you've never met into the house? Yes, a man who is writing a book--about ME?"
- On the way to the house, she talked a lot about the kids-growing up difficulties. "One problem the kids have around here is they don't have enough to do. The boys think its fun to bury their trucks in mud--mudslinging. Then they dig em out and they won't go. We've got a truck in the yard now. Mackie wants us to fix it. We won't. He said the other day maybe he ought to go to college. I thought that was a great step forward." She concluded that he would be OK, didn't worry about him, but that Liberty was her real worry, but didn't say why.
- Any way, we got to the house and went in. There were her two kids, plus 8 or 9 others sitting in the family room. She took a quick look, decided they had done a good enough cleaning job and gave Liberty \$20.00. Liberty asked Mackie if that was enough. (It was all KT had. She went to ATM machine later.) Mackie was naked to the waist and had a huge towel wrapped around him that dragged on the floor. His belly hung way over the top of the towel and he was a lot of flab up top. He was smiling and very congenial, like the host of a Roman holiday, The kids just sat there without much walking around. animation--just hanging out. The TV was going and they nodded when KT asked about the clean up. "I'd also rather have them here than somewhere else." Her house was the obvious hang out. There were four cars and two trucks in the driveway. It turned out Mackie had been swimming. Their house sits on the

loveliest, cleanest, pure spring water river I've ever seen-drinking water clear, limestone bottom, tons of fish (no fishing allowed). We walked down to the dock and stood and watched the sizeable Withlacoochie River meander by--overhanging trees with Spanish moss, pure southern picture book.

- The house is spacious and has a view of the river on one side. She took me through the whole house--the master bedroom, Mackie's room and his shower (waterfall design).
- The rooms I saw looked like a cyclone had hit them. It looked like a week's clothes were strewn all over. I can't imagine what the clean up accomplished. To me, the house seemed to reflect the most disorganized family I ever saw! The patio was strewn with broken chairs and rubbish. The grass was not cut and had ceased to be grass--all weeds. There was a center court yard with a jacuzzi (also had jacuzzi in master bath) surrounded by flowers and plants she obviously had cared for and prized--schefflera, philodendrum, hibiscus. It looked dissheveled, but the most attractive part of the house. She was pleased to tell me that John designed it himself (the house).
 - The visit to the house was curious. In a way, she was showing me the way they lived--chaotic, with John as house mom most of the time, with her on the road or in DC, with the kids sort of going nowhere (stalled out in adolescence and getting fed money) and with the house physically unkempt and disorderly. I suspect it was the real world she lives in and she may see nothing extra-ordinary about it--sort of happy inevitable chaos. At least, it was more trust than most politicians show toward me. The telephone calls were distinctly those of a woman or mother. None of the men I ever travelled with made phone calls like those. Taking me to the house was a part of taking me to her world--in a way that a man would not. I'll have to think about that a little. It was, as they say, interesting. Worm do WC mathematicate World. Read Monte Wer, bother world-
 - At the "Chinese Restaurant" in Donellen (where we went to change cars and to have "the coldest beer" in Donellen"). I asked her whether she felt she was a good fit for the district. "They grew me up. They raised me. They gave me my values. I was a service brat, and this was the first town I settled in. They taught me what a caring community was like." (She went on to cite examples, which I can't remember--and she said she gave a talk in Donellen about the community activities that she learned from.) She followed her first comment, though, by saying that: "When I was 34, they elected me to city council, at age of _____, they sent me to state senate, etc."

- That is, she melded her "they grew me up" with the sequence of Karen Thurman (D/FL) August 23-24, 1996-6

her career. All day, in her introductory comments, she spoke about the gathering and accumulating of experience as she moved from city to state to national focus. (They are on tape). It is the way she thinks. I've not asked her about other career plans. But I think she has reached the peak of it. She's happy where she is and speaks of nothing else. She may have ambitions inside the House, but she doesn't talk about it. I guess it's on hold anyway, pending the outcome of the fall election. Several times, she expressed the fervent hope that Dems would take over the House. When she and Anne asked me, I said "if I had to bet, I'd say the Republicans will hold; but I wouldn't want to bet. It will be close."

- "I hate this Congress. I hate what the Republicans are doing to the people of this country. If they get in again and continue on this path, it will be the beginning of the downfall of this country. I truly believe that. They have made me understand, more than ever, why I'm a Democrat!"
- In car, after Levy County pep talk to Democratic rally re Republican Congress: "I've been there. I've fought the fight. I've seen it. And I hate what I see."
- Re Medicare: "The Republicans did not care what they were doing to our parents and grandparents with their budget. <u>They</u> <u>did not care</u>! I truly believe that."
- Early on, she zeroed in on the Republicans lack of legislative sense--used Jack Brooks as example. "When Jack Brooks took his bill to the floor he protected the other members. He understood they had responsibilities to their constituencies, he knew what questions they would have to face back home. He took into account other problems. The Republicans don't do that. The ones who did are gone or they aren't allowed to chair committees."
 - I didn't get all of this; but the point is that she likes to legislate and the Republicans give her no chance. They just roll over the Democrats.
 - "They're like a cult. They do whatever their leadership tells them to do. Boeklert is the only one whose been able to get out of that and act independently."

She has had no contact with any of the freshmen Republicans. She thought about it--spoke of Stupak and Klink as having some contact, but said that "no" she had no contact.

I didn't ask her about Democratic freshmen. But she didn't know Fattah. She did speak glowinly about Mel Watt and how she followed him on <u>habeas corpus</u> legislation--which she said was one of her toughest votes. "Only 93 of us"--example of

liberal vote. Said she'd help me with Watt if I wanted to follow him.

- She said she didn't recognize Greenwood's name.
- "Because of what they Republicans have done, I have become more liberal than I was. The more they pushed their legislation, the more they pushed me toward the other side. Maybe that was where my thought process was taking me anyway. I used to be more in the middle. They have made me more liberal than I ever was before. And I feel more comfortable where I am now. That's curious, isn't it?"
- She said one thing as we left Gainesville and the LWV event. "They are more active and more liberal up here. And they have helped me to be more flexible and more comfortable in my approach. In the other end of the district, people are almost isolationist."
- Coming out of the meeting, she said, "I've got to brush up on my UN and my immigration answers." She and Anne both noted "huge differences" between Hernando and Alachua and Anderson!
- Later, she and I went over old issues and new issues and decided that maybe immigration would be the new issue that would be prominent on the campaign. She favors schooling for illegal immigrants, I think.
- "I think incumbents do have an advantage--but only if they know who's out there."
- "The doctors hate me. But now, maybe that's changed with my defense of Medicaid and Medicare. That's where their money comes from."
- "The small business people dislike me--probably because of my support of unions." This remark grew out of my discussion of Louise Slaughter's union base. "I wish I had union support like hers."
- She always asks about Louise and a couple of times said, "I'm glad Louise (or "Weasy") is going to be ok." I assured her that LS had nothing to worry about, that if she could survive 1994 and her NAFTA vote, she was fine.
- When we rode through Donellen, I asked her how to describe it. She didn't have a ready explanation. "It's a small rural community with a lot of growth outside it, in its outskirts." Built around discovery of phosphate early on and Rainbow Springs. Now a retirement community. Driving through, there are golf courses (pretty flat) and associated retirement developments on both sides of the road. The river is also an

attraction.

She spoke of losing the money she had gotten in previous years to study reuse of water. She had \$35 million last year and this year she got nothing. Dan Miller was key and she went to him--he's on Appropriations. "I said to him, 'Dan, this is as much your problem as mine--even more so.' But my Republican friends chose not to help." Just one of her difficulties with Republicans.

At another point she said, "I pray that we take back the House. The Republicans don't deserve to win again after what they have done to this country."

We drove through countryside near Williston that was very pretty farm country--peanuts and watermelons, horse farms and tree farmgr, ostrich farm--rolling vistas.

One of the first questions I asked was about redistricting. She reacted strongly and said she'd tell me the story; and she took a long time telling it. Basically, she had no input and was shut out of the process. Highlights: (1) Republicans control Florida Senate. Cliff Stearns, fullie Fowler and Corinne Burns put together a package that suits them. KT doesn't find out about it till CB comes to her and says, "Karen, you've got to sign off on these." "I got very upset and I still am. It's taken me a long time to get over that bitterness. Their plan not only took my home town out of my district; it also had reached out to take away an acre where John andI have had an option to buy land. I think they intended to give it back, but they had Corinne and me at each others throats, just as they had planned all along. With the Republicans controlling the Senate, we were completely locked out of the process on the Senate side."

"When the House was getting ready to pass its version, John and I packed up and went down to Tallahassee. What we ran into there was that Alan Boyd, Chairman of the powerful Rules Committee, wanted to run for Congress in the district Pete Peterson was leaving. He wanted two of my counties--Dixie and Gilchrist--which he represents in the House--the second district. When I saw what he was doing, and how powerful he was, we packed up again and went home."

The next was that she was shut out by Republicans convening In the Florida Senate and by personal ambition in the Florida House.

Boyd got Dixie and Gilchrist and gave Karen "the most Republican part of the Lake County" in exchange. Stearns got Sumter County from her, which he had warted big "because there's a lot of money there and Cliff's a money guy." And

she got all of Alachua County--much of it from Corinne (including some of Corinne's best territory).

- She's working hard "to meet people in Lake County," and has found them very hospitable. "We've really done some case work in that area, so that some people know us. We've been up there several times meeting people; we've begun to get more case work from the area. I was worried about getting such a Republican area, but I think we'll be all right. I have a lot of Republican support in Citrus and Hernando, so I can do the same in Lake."
 - "The people in Dixie and Gilchrist and Sumter still come to us. I always say that we just collect counties, we never lose counties."
- In talking about what she spent time on--after she said she had no contact with Republican freshmen, she emphasized her work on welfare, especially on the Deal bill. And her theme was, "I have worked within our party."
 - "I worked very hard on the Deal Bill on welfare. And we got every single Democrat to support it plus two Republicans. This time, Xavier Becerra and I put togenter (food stamps?) a welfare amendment that got to the floor and lost. We worked hard on that. I had a lot of input on that. It was one of my best days in Congress. I felt very good about what we are. In the end, we could not vote for the welfare bill. If my constituency were Hispanic, I wouldn't either. But they aren't my constituents." (I need to <u>check</u> the context of the Becerra alliance.)

"Bill Emerson was a wonderful man. He and Pat Roberts saved food stamps. They kept it from being 'block granted' in the agriculture bill. Emerson hated to lose, and he told the leadership he would fight them. But there aren't many of these guys left. Henry Hyde is one. I like Henry Hyde. I disagree with him on things like abortion. But he opposes the Republican leadership when he disagrees with them. He's independent. A gentleman."

- This use of "gentleman" to describe "good" Republicans came up again after the LWV event. "Gilstrap is the one I'd most like to campaign against. He's a gentleman." i.e., strong views, but not abusive--Gentry is the one that is most personal, ideological and fanatical.
- After the LWV event, and after Tom Beadle had spoken late and in frim, far out style, Gilstrap came to KT and whispered in her ear, "Now you can see what I have to put up with." She liked that style. And noted earlier, "Gilstrap has a sense of humor. I like him."

Book 2

Re relation to Blue Dogs. "I was an original Blue Dog. But I left when I saw some of the members using it for their own advancement (Tauzin). Besides, I could see it just wasn't me. I still stayed close to them in the beginning. But they started to move further away from the party. And, except for people like Steanholm and Tanner, they began to isolate themselves. They pulled away almost totally from the party. That was not good. I wanted to do my work within the party. And, as I said earlier, as time went on, I became more comfortable in the party." committee retty

- Food stamps was big concern of KT's--in agriculture bill and of welfare bill. Stressed how "I sat through every minute of the hearings on food stamps." (Aq . committee had junidich wer first stamps "The public with welfare hill)
 - "I asked one witness, "What do I say to the woman who works hard for a living and sees the woman in the checkout line ahead of her buying expensive food?" (The answer was essentially don't criticize till you know her circumst/ha/ces.) KT told a story where the food stamps and the purchase made sense--as if that settled it for her. To which she added, "Of course, some people do abuse the program." For KT, her sympathies were all with the woman who needs the food stamps; she hasn't much sympathy for the other woman who resents the food stamp lady. I think there's a kind of litmus test for KT, who represents the second poorest district in Florida. I don't think she sees a sharp line between the working poor who struggle to stay off food stamps and the poor who need food stamps.
 - Anyway, food stamps are an area of expertise. "On the welfare bill, I became the point person on food stamps because of my work on the Deal bill and the agriculture bill. When the Deal Anulhy bill passed, I had gone to the leadership and asked to be put on the conference committee--naive little me. The Blue Dogs demanded two slops on the committee and the rest was by seniority. I was very upset and I let the leadership know it. When it came to this year's welfare bill, I was put on the conference committee. Marty Sabo helped me on that. One day be came up and said, "Karen, stand right where you are, the leader wants to talk to you." So I stood there reading something, suddenly I looked up and there was Gephardt. "You're going on the conference committee." It was a fascinating experience. I was the point person for food stamps."
- "The way I got to know Marty Sabo was very interesting-bridge! There's a group of us who will go out to the Rayburn Room when there's a long evening debate and play bridge. Sabo, Brown, Dooley (Fust?). When staffers walk by, I say

'Where's the beer?' One night they brought me a bottle of wine."

She's part of a group--a Democratic network--that meets with business and labor to talk issues--"to get ourselves outside of the idea that we're not for business." Mentions Chet Edwards and Cal Dooley.

- "Members from agriculture districts have always worked together regardless of party. We have to, because we are such a small minority. But the Republicans are driving us apart. They take their orders from the leadership. It is hard for us to work together. It's very sad."
- On meeting people, she went on skeet shoot. "They look at you differently after something like this. It's their world. I was the only woman there."
- "My reaction to what the Republicans have done is that they pushed me to the left. The more I moved, the more comfortable I get. I did not want to go; they forced me. They have made me much more liberal than I otherwise would be. And they have made me realize more than ever what it means to be a Democrat."
- "For people who came from state and local office, Congress is very different. In Tallahassee, you could get a lot. You could get a lot of big wins. In Congress, you don't get many wins. A big win is unusual. So you have to make a difference in the ways of getting bills passed or amendments passed. When we were debating 'meals on wheels,' I brought in a sample meal. I pointed to it on the floor, and I asked, 'Do you want to take this away from your grandparents.'? People in my district get interested in it and get all riled up. In my district, at least, I think I made a difference." (I did not catch this in the clips.)
 - Part of the welfare conference story was (check this, too) that she had been part of a 20 person advisory committee to the leadership on welfare budget at time of Deal bill and still couldn't get on conference. Idea was that she was part of inner circle (a pretty big circle).
- Re her work with Bece rra, I think what they did was to work out and put across an alternative formula for food stamps that would keep the value of the food basket steady till 2002. The way it was the value could fall to 93% of its current value by 2002.
- Best reporters are those who covered her in Senate. David Dahl, Gregory Stevens-Webb. Then to discussion of Jim Ross. "There used to be one Jim Ross."

"I don't like to speak much on the floor--except where I have some knowledge from my work on committee."

- She commented that she followed Markey on telecommunications, Watt on habeas corpus. And she admires Rose de Lauro for working to exhaustion on the floor. Puts blanket over Rose in ladies lounge and tells her to go to sleep. Doesn't get enough credit.
- Says how she got alarmed at Democratic disorganization early on. "The Democrats didn't know how to play defense. I went to the leadership and said, 'Get someone out there on the floor.' Every time they say something, be ready to confront them." Got agitated recalling those days.
- This was probably one step in her gradual sense that she wanted to work inside the party as a party person.
 - When I asked her what votes she would most likely have to explain in this campaign, she answered, "partial birth abortion." And when I asked, "Suppose you voted for the ban," she and Anne both exploded, "Alachua County would have dropped me in a minute--like a hot potato."
 - One thing I've learned from campaigning is that campaign workers vote. They are the most interested people of all and they will go out and vote. They also talk. So, be nice to them, talk with them, all of them, from both parties. You can do that at events like today's fair. You know they will go to the polls; and they may remember you."
 - On the matter of Alachua getting mad because they're in one district, she didn't address that question. But Alachua will get more because she has become more liberal and Democratic. Alachua helps her in that process by supporting her movement to the left. But its the action in Congress that is really propelling her. Or so she articulates. I guess the point is that here's a case where work in Congress and work in district complement one another and affect one another.

Q: How much is her food stamp stand something that grows out of her brand of compassion and how much out of character of α poor district?

- She was very upset by Dole's attack on the NEA. She sees it as an attack on teachers. "They are the ones who have to go to work every day under terrible conditions. Why would anyone want to destroy their morale like that when they are just about to plunge in again."
- On coping with the argument that she takes so much PAC money, she says, "Those are my teachers; those are my farmers; those

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are my veterans," etc. But I should probe this.