

Floyd Spence

May 31 - June 3, 1974

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Friday

- 2:00 Babcock School
Commencement, Columbia College
- 7:00 W. Wyman King
Academy Commencement, Batesburg

Saturday

- 12:30 State DAV Auxiliary Luncheon,
Charleston

Monday

- 12:30 Luncheon Meeting of Organization of Professional
Employees of Department of Agriculture -
Richland Mall (cafeteria)
- 8:00 *girls State, USC Campus.*

Started talking about fact that he had opposition this time -
a University of South Carolina professor (Cole Blease Graham). "Not
even a real professor--a research assistant or something like that.
And a black civil rights lawyer (Mathew Perry)--older. He's been very
successful in civil rights cases. In fact, people thought he might get
appointed judge--Senator Thurmond and others. Now, folks will not be
so favorable to that--mixing in partisan politics and all. I don't
know why he did it, why he's running. The Democrats didn't push
them to run. In fact they tried to persuade them not to." "My opponents

are attacking me personally. I later saw article in which Graham called him "mediocrity," "incompetent" and "ignorant." I don't think that kind of a campaign goes over well--not in this part of the county anyway. People resent that. Did you see the article in that New York magazine? I don't know what to do about it. Down home they printed it but they took out the four letter word. It hurts to have anybody say unkind things about you. But this stuff makes you feel sick down here in the pit of your stomach; it makes you want to throw up. I don't know what to do. If they had printed the four letter word, the thing would have fallen on its face. People would see what kind of a magazine it really is. But they didn't. I just don't know what to do." (Later that day The Journal did a profile on him and they were relieved that nothing from "that magazine" had appeared in the article.)

"This Watergate thing isn't having any effect down here that I can see--except that everybody wants to get it over with. I don't get much mail on it. What I do get runs 10-1 in favor of the President. The ones who write in against him are the same ones who have written before--they just keep writing over again. Now, I think the underdog thing is beginning to take hold. I was down in Bamberg County the other week with about 200 men--all Democrats. Many of them were local officeholders, too--down on a stream there cat fishing. I didn't hear one single word about impeaching Nixon. They all said, Can't you do something to help him. They were worried that the criticism would drive him mad - that he'd be so harrassed that he would become sick. It's the underdog thing. I've seen it change in the last two weeks."

"White voters, it seems like, vote Republican for Congressman, Senator and President. Even the court house Democrats vote Republican for National office. The black vote is about 30% and they vote right down the line Democratic. I have to concede the black vote; there's nothing I can do about it. They are organized and trained to vote straight Democratic. They will control the primary vote. The black lawyer will be my opponent, I'm sure. But I should get more white Democratic votes than I got before. My opponent can't ^dbe any better than the man I beat before. Except for some of the liberals around the University. I will do better than last time with the whites. I should be all right."

"When I was a Democrat, I used to get the black vote. I saw one black precinct change from 500-0 for me to 500-0 against me (when I changed parties).

In his conversation about Jack Kemp and in his conversations re the bi-elections, it becomes clear that personality-popularity is very important with him. "Some people write off athletes but Jack Kemp is one of the most sought after speakers in the House. He's handsome and articulate. He's well thought of. (pet. phrase) He came down and spoke for me a year ago." Floyd was being defensive about athletics, but it's important to him and his reputation.

Re Murtha who won in Saylor's district. "He ran against an AA who probably hadn't been back in the district. He was a state representative. He was a Viet Nam veteran, a Marine who volunteered for active duty. He was very well thought of. And he only won by 200 votes."

His point here was that Republicans weren't in such bad shape, that each recent defeat could be explained. Said he met with group of Conservative presidents who said Republicans might "lose some in "northern tier" but "not only would we not lose any in the South, but we might actually pick up some new ones." And he went on to discuss Dorns' district as a possibility. Spoke of the Republican there as a good candidate - had run good race vs. Hollings and worked in SBA in D.C.

I asked him if Dorns District was different from his and he said it was more rural, that black vote counted for less, that he had several colleges and that otherwise it was pretty industrialized--Aiken County had lot of affluent people working for AEC Savannah River project. "They are conservative and Republican". Also lot of people from North had winter homes there. So he probably sees own district as industrialized and as drawing skilled northern Republican, conservatives.

He is upset with ratings. "They are a front for someone and not objective." His point was that by picking and choosing they make you out whatever they want to - he cited NEA and Vocational Rehabilitation vote.

In the afternoon we went to commencement exercises at Babcock School for Retarded Children. Sonny Sanders is Chairman of Board there nad his daughter is retarded. I had dinner with him and his wife Gwen and children Amber and Rhetta. We met Floyd there at Babcock ceremony and left afterward without him so no chance to talk.

In the evening we went to graduation at W. Wyman King Academy, founded in 1972--a private school built to avoid integrated public

schools. (During the ceremony, the valedictorian compared the founders to the pioneers and said school was "miraculous". Before the ceremony, we stood outside talking with Dr. King and the Chairman of the Board and the leading citizens about Watergate. (Two doctors, lumberyard owner, insurance agent.) The consensus was that, as Dr. King put it "They don't have anything on Nixon so why don't they quit it." Then Dr. Owens who presided over the ceremony said "I wish they'd take a poll of the American people instead of this Harris poll." The Chairman of the Board said, "You know it's nothing worse than anyone else has ever done, except they just got caught." Someone else said that it would have been worse than the tapes. The feeling was that reading the transcript was a waste of time. Someone mentioned the Washington Post. Floyd said "I was up there two years before I would even read that paper. Then I figured I'd better read it, so I'd know what was going on. Every morning I pick it up I say, Oh, Oh, what's next? The day we had the tornadoes down south and 300 people were killed, the Post had it way down at the bottom of page one. To read that paper, you would think you were in a different country. Down here the tornadoes were headlines and all over page one." Sonny said, "I get so I don't even watch the TV news anymore." The conversation was like nothing I had ever heard. Floyd said, "Some of these liberal journalists hate him so much they will tear the county apart to get him." Dr. King said, "Lots get it over with. You fellows aren't able to accomplish anything." "Why didn't he burn the tapes in the first place."

Re Agriculture employees speech coming up. "I can't say much about agriculture. I don't talk to people about the thing they are expert on.

They would find you out right quick. I say something general and then get into a subject I'm more familiar with. They know I'm no dirt farmer."

He spoke of the people there at King Academy as being a cross section of people. "You had all types of people, some well to do like Dr. King and Dr. Owens, and some real dirt farmers. Take Mr. Hipp, he's one of the best dairy farmers around, and he tells me he's going to sell his herd and go out of business. If people like him leave farming, you watch the prices go up. Labor is the big problem--you can't get labor. The price of food is going to go sky high. I hold my breath when I think of the impact this kind of thing will have on the country. We've had the cheapest food in the world for years. And the farmers never have made ends meet. I've lived among farmers all my life and I know how hard they work. You talk about the energy crisis. That's just your car, but wait till it's your stomach. That's different. If farmers ever unionized, then you'd see what a union could really do. But they're too independent."

I asked if the people there were his supporters. "Yes, they are conservative. I suppose they call themselves Democrats; but they support me. Of course, all the people there weren't from my district. But they talk back and forth across the county line. They marry across the line and they visit all the time. So it gets around. Even the preachers tonight were conservative, fundamentalist--one was a Methodist, the other a Baptist. When you hear a minister talk about love of county

you know he's conservative. Some of these ministers get pretty far out." This was about the only overt, political question I got to ask him. And the touchstone was conservative. (When he was showing me the ratings, he took special pains to point out the conservative ones.)

He may do a poll - via Republican Committee. We discussed price of polls, etc. But I got no sense for what his campaign organization is like.

Sandhills south of Columbia and fall line - clay north of it - King Academy is in Batesburg which is closely linked to Leesville and as we got out of Batesburg, we got into clay county - more hilly.

Lots of talk re lumber - Champlain Int., Kimberly-Clark, and Georgia Pacific have all built mills in area and expect to cut 92 million acres of S. C. timber (for pulpwood) in next few years. Soony sold lumber to paper companies and helped loggers finance their trucks and rigs.

On Saturday we drove to Charleston, where FS was to speak at a statewide convention of the Disabled American Veterans. ^{from state capital} The function he spoke at was a Forget-Me-Not Luncheon sponsored by the Women's Auxiliary of the DAV. It was a long two-hour ride each way. Floyd was generally uncommunicative--he slept most of the way back and part of the way down. What little conversation there was involved individuals that Sonny and Floyd talked about. [Do you know ___ sort of thing, what

he did for a living, who he was related to, whether he was "successful" or not. Much as the case with Jack Flynt, there is a rehearsing of names that goes on constantly. Knowing people is the key to successful politics, and they rehearse it all the time so that when they meet individuals they will know something about them. Sonny, for example, is more curious about me personally than most any of the other AA's I've run into. "Are you Catholic?" "Do your sons play any athletics?" "Did you play tennis in college?" "Did you play anything else in college?" "Does your wife teach?" etc., etc. It's like they operate with a whole set of pigeon holes--and when they get you into a certain number, they say "he's our kind of people"--as Sonny said to Floyd regarding one man they were sizing up as a campaign supporter. And--as FS said about me when we were talking with the big shots before the King Academy graduation, "He's our kind of people. He thinks like we do." (Needless to say, I swallowed hard and bit my tongue and kept still!) Floyd had to say that to keep these old guys talking in front of me.]

Anyhow, the ride was frustrating for me, since on the plane, FS had tentatively agreed to let me interview him on the way back. But what with Sonny monopolizing what conversation there was, the music playing in my ear, me in the back seat directly behind Floyd and Floyd sleeping--there was no chance. I gave up on it entirely. But it is not pretty country and the ride was dull. [Totally flat and wooded. But the woods are not beautiful. They are fairly low woods and have been

cut here and there. Some farmland. As you get north of Orangeburg (if you're coming back from Charleston) it gets hillier but up to there it's real coastal plain.

So it was frustrating. And when they let me out at the hotel and said they'd see me Monday I was hopping mad. What the hell they thought I was going to do sitting in a hotel room from 4:00 Saturday till noon or so on Monday (don't you call us, we'll call you), I do not know. Floyd is personally quite inconsiderate. He has a lovely home on a huge lake nearby and he never suggested I come over or anything. In fact, I asked if I could go to his Sunday evening campaign meeting and he said "They wouldn't want anyone from the outside." He also said he was going to some party on Sunday and said "it would only be for friends." And when I got out of the car, he said "Don't get into no trouble. But if you do, make sure you make it worth while."

This is typical junk he politics with--and to say it to me as if I had anything else to do but wait for him to call next Monday was the height of insensitivity. He was treating me like some casual acquaintance he'd just met on the street someplace--not someone who had taken four days and spent several hundred dollars to come down here and be with him as much as is humanly possible. Of course, he doesn't owe me one thing. But it was not what I would call friendly. I guess what really frustrates me is that I have not been able to get him to trust me.

That may or may not be my fault, of course.

Another ingredient in the situation is that Sonny is still pretty insecure, and is trying to impress Floyd. So he won't suggest

anything on my behalf. And he's always between FS and me. Except when we are on the plane---and that's my most productive time. I think Floyd wants to keep me at arms length anyway. But Sonny's newness on the job is no help--Jerry would talk politics with me. Sonny will not-- and Sonny won't help me out by raising political topics with Floyd either. So, none of Sonny's talk with Floyd is of much help to me. He has. And none of Floyd's lack of considerateness is attributable to Sonny.

Sonny is an interesting person. He is terribly ambitious, very entrepreneurial and very impressed with money and success (which are one and the same for him). He has still some college to complete-- his first job was with a clothing mill, but he left when there was trouble with a union (he's anti-union). He then started working as a middleman between loggers and paper companies--getting and selling pulpwood. He has a retarded daughter, has been very active in the mentally retarded movement. He and a friend rebuilt an old army barracks into one section of Babcock school for retarded children. He has two citations for Distinguished Service from the Lexington Jaycees. He is reading a book on "How to Become a Success" and he reads late--getting by on 4 or 5 hours sleep. He recently swore off all liquor and leads me to believe he was drinking a bit at one time-- says he's lost 30 pounds since. He works out every day before he goes to work--3 times a week with weights. He owns several tracts of

land around and about and is constantly buying and selling land. "I'll sell anything as soon as I buy it if somebody offers me a profit." He has put down \$500 on a condominium on Lake Murray. He and some friends have bought an old plantation with 500 acres in Allendale County which they will rent for hunting--and when he goes hunting, which he likes. Has gun over mantel and a hunting dog in backyard pen. They have caretakers, cooks, etc. there. He's always dreaming and scheming to make money, to be a success, and to be associated with those ^{who are} He was with the National Guard and "rode patrol" during the racial riots in Orangeburg. Floyd said he would be a good replacement for Jerry (who has gone to Mississippi to a scouting job) because "he's been active with the JayCees and has travelled a lot in the district on business". When ~~Q~~ven came back from having her hair done, he asked her what people were saying about him at the beauty shop. She said "nothing", but then she said "Miss Mabel at the Dry Goods store said "My, what a success Sonny is making of himself. He's my boy" and that pleased Sonny. He doesn't smile easily or naturally--is babyfaced but graying at 32. When I told him and Floyd a joke on the way down, he immediately tried it out on the DAV people we sat with at lunch. He's always figurin'! I don't guess he's very relaxed. But he would surely be regarded as "a good man"--or, as they say here "very well thought of." He only spoke once with feeling, that I saw. Otherwise, he's very placid-in-the-face. We were talking about segregation and the private academies, and he said, "You

talk about civil rights. The people who are really deprived of their civil rights are the mentally retarded. They are shoved together with blacks in schools, total integration, without any consideration for what's best for the educationally." His daughter was one of the original students in Babcock School. And I thought the black-white relationships were very sweet among these kids. But he did not like the idea (though he accepts it) of his child going to school with so many black children.

One thing that Sonny and Floyd share is an interest in land, and land deals and land ownership. I haven't noticed so much talk of that anyplace before. There's a lot of buying and selling of land and in an area of growing population, businessmen probably make a lot on land. Floyd owns 5 miles of land along Lake Murray--which Sonny says will go for \$20,000 an acre. And Floyd talks of having a tractor and a frontend loader on his property.

He talked once about his opponent. "There was a story in the newspaper when he opened his headquarters that couldn't have been better from my standpoint. First the reporter wrote that he stumbled--yes, stumbled--through his speech. Then I guess the candidate introduced the man they brought in from the outside to run his campaign--some guy from Minnesota who had run 41 campaigns in 21 states. I suppose he's a smart fella, but you don't come out and tell people he's from the outside--not the people down here. I couldn't believe it! Then the guy got up and said they were going to beat Fred Spence. Didn't even

know my name. I couldn't believe it! Now, every time they say anything in the campaign, I'll just say that outsider there is giving you some bad advice. They'll attack my voting record and make out of it just what they want. The reporter said he stumbled. He has a reputation as a good attorney. I've noticed that when he speaks of things generally he is very good, chooses his words very carefully, no accent or anything. But when he gets into political matters, he doesn't do so well, because he hasn't had experience or been involved before." (The idea of "no accent" shows great attention to the personality projection idea.)

Possibly the most revealing thing he said all day was the joke he told at the DAV.luncheon. On the way down he got out a 3 x 5 card or two on which he had written his jokes. He said he was looking for the appropriate one for this group, and he told us a couple, etc. "Have you heard the newest version of the Golden Rule--he who has the gold makes the rules?" "How fast was the calf going when he hit the cow?" ^{?, p. 44} (I pitched in and added a couple for his list.) He told another one, which he eventually used at the luncheon. He was pleased afterward that they had laughed. The point was that you can tell people, as he does, often about the need for a strong national defense, but some people never do get the message. The joke went like this:

"It seems a group of citizens was having this meeting out west to discuss a problem they were having with coyotes who were destroying

their sheep. And they were discussin ways of getting rid of the coyotes. One of these League of Women Voter, Sierra Club do-gooderstype ladies spoke up and suggested that they capture the coyotes and perform a small operation on them that would keep them from breeding and multiplying but would save the innocent little coyotes. When she finished, the old farmer got up and said, "Lady, we ain't worried about them coyotes rapin' our sheep, they're killing tem!"

All wrapped up in this joke--considering the context--is Floyd's disdain for the environmentalists, for activist women and his view of national defense in very stark, black and white, kill or be killed terms. He speaks of "the enemy" in his speeches like the coyotes in the joke. He told it to a women's auxiliary group, too--which does not indicate that he thought he was among those types of women. They are not his constituency--the LWV, Sierra Club, do-gooder type women, even in the suburbs, I would guess--though I'm sure he wouldn't use that joke in his higher income suburbs.

This leads me to reflect a little on the way he campaigns among women. I think he views women as a distinct part of his constituency. Everything I see leads me to believe that, though I have not heard him say it. But he clearly treats women in a particular way, and people around him (especially in the first trip) comment on it. He dresses very snappily and is very clothes conscious. He is goodlooking. And he uses these by flattering the women. Many of the things he says have a slight sexual overtone--not strong but enough to titillate slightly.

For example: Woman in morning: "How are you today?" FS. "Oh, about half way. No sense me braggin this early in the day is there?" Or "Hi hon, can I hold your hand?" (uses that when he's handshaking the ladies.) Now, I haven't got any idea what his extra-curricular life is like and I don't care. His reputation is he's a ladies' man. My guess, for what it is worth, is that he does not do much, if any, running around. But he does think of himself as having a way with the ladies and that he uses this as a campaign asset. He likes to campaign among the women because he thinks he appeals to them as women. He was an athletic hero all his young life. Atheltics is big for him and in South Carolina. So he's used to feminine adulation, has grown up with it, expects it, and uses it. He dislikes liberated issue-oriented women, because his methods would not go over with them. He cultivates certain kind of female constituency--essentially a non-issue-oriented, non-political, traditional southern women kind of constituency.

Therefore, I think a lot of what appears to be serious womanizing is a natural political technique. But, even if serious woman chasing is a part of him, it wouldn't change what I have said. He still cultivates the female vote in a special stylistic way. (When he and Jerry discussed getting a new secretary, they placed great stress on "attractive".)

Now this leads me to another observation on Floyd. He is not, as the magazine calls him, one of the 10 dumbest congressmen. He is, however, not intellectual, and not cerebral. He is a completely instinctive politician. He is a natural politician in the sense that he

likes people and will always gravitate to a place where large numbers of people focus their attention. He was a BMOC in high school, college, in law school--partly through athletics and partly through being class president. He was always well-liked and popular and this not only means a lot to him, but it comes naturally to him. The transition from athletics to politics is a natural for him. It began early in high school, continued through college and in Law school. When he is introduced, people often go back and recite his high school and college athletic record/ As if being in the H.S. Shrine Bowl game was important or captain of USC track team was important. But it is! It is to people here (who print in the Sunday paper how each South Carolina boy in the minor leagues is doing! and who keep asking, as Sonny did me, what sports you play?) In one sense, Floyd never has grown up. But the people here don't force him to either. He still runs like he's running for class president or captain of the track team. It is pure political instinct. On top of that, he has superimposed one issue--national defense. He is on the right committee to use it, he believes his constituents all agree with him on it; he can be simplistic about it rather than analytical. He does not like cerebration or analysis. He's not analytical. He's instinctive. And he's shallow. But not "dumb".

A related characteristic is that FS is very local--not in the sense that all he does is tend his district--but in sense that he thinks (despite the national defense angle--which is reflex and not

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cerebral) in we-they terms. He is suspicious of "outsiders" and often uses the term "outsider" as contrasted with "our kind of people". (It's like the attack on Nixon is an attack on the South.) He does not reach to new groups of people. He's the beneficiary of groups of people coming to the district deliberately to find the conservatism he represents. They are reaching to him! Population change is running in his favor! The more the better! Now this is a little strange when you read the paper. The State, which is the AM-Sunday paper is really quite a cosmopolitan paper. Watergate gets the headlines, Art Buchwald is on the inside, together with a lot of national news. Its Washington man, Lee Bandy, writes very knowledgeably on reform in Congress (attacked Spence as leading SC junketeer, published office staff salaries of S.C. delegation) etc. When you read the paper--and the evening The Columbia Record--you do not see the world Floyd Spence sees. (When I looked in Matthew Perry's Headquarters on Saturday, they had posted a State editorial saying "Spence faces stiff challenge if Perry wins Primary.") The papers, anyway, take Perry seriously. The papers are cosmopolitan; Spence is local. I conclude that the papers do not influence him much. (They scare him, as in the story entitled "Mirror, mirror on the wall, who is the dumbest congressman of them all" which he had in his brief case.) I do not think he sees the Press as friendly. He was worried about the Journal article about him and in the car he and Sonny were talking about some newsman and asking each other if he was OK or not. I think he's a little suspicious of the press. If he was, it would be

understandable. They are more liberal and cosmopolitan than he is. He said he saves up the week's papers and reads them every weekend. Each county has a paper and some towns (Allendale, Barnsberg, Barnwell, Batesburg-Leesville, West Columbia, Cayce, The Columbia papers are state wide papers, and that's why they are more cosmopolitan. The State calls itself S.C. largest newspaper. It's got a lot of national political news in it.

The one thing that does not fit wholly with all this is his conversion to Republicanism. That, too, is local in orientation, but it is also principled and thoughtful!

On the way down, he noted that the Audubon Society had invited both his opponents and himself to speak; and he said he wouldn't until such time as he had an opponent. I asked him later whether he would debate his opponent. "I won't do that. It just gives recognition to the other fella. The incumbent can't win. I have a record of 500 votes, and people know my position; it's incumbent on my opponent to tell people what he would do on these things. Even though the people in the audience would have a position more like mine than his--and that goes without saying--I don't want to give him the publicity." Says he will talk to civic groups at alternate meetings--that that has been his policy.

In his DAV Speech, he said, "I have been criticized for being preoccupied with national defense. I plead guilty to that charge.... My main point, as I see it, is to make certain that we have an adequate

national defense so that the enemy will not mistake our backbone and our will to go anywhere to fight anyone at anytime in the defense of freedom... You can have peace with slavery. But peace with freedom is what we want. All these wonderful social programs you hear about will be academic unless American is strong. So watch it. We are at the most critical juncture in American history in this periof of detente." His point was that in SALT I, we let Russia catch up to us in missiles, subs, and MIRVs. Now we will be taken to cleaners agains in SALT II. We keep thinking Russians will be nice, but they keep building up while we weaken ourselves. We are getting even weakerive relative to the russians and pretty soon they will be able to "blackmail" us. We almost got into Middle East war. "We came that close!" He is on 3 man subcommittee of AS to oversee SALT II, and he's using this to show his commitment and importance.

He spoke after Sen. Strom Thurmond. "There is not much left to say when Senator Thurmond; the man whom I consider the greatest living American, finishes speaking. He is a hard man to follow, this great man I have been following for so long."

It's interesting to note how little the constituents really know about what he does. At the King graduation ceremony, he was introduced as a member, among other things, of the Republican Conference and the Republican Committee on Committees' And the DAV state commander called him a member of "The Committee on the Armed Forces." (Maybe they just know the name of the veterans committee.)

As we got to Charleston and rode down King Street, all the people on the street were black. "Sonny: "I wouldn't want to be out there walking on the sidewalk." FS: "It's like some Carribean country." Sonny: "It sure is a different country here."

I asked him whether he ever considered not going to Charleston and he said "Oh, no, it's a statewide meeting. A lot of the people there were from my district. In fact, most of them probably were from Columbia." Said he got ROA Citizen of Year award last year there.

Appropos of the above, one of the strong feelings you get about a small state like this is that the scope of the politics is easily bounded. Political articles in the paper cover the whole SC delegation--voting scores, junketing reports, office staff salaries. The relevant political entity is the whole state. BC has to create a relevant entity --"Western New York".

Sonny drove me, he said, through the black community of Lexington on way to meet Floyd. He said Lexington town area had few blacks, 10% or so, that the schools had 10% black and that school system was very good. He said Lexington area was very appealing to whites because of the low black population and that was one reason why it had grown so fast.

The private academy we went to was really in Saluda County--though lot of the kids were from Lexington. Floyd noted that in legislature he had represented many of surrounding counties at one time or another--Edgefield, Saluda, Aiken. A lot of the time I have spent with him has been phsyically out of his district. But he thinks of it as all getting back to and affecting the district.

Floyd came up to the hotel room where I interviewed him for about an hour. And we talked for about 15 minutes. After that the interview will be recorded somewhere else. But after the interview, he asked me what I was doing and I told him. He said "You are doing some careful research and thinking about it, not like the Nader thing. Did you see what they did. They had some graduate students without any qualifications at all comment on my voting record. As if they knew what was in my head. I guess that's the new journalism. It was awful. I couldn't believe it."

"I can see the Washington Bureau of the local newspaper getting more and more and more (his hand moving up and up and up in the air) into interpretation and away from the facts. The man that interviewed the Republican member of the delegation on impeachment. He kept writing as if he knew what was going on in my mind. Things I hadn't said at all! Now he won't come around for two or three weeks till a lot has happened and I've cooled off and forgotten it. He'll come in and say, Hey Floyd, old buddy. And if I say come on Lee, what are you doing to me? He'll brush it off and say, oh, you know, I have to write something, no one will read it or pay any attention to it anyway-- "no problem".

"How does he know it's no problem. He writes it and I have to worry about it. It's like that New York Times article. People say to me, oh, don't worry about that, no one is going to believe that. Everyone knows you. It's easy for them to say that. But I don't care who says it.

I worry about it. It gets you right in the stomach and makes you want to throw up all over the floor. Of course, I worry about it. If the paper would print the four letter word, people would see what kind of a kook magazine it is, and the thing would fall on its face. But the paper won't print it. A friend of mine took the magazine to the editor in Charleston to show him. And he said, oh, Floyd doesn't have to worry about that, nobody will pay any attention to it. But he wouldn't print the four letter word. If you say anything about it, it makes it worse --like Scott. Not even the Washington Post said anything about it till Scott spoke up. But if the newspapers won't print it with the four letter word, my opponents can circulate the story in the mail. They may not do it, but someone else can do it for them. My opponents are already starting in that way. If they get into it too much, it could help me. One thing everybody agreed upon in the last campaign and everybody remembers about it was that it was a clean campaign. There were no personal attacks on anybody by anybody. Anything they say, I'm just going to reply that I've never gotten into personalities in my campaigns and I'm not going to now. Down here people don't go in for that sort of thing--attacking the other fella. They want to know how you stand and what you are going to do. If they keep it up, I'll give them the same answer--I don't go in for personal attacks. Pretty soon my opponent may get gun shy and be a little afraid even to criticize my voting record. Or maybe they'll just figure they have nothing to lose and go ahead with the personal attack on me. I don't think it will work, if they do."

I asked him who he'd rather run against and he didn't seem too emphatic--but he suggested Graham--because "there the black vote won't be so solid" and because nobody knows who Graham is, "he's akkook".

Then ha got into Perry and his manager again, in the same terms he had on the plane. "It was amazing, I couldn't believe it. Telling everybody he was from the outside. Maybe if he was from Georgia or North Carolina or someplace nearby, you might get away with it--by suggesting that he lived around here for a while as the way through or something like that. But Minnesota--and 41 campaigns in 21 states/ And not even know my name, I couldn't believe it. Maybe up in New York it would be different--it might be more cosmopolitan. But I don't think you'd like someone from SC coming up there to tell you how to run things, would you?" Folks down here are very suspicious of people who aren't from around here, coming down and telling us how to run things.

He then said it was very unusual for someone to run for Congress in this area without having ever frun for office before. He sees Perry as inexperienced and thinks people value experience.

The other thing he said about Perry was that "He's been active in the Democratic party. He has been known as 'someone we can work with', because he has worked through the courts and not through riots and demonstrations. So whenever they have needed one black up front they have pushed him up there." He said that former Governor McNair was one who had tried to talk Perry our of running--because he might get a federal judgeship.

On the way to Monday's luncheon he came back to a theme he had pushed on the plane and agains in our interview--teacher militancy and their judgement of his voting record. "The teachers have been considering ^{endangering} candidates, something they have never done before. The NEA took five votes and rated us. They voted Sen. Thurmond and I zero and Fritz Hollings 100--and they make him education man of the year. They gave me a zero on vocational rehabilitation because I didn't vote for their bill, and didn't give me any credit for helping to sponsor the bill that did pass. Their bill wouldn't have passed anyway, and my people told me that their bill would have made things worse back here. So I sponsored the bill that finally passed. Anyway the majority of public school teachers here are black so they would endorse my opponent. But Matthew Perry doesn't even send his child to public schools--his boy is in a private school. We'll wrap that around his neck." He has the same complaint as Barber Conable has, but he can't intellectualize it as Barber does--as a sanctioning of the extremes and a penalizing of the moderates. Perhaps, because Floyd is at one extreme.

In the introduction, the man, Lewis who introduced Floyd said he'd known him all his life, that he knew Floyd was "smart" because when he was young, Floyd's brother drove while Floyd always sat in back seat and read "and it wasn't Playboy magazine." "I didn't think Floyd would ever learn to drive." Floyd, in response, said he and

Lewis _____ "worshipped the same God in the same church--the Lutheran Church." Then he reached to his audience (ID) by saying that he had lived in the rural part of the district among rural people all his life. (When he left, he told them "I'm going back out to the Lake and move some stones around.") But he then said that they knew more about farming than he did and he wasn't going to talk to them much about farming. He went through some figures on farming (most startling was that farmer in 1850 raised enough food for himself and 4 more people while farmer in 1970 raises food for himself and 60 more people). He kept saying "I have some figures here my man put together for me back in the office" and seemed very ill at ease with them. At several points he said "I never did look at it that way before. For example. "Did you know that farming is still the biggest single industry in the county? I never did think of it that way before." He had said on the plane and at beginning of speech "If you want to find out how dumb a fella is, just let him try to talk to you about your profession. You'll find out right quick. So I'm not going to talk to you much today about things in your back yard. But I did have my man put together some figures. that might interest you--if you don't already know them." He read them, by turns, perfunctorily and with wide-eyed wonder. He does not identify with these people all that closely--probably because they are professionals, they are interested in higher pay, etc. But they said in their business meeting that they "didn't want to go the labor union route. That would kill this organization." So in their anti union sentiment, they are with him.

His farm segment rambled--ID; joke, figures, story about dairy farmer who said he was going to quite at King Academy, etc.

Then he warmed up to national defense theme and gave better speech than to DAV, I thought, because it was (appropriately) pitched at a little lower key. "I thought I would talk a little bit about my own back yard, so to speak--about the things I am most active in. I want you to tell me what I need to know in your area to help me to vote right on farm matters. And I think it's my duty as your representative to tell you what I see. I see complacency about our national defense and it worries me. I see the figures on how the Russians are catching up and passing us in missiles and ships. I sit there on the floor of Congress and see some people who won't vote a penny for national defense --who think--like a lot of people that we don't have to worry about war in this period of detente. I have always distrusted the motives of the communists and they will use detente to build themselves up economically and technologically, and when they get up to us or surpass us, watch out. I've given a lot of thought to it and I've studied it for a long time, and I don't think there ever was a nation that started a war unless they thought they could win it. The Japanese would not have attacked Pearl Harbor if they had known about Hiroshima. It just doesn't happen that way. You don't see a little fellow take a swing at some great big fellow when he knows he's going to be knocked flat. You just don't see it. So we've got to keep ourselves strong. I'd rather spend billions for weapons we'll never use than not have them when we need them."

Afterwards people gathered around. One was interested in problems of racial integration in the Navy and the riots and didn't like idea of racial quotas in Navy. Another agreed and said he'd sign up again if need be. Then talk turned to Watergate and he got pro-Nixon, anti-liberal sentiment. One guy had watched the 6 Governors on "Meet the Press" and said the only thing the Washington correspondents asked was Watergate, etc. He was mad at that. "They forgot the rest of the country." Floyd told his Barnberg County story and they nodded. I wondered a little whether he wasn't also molding their opinions by stating so strongly that he hadn't heard any impeach Nixon talk.

"I was thinking of a joke I could tell, especially with a lady in the room." Joke: Old fella sleeps through sermon every Sunday in first row. One day, preacher asks "Everyone who wants to go to heaven, please stand up." Everyone stands but fella who is sleeping. Then preacher pounds pulpit hard and says "Everybody who want to go to hell, stand up." Old fella jumps up--looks around and says "Reverend, I don't know what we're voting on but it looks like you and I are the only ones in favor of it." Point is that he and few others are in favor of strong national defense.

More Floydisms: "You workin' hard or just regular?" "If you can't be good, be careful."

At Girl's State, where he spoke to about 300 high school juniors, he poured on the womanizing. He told his "doublin' up" joke, and said

he had one nice--women, picked out one of the older DAR types and said he got known as the Kissing Congressman because his picture was in the paper kissing her and he was proud of it." "You all look so good I could eat you all without any salt and pepper--and I never eat anything without salt and pepper." "This is hog heaven being here with so many beautiful girls." "I know I'm supposed to get serious, but I'm wandering around wanting for something to hit me. Nothing has yet except how good you all look to me." "You all look so good I feel all funny inside." Then as he talked, he looked down once and said, "How you doin' hon." They laughed appreciatively.

Afterwards, they mobbed him for autographs and he signed for maybe 45 minutes. Afterwards he said, "The first girl that came up was from my home town and she kissed me. After that, everyone wanted to kiss me--then all of a sudden there was a little black face in front of me. What should I do? I kissed her. You've got to serve the needy, not the greedy!"

"One girl came up and said I don't appreciate your attitude toward women. I said I love women and I'm not going to apologize for it. She was one of them Women's Libbers. The other girls said, don't pay any attention to her, she's crazy--she doesn't even want to be a woman. I said to her, 'honey, you shouldn't be bothering your pretty little head about serious things like that, you ought to enjoy yourself.

But I couldn't break her down. You can't get serious with people like that--you can't win. You've got to try to turn them off by joking with them." Then told, again, story about grad at Northwestern who asked him a question "ants in her pants" stuff agains and how everyting got tense and how he let it build up and then said "Honey, you gotta be puttin' me on!" and broke up the meeting. "I was pourin' on the patriotic stuff." and she asked re political prisoners.

In the speech to Girl's State, he told them what a great country it was, told of travels where he had chance to compare (Berlin Wall, his being held up in East Berlin, German who said he'd like to be 51st State, etc.) and how much better we were--how we had freedom, how priceless it was and how we shouldn't take it for granted. He said other countries look to us for leadership in keeping their freedom, that people of other countries tell him that they are counting on us and that he is telling these girls, as leaders of tomorrow, that they are counting on us. He quoted Jack Kennedy's "Pay any price, bear any burden" speech as epitomizing his attitude. Spoke favorably about our Middle East role.

He called this group "the cream of the crop--they love their country and they are patriotic."

As I listened to the speech I thought I had heard it all before (even the jokes--one about doublin' up and ene about the devil in church I'd heard in 1970) and that Floyd needs another theme. He doesn't learn,

he's not flexible, rather he fits every new experience into his old framework. An interesting question is whether he ever changes his mind on anything. He does not have a curious, questioning, supple mind. Yet he undeniably makes an effective speech if you grant him his premises. He speaks well--rolls along well--is articulate. He doesn't move me, but then I don't share his outlook. But I think he does move his audience. The girls liked it and applauded him warmly. It's just another experience to hear these sentiments in a place where they are appreciated rather than on a college campus where you bring in odd balls like exhibits to be viewed at a distance, and in the company of people who agree with you and not the speaker. Here, they agree with the speaker. But I couldn't help wondering, as I did in 1970, what the black girls must have been thinking when he said what a great country it was and how we had never known lack of freedom here and how well off we are. Several of them wanted his autograph.

These girls were chosen by the American Legion posts in their districts so they were as good a group of young people for Floyd's point of view as any young group could be. And they sure laughed and giggled around him.

The problem of the New York Times article flitted around the group as we met before the speech. The lady running it said in a cute sort of way, "What's this latest they're saying about you Floyd?" He said "There's this magazine up in New York--I call it a pornographic type of magazine--said some things about me. And one of them was that

I liked the ladies. I'm guilty of that sho nuff," and then into story of how he was called Kissin' Congressman for kissing Mrs. Crowder, the 70 year old DAR type. He looked at her, winked and said "she started it all." Laughter all around.

Later, as he waited to be introduced, he was talking with boy who just graduated from USC and had won the outstanding man award (which Floyd won earlier) and Floyd was complaining about it, telling him how they spelled SHIT right out, etc. and how newspapers wouldn't print that, how it bothered him in stomach where anybody says things like that. The kid said not to worry, it was part of the game. Later I asked the kid if he thought it would have an effect. He said Oscila (the crusading paper I read at dinner in the USC cafeteria) had reprinted it. "It was quite a surprise and it hit big around here. I saw mimeographed copies of it. But I don't think it will have much effect. People will write it off as something from New York that a bunch of liberals and hippies put out--you know. It won't hurt much at the ballot box."

Floyd is not "dumb," but he is kind of stuck--like a broken record--mentally and personality wise. He's not growing--not swelling either. But if I were a close adviser, I'd tell him to get another string to his bow--open himself to one new set of experiences and pick up one new set of interests--somewhere in area of education, I think, another passion.

Sonny said their main worry was complacency--people think Floyd has it all sewed up and not going to the polls.

As we got into Washington, I asked him, "Was it a good weekend?" "Yes, it was a good weekend--pretty busy except Sunday and longer than most--lasting till Monday, and Friday, too."

Which was most important thing you did? "I'd say Girl's State thing was the most far reaching. They are the leaders of tomorrow." Not too perceptive.

In the airport in Columbia I heard one man say, "Some liberal magazine called him one of the ten dumbest congressmen."

He and Bob, his assistant, blasted Lee Bandy on the way from airport to Floyd's office. "He wants to be another Jack Anderson, but he hasn't got the contacts or the ability ~~or~~ the means to do it."

Article in paper said McClay^{or} getting "impatient" with Nixon's refusal to respond to subpoena. "What's he doin' getting impatient with Nixon. He's got a very conservative district and was going to lose a lot of support. He should be keepin' his mouth shut. He can't win talking like that." Seemed to indicate strong feeling that you'd better shut up on impeachment.