"I took a district that was overwhelmingly Democratic and through 20 years of hard work, turned it into a district that is overwhelmingly Republican."

"Every morning my father would get up and walk down the street to get the paper, and everyday he would point to one house and he would say, "There's a Republican. If that man were living there, he wouldn't be a Republican; he'd be a Democrat."

"My district (he kept calling it my district) is a microcosm of the south. The three largest towns are Anderson, Aiken and Greenwood. And it has a lot of small towns of one, two or three thousand people. The dominant industry was textiles. When I first ran, I calculated that 50% of the people in the district either worked in textiles or were dependent upon textiles. That's not true any more."

"My predecessor held office for 24 (?) years and he only had one difficult race--in the Goldwater year, 1964. In my first race, my opponent (Judge?) Parker, was the most qualified Republican, not then holding office. He had come within 1,000 votes of defeating Fritz Hollings. And he only got 38%. Was easy to represent? "I survived because people liked me, because I was honest." Story about Republican woman. "You may have wondered why I've supported you all these years. Because I like what you do."

"If I had wanted to, I could have stayed in Congress forever. I could have been the Strom Thurmond of the House. If you come up here and don't get too involved and go back home a lot and damn the government, you can get reelected. But that doesn't fit with my values and I had no interest in doing it that way. I love our government."

"For a long time, the district had been becoming more Republican. And the catalyst was racial. For years and years and years, the Democratic party was the party of the white man and the Republican party was the party of black man. Now that has been reversed. It's a subtle thing. But the Republican party has become the party of the white man. It is now not socially respectable for a young person rising the corporate ladder to be a Democrat. You aren't accepted at the country club if you are a Democrat." Told story of a career-oriented young man from the district who asked advice about party. BD
"I'd advise you to become a Republican."

Retirement? Have to piece it together. 1. "I wanted another career and I felt that if I didn't do it soon, I wouldn't be able to do it." Said, "I wish I could say I saw what was coming in 1994, but I didn't." Idea was that he didn't quit, but of fear. 2. "I always raised a lot of money. I was very good at it. In my last race, in 1992, my opponent was a doctor without any political experience or ability. I spent about $600,000 and he spent about $35,000. And he got about 40% of the vote. I said to myself, I must be buying this seat. I didn't like the sound of that. And I was tired of raising money. I didn't like it." 3. "When I campaigned, I'd get myself into the car at 6:00 in the morning, and go to breakfast and travel the district. It's a very big district. If the truth be known--and I would not want to be quoted on this--I got bored with it." He agreed with me. "Yes, yes, yes" when I suggested that it must have gotten harder to come home as the years went by. "I was 37 when I started and 57 when I stopped."

"Don't get me wrong. I love these people. They are good people--warm-hearted, generous people. In the 1940's when I was growing up, it was common that people would not have travelled more than 30 or 40 miles from home. Or they wouldn't have more than a 7th or 8th grade education. These are the people who supported me and these were the people I wanted to help." Not, of course, they let him enjoy Congress -- or they supported him.

He did well among textile workers--40-60 among small businessmen. Not a country club-supported congressman, he said.

Aiken people are good examples of typical southern attitude. "They talk dry and drink wet." They take big government handouts and, as their income goes up, they think they have it made and they vote Republican. He said Savannah River closed up and businesses in surrounding counties became wage scale and benefits so high. Everyone had an application in these or Savannah River.

With respect to the Republican woman who supported him, he launched into the Jimmy Carter hit list and how he fought vs. a man in his district. "Half the people agreed with what I did and half disagreed. But half of those who disagreed with me liked the fact that I did it. I like to think that's the sort of reason people like her supported me."

He noted that "Our class that came in in 1974--Tim Wirth and the rest--we were the first to study and to emphasize constituent service. I was the first congressman in my district to hold public meetings. I would hold one a year in

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each county and sometimes more in the large counties. One thing I did that nobody else did was to send a birthday card to every person in my district over 60. It cost me $30,000 a year. There were a couple of elderly women that were happy to earn pocket change and they did it for me. On the voter registration list, each person's birthday date is listed. I learned that many of the elderly may not have done anything out of the ordinary in life, don't get much mail.

- In some of my later elections, I didn't get more than 55%. Once I went down to 52%. When that happens, it cramps your style. You don't have the flexibility to do what you want to do in the Congress. I had advanced higher in the party leadership than any South Carolinian since 1857. And in that position, you didn't want to vote very often against the leadership. If you were in trouble at home, you might have to. I always said, you had two constituencies—one at home—the important one, and one in the legislature.

- "As the years went by, I got into more trouble with my district on gun control. As far as I was concerned, no one ought to own a pistol. They have only one purpose—to kill. Toward that end, every time I would hold a meeting, there would be ten of these bearded guys in the front row and all I would hear from them was 'guns.' I got tired of that." (I think he said this where he talked about retirement—in which case it would be another reason.)

- "Stanley Greenberg, the President's pollster and a good friend of mine, tells me that the staunchest bloc of Republican voters in the country are in South Carolina."

- He talked re racial story—about Wallace using his district twice. Said Thurmond's switch helped Republican party grow. Said southerners are embarrassed by their President. Otherwise, why would they support Bush. Cannot understand why any southerner would think of George Bush "as more my kind of guy" than Bill Clinton! South produces very strong women and yet they can't cope with Hillary Clinton. That baffles him.

- "Bolling was my mentor." Should have been Speaker. BD worked for him. Re Gingrich, "One thing about this town you must know, there's always payback." When Gingrich loses his power, he'll be eaten up. Do we let Newt burn the House down. We didn't see it coming." Wright and Gingrich mean men."

- I asked him how an outsider could pick up on the importance of race. He said that in the 1960s and into the 1970s, there was a "renaissance" in the south in which the leadership made it not "respectable" to make racially tinged remarks. Then, it

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went "underground," he said, and I think he meant that it still was "underground" and that's why it's hard.

"Thirty years ago, you would have had no trouble in picking it up." Then, the "renaissance." Then "underground." That's how he put it. He said he'd thought a lot about the south and when I left he said, "You got a lot more conversation than you bargained for." I said no, and that we had met at Seidsden Park in England. He said Ditchley? I said no.

Strongest supporters--not a great answer--minorities, teachers, textiles workers, unions.

He said management at Savannah River supported him, but not the staff.

I asked him what places I ought to visit while I was in "his" district. He gave me some and added that there were certain people I could talk to. The places he mentioned were: Wearsholes, Greenwood, Anderson and Edgefield. The people he mentioned were: Larry Jackson, Bob Alexander--Chandler of USC Aiken. (He said, "Lindsey will probably introduce you to him.") Laniel Chapman-Anderson, Maxie Duke-Occonee, Chairman Dem Party (at one time).

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