

Senator Wyche Fowler, Jr.
August 5-7, 1991
Georgia Schedule

Monday, August 5, 1991

- 10:00 a.m. Walker/Catoosa/Whitfield Seniors Town Meeting in Ringgold. Catoosa County Courthouse Annex, 206 East Nashville Street, Ringgold, GA 404/935-2500.
- 12:15 p.m. Lunch hosted by Delos Yancey, State Mutual Insurance and Greg Wilkes, Home Federal at Tiberio's in Rome.
- 2:00 p.m. Rome News Tribune editorial board.
- 3:00 p.m. WRGA radio station. 10-15 minute interview with Mike Brothers (taped).
- 4:00 p.m. Cartersville Daily News Tribune-News stop-by (taped).
- 5:30 p.m. Anheuser Busch/Chamber reception - brief remarks - Cartersville. Cartersville Country Club.
- 8:30 p.m. Atlanta Braves - San Francisco Game.

Tuesday, August 6, 1991

- 9:30 a.m. Van tour of Chattahoochee National forest with forestry service personnel and members of the press.
- 1:00 p.m. Young Leaders lunch in Gainesville at the home of Betty and John Mansfield.
- 2:30 p.m. Brenau News Forum - Radio/Cable TV Roundtable interview with local reporters from Gainesville Times and WDUN radio hosted by Bob Campbell.
- 3:15 p.m. Gainesville Times editorial board.
- 4:30 p.m. Mitsubishi Plant tour in Braselton.
- 7:00 p.m. Manuel's Restaurant 35th Anniversary Party - Atlanta.

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Wednesday, August 7, 1991

- 10:06a/10:55a Delta 828 - Atlanta to Augusta
- 11:45 a.m. WAGT-TV in Augusta. Interview show.
- 12:30 p.m. Augusta Young Leaders lunch at the home of Jan and David Harrison.
- 2:30 p.m. National Science Center Demonstration Project at Harlem Middle School. Ted Hammock will meet you.
- 4:30 p.m. Meeting with group of black leaders - Episcopal Church (taped).
- 5:30 p.m. Meeting with Philip Kent - Augusta newsman.
- 8:15p/9:10p Delta 2045 - Augusta to Atlanta.

Wyche Fowler: August 5-7, 1991

Angie Levin, Bob Redding, David Elrod, Mike Branford, C.J. Jackson, Susan Nicholson, Chris _____?

- As I fly down on the 4th, three questions seem important to get at:
 1. Where are you at in terms of the campaign? Has it begun? When did it? When will it? In any case, what have you done so far?
 2. To what degree does this campaign grow out of or relate to the last campaign?
 3. To what degree and how does the campaign (or will the campaign) grow out of, or relate to, what you have done in the Senate in last five years?
- (Looking back, I don't think I got answers to 2 and 3. I'll have to wait and make that judgment for myself. I guess I did get a good sense for 1.
- Ringold - Senior citizens group 100+ people - "a voice of senior citizens in Washington" - increased Medicare, repealed catastrophic, kept SS from being cut, etc.
- WF - starts at a podium on stage, wants it taken away so he can get down front. "I'm too far away. I don't need a microphone." So they get him down on level of audience with the podium. Takes his coat off.
- Social security is solvent - 70B. "Enormous surplus" to year 2025-- "solid, solvent, safe" - safe for children and grandchildren.
- White House borrowed from fund - illegal. Now have separated the funds.
- He advocates SS tax cut (1st applause) - reduce it 20% which we could do - would it be increased much...put revenue in people pockets - a non-bureaucratic way to do it.
- "Pres. Bush says recession is over. Three times I've invited him to come to Georgia and travel with me."
- Tax cuts, job credits for small business, "we've got a job development program coming out of the WH every week for some foreign country instead of for our own people - Mexican wages
- Groby wants \$100 billion - "a job program for the Russians" - stop making missiles.
- MFN for Chinese - "I think we need MFN trade stakes for citizens of the US (applause 2nd burst).
- We've got to start looking after our own, build up our own work force, have a pie that's expanding so people did have to compete for jobs...of

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people who want to work and get a job..."

- 11 jobs for BK in Atlanta and 1700 showed up. "You tell me we don't have a recession."
- "Every dime and benefit you get you have earned."
- "Since I've been in the Senate, I've spent the majority of my time on the rural areas trying to help." Rural areas that have no doctors--several counties in Georgia have no doctor.
- Pay raise - criticism "dead of night". "Here's when I get my reputation for toughness. I've never voted for a pay raise in 17 years in Congress."
- "Ya know how I voted, don't you?" "Yes, and I know you are running for reelection."
- Going after Bush - on unemployment extension - he's declared emergency for Kuwait, Turkey, Israel - should declare it re unemployment.
- "I may not even run for reelection next year." (I only write this because the campaign is not formally, or publicly on.)
- In car he said he hated Jimmy Roosevelt's group getting elderly all worked up and paying \$15 bucks for fear they are going to lose social security.
- If there was a theme on day one, it was that there is a recession in Georgia, people are hurting, unemployment insurance has run out for 60,000 and another 10,000 have lost their health insurance, there are 120 counties with unemployment over 8%.
- "Every time George Bush says the recession is over, I write him a letter asking him to come down to Georgia. I've done that three times now."
- As he elaborates on that--after Cartersville Country Club reception, "I had seven people coming to me afterward to tell me someone in their family had lost a job. And those were the leaders of the four county area. They told me they were glad I said what I did."
- But along with that he hints at foreign aid and George Bush giving all that money away to foreign governments. "He should give most favored nation treatment to our own country."
- He has a country a month that he gives away money to.
- Most interesting comments about his campaign style. "After I was elected in 1986, and Democrats took over the Senate, some high powered organization got a group of us together to talk about how we did it. They were interested in policy; but they were also interested in the trappings and the technology of campaigning. One senator got up and said that he had such a large state to take care of that he could not

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have gotten elected without a cellular phone in the car. A second one got up and said that he needed two cellular phones in his car--one to take incoming messages and one to send outgoing messages. Tim Wirth--the king of technology--got up and said he couldn't have won without a fax machine and two cellular phones. Do you know, that is the first time I have ever thought about having a phone in the car. To that moment, it had never entered my head. I always got out of the car and made my calls on a public phone at the side of the road, with those 18 wheelers rolling by, blocking out the sound and throwing dust on me. We always had a pile of ^{questions} questions in the car. Or, I'd go into some barbeque place or store and say to the guy at the counter, "I'm Congressman Wyche Fowler and I'm running for the U.S. Senate." "Never heard of you." "Well, if I get elected, we'll both be famous. I in Washington and you in this town." "OK, the phone is back there." That usually got 'em. But the thought had never ever occurred to me before. Now I don't know whether I'll change my..." he tailed off. Later, he called himself, "I'm known as low tech." *He's proud of his personal cap and style.*

- (M)
- Other comment that had some ring came after interview at Cartersville paper. "I don't know why I do it. That reporter was fresh out of college. He won't write anything that will help me. He doesn't know what I'm doing; he has no corporate memory of what I've done. I just did it because it's a custom of yesteryear. People don't read them; it's all television. Their advertising is shot because advertisers know nobody reads them. And editorial policy is set by the corporation that owns the paper. I'd be better off if I didn't stop by at all."
 - There's a strong sense I got that he doesn't fear controversy. "I take the good with the bad. That's why I get in so much trouble. I take 'em on one at a time. I'll take my share of the blame. I was so dumb on that one."

Brenan College TV forum - 3 questions - Topics:

Investigation into delay in release of hostages (he had said earlier that "We know it happened. We just can't prove it. There's a 28 hour period in which we don't know where Bush was.")

- MIA-POW
- How vote on Clarence Thomas?
- Attract new teachers into the profession?
- Timber sales problems.
- MFN - China & USSR
- ("I want a MFN status for the US.")
- Recession and interest rates.
- USA role re Soviet economy.

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- ("I heard the sermon; now I want to hear the good works.")
- Pay raise - criticism is erroneous.
- Reelection - liberal? "Labels are non-descriptive. People of Georgia chose me. People who didn't have anything else to say go around yelling liberal or something like that." He ticks off positions and asks, "Is that liberal or conservative?"
- Have you decided to run?
- "Good lord willin', yes, I'd like very much to run - highest privilege in country. One of 100 - work hard. I come home and listen, don't hide - been in all 154 counties...let people of Georgia decide. I'll abide by their decision."
- Money for poultry industry in appropriations bill.
- Homicide rate in USA.
- He gets asked about pay raises at the Gainesville paper, the guy who asked about it, did not know he had voted against it.
- When we got out of the Brenan TV forum, Weltner said, "Wyche, you're sounding like a demagogue." WF said, "Don't say that with Prof. Fenno around." C.W. said, "We have an old saying about senators that for two years you are a statesman, two years a politician and the last two years a demagogue." WF - "Do you mean you can hear the election cycle coming up? We tested out, Prof. Fenno and I, the line that 'what is needed is a MFN policy for the United States." CW - "It's a great line. Has anyone else used it?"
- WF calls Charles Weltner "my mentor." When I met Weltner he said, "Born in 1926, written nine books." Said he entered "Fenno" in the Emory library computer. WF said he hadn't even looked up these things. Weltner said, "I wanted to see what kind of dude you had travelling with you." WF told someone he asked CW to come along so they could talk about Thomas nomination.
- After the Chatahoochee Forest trip Bob said, "great media" and WF ticked em off, "two Atlanta stations, one Augusta and one Chatanooga." I asked if the coverage was unusual, "very unusual. I can't get any media coverage. They've all gone local. All they want from me is conflict. If I attack Newt Gingrich every night, they'd print it. Otherwise, they aren't interested. I'm on television about once a month. They don't care about policy. On the morning that we opened hearings on the reauthorization of the Older Americans Act, I had a meeting in Atlanta with 200 senior citizens to kick-off the event and discuss it. I did it on their time-table. Not one media person showed up. It's a losing battle. Sam Nunn gets a little more, but they're down on him because they say he's only interested in national matters. He doesn't care if he gets it or not. He doesn't try hard like I do. It makes no

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difference."

- At the Gainesville paper, they asked him about reelection. He said that he expected to run, but that "I'm not going to let a bunch of Republicans draw me into a campaign style controversy. I won't even know who my opponent will be until next July." He also mentioned that he and two others would be the only Democrats on the state-wide ticket in 1992 and that "for the first time in history, all the Democrats are supporting the same Senate candidate." Made a lot of party unity this time.
- Again, he asked the editor if any of his potential opponents had been around. No.
- When asked by the editors who his preferred Democratic presidential candidate~~s~~ was, he said, "I'm interested, because I'm going to have to run with them. But I have no preference--except it might be hard to carry a ticket of Mario and Wychio in Georgia."
- He talked about Bob Barry and Paul Coverdell as his primary opponents. PC is head of Peace Corps - he is more moderate than Barry and they think (Nehl says) that a Barry-Coverdell race will find Coverdell painted as too liberal by Barry and that will hurt Coverdell in general. They think he'll win because he's the Bush candidate and can raise money from the establishment.
- Barry is a former U.S. Attorney who convicted Rep. ^{Swindall} ~~Stundall~~ and tried to indict Andy Young for tampering with a witness when he called Julian Bond's ex-wife and told her to go easy in her suit against Julian Bond. Nehl was Andy Young's press secretary in his unsuccessful run for governor.
- I asked Bob Redding where they were in the campaign. "We are some where between one-half and two-thirds of the way through our fund-raising. At this point everything is money. We aren't thinking about the campaign in the things we did today. Everything we did today was the same as we would have done two years ago. All we're thinking about now is money, money, money. We wanted to raise \$1 million by the July 1 filing date and we did. Now we've raised \$1.7 million and we've paid back some to pollsters and media people because the price is better now."
- He would not say whether they had a poll or not. But he said they had learned things from other polls. What it was, he wouldn't say, except that "what the newspapers say makes no difference. Only television matters." He said this in connection with a poll that had him gaining three points after his vote on the Persian Gulf!
- Joe Lowery of SCLC re vote on Clarence Thomas. "Oh, Clarence isn't so bad. If God can take Hugo Black who was a member of the Ku Klux Klan and by the power of his healing transform him into a champion of individual liberty and racial justice, then he can take Clarence, a black man who thinks he's white, and through the power of his healing he can transform him into a servant of black people." WF - "Does all that

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bullshit you just gave me mean that you are supporting Clarence?" "Yes, you could say that."

- WF tells this story with gusto - as he told others. He's on a junket with others to London, least senior in group, goes around for days and no one knows who he is, "Clarence Thomas is nominated - Is there a Senator Fowler from Georgia in the group? Where is he? Group parts and all newsmen rush up. Oh Senator Fowler, could you tell us where Pin Point Georgia is? He tells this with British accent that emphasizes snobbishness.
- Three persons being interviewed for job - many questions and then, "Do you notice anything strange about me?" "You have no ears." Interviewer gets angry. "Sorry, can't hire you." Second person, same result. Third person answers, "I notice you have contact lenses." How did you know? I see you need glasses and you have no ears to hold them up."
- Manuels 35th "I listened to every plan for saving the country and every kind of complaint. I hadn't intended to say so long, but people kept saying, 'you never come around any more. We never see you any more.' Several people refused to come up and say hello. They just sat there waiting to see if I would come over to say hello to them. It's such a crazy world."
- Weltner on WF and blacks, "You've got to go with him to a black church. He is like no other white politician in his relationship with blacks. You have to be raised in the church, as he was, to do it. You have to know and be able to recite the bible and quote scripture, and you have to be able to tell bible stories. You have to be steeped in the church in order to relate to blacks, because so much of their life is rooted in the church—at least for the ones who run the community. I don't mean the drug ^{pushers} ~~pins~~ here. You have to be able to preach. Wynche can preach in the black churches; they want him to preach and they respond to him. You have to remember, he carried a district that was 63% black. No other white politician I know could do that."
- Story of man who served in city council with him: "When we were on the Atlanta City Council, Wyche used to go way out to Buckhead after meetings to shake hands with people in the movie lines. He had figured out how to campaign in movie lines. You start at the box office and work back out to the end of the line where people are waiting in line. You don't bother them. I said to him one day, why do you go way out there to shake hands. And he said to me, 'You never can tell.' Re his ambition.
- On Wednesday AM, the shit hit the fan. The Constitution ran a headline on page 2A, "Fowler Staff linked to S&L's." It was a nothing story, but it turned the Manuel's Restaurant warm atmosphere to trouble-dark clouds-thunderstorm last night.
- When we got into the car: "Well, it's a beautiful day, Professor Fenno. I've been accused by some Republican staff report of helping to arrange a meeting for a person named Amer whom I do not know and never have

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heard of--I don't even know whether its a man or a woman--of setting up a meeting with people I don't know and never heard of. It's a typical smear tactic by the Republican that has been bought by the newspaper. And we'll be tagged with the S&L label for the rest of the campaign. I've talked to my staff and they don't know anything about it. I don't know what to do. It's like the Robb situation, the more you protest, the more the papers print it and the longer it lasts...the story said Sen. Fowler could not be reached for comment, as if I was ^{hiding} history. If they had read their story in the second section, they'd have known where I was. But I suppose we'll have to issue a God damn statement to the press."

- He was so upset that when we got to the hotel for our first event, he said, "I don't have my plane ticket. We'll have to go back to the hotel." So we went back for it and it turned out he didn't have it in the hotel room and didn't know where it was. So we started out for the meeting again. "I guess I'll have to go see what press is saying." Part^{way} there he said, "Let's go directly to the airport." When we got there and after he had gotten an employee to get him a ticket, he said, "This is the first time in my 22 years in politics that I've been at the airport this early."
- On way to the airport, "I want to kick the shit out of the Constitution. This is the third time they have done this to us, printed a story without checking at all with us to say whether it is true or to give us a chance to answer. With a Republican charge like this, you would think that someone would say 'let's hold it for 24 hours and check with the senator.' The fact is that I don't know any of these people, never had anything to do with any of them, never took any campaign contributions from any of them. I was the third lowest member of the Senate in terms of money from S&L's. You would think that they would at least talk to me before putting that big ole thing on page 2A. The TV picks up everything from the papers, the papers get theirs from the radio. Whoever gets there first, everyone else picks it up."
- He left the club, "I've got to have some privacy if I'm going to give the Constitution hell."
- On the plane, he came over and said, "About twelve people must have heard me yelling over the phone to the editor of what is supposed to be the great liberal Atlanta Constitution but which has turned into a rag, just USA Today. (WF went through the story of their editorial on black farmers and how they wouldn't even print his letter to editor responding.) "I told him that if he had a shred of responsibility he would have contacted me before they printed that article. For one thing, I said, it's virtually plagiarism. Their reporter copied it entirely from yesterday's WSJ--an article from a third party source--or some unnamed Republican staff member's allegation about the action of neither I nor my staff ever met. You are just printing something the Republicans put out without even any effort to check with me. You had your own reporter and your own photographer travelling with me half the day, I said, and you couldn't find me? I said that if they had any sense of professional ethics that they ought to run an apology, a

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retraction and an admission that it was a malicious story. Of course, they won't. It's a terrible paper."

- When he came back to the airplane he said, "The campaign officially began today!"
- I took that opening to slide over to the seat next to him and then to ask him my question of where I came in.
- "There is no campaign. But having said that, there is some ambiguity. And I am paying no attention whatever to anything the Republicans may be doing or saying. The ambiguity is that for any incumbent it is impossible to demarcate the beginning of a campaign because people assume you will run again and people will attack your record. Bob Barr is out there attacking me everyday--he's too liberal, voted against the war and so forth. But I don't pay any attention to that and wouldn't think of answering it. I'm sure the Republicans will have a primary and I won't have an opponent till that is over. But even if there was one, Mr. Big out there who had raised a lot of money, I'd be doing the same thing I'm doing now--sticking to the public policy aspect of the job. So many things come across my desk now that I don't have the time to do anything else. The problem is the press. They are not interested in policy. They are only interested in politics. They will try to get the Republicans to attack the Democrats and stir things up. We did one poll in April, but haven't done anything else. I'll hold back the television as long as I can. The Republicans may start running generic ads against me in the spring to cover up the differences among their candidates, but I won't answer them."
- I reminded him of Weltner's demagogue statement. "As you know, I've been working on a speech that I can use to campaign with, and I've been testing certain ideas like the most favored nation for America one. That isn't demagoging. I can demagogue the foreign aid issue when I want to, just close down my mind and really tick off the countries that are getting money. I could do it, but what you see isn't it." (or something like that)
- On way to Augusta airport, Sam Nicholson asked, Have you figured out yet what the big issues will be, the big issues in the campaign? "No, it all depends what the other fella hits me with. Then I'll hit him back and we'll see what happens. It's way too early to start thinking that."
- In the bar in the Augusta airport he said, "I've given up worrying about my votes. I couldn't possibly figure out whether each vote would help me or hurt me. There are thousands of votes, and my opponent will pick out five or six to criticize. But I couldn't predict what those would be, except for Desert Storm or a vote like that which lasts. What troubles me is not how I voted, but whether I'll remember what I voted on. If I'm asked 'Senator, why did you vote on such and such an amendment' and I have to say what was that amendment, with the cameras rolling it would be pretty embarrassing."
- And he mentioned the TV guy who asked him about his Desert Storm vote.

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"He had to get that one in, didn't he, after telling me beforehand all the other questions he was going to ask." The guy actually asked the ~~wrap~~^{wrap} question, I thought a poor interviewer. He asked Wyche whether he thought a question about his vote on Desert Storm would be a legitimate question to ask him. So WF just said, "any vote I cast is legitimate question."

- He said he thought he'd do 12% better in Richmond ^{County} ~~City~~ this time (Augusta).

- Also, he worried re TV that he should have given the TV people an interview at the black leaders meeting, "I thought they would stay." And he worried that he hadn't given the TV guy at the school an interview on other subjects besides the school 'learning logic' program. He does not get much TV; and he feels that he needs it. See comment later "I've seen more TV cameras in the last two days than I've seen all year."

- "The Republicans think I'll be the easiest incumbent to beat--in the south. I'm their prime target. They have their list and I'm at the top. They think they can beat Sanford and Hollings, too, but they think I'm the weakest of the three because Georgia has been getting Republican at a much faster rate than the others and because there is so much Republican money available in Atlanta. I'm sure they've seen some polls, too. We'll show you our polls when they come in; but in the ones we've seen, my numbers are low for an incumbent. Paul (?) Secrest is worried because he says there's a strong anti-incumbent feeling among the voters. He wants to take five polls a year. But I'm not going to do that. I've been through this before. And I know that a lot depends on who the other fella is. You can't beat somebody with nobody. My problem is that I don't get much TV, as you can see. I've seen more cameras in the last two days than I have in the last years."

- "No matter who runs, the Republican will get 45%. If Johnny Jackson ^{Isacson} runs, that may be worth one or two more points. George Bush may be worth a couple of points. The whole fight will be for that group between 48% and 52%. It's a hard hoe." I didn't ask him to describe that swing group, but I'll have to later.

- The story in the morning Constitution had an interesting life on Wednesday (Aug. 7). There was the early morning flap as I have described it--forgetting his tickets, etc. Then the search for privacy at the airport so he could give the editor hell. On the plane to Augusta he wrote out a statement. He showed it to me (I'm not using you as staff, but here's what I'm going to say. What do you think?") I made a couple of comments and he fiddled with it. When we got to Augusta, Susan had a fax of statement drawn up by the office in DC--Bill and Laura. He got on the phone in the airport with two of them and before he got on the phone he showed me the faxed statement. I told him I thought it was too involved. He said he thought he'd go with his version. And when he got off the plane, he said he had gone with his statement. I never saw it anywhere, so I don't know what happened. But, all day be kept waiting for someone to pick it up as we went along.

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No one did. Not once, all day did we catch even a whiff of it. At each stop, he would go to the phone, call Bill and check and set strategy. I learned afterward that Bill called two of the Atlanta TV stations and talked to their political reporters. And I think they got in touch with AP. In any case, in the late afternoon, after the conversation with Phil Kent (an obnoxious, cocky, verbose, ideologue who works the editorial page of the Augusta Chronicle) the office in DC faxed a copy of an AP story in which the alleged go-between denied the whole thing and in which Fowler had a statement in which he said flatly that nobody on his staff had anything to do with it. When Fowler read it he said, "The good news is that this ought to put it to rest. The whole episode has been a reflection on the sorry state of political journalism in a paper that used to be one of the hot papers in the country and has become another multicolored USA Today." A little later he mused again that, "It wasn't ^{noon} time TV. It's amazing, but I think the TV people have dismissed it. And if it's not on TV, it didn't happen. Not more than 10% of the people will read it and no one else will know about it. The Republicans ^{wait} and use it in the campaign...It has caused us some damage, but not a lot of damage." And as we went into the hotel just before we said goodbye he said, "It's blown over. The key was that the television stations decided that it was a non-story and did not run it. Bill called two of the stations and talked to these political reporters. They agreed with us that there just wasn't anything there. I think, too, they are a little embarrassed at how many stories they pick-up from the newspapers. But the Republicans will drag that headline out of the can and onto the screen when the campaign heats up. The finale, for now, was that the Constitution printed the AP denial story the next day in the very same spot on page 2A as the original story occupied."

- Two examples of WF hardball, or as he called one of them "Machiqvellian":

1. There is a Georgian who has been nominated or is under consideration for nomination to a federal judgeship. He belongs to a club in Savannah that is all white and all male, and he says that he won't give up his membership. WF does not like the man and they have had some kind of an unpleasant association in the past. Anyway, when Clarence Thomas' neighbors from Pin Point, Georgia came up to visit with Wyche and he showed them around ("Many of them had never even met Clarence and very few of them knew him.") Wyche got the "Machiqvellian" idea to make mischief for the White House and the prospective judge. "I called Boyden Grey at the White House and told him that I had spent a lot of time with Clarence Thomas' neighbors from Pin Point, Georgia and that all I heard was 'How come the President is thinking about appointing to a federal judgeship this man who belongs to a club that is all white and all male. How can he ask us to support Clarence Thomas when that's the kind of person he wants for a judge.'" Well the White House people were fit to be tied when they heard that. I imagine they're scurrying around now trying to figure out what to do. I had a lot of fun with that."

2. From the beginning of the day to the end in Augusta, he talked

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about the hostility of the newspaper to him, and especially the hostility of the editorial writer, Phil Kent. We went to chat with Kent, who bantered with Wyche about his liberalism, giving him a point here and there, playfully describing their differences in philosophy, etc. He was both supercilious, pompous and ingratiating. WF dislikes him intensely--he's a conservative ideologue who, according to WF, just repeats whatever the Republicans send him. Anyway, WF has done a lot for Augusta. He got \$1-1/2 million for the science project we visited, which is the pet project of the paper's publisher, Billy Morris. He got money to build a bridge over the Savannah River and an overpass. He played a key role in bringing a new company Abasco(?) to the area. He has even asked Morris to fire Kent. But as we left (and I did not hear this), he talked tough to Phil. "I told him that I've carried a lot of ^{water} voters for Augusta since I had been in the Senate, that I had brought a lot of help to the area and that if they didn't endorse me for reelection, that could be the end of it for Augusta, that they could forget anymore help from me. There are plenty of other communities that need a lot of help, and I'll devote all my energy to them. (He chuckled and added) I know what they'll do. On the last day before election, they will go down the list of their endorsements--president, Congress, sheriff, county council--and at the bottom of the list they'll say, 'For U.S. Senate: Wyche Fowler is the lesser of two evils.'" *He was very wary. See list of Augusta acap/phil/Scott H. Suran N*

- He's an activist by nature (Kent called him feisty, but that is not correct unless you are thinking of what he's like when he's under attack). He certainly did want to hit the editor of the paper. Whether he really did or not seems doubtful. When he reported his conversation he said he was very restrained. Anyway, activist does seem to be one characteristic. An active mind at least; and also a desire to do something about something. He is also the funniest, best story teller I've ever known in politics. The story of "the tree" in Oregon was a classic. He's also very smart, so much so that I'm not sure I can handle him. Part of that smart is quickness, part is breadth, part is learning and part is incredible ability to remember names! Amazing.
- The other part of it is that his political instincts have got to be pretty good. His description of the 1986 race is that "we were 30 points down with 20 days to go." And he won.
- Lots of questions about Clarence Thomas - many on tape, I think, At end, he said, "I don't believe my vote on Clarence Thomas will have any effect politically one way or the other."
- He said often that "now is not the time to campaign, it's the time to govern," or vice versa, "now is the time to govern, not to campaign. The campaign is a year off."
- He said that he had known several blacks who, like Thomas, married a black wife first, then a white wife, then sent kids to white schools, moved to white neighborhoods, etc. "Everyone of them is a burning bundle of psychoses." Said he guessed Thomas would be the same.

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- People kept saying that Sam Nunn had come out for Thomas and WF said, "In a Nunn sort of way, he did." He added one or two extra adjectives that put him that direction even though he didn't come right out and say it. I think unless something extra ordinary happens, he will support Thomas." As I write this, I have no idea how WF will vote. I guess I think he's thinking 'no,' but sort of testing it. But that does cause him a problem with Nunn going the other way. And I think the politically best vote is yes. It pleases the conservatives and Bush people, and blacks will stay with him anyway. White liberals will say--well, he was in a spot with a Georgia man, won't get a better one ok. After the meeting with the black group in Augusta, he noted that we had heard all the questions and added, "these people are afraid that if he gets on the Court, he will embarrass them. They also know that if Thomas is rejected, the President will nominate an Hispanic." (WF knows this, too.)
- Another key to WF is that he always refers to himself as "a public policy person" and will talk about issues "from a public policy stand point." He has a real policy interest.
- An example of his quick wit came when the Chairman of the meeting of blacks in Augusta asked people to go around the table and introduce themselves to the senator. The first guy got up and said, "I'm _____, I'm the Assistant Director of the Augusta Housing Authority. We need money." Fowler jumped right up and said, "I'm US Senator Wyche Fowler. Your government needs money." It broke everyone up.
- When he talks about talking to groups at home he speaks of it as, "I'm here to answer for my sins," or "I came home to answer for my sins." The one opening tag line he used everywhere was, "it's good to be home."
- Re Clarence Thomas, "I have not had one black person call me to talk to me about Clarence Thomas. I've talked to two people about him, but they called me about something else." Both these people were for CT in spite of himself. Said one, "Clarence is ok, even if he does have jungle fever." (Jungle fever=white wife) Other was Joseph Lowery of SCLC (see earlier comment).
- He marveled at one point (before he heard it at black leaders group) that "I haven't had one person ask me about the striker replacement bill. In Congress, everyone is nervous about it. It was like we're concerned about the wrong thing--again."
- He was asked about the committees just appointed, during the trip, to investigate the October surprise--RR and hostages in 1980. After one of the sessions, he said that "I pushed Mitchell to do it." And he said, "I pushed for Terry Sanford to head up the committee. I think he feels under-used in the Senate. And I also think he is one senator who is not afraid of the President or the Presidency."
- I asked him later about George Mitchell running for President. He said

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he had urged him to run, but added "he's not a pusher. He's a consensus person. He doesn't want to move until everyone is on board. He's a manager more than he is an out-front person." He thinks Mitchell has great ability, likes Mitchell and, from what I can gather, works very closely with him as Assistant Floor leader. Mitchell also is a good judge of talent if he picked WF for the job. WF has more of a jugular instinct, I think, than Mitchell; but to a degree, WF is a leadership man--I think.

- I asked Weltner where WF was most at home and Weltner said "here"--it was at Manuel's party.
- "The White House is terrified that I'm going to vote against Clarence Thomas, since I know more black folks than any of them. So I'm trading everything from federal judges to meetings for my constituents--getting everything I can think of. I may even have to vote for him!" Great hilarity.
- When we rode to the school science project with Ted Hammock, the talk was very much liberal-to-liberal, lots of local gossip about who's running, a continuous dumping on Augusta--a town they both dislike (WF called it a "tough, mean town") and at one point, WF said, "we're cruisin' for a bruisin' if we just let the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. If I were a businessman, I'd be scared to death that there would be a populist revolt that will tear the place apart."
- During the flap over the story in the Constitution, he told a story about how he had a bill that would register black farmers voluntarily so they could see how many black farmers owned their own farm instead of being share croppers. Bush signed the bill. The Constitution wrote a critical editorial saying Fowler supported a quota system for black farm owners. Fowler wrote a lengthy reply in a letter to the editor, but they did not print it. He was very angry, and uses that to buttress his opinion of the Constitution as "a rag"--a paper that he says will soon be eclipsed by the Gwinnett paper which has recently been bought by the New York Times. *Cover will work it*
- He tells story of how he taught RR how to throw out the first ball at the ballpark and not get booed. He goes through the story about how he learned. Take two kids with you! "The first ball will now be thrown out by Sarah Bridges, 10, and Sam Schwartz, 11, accompanied by U.S. Senator Wyche Fowler." They always cheer the children. I told that story to President Reagan and he thanked me for it--said he'd never thought of it. So I did teach Ronald Reagan one thing."
- He talked about Bob Byrd and how he voted against Byrd on the coal miner bill. "He came to me and asked me, 'Why are you going to vote against my bill?' I said the dry cleaners in my state are very concerned about the effect it will have on their business. A little later he asked me again and I told him about the dry cleaners. He said, 'We've taken care of your dry cleaners.' I voted against him anyway. He keeps a list of that vote and my name is circled in red! It's a little better now. Sometimes he smiles. That is, his lip moves a little!"

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- "Augusta is a tough, mean town. It has a problem that a lot of border cities have, a lack of self-identity. Part of it is due to the newspaper, which just attacks everybody all the time. They can never get it all together."
- Radio interview: "I know you voted against the pay raise, but are you going to pocket the money anyway?" WF: "My mother didn't raise no fool." *A WFB clip, typed*
- About people moving into Atlanta, "they become Republicans. It's socially acceptable to be Republican. These people don't go to meetings with blacks or with labor."
- When he goes to editors, he takes a press release mentioning what he has done specifically for that area. He keeps them in a black notebook, and at some point he opens the book, takes out the press release and says, "Can I sell you anything? What can I sell you? I'll leave this with you. Perhaps you could write a favorable editorial about this project."
- When we got to Rome, he said, "the newspapers have just chewed me up. They say I have a national, liberal agenda and they associate me with Mitchell and Metzenbaum and Kennedy whenever they can. It's hard to build any kind of base here."
- Apparently, we did have all the wealth and leaders of Rome around the table. The head of the Chamber of Commerce told us afterward that he had never seen such a collection. WF said after we left, "Whew, that was work. They were all Republicans. I tried not to let them get the upper hand. I'll bet every one of them was on Mack Mattingly's contributor's list in 1986." David Elrod said that someone told him that "we didn't support him last time, but we're stuck with him now." WF laughed and said he loved those people who come up to him all the time and say, "I like you a lot Wyche, but I just can't vote for you."
- At the Rome luncheon he said, "Deloss said I could talk about my campaign, but I don't want to get into that. Several people are waiting to get a crack at me. They probably know something I don't know. I think that the best government is the best politics, so I'll just stay on the job. I may ask for your support later, but not now. For now you can examine the product."
- He was good on economics when he talked at the luncheon--capital gains, health care, banking, insurance, wetlands, highways, budget, etc.
- When I asked Susan where she recruited the "new young leaders" for the Augusta party, she said, "the Garden Club, the Junior League." Our two luncheons were in very poshy homes, no blacks, people in 30's and 40's dressed to the nines--not his natural constituency at all. But he seemed reasonably comfortable because he talks policy very intelligently. But he is reaching out to new people--expansionist--and while he was more at home at Manuel's, he complained that they criticized him for leaving them behind. So the "young leaders" ("we

don't want anyone he's ever met before") movement and Manuels are his expansionist and protectionist sides.

- Which brings me to the first comment he made to me standing in front of the Wyndham when we met. "I gave up the best district in the U.S.--40 square miles, easy to get around in, where I knew everybody. I gave it up for a huge state, second only to Texas in the number of counties. We have 159 counties, each with its own government, its own highway department, each wants special attention and some of them are without any economic base. I held a town meeting in every one of those counties in the last campaign."
- Two guys arguing about how to pronounce name of town Lafayette. (In Georgia, they call it Lafay'ette.) They stop car and go into Burger King. Say, how do you pronounce the name of this place. "Burger King."
- Town of Resaca-how gets name? In Civil War, women sent down from North in burlap bags. First one came out, took look at her, "Resack her."
- "Night mayor" in Atlanta when in law school-Ivan Allen gave him job when he complained city hall was not open at night - "what fool would take that job." Guy calls, "get dead dog out of street. Where are you calling from-name of street long name-Wachahatcher-guy can't spell it-I can't get dog till you can spell street name. Hangs up, five minutes later, phone rings again, he's over on Lee Street now."
- One reason he has to be expansionist--"Sixty percent of the population of Georgia lives within twelve miles of Atlanta. And one-third of them have turned over since the last election."
- Our first stop was Ringold, way up in the NW corner of Georgia. "I like to go through towns like this on the back roads, but when you go here, it's your destination."
- "People here are dirt poor. The people in South Georgia are poor too, but they have that good soil and can get along in the barter system. These people here have nothing. They even look different. The people we'll see in the Waffle House will all be missing teeth. It's Republican and has been since the Civil War when these counties were pro-union. There's a little tourism now and the area may be making some progress."
- Senator can't send out notices for town meetings any more.
- He talked interestingly about the fact that the senators "are all different." He talked about two groups--those that are afraid of the media and those who get to the Senate because they have money and spend six years learning how to legislate.
- Told David to look for high schools where he could do some commencement speeches. Hadn't had any this past year. Said he had perfected a seven-minute speech. Liked it because everyone was happy.

- Ted Turner on first wife, "forgotten ^{by} not gone."
- Ben Bradlee's favorite headline, "Put Pickles Up Yourself."
- He recalled a couple of times that when he was in the House and they raised social security, "I had three town meetings, the smallest of which had 2,000 people, and the largest of which had 3,400. I stayed for three hours and took their anger head on. If I had left any time before three hours, they would have lynched me."
- I asked him whether he didn't get some points for taking it on the chin. He said maybe yes, but he'd rather not have to face the problem.
- The paperback he was reading during the trip was Reasonable Madness and he said on the day of the story, "I guess that's appropriate for what we're going through today."

Chatahouchee trip - Wilderness Society

- 10 Rangers - 4 TV channels, Constitution reporter and photographer
- Adaptation to demand
- Talk about his plan and will he revise it - half-way through
- First site - pine site: 1982 plan - four years of regrowth - consists of hardwood and pine - habitats and species - old plan had heavy timber emphasis - seems to be changing - when they cut, they try to bring back same species and take into consideration habitats for birds, wildlife, etc.
- Wilderness guy that we drove up with asks the tough questions.
- "Maximum modification" = clear-cutting.
- Second site - "urban interface sites": Millions of people near here - come and camp - overwhelms area, resource damage - every weekend, people can go anywhere - primitive sites, but no sanitation, no garbage - overwhelmed us.
- Wilderness guy - who picked the sites - keeps lobbying the press throughout the trip.
- Forest service man - new phenomenon - continual search to find mix of output of resources.
- Third site: Uphill drive - costs outweigh revenue to Treasury - Wilderness guy keeps arguing with them as to whether they do or do not lose money because of below cost timber sales. WF wants all below cost timber sales cut out (on tape).
- This site is an example of clear-cutting on steep hillside where road was experiment to build and the scar on the landscape is pretty ugly.

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- While the head of the local FS is explaining and WF is making his peroration, the Wilderness Society guy is over the other side interviewing a TV channel. Then they line up to interview him. (I lost all WF's taped comments on this trip.)
- He thinks his opponent will be Paul Caverdell (?). "I beat him once, you know," he said a couple of times--"in a race for Congress - his first, I think."
- He mimics Caverdell. "He is going around making public service announcements about the Peace Corps that are self-serving and political: "My name is Paul Caverdell. I'm a Georgian. My roots are in Georgia." (WF is a superior mimic.)
- He does not have a good opinion of Caverdell. He does not think he's honorable. And he thinks he's gutless. He thinks Caverdell would not be thinking of running unless Johnny Isacson had told he, Isacson, was not going to run.
- The Fowler people agree that Isacson has left a crack open, but they do not think he will. They think he's still in debt from governor's race.
- One of his staffers asked him re Barr, his other possible opponent, if he was white or black. WF didn't even know that!
- There was some evidence that he was trying "to narrow my speeches from 12 things to 3 things."
- Re explanation, the main one by far was pay raise. He was asked about it everywhere. One guy didn't know he voted against it (TV guy in Augusta) and another started in "I know you voted against it, but what about the pay raise." To which WF replied, "Don't swallow the first part of that sentence so fast. I voted against it; and I have consistently voted against pay raises." When asked "why," he would say that first, he considered "public service to be an honor" and a privilege and second that "this is not a good time to vote ourselves a pay raise."
- Mostly, his explanation was that he didn't vote for it. But what intrigues me is that the questioning seemed to be attacking him no matter what he had done personally. The fact of the pay raise hurt him by fueling an anti-incumbent, anti-Congress feeling no matter what he did personally, i.e. the lady at Ringold who said, "I know (you voted against it), but I know you're running for reelection." Or the TV interviewer he mentioned often who asked him whether he was going to "pocket the money." All the questions are negative and have a critical, suspicious edge to them. He can't escape scott free even with his vote. Interesting. Of course, a yes vote would have produced a lot of wrath; and from the kidding in the car, it's obvious that WF understands that! Still, he has only a limited ability to escape public criticism of the institution and of "the politicians" who inhabit it. And that may, as his pollster apparently feels, be a problem for him in 1992.

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- His relations with Sam Nunn seem careful and calculated, but not intimate. He said that, on the pay raise, he had "tried to protect Sam" (who voted for it) by correcting people who said it took place in "the dead of night" by telling them the vote took place at 8:00-9:00 p.m.-- "in prime time."
- Re explanation, the only other item that could be said to be relevant was the other ubiquitous question--on Clarence Thomas. There, he said only that he would listen to CT talk about his judicial philosophy, his view of the Supreme Court, etc. before he decided. "I will do what I know you would want me to do. I will listen to what he has to say about his judicial philosophy, about his view of the Supreme Court, about his qualifications before I decide how to vote. I will give him the same consideration--no more, no less--and apply the same standards--no higher, no lower, as I applied to Judge Bork, to Judge Kennedy and to Judge Suter. I am proud, very proud that a Georgian has been nominated to the highest court in the land. But I want to hear him speak for himself; and then I will make up my mind."
- Privately, he was not impressed with Thomas. Said he asked him about redistricting. He asked Thomas if he thought a majority black district could be well represented only by a black congressman, and Thomas demurred saying that he didn't want to discuss his judicial philosophy. WF told him that he wasn't talking about his judicial philosophy, only asking his opinion about the representation of black people by white people or vice versa. He said Thomas repeated that he didn't want to get into such a discussion. "It was a weak response and a disappointing one. The Bush people have told him to clam up completely till his confirmation hearings begin."
- In private, and to the black group only, he went through the Herblock cartoon where Bush hits himself on the head, looks surprised when the press questions him about the basis of the nomination being his race. Bush says, "Is he black? That's the one question I didn't ask him!" Great hilarity as WF smacks himself on the forehead in mock surprise and acts the whole thing out.
- He's much caught up in the pennant run of the Atlanta Braves. "I'm the number one Braves fan. Last year, when they were so bad, their record was 11-2 in games I went to. We went to the game one night--sat near Ted Turner's box, next to Hank Aaron's daughter and kids. He used the Braves to link himself to all of the "new young leaders" group."
- When I left him, he was leaving for Montana to go fishing with Ted Turner. He talked some about Ted and Jane; clearly he enjoys his relationship with Turner.
- When I called Bill Johnstone on August 15 to tell him the trip had gone well, I asked him a couple of questions about the S&L headline flap.
- On the matter of the TV reporters, he said that one political reporter had called him to say that he didn't think there was any story there.

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And he said the AP guy, David Pace, also called him to say that he had been assigned the story and was "apologetic" about it because he didn't think there was a story there. Bill also said that Pace was "the only AP reporter who covered Georgia from Washington" and that he was "the most important political reporter for us" because of the wide circulation of AP stories in the state.

- Bill also said that he had called the reporter who wrote the S&L story to remonstrate with him about the reporting and about how the placement of story affects the writing of the headline. The S&L headline came from reporters first paragraph, and that paragraph had been all third party hearsay from people reporter had never met or talked to.
- He said re WF's upset re Constitution that he had thought it wiser for the staff to get into this sort of contretemps with the media and not the senator. Said they tried to keep senator out of it, but this time he couldn't be stopped. Did WF's statement get issued?