

Georgia Schedule
August 24-27, 1992

Monday, August 24, 1992

Albany - breakfast with supporters

Albany - talk to high school teachers

Americus - reception at Windsor Hotel & remarks across the street at Public Safety Building

Columbus - tickets to kids at Redstiks Park

Columbus - fund-raiser at Hilton Hotel

Tuesday, August 25, 1992

Atlanta - hospital to visit Charles Weltner

Augusta - display of telemedicine facilities and technique at University of Georgia Medical Center

Augusta - drop by at TV station

Augusta - luncheon with black political leaders at Days Inn

Sandersville - radio station interview

Sandersville - newspaper interview with Bobby Garrett

Milledgeville - barbeque with Democratic supporters

Milledgeville - fund-raiser at Dr. Goodrich's house

Wednesday, August 26, 1992

Macon - Breakfast with supporters at Macon City Club

Canoe event on Ocmulgee River in Oconee National Forest

Henry County - Fund-raiser at JT Williams' Eagle Landing Country Club

Henry County - tour of new Ford plant (distributor of parts)

Atlanta - endorsement interview with Police Benevolent Ass'n

The BLOWUP

Baseball game - Braves v. Expos

Thursday, August 27, 1992

Atlanta - research in headquarters, talk with Bill, home to Cape Cod

Georgia Trip
August 24-27, 1992

- Mike Bradford, Chris Schevis, Will McKemie, Gary Kline (SW Georgia College) (same people in campaign office, except new person, Mark Weatherspoon or Weatherford, who was defeated in primary).
- Late Wednesday afternoon, the campaign took what could be a critical turn when--after his session at the Policemen's Benevolent Association--WF got into a fiery shouting match with Mark Sherman, the Atlanta Constitution reporter who is covering the Senate campaign. The details of this confrontation are not yet clear, as I write this on Thursday noon; nor, of course, are the consequences yet clear. The other shoe has yet to drop at this point. It is clearly an example of how matters pop up that can turn a campaign--if not "around"--then at least on a different course. In a sense, all had been very quiet and normal on this trip, and on the campaign as I've watched it for a year, until this blow-up and the facts that surround it. Now what?
- Sherman came to the PBA to talk to Wyche, he said, about the House bank scandal. The headquarters guys (Bill, I guess) told Chris (who was driving) not to let Wyche talk to him. But Chris, who was outside the interview room waiting for it to end (I was in the room), was the first to meet Sherman, chatted with him, and when Wyche came out of the interview, Chris met him and said, "Mark Sherman wants to talk to you about the House bank scandal. Do you want to talk with him?" Wyche said, "yes," and the two of them went into an adjacent room and shut the door. (I asked the Clayton County policeman if he could get me a PBA brochure of some kind, but I never waited to get it!) After two or three minutes, the two of them came out of the room, Wyche in the lead, grim-faced and walking fast! I followed him out the door; and as soon as I got outside, Wyche was shouting at Sherman at the top of his lungs. He had gone utterly ballistic.

"Nuclear," Bill said later, though Bill was not there. Only Chris, WF, me and CJ, who had come to deliver baseball tickets to Chris for the Braves game--to which Chris, Hurley and I eventually went. I assume, Bill got the story from CJ.

- Apparently what happened in the room was that Sherman told Wyche that he, Sherman, had gone to Houston to look at the records of a court hearing involving visitation rights, child support payments, and perhaps more (this is at issue since the full facts of that hearing are not know, certainly by me)--between Wyche and his former wife, Sue, and their daughter. The hearing was held in 1986, six or eight months before Wyche was elected to the Senate. Doubtless, the hearing involved details about their family life.

As it turns out--so far as I know at this moment--Sherman only wanted to ask about a single two-line statement of Wyche's in which he said something to the effect that he always made his support payments on time and that they wouldn't bounce because they had a House bank that took care of those things. (I can get the exact statement from the papers at

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some later date.) I don't think Wyche waited to hear the specific question--though maybe he did--before going absolutely wild in response to the idea that this reporter (with whom he was already at odds) had gone to Houston to dig up court records to find something dirty or titillating about Wyche's private life. Who tipped off Sherman to do this is not known and, I suppose, never will be. Fowler's people speculate that it was Coverdell's people--specifically his manager, Tom Perdue--who did it and they are acting on that premise.

- I only heard excerpts from Wyche's heated berating of the reporter. Those I heard include: "Sherman, don't you ever, ever come to me again with those kinds of questions about my private life. I've had it with you, Sherman. That is nothing but pure sleaze. What possible public purpose does that kind of sleaze serve? Tell me what are your sources. Who told you to dig up those court records? Tell me. Tell me. Where did you get that sleazy idea? You can go fuck yourself, Sherman. The bank is the issue. The bank is the issue; not my private life. You stay the hell out of my private life. Don't you ever come near me again. Go ahead, Sherman, write your fucking story. Write it and get your Pulitzer. You're a disgrace to your profession and I'm through with you."
- There was a lot more, but CJ hustled me around the corner. "Walk fast; he's walking fast," said CJ. I think CJ was half trying to protect Wyche and half scared. Chris said he'd never seen Wyche half that mad. "Several times, Wyche was so close in Sherman's face, I was about to step in before Wyche hit the guy." All the time, Sherman was sputtering and doggedly trailing Wyche, saying things like, "It's a matter of public record, Senator Fowler." But he was simply blown over and out by the fury of Wyche's outraged assault.
- It was the greatest fireworks display I've ever stumbled on in my travels.
- Wyche got in the car and was so upset that Chris and I kept dead still. Both of us were (I certainly was) shocked by the suddenness of the fury and sickened by the thought that details of Wyche's private life, his divorce, custody hearing, visitation rights, child payments, or what not were now going to become part of the campaign.
- After a couple of minutes, which seemed like an eternity, Wyche turned in his seat and said to me, "What earthly public purpose, what possible matter of public policy could be served by digging into these court hearings? Why would anyone go all the way to Houston to dig up records of a hearing that took place six years ago, six months before I was even elected to the Senate?" I said, "To sell papers. That's all they care about now. It just shows how the journalistic profession has completely deteriorated. They used to have rules, standards. They're all gone now." A little later, I said, "It's media rape." Chris said, "It's the tabloid mentality."

He said, "Sue lost that case. I vaguely remember her lawyer getting up and asking that the records be sealed. He wasn't trying to protect her."

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I assumed they were sealed. In 1986, though, we get wind that the Mattingly people had gone down there--or someone had gone down there for them--and gotten into those records. We waited for them to talk about it. But they never brought them up in that campaign. I'm sure they gave all their files to Coverdell."

- "I want to go to the paper," he said to Chris. "Not that it will do any good." He looked up in the paper to find the name of the managing editor. "He's some former USA Today guy." (Wyche always refers to the Constitution as "a rag, a glorified USA Today.)
- We drove to the paper, let Wyche out, parked and waited in the lobby. My first comment to Chris, when we were alone was, "It makes me feel both dirty and sick. I never drink when I'm out with a politician, but now all I feel like is a drink!" We couldn't find any there! But later, at Wyche's mother's house, he made a big scotch and (after pouring half of it in the bushes) I drank more scotch than I have in 15 years. I felt awful. I could imagine all the kinds of things that would be said in a divorce/custody case.
- After about half an hour, he came out of the newspaper building. "It was like talking to a wall. That guy wouldn't know journalistic ethics if they bit him. Sherman has already written the story. I guess this is the kind of campaign we're going to have."
- A few minutes later, he turned around in the car and said, smiling, "May be you'll have a good book after all." I said, "No, there's nothing good about this, nothing." I thought to myself: if they print this guy's story, Wyche will fight it out in the court of public opinion. Privately, I thought of Joseph Welch's comment to Joe McCarthy: "Have you no sense of decency left?" Later, I told Wyche of that comment and he told Bill about it as appropriate (though not, said Bill, attributing it to me).
- We left Wyche at his mother's and went to my room at the Wyndham so Chris could call CJ and Bob Redding to tell them what had happened. We picked Wyche up and drove to RK Singel's party. By that time, Wyche's mood had changed. He had called Johnstone who had called Sherman (or someone) and had clarified the situation a little. It turned out that Sherman had been asking only about one quote he had dug out of the hearings--the one that contained an off-hand reference to the House bank. And what had sent Wyche ballistic was either the whole idea of digging into the personal records or something else that he thought (or still thinks) Sherman had dug out of the hearings. Anyway, on the way to "RK's" place, he was his old self, mimicking RF with his campaign song. It turned out that "This is the third time I've had a problem with Sherman." And he went into a 'beach replenishment' controversy where Sherman had written "a hint of scandal."

At the party, Bill and Harriet were talking about it, and I got the feeling that my worst fears would not come to pass and that, perhaps, Wyche had been a little hasty and even had been "angry on purpose" in order to keep Sherman on the defensive. Even so, the whole idea of

delving into family matters of that sort is bothersome conduct on the part of the media. And, of course, someone put this tabloid-style idea in Sherman's head.

The statement about the bank can be interpreted as saying that he knew about the bank covering his late payments and that he had bounced checks. But "bank" records are so poor that Wyche cannot prove that he didn't bounce checks. As Bill said today (one day after the blow up), "There is absolutely no way we can disprove the charges. There are no records. You could search every record they kept and still be totally unable to prove anything one way or another. All we can do is attack the whole thing as sleazy politics--and retaliate in kind. If that's the way they want to campaign, we are ready to give it right back to them, and we'll have a totally negative campaign. The people on the other side are not nice." When I left, Bill was gearing up for a totally negative campaign.

- "You can go to the top of the mountain and shout till your voice gives out trying to get one news story about a substantive policy matter and get nothing, absolutely nothing. But let one tiny bit of sleaze come up and every newspaper and television station will jump all over it. ^{one} ~~one~~ vague reference out of pages and pages of testimony--a vague statement that says nothing, and against which he cannot possibly defend himself." (B.11)
- Anyway, after the party, Chris and I went to the ballgame, sat with Hurley, went to his club inside when it rained and then went home. (It was 4-3 Montreal when we left and it ended 5-4 Montreal.) Chris and I talked about the event constantly, but to no conclusion except that this is what politics has sunk to in the television, Oprah, Geraldo, tabloid-era. Wyche had planned to go, "We'll go and get spotted." But after the episode he said, "I don't feel like baseball tonight. I'll go to my mother's, get to bed by 9:00 and get some rest."
- This morning, I expected to find Sherman's story in the Constitution. It wasn't. When I got to headquarters, I learned what had happened.

During the evening, Channel 5 was given an "anonymous tip" plus two pages of the record itself, and started calling Bill and the headquarters for a statement. Wyche was at his mother's. They renewed the request this morning, and Wyche gave them a statement on camera. Bill did not go in with him, but he told Bill that he said that: (1) He never bounced any checks--which is what's he's been saying all along and what is, according to his opponents, rebutted by his statement in court; (2) He turned philosophical, called it sleaze, and decried this kind of politics; (3) Took some kind of shot at Coverdell. Bill said Wyche told him that off the camera, the Channel 5 reporter told Wyche he didn't think it was a story: "Nothing to it." But says Bill, "he told Wyche that didn't mean they wouldn't run it." Bill sat looking at Channel 5's 12:00-12:30 news show, waiting for them to show it. They didn't. Nor had they, Channel 5, told anyone about the story. Wyche gave an interview with Bill Nigut of Channel 2 and Nigut didn't know--or, at least, he didn't ask. Speculation is that Channel 5 may be waiting for the story to appear in the newspaper, so that they can call it news.

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Bill thinks they are waiting to beef up their story "cross every t and dot every i" before they print it. But they are waiting for the story to drop.

- Sherman called Bill this AM to ask him if he thought Wyche would talk with him today about campaign finance. Bill said "no."
- Wyche talked to a trial lawyers group this noon; Harriet said he "took it head on;" told them about "a story that would be coming out soon" and used it to discuss media standards and lack of same. Harriet said there was no big reaction from the (30 people) audience. And if they expect this private stuff now.
- It may be that instead of the catastrophic turn that seemed to be indicated early, that this event will be important only as the opening, and earlier than otherwise salvo in a very negative campaign.
- I asked Bill about the money. "Our fund-raising is not up to our hopes. The money is not coming in the way we would like. Part of the reason is that people think Wyche doesn't need it. They see the newspaper stories saying that we have \$2 million and our opponent is down to nearly zero. They say, 'you don't need it now, call me in October.' We have a lot of promises hanging out their waiting to be redeemed. Our best fund-raising period was the last three months of 1991 when we collected over \$200,000 each month, in connection with the big fund-raising event you attended in November. In 1992, we have not had one month in which we raised \$200,000. July was our worst month--less than \$100,000. Our expenses are building up now, with more staff and the phone bank. And our baseline fund-raising is now in the range of \$100,000 a month. We're hurting. One result is that I just had to cancel two weeks of television with our very positive, 60-second spot--the one with Wyche's 800 number to call for information on the issues. We wanted to start this week. Now we'll have to wait till the day after Labor Day. It's a big risk. It means we have a week and a half to absorb the slings and arrows of the opposition. So there is one direct impact of our fund-raising shortfalls. I'm gambling that it will pick up when the ads pick up and people see we're in a struggle."
- The cost of TV alone will be \$2.2 million (have spent \$80,000 to date on production) and print media will take \$300,000. So total is \$2.5 million for media. And that doesn't count office expenses, staff, etc.
- "We need to raise a million dollars more from August to November. But we'll be lucky if we raise \$150,000 in August. We have a lot of promises hanging out there. But the long and short of it is that we have a serious resource mismatch."
- "My only consolation is that it is worse on the other side. That's why the sleaze is coming out now. He's broke; and his polls can't be showing much, so he has to convince the National Republican Committee that he can do well."
- "Wyche's polls have 'stabilized.' He's gone down in a few categories

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since January, but his numbers are about same as they were then and they track closely with the Mason-Dixon poll."

- I talked to Fran about the phone banks--another measure of change.
- "The first six weeks we were here (in headquarters) our problem was that people didn't think we had a campaign--or needed a campaign. We had very few volunteers. After the (Democratic) convention, we got a huge number of calls from Clinton/Gore people who wanted to help, but weren't being given anything to do by the Clinton/Gore campaign. They came to us and we now have more volunteers than we can use. We had 23 phones going full blast in here last night." Later she showed me the big fat print-out.
- They have another phone bank set up and working in Marietta, eg Cobb County. Gwinnett and Clayton are ready to go. Then, the coordinated campaign will set up phone banks in other media markets--Macon, Columbus, North Georgia, Albany. WF people will be in charge of them, however, in terms of active supervision. They are doing Fulton and DeKalb from the headquarters, targeting Democratic precincts. She showed me the answer sheet. They'll go back to the strong F, leaning F, and independents later. They send out issue paperse to those who request it. (I have these.)
- They started phoning 6/17 and by 8/27, they had finished between 1/3 and 1/2 of the target precincts.
- In 1986, they had 28 phone banks.
- Fran called the volunteers gathering after the fly-around (announcing his campaign's beginning--for second or third time, I think!) a huge success--400-500 people--filling the headquarters, the hallway and the front area outside.
- "North and South Georgia are as different from each other as Georgia from New York. In South Georgia, there is an agrarian tradition which comes from living on the land. People introduce themselves to you, invite you home for supper and help you if you want to buy a house. Don't tell on me, I'm supposed to love all parts of Georgia. But I was in Rome recently, in a meeting of 200-300 people and no one got up to speak. ^{to me} There's that tightness up there (he clenched his fist) until they get to know you." Spoken to the editors of the "Albany Herald: South Georgia's Metropolitan Newspaper." acc to the sign on the building. Later, he remarked how stiff his meeting with that editorial board, the main person of the group had just come from Texas and none of whom knew South Georgia. He called them beady-eyed and steely-gazed or something like that, in contrast to his easy conversation with Bobby Garrett in Sandersville.
- As he rides along, he tells story that: "Lyndon Johnson always said the key to success was being able to tell people 'what I did for Culpeper.'" And so, as he approaches a town, he will say, "Let's see what I did for this Culpeper." But he is very different about claiming credit. He

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does; but he always seems a little reluctant in doing it; when it gets right down to it.

- This may tie in a little with his attitude toward fund-raising. Bill says, "He loathes fund-raising. Many senators are good at it and a few even like it. Wyche hates it and he is not good at it. That's one reason we aren't doing as well as we had hoped. He just can't bring himself to make the closer. He'll beat around the bush instead of saying 'give me \$5,000' or 'give the coordinated campaign \$50,000.' That's why we have so many promises hanging out there. The big national givers expect you to push them hard. If you don't, they give to someone who does."
- They want 50% of their money to come from Georgia; and Bill has to educate reporter Sherman to the fact that many PACs may have their offices out of state, but the money comes because of the locals in Georgia. "When we get a check from the AFL-CIO, it's because Henry Mayberry from Georgia tells them to send it to us. The mailing address may not be Georgia, but the money really comes from union members in Georgia."
- "The primary and the run-off worked well for me. My energy level isn't up for a twelve-week campaign; and now it's a nine-week campaign."
- Was Coverdell your favorite candidate. "Yes, because he has a record."
- "I made two decisions--one during the primary and one two days ago--not to go on TV. We haven't run any ads yet. I wanted to go with a positive ~~and~~ starting September 1st. But Bill and Greer and others said it would just be wasted. Bill decides everything; he asks me, but we do what he wants to do. He wants to get up and stay up when we start on TV. Our fund-raising has not been going as well as we expected. So we will wait till the day after Labor Day. The last decision to wait saved \$217,000. Coverdell will start negative and we'll see how it goes."
- Re most recent poll (which I have). "My reelect number is still low. My job approval stays around 50%. They knocked that down six points during the primary. I know they are looking at the same figures and thinking that it can be done. I'll be on the ballot as an incumbent--with an i beside my name. And if one out of ten voters continues to vote against the incumbent, I'll lose. By that time, people will know Coverdell was an incumbent--for 19 years. Maybe 1% will cross over and vote Bush-Fowler. I can't imagine there will be any Clinton-Coverdell votes, so I may pick up a little there."
- To the group outside the Windsor Hotel by the Albany Public Safety Building: "As long as this crowd is in the White House, the peanut program will be in jeopardy." (Q. How much will Charlie Hatcher's defeat hurt?) "I can't say. I hope Sanford Bishop will get on the Ag Committee. I think he says he will try." (Q. What are his chances of getting on the Committee?) "Pretty good, I would think. Of course, I can't really say. I'm not in the House. But I used to be in the House, I know how it works, and I know a lot of the people over there. So

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maybe I can help. I'll be here to help till Sanford gets up to speed."

- In the car as we drove from Albany to Columbus: "Did you hear all that talk about Charlie Hatcher? They are scared to death. The seven counties around Albany are the heart of peanut country. They depend on the peanut program. I derived some benefit from Charlie Hatcher's defeat. They will look to me and depend upon me. But in their heart of hearts (smiling), they know what a weak reed I really am."
- To group in Windsor Hotel: "I'm a city boy. But I can talk to you now for an hour about how the strength of this nation is its agriculture. No great nation can be a great nation unless it can feed itself. We have to teach people in the city that agribusiness is the largest single part of the Georgia economy. We have to tell them that of the small towns and the family farms--where people want to live--dry up, every problem in Atlanta and Columbus and Macon will be multiplied ten-fold."
- "The agriculture people have come along. I didn't have them in 1986. In South Georgia, my strong supporters were professional people--lawyers, doctors, stock brokers, those kinds of people, the ones who weren't Republicans. The thing that solidified my support here was getting them the disaster relief. They'd been waiting two years to get what was owed to them, and they had given up. When Bob Dole put in legislation to help his Kansas wheat farmers, I saw an opportunity, ostensibly to 'work with' him on the legislation. Actually, I told him that his bill wasn't going anywhere until Georgia's farmers got what was owed to them. When that bill went through, everything turned around down here. Everybody was talking about it. Wherever I went, people thanked me for it."
- I brought up again, the lack of any question on his war vote. He gave another recent example--an interview following George Bush's criticism of him in Georgia a few days earlier for his vote on balanced budget item veto and the war.
- "Bill Nigut interviewed me for five minutes. He played the tape of Bush's attack on me. And then he asked me about the balanced budget amendment." No question about the war, even with the President's preempting! Surely the war vote was the most controversial of the three. Or was it?
- I mentioned the Walter George-FDR experience in 1938, and he used it after that. But he said that his own answer to the question: "What did you think of what President Bush said about you? was two-fold. I said I thought the President should turn the page and note the 82 things I voted for because he asked me. I also said I thought the President should be president of all the people."
- "You would think that when a lower down person like me was attacked by the President of the United States, that I would be very upset by it. But when I heard it, I had no emotional reaction whatsoever. It had no effect on me. My attitude was one of complete calm. I couldn't believe the way I felt. Thinking about it now, I must have realized that the

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negative stuff would not hurt me, it would only hurt him. The very next day, three or four Republicans came up to me and said they were not voting for Bush after what he said, but that they were voting for me. Many people have told me since that they thought it helped me. I think Bush has stepped over the line--irretrievably. I think that by acting so negatively, he has given up all the advantages of the Presidency. Now it's just Bush and Clinton on the same even field, slugging each other. He's given away an incumbent President's natural advantage."

- "I think--though I don't like it--that my race is pegged to the presidential race. Mondale and Dukakis got 30%. If Clinton gets 42% or 43%, I'm in trouble. Bush has polarized it so much that I'm afraid Coverdell will get a lot of party line Bush-Coverdell votes. As a matter of personal pride, I'd like to run better than the presidential ticket. But, this year, in these circumstances, I don't think I can. Well, maybe I'll run one or two percent ahead, by getting some Republican votes."
- "If I interpreted the Georgia elections one way, then I am going to lose. If one in 10 voted against the incumbent, I can't win. One reason it won't be that bad is that the one who voted in the primary are the ones who are mad. In the general election, it won't be that bad."
- "We're ahead now by 15 points. Coverdell will hit me with a negative ad campaign and day now; and when he does, he'll pick up five points. That will bring it back to where it should be--55% to 45%."
- "Do you know the trouble with Georgia politics? The media is more conservative than the electorate."

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(continued)

- [Back on Cape Cod, on Friday the 28th, I couldn't stand the suspense. So I called Fran to ask if "the story" had been on TV or in the papers. "They killed the story. I have no idea why. But someone on the paper called a friend of ours and said they killed it. Maybe they just realized they couldn't make a story out of two lines in a 125 page record. Maybe it will come up again. It has alerted us to these sorts of things that we have to be ready for, again nationally. So we are going to have a staff meeting today to discuss how to respond--to the phone calls that will come in, for example. It has helped us in that way."

I asked her if Sherman had talked to Wyche. "I don't think so; but Bill has been talking to him a lot." For now, that is that. But I would not close the book on the story.

- The very first thing W said to me on the trip--as we rode from the Holiday Inn to the breakfast in Albany--concerned the: recent election, and what they indicated about the incumbency factor--which is, after all, Wyche's biggest worry. Not great news.
- "We just had one of the most radical--and that is the word for it--set of elections in Georgia history. Two congressmen were defeated. The son of a popular former congressman, whom everyone thought would win the primary easily, but didn't even make the run off. He was clobbered by an unknown 50 y/o school teacher named Christmas who filed three days before the closing date. In the primary, her slogan was "Christmas in July;" in the run off, her slogan was "Christmas in August." Half the Georgia delegation will be new: two blacks and two women--both will be firsts. Ten committee chairmen in the Georgia legislature lost. Several heads of county commissions lost. We're going to have the first big city black woman police chief in the history of the nation. It was the biggest anti-incumbent election in history. And he look at me as much as to say--in body language--"that's our problem."
- Will McKemie: "When people ask me if WF is a liberal, I tell them that if they'd ever negotiated a salary with him, they wouldn't call him liberal." Chris, too, talked about the very low salaries ("I did even make \$30,000") and said they were willing to work for little because of belief in Wyche and what he was doing. A little like Tsongas' staff, but not so strong, I think."
- In Columbus, sitting in his office making time before going out to the ball field, he said with some resignation, "I don't know whether any of this does any good. I guess if you get on TV, it does."
- Then, he went out to the ball park of the Columbus Redsticks, of the Sally league, where he met a large number of black kids and they went out to the pitcher's mound and took turns throwing the ball to the Redsticks' catcher. It seems that for several years, Wyche has been buying tickets to the Redsticks games and giving them to low-income

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kids. Of course, he is known as a great baseball fan. Well, Deborah decided that since the distribution of the playoff tickets this year coincides with his visit, she would get him some publicity. All three of the Columbus TV stations and a reporter from the newspaper came and asked him questions about Bush's attack, Yugoslavia, etc. Then they trooped out to the field to take pictures of Wyche in the middle of all these happy kids tossing the baseball. (It was 95 degrees and 100% humidity--as hot and oppressive a day as I have ever felt!)

- As we left the park, W took up the earlier theme. "Those were great shots with the kids, weren't they? But I suppose they'll be swamped by the question about Bush. I knew that was what they wanted to ask me. That's the way it goes. But, if they spell your name right" As it turned out, all three stations played the picture of the ball park with the kids. Mark, at headquarters, told me that, and he was ecstatic. "I guess it didn't look political and it was such a good picture they went with it." It was one success in a continuous effort to get on TV.
- In reflection, campaigns are mostly about money and publicity. If you ask what it was that WF was doing for the three days, it was that he was looking for money and media. Of course, there are instrumental to a campaign strategy and a personal goal. They are the resources needed to implement ambition in general and a campaign in particular. How you use money (or recognition, too) is another matter. But the need for money and recognition is overwhelming. And that may be--in terms of what I see--what the campaign is all about. It's the visible part of the campaign. Of course, the search for trust is also going on at the same time, less visibly and instrumentally. That is not what gets talked about in the car. What gets talked about in the car are more tangible things--support, media, people, money and politics.
- After the ball park, we went to a fund-raiser at the Hilton Hotel. It seemed like a collection of the city's leaders. Afterward, he talked about it. "That was a good reception. I think we raised \$25,000. (Harriet told me later that she didn't think they raised any money, and that she certainly hadn't seen any) Tom Blanchard's introduction was very generous. The bankers want to get right with me because they think I'm going to win. But they still get me over in the corner and talked about not being too linked, not supporting too many regulations. In 1986, they were against me. They wouldn't let me into their banks. So when they came to see me afterwards in Washington, I told them that they would have to present a very strong case to me and that they will have to show me that whatever they wanted was in the public interest. I'm not sure they know what the public interest means. The four of them that put on the event are tremendous success stories--young entrepreneurs who have become the leaders of the city." The next day, he told Charles Weltner about these people.
- "I'd hate to have to give a one hour talk on the details of the peanut program. It's the most byzantine farm program there is--worse than tobacco. It has 50 different grading systems, 40 different tariff structures, 40 different grades of peanuts, depending on when they came

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out of the ground check. They are all designed to hold the subsidy at \$600 per barrel (?) You can get Brazilian peanuts for \$300 a barrel--but, of course, Georgia peanuts are far superior. And, as we city folks have learned, the farmer may get the check, but the consumer gets the subsidy. (Then, with a twinkle) Professor Fenno saw what a weak reed I am." ("No, you said it.")

- Re Georgia flag dispute (taking confederate stars and bows out of it): "I run into the 'bubbas' now and then on the issue. I'm surprised no one has asked me about that on TV. Three-quarters of Georgians think the flag has been this way for 200 years. Actually, it was changed in 1954(?) as an act of defiance after Little Rock. It was put through the legislature in three days."
- "I thought we were going to Warrentown this morning. The schedule changes so fast, I can't keep up with it."
- In Augusta, after the tour of the telemedicine unit at the University Medical Center, we had some time to kill before the lunch with the black leaders. So W decided to drop in on the TV station WJBF, Channel 12, the ABC affiliate, with the biggest Augusta audience. He asked for someone he apparently knew, who was not there. Then he asked the receptionist if the news director (whom he did not know) was in, that he wanted to stop by and say hello. She called up and then said to Wyche. "He says he'll come down for a minute." (Very cold reception.) He comes down and says how busy he is, that his news people are out covering the SC primaries (across the river), that he's holding the fort. Wyche said he just wanted to say hello. There's a silence. Wyche says that he "knows station doesn't want anything political, but that Congress is in session and that he'll have lots of policy problems pending." Director brushes this aside with a smile. News director then tells Wyche that future of near-by Fort Gordon (there is a rumored expansion) is a key matter and asks if Wyche knows anything about it. Wyche says he doesn't, but that he'll look into it. Director says, "If you get any information on it, call us and we'll put you on the satellite immediately." He smiles as if to say, "I know that's what all you politicians want." He treats W like a supplicant and W takes it. As if he's used to it. I thought it was pretty demeaning--not an ounce of cordiality, much less respect.
- On the way back to the car, Chris said to me: "See, that's what I mean when I say Wyche is an outsider. He's not a 'Georgia Bulldog!' We don't get in. Did you see the arrogance of that kid in his polyester? Telling Wyche that if he went out and dug up some real news, that he'd put him on the satellite? If Sam Nunn had come in there, they would have trotted out the whole staff to fawn all over him. These people are Reagan Democrats. They vote Republican. Sam Nunn votes Republican as often as he does Democratic; but Wyche is Assistant Leader of the Senate Democrats."
- Re good signs for the campaign--the turnout at the volunteers' party after last weeks fly-around announcing his reelection campaign: "I expect about 50 people, all over 60 and all of whom I would know by

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name--all the old war heroes. I couldn't have been more surprised. We must have had 500. We had 300 sign in and there were people all the way out to the street. Most of them were white, except--and this surprised me the most--there were about 40 or 50 Asians. I know, because I had to have my picture taken with all of them. I didn't know what attracted the Asians to me. But they thing that pleased me the most was that the whites are back."

- "I've had 10 or 12 people--not a lot, but some--come up to me and say they were Perot supporters and they support me now."
- "I learned a lot in city council about streets and highways. For instance, a one-way street can kill a business, just like that if you aren't careful. If you have a laundry, its got to be one-way going into town. If you have a liquor store, it has to be one-way going out of town. If you put 'em in reverse, they will die instantly." (Snaps his fingers.)
- Re his "at homeness" with blacks: when we went to the luncheon, it looked like there weren't going to be enough place settings for the black leaders (28 eventually came). So Chris and I sat at a different, empty table at the back of the room. Wyche looked up at us from near the front and said, "Come on up here and sit down. We black folks will let you white boys come down and sit with us." Everyone laughed and looked at us. And, as Wyche himself went to sit down at the head table, he said so all could hear, "My skin ~~might~~^{may} be white, but my soul is black!" And everyone smiled. It was very natural and very unusual.
- Afterward, he recalled the situation to Chris and me. "You two looked so white sitting back there!....I don't know all the differences between me and Coverdell, but I do know that he would never have said, "My skin is white, but my soul is black."
- My main observation about this luncheon was how issue-oriented the questions were. These people wanted to know what he thought about the full-range of domestic issues. They need government help and they are involved citizens and they are strongly issue-oriented. The whites at the barbeque were the second most issue-oriented group. But they were a ways behind the black leaders group. They asked about job training, voucher plan for schools, health costs, affordable housing, enterprise zones, an anti-Fowler billboard, trade bill. His answers had a partisan spin and not a lot of upbeat or hope to them. He's both partisan as to blame and cautious as to solution. I thought, at the Milledgeville barbeque, that his answers on jobs and the deficit were really not very good. He has no plan in either case--and he dances around so much that he doesn't give much hope or positive thrust. He has reduced "the twelve things to three things; and they are jobs, health care, education.
- He joked about Bill Clinton's marijuana smoking story. He said the London Times did a story on the whole business of smoking pot and going into public, focussing on Clinton's inhaling comment. The last paragraph, on page on, said (according to WF): "The classic answer to

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the 'have you ever smoked marijuana' question was given by U.S. Senator Wyche Fowler of Georgia who, when asked if he had ever smoked pot, answered, "only when committing adultery!" Acc to Wyche, "When Bill Johnstone saw that--on the front page of Britain's most prestigious paper--he was on the floor, aghast and prostrate! He said 'what will you say if they come and ask you whether its true or not?' I told him 'I'll tell them: only when I inhaled!'" Then he made a choking noise and laughed. The idea was that the question is silly and irrelevant and deserves a silly, irrelevant answer.

- His joking can get him into some trouble, as it did in the Ross Perot flap--when he was reported as being interested in being Perot's running mate. He explained what happened.
- "We were down in the town of Blakely, about 10 miles from the Florida border, in the middle of no where. I was in a cotton gin, standing on a bale of cotton, talking to about 200 people about the peanut program and the North American Trade Agreement. It was about 120 degrees in there. All of a sudden a telephone rings--very loudly, as it would have to if it was to be heard when the machinery was going. Some guy in the crowd answered, and I yelled out, 'Tell Ross Perot I'd be happy to be his Vice President.' I have no idea why I said it. It's just an old vaudeville joke when something happens off stage. It popped into my head. Anyway, some reporter, a stringer from Albany, filed a story: 'Fowler offers to run as VP on Perot ticket.' I went on with my speech and didn't think anything about it. I had three more stops on my way to Augusta. When I get to Augusta, I was flabbergasted. There were eight reporters waiting for me--TV cameras and the New York Times. They wanted a statement. I told them to wait 10 seconds. I turned my back to them, like comedians do on stage--and then turned around and said, 'I thought the media could take a joke.' End of statement. Later, I completed the story by saying that I would gladly run on the Republican ticket, that we would dump Bush and I'd run with Quayle, and then we'd let people judge who was the better politician." (I haven't got that just right, I think, but he did talk about dumping Bush and running with Quayle - to show how ridiculous the original idea was.) In the Georgia papers, there was all kinds of speculation as to what Wyche's motives were for that comment--the assumption being that it was calculated and not, as he tells it, very off-hand.
- On Wednesday morning, Wyche went down to the Ocmulgee River in the Oconee National Forest to celebrate the acquisition of 4 1/2 miles of river-front property that had just been acquired by the Forest Service as a result of Wyche's efforts to get an appropriation through Congress. (\$20 million, I think.) Anyway, the idea was that Wyche would join a group of environmentalists and Forest Service people in a canoe "event" on the river. The original plan was for Wyche to spend an hour-and-a-half or more canoeing up (or down) the river--a real trip. But the exigencies of the schedule (a fund-raising luncheon) cut the event down to about 15 minutes--half of which was spent in a canoe on the river. Maybe that's all Wyche's people ever expected. Anyway, it turned into nothing but a media event. There was a brief laying-on of hands and introductions all around at a display area where everybody congratulated

Wyche and each other. Then, Wyche changed his clothes to bathing suit, tee-shirt and Atlanta Braves hat and borrowed some sneakers. We drove into the woods and down to the river where, with lots of scurrying around about eight or ten canoes got launched with various people in them, along with three motor launches for the less hardy. Several students from Columbus College were there along with representatives of environmental groups and two ordinary citizens with a canoe. Wyche sat in the rear of a canoe with a young woman organizer in the front seat. They paddled out into the swiftly running river, drifted down-stream around the bend for three or four minutes, then paddled up-stream for five or six minutes and came ashore. There were two TV camera crews present through all this and one reporter.

- From start to finish, Wyche fretted about the media. Would they show up? As we drove in, he said, "Channel 13 (Macon) is the big one." After the introductory as we drove to the river. "Why wouldn't that damn Channel 13 come down here? It's the biggest channel in Macon, and it's only 25 miles away. Channel 46 came all the way from Atlanta." As we get nearer the river, he said, "Are those all the people? Will there be more waiting for us at the river bank? You told me there would be people from all these different colleges." (Ans: "That's what we were told.")
- When it was over, he said, "There was one little 3% (audience share) station from Atlanta and a 5% station from Macon. But the Macon paper was there and that will count for something."
- To the forest ranger: "This is a crazy business," spoken as he got out of the canoe.
- "The Forest Service doesn't know what to make of me." He opposes them on timbering and he helps them acquire more park land. The woman forest ranger remembered me from a year ago in the Chatahoochee Forest trip! And Ken Henderson is still the chief ranger--at both places.
- At the Henry County-Eagles Landing Country Club, (w. golf course), WF said, "There's no use asking about my race with Coverdell. He's not well enough known. People don't know him or what he stands for."
- At the Ford plant, where his hand-shaking tour was very brief and only covered (but well covered) by the in-house photographer: "I want to get in the paper to show General Motors. They won't let me in their plants." They were conducting a running negotiation with GM while I was there.
- Re RK, as we went to his fund-raiser (my last event with Wyche on this trip): "I can't stand the man. I'm preparing for his obsequious introduction. He doesn't ask for anything, but he did question some of my actions on the energy bill. He complains that I don't want anything from him. He took me to an office once and said, 'This is your office if you lose. Your starting salary will be \$250,000.'" Wyche mimicked his campaign song. And he said, as he had on my earlier trip, that Sigel wants him to come to see him at his hotel when he's in Washington.

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Wyche has to tell him that he can't do that, that he's busy and Sigel has to come see him at the Capitol. It's a strange relationship. Harriet said they got \$11,000 from the fund-raiser, but that RK collected it from his underlings before the event. So RK could say it wasn't a fund-raiser, that Wyche came because they are friends. He collects politicians, and wants to collect Wyche, too. I'd tell him to kiss off; but Wyche can't seem to. The guys offices (quite palatial) are way out of town and it takes a lot of effort to get there. I thought his introduction was demeaning if not humiliating, even though WF got in a couple of zingers (which I have on tape).

- He does a great imitation of the southern seductress who used to announce executions at the Georgia State Prison.
- Re compromise at parade of US Army at (Fort Gordon): old guy came three years in a row and as the soldiers go by, he shouts, "~~You~~ damn Yankees won the war, but we Confederates still beat the hell out of you at Chicam~~oga~~ga." Finally, the major in charge of the troops came up to the old guy, takes out his pistol and says, "Old man, if you say that again, at our next parade, I'm going to put this to your head and blow your brains out!" So the next year's parade there's the same old guy and he shouts, "We damn Yankees won the war, but you Confederates sure beat the hell out of us at Chicam~~oga~~ga."
- Tuesday morning we went to the hospital to see Charles Weltner. He is dying of cancer; and recently broke his leg and had to be hospitalized. Wyche goes to see him every day. Bill Johnston said appropos of the potential bad story that "Wyche doesn't need that right now, when he's so worried about Charles Weltner. All that matters to him now is Weltner and the campaign could not mean less to him at this point in time."
- Anyway, I took this as another sign of Wyche's trust in me and, I guess, liking too--that he would take me with him to visit his dying best friend. He simply said flatly, "We'll go to see Charles in the morning. He's best in the morning before he tires. He'd love to see you." I accepted that without any reply.
- We talked about Wyche's previous day on the ~~road~~, about the reading room that will be established to hold all Charles' books at Oglethorpe College ("That pleases me"), about the "shining light award" that Wyche pushed up in time so that Weltner could get it before he died. It's an eternal light in front of the court house in Atlanta with an appropriate plaque. Said Wyche to Charles, "Every lawyer will pass it on the way into the court house. It will make them reflect on their arguments." Weltner turned to me and said, "A lot of good things have been pushed up during these last two years as I danced around my eternal demise." And he traced his fingers, as if dancing around his blanket.
- He turned to me and said, "Did you see the catch?" They talked about the flowers in the room and Wyche said how his mother disliked cut flowers. "Don't bring anything into the house that you can't eat," she says. Charles wants badly to go home and die there, "to sit in my chair

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and look out the windows." It's a matter of days, says Wyche. He wants to be able to take Charles home so that on the ride home, he can see the eternal light--which he hasn't seen. The Governor came to the ceremony and all the public officials and judges and lawyers. All arranged by Wyche. It's a remarkable friendship, as I've noted in my notes before.

- A Fowler saying when he gives a personal opinion, "I'm goin' from preachin' to meddlin'."
- They all think Wyche will beat Coverdell in debate. They want as many debates as they can get. Asked LWV to take over the arrangements and asked for four debates. They see Coverdell as short in stature and whiny in voice.
- At about half the events, at some point he will say, "How many of you saw my catch at the Braves game?" Usually, one or two hands go up.

Thoughts (on reading tapes)

- Albany speech: Says he kept "promise" to work hard south of Macon--like Specter in western PA, a first-term expansion.
- Rather tough on Bush; rather short on commitment.
- Editorial Board: He paints all the disadvantages of incumbency and never mentions the benefits of incumbency--cries poor, etc.
- Editorial Board is new--typical problem.
- Deficit not really something he elevates--his proposal to always submit a balanced budget--simplistic.
- There's an interest in national politics and in Democratic concerns that comes through here. He's not insulating himself from national politics and running against Congress.
- Always talks about what actions or policies are right. But only one he ever cites is Social Security!
- Q: How much is getting \$ in an appropriations bill a matter of skill and how much is it a matter of waiting your turn and passing it around? Could you compare senator's success rates in getting appropriations?