

*2 failures
with volunteers + st b (no lunch)
with Donna (no work)*

Georgia Trip
November 15-18, 1992

Schedule

Sunday, November 15, 1992:

2:00 Work at headquarters

Monday, November 16, 1992:

8:00 Gainesville breakfast rally (with Sam Nunn - taped)
Fly to Dalton (with Nunn)

11:00 Second Chance Program - Dalton High School

12:00 Drop by Chamber of Commerce

1:00 Fly to Augusta - Debate with PC (Channel 6, taped)
Brief interview

4:30 Fly to Atlanta

Tuesday, November 17, 1992

8:30 Teamsters UPS

10:00 Women's Press Conference - Capitol steps (taped)

11:00 At Wyndham

12:00 TV taping

12:30 CNN taping (taped)

1:30 Peachy Restaurant

6:00 DeKalb Dem Party (taped)

8:00 ADL Award Dinner

Wednesday, November 18, 1992

8:00 Drive to Rome for rally with Al Gore

11:35 - 2:00 Drive with Chris to Athens

2:30 Watch satellite link-ups - WF & Gore

5:00 Drive to Atlanta with Donna (WF goes with Colin Campbell)

8:00 Dinner at George's bar with Chris & Tricia

A:\FOWLER DISC #7, NOV 1992 (2 BOOKS)-1

Georgia Trip
November 15-18, 1992

- I flew down on Sunday without ever having talked with Bill! He was so besieged and harassed after the runoff became a reality that he simply couldn't be reached--by anyone except the close staff. When I called Fran, she told me she couldn't even get to see him. My contacts were Fran, who told me to just come anyway (but who never knew that I was coming), Mark Wetherhorn (whom I called at Fran's insistence, who was doing the scheduling) and Laura Parker. Mark talked to Wyche, who gave me the ok, and Laura put me on the schedule for part of the first day. That was enough to get Chris to pick me up in the morning and that's how I got off on this visit--one I had to try no matter how chaotic and improbable it seemed from Rochester.
- I got in on Sunday and went to headquarters. The change was pretty amazing. An empty, laid-back headquarters had turned into a real campaign. No one had time to talk to me; no one rushed over as they usually did. There were new people in a lot of the offices, and the main room was full of strangers stuffing envelopes and making phone calls. The people I knew all seemed newly energized--after what must have been a let down on election eve. They all said it took them a couple of days to get turned around and into gear; but they were in gear now. Margaret said that she felt they blunted Coverdell's momentum last week because they finally got on the air with their ads. One blasts him for his insurance business relationships, one has a nice old lady (countering Margie Lopp, I guess) saying nice things, and I don't know what the other is. It is that Coverdell was not on the air this past week--no money. A case where Bill's complaints about the DSCC not supporting them came back to help him! They had \$200,000 left to give WF, whereas Coverdell maxed out and had nothing coming to him from the Senate Committee.
- Wyche said, "I can't go anywhere without having people come up and give me money." This was after the Gainesville rally.
- Harriett said, "Money is no problem; volunteers are no problem. ~~Only~~ getting out the vote--especially the black vote--that's a problem."
- To get back to the headquarters, I spent two hours folding, stuffing and sealing envelopes for a mailing of the "Women for Wyche" letter. It was written by women who had sat out the election (DK how or whether they voted) and are now so alarmed that they are mobilizing for Wyche. They are holding a press conference on the City Hall steps on Tuesday.
- This has been one of the major phenomena of the post-election period. Various people at the headquarters expressed this view, "The morning after the election, the phones started ringing and they never stopped. Four lines light up at once." "Everyone wanted to help. People who thought they would give Wyche a scare the first time are now scared to death about Coverdell." "People called to say, 'We didn't know Wyche might lose. We didn't think you needed any help.'"

- When I was stuffing envelopes, six people came in from Washington, D.C--one professional organizer from the DSG and five young people. They had driven all night, slept in their cars and came in to help out. The leader, "Kate," called them "a SWAT team." These kids had worked the campaign season in Florida and three in Indiana. They came right in and started phoning, to get people to come to work on the phonebanks. The Fowler people were glad to see them--these young guns for hire--no relief from the grind of the campaign. They brought with them some of the lists of workers in Georgia from the Clinton-Gore files. This is one way the Clinton-Gore campaign will be helpful to the WF campaign. The three Florida young guns were going to Dalton. David was ecstatic that they were coming to do literature drops, lawn signs, phones, etc.
- Wyche said today re getting out the vote, "The key are the phone banks."
- On Monday, I was able to spend the day with WF and Donna and (till the debate) with Sam Nunn.
- Among the more interesting things was his continued problem with the media. "Coverdell has not had one ad, not a single one that tells me what he will do--not one positive ad. He doesn't even appear in any of his ads they are so negative. He has hired surrogates to do all the dirty work. It is a completely negative campaign run by a confessed libeller. He just lies, and the media will not pick him up on a single one of his lies. We are getting absolutely no free press. They all have some excuse; but not one of them will take him on. His lies just get bigger and bigger. And the biggest one is his accusation--printed in the Albany paper that I support the reduction of the statutory exemption from income tax from \$600,000 to \$240,000. I wrote the bill that raised the exemption to \$600,000--Ed Jenkins and I. I'm the author of the bill that he accuses me of being opposed to."
- Well, that income tax exemption matter rattled around all day. Ed Jenkins went down to Albany to refute the ad, and Wyche's staff drew up a statement for him. So they talked about that all day. Then it was raised by PC in the debate and they went at it. Coverdell gave Fowler a letter purporting to prove WF supported the smaller amount. It didn't, and Wyche kept it. Then, on the way home from the airport, Chris told WF that Carolyn Aronovitz (new press person) would not see that the Jenkins rebuttal statement was sent to all the newspapers in the state that had endorsed him. Chris unburdened himself on the ride home - that "the campaign doesn't reach anyone, the last campaign was a completely electronic campaign." It's a gripe about Bill really. "Bill doesn't talk to anyone. That's the biggest problem of the campaign. He doesn't know what's going on--he hasn't a clue, except for the poll numbers and the media."
- Chris was ticked off when we all told him that Wyche had smiled at Coverdell during the debate.
- "Yesterday we had a briefing for the debate. One thing the handlers told him was that he should not laugh at Coverdell during the next

A:\FOWLER DISC #7, NOV 1992 (2 BOOKS)-3

→ debate. They did a couple of focus groups--separated by sex, and showed them the last debates. The women reacted very strongly against the smiling. They said it was arrogant and condescending. To the men, it projected confidence. But the women had a much stronger negative reaction."

→ - Wyche said the same thing before the debate. "My advisors have told me I must not smile during the debate. For some reason, women don't like that."


→ - But afterwards, in the car, he turned and said, "I know I smiled at him, but I just couldn't help myself." He couldn't and it didn't help him. And it is condescending. It relates to his later "I'm ~~your~~ ^{my own} worst enemy" comment.

- Chris was ticked off because it was his idea that Wyche should listen to the handlers but, typically, won't. It was when I asked him if Bill wouldn't tell him to knock it off (since he listened to Bill) that Chris said, "Bill doesn't tell Wyche anything of that sort, Bill isn't talking to anyone, etc.". Both CJ and Chris see Bill as a bottleneck. Carolyn wouldn't get out the inheritance letters to papers because Bill didn't tell her. Chris had to do it via Washington. "He thinks everybody is out there doing things, but they aren't. Last time there were lots of people out there like me who weren't getting paid. They aren't out there now. I'm prepared to see us lose. I even think we should lose. That's how idealistic I am." He's all upset about the lack of grass roots efforts.

- Wyche, "We're going to win this thing. It could be close again--51-49. I'll be known for the rest of my life as landslide Fowler."

- They have focussed a lot on North Georgia, which turned out big and hit WF harder than in 1986. The explanation is that the evangelicals came out to oppose the lottery and won't come out again. David Elrod: "The evangelicals have no reason to come out this time." We shall see. I think WF thinks like Elrod.

→ - The other media thing occurred in Dalton, when we visited the Second Chance program at the high school--a day care center for the children of high school kids. The Chatanooga and local media turned out like I'd never seen--three regular Chat. TV, two Chat. papers, two radio stations, one Dalton paper, one Dalton radio and a Dalton cable TV station. Elrod was ecstatic, "superb, the best I've ever seen." Well, a lot of it--if not most--was Sam Nunn. And what happened was that the press zeroed into a large extent on Nunn--who was going to Russia to negotiate nuclear weapons policy this afternoon and who made headlines all over the country this morning with his "go slow" advice to Clinton on gays in the military. And he did not have the grace, or sense or presence to tell these guys that "I'm here to talk about Wyche Fowler." I thought it was bad behavior, and it turned out that Wyche and Donna had talked about it similarly in private. Later, we all agreed that Sam couldn't help it. He'd never had to campaign and didn't know what it was like.

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- Anyway, when Wyche came out he said, "That always happens with Sam. The press wanted to ask him about Russia and gays. I grabbed one of the babies and leaned into the camera, so I may get two seconds. I felt like an alderman running for the first time... He did take most of the questioning on the gays, and that was a help to me. I didn't want to go into it." Donna said, "Sam just goes into his senator mode. He can't help it. He doesn't mean anything by it." We agreed he hadn't been raised right or taught manners. But it's a nice instance of the way WF lives in SN's shadow. But as David said, "If Sam Nunn hadn't been there, the media would not have come."
 - Sam was very good.
 - WF, "Sam has never had to go through the attacks I'm going through--on the pay raise (he voted for it, I didn't), on the Gulf War, or on Clarence Thomas. No one has ever run a negative ad against him--not one. He came in at the right time. I don't mean that he doesn't deserve all his success--he does. But he's had a pretty free ride, all these years."
 - Nunn was very strong on the platform in Gainesville.
 - "One thing we know for sure about the first election was that we lost 27,000 votes because that many blacks in DeKalb County didn't vote for senator. They voted for Clinton and that's all. With those votes, we might have won the first time." The ballot is set up like pages. You vote for president, vote for whole ticket, then vote for senator. A story in the paper was a little different. It said 27,000 people, who voted the straight ticket, had not voted for president--which you vote for separately.
 - Gays in the military is an issue swirling around these days because of Sam Nunn's "go slow" admonition. Wyche supports Clinton; he does not want to say much about it except that he believes in the Constitution and everyone deserves the same rights as everyone else without regard to gender, race, ethnicity or sexual orientation. He and Nunn talked about it on the plane ride. Nunn talked about all the complications. Wyche thought that it would be the first question Coverdell asked in the debate. He didn't, and it never came up. But in their profiles, he and Coverdell took opposite positions. "Yes" and "no"--without elaboration. W was glad Sam Nunn took the attention on that question. Nunn's comments played on ABC nightly news last night (16th) from the Chatanooga affiliate!! So Nunn not only took all the play away from W at the day care center, but Nunn's comments made the nightly news! I should call David Elrod to see if any of that great media turnout helped Wyche.
 - I did call Elrod, on Fran's phone on Tuesday. He said there was a good spread on the front page of the Dalton paper showing W holding a baby and a long story on "Second Chance." He said he did not see any Chatanooga TV, but had been told there was a small bit on Wyche on one station and more on Sam. But he hadn't seen the other two. (I saw

David in Rome, too. See later.)

- At lunch, Chris asked W about Sam Nunn's races. "He had one race against David Gambrell--who had been appointed. That was before negative campaigning, so he just went all over South Georgia and beat him there. He hasn't ever had one negative ad run against him--not one." The idea was that Sam couldn't be blamed for hogging the camera at Dalton. He was just acting normally. Media always asks him global questions.
- Wyche, "The irony is that I was always asked those questions when I was in the House because I was on the Intelligence Committee. Now, I only get asked about ...".
- At lunch, "We have some big decisions to make after lunch--money and media. We are on TV now very heavily 1200 or 1300 GRP. (The ad by Sam Nunn will start to run tomorrow. The ad with Wyche looking in the camera has been running as has the insurance ad.) The insurance ad has been very effective. The Sam Nunn ad will start running tomorrow. We expect that he has one more block buster negative ad to put on, but we don't know what he will focus on. We have a crime spot which I wouldn't let them use before. If I had let them use it, we would have won. I have to make a decision whether to use it. It shows that Coverdell voted to let prisoners like Willy Horton go free. We think they will put a new negative on late Friday, just before the traffic department's shut down. It will run for three days before we have time to answer it. If it's on the death penalty, we will have our crime ad ready to hit back. We'd like them to go first on that. Actually, I've already made my decision: we'll run our crime ad. Theirs may be about pornography. I've been waiting all campaign for them to use it."
- Chris called the crime ad "a scummy little ad," that was so bad, Wyche wouldn't use it before. Does this show desperation? Or just Secrest's cold judgment that it all depends on PC's negatives.
- When he got into the car he said they had made the decision to start Nunn, crime ad and his "let me give it to you straight ad" beginning on Thursday. "I want them to do a pornography ad, even though we can't get it on until Monday. I think that's the subject they'll go with at the last minute. They've got to go with something to get those fundamentalists out to vote."
- "It will be whisper close Tuesday afternoon--51-49 one way or the other."
- "Coverdell can get his people out in these five counties. He has all his mailing lists computerized. After all, he's run four campaigns in this same area in the last year."
- "Alan told me just now that if we had run the crime ad the first time, we would have won. He thinks it would have been worth at least 30,000 votes--no question about it."

A:\FOWLER DISC #7, NOV 1992 (2 BOOKS)-6

- I tried to get W to say Greer hadn't done as well by him as he could have. "I suppose I should say yes...it's just good to have the captain of the team supervising things again." This was triggered for me when W said Greer had made Sam Nunn do his ad 12 times, "he's such a perfectionist."
- "We've made the party rich. They'll have a million left over instead of \$500,000 they thought they would have. We have at least another \$200,000 or \$300,000 to spend on advertising if we want to." Appropos of money rolling in. Everywhere we went, there were PACs giving him money--at the Teamsters, coming out of the headquarters, after the Gainesville rally.
- "I'm trying to stick to my themes. My handlers tell me I can only talk about two things from now on: health care and jobs or gridlock. I have to say that, just this once, I agree with them." And I whispered to Donna, "much as I hate to admit it." She laughed and said yes.
- Chris, "He tries to make it look like he's not consumed by politics, because he has all these other interests. That's bull shit. Like any great man, he leads a rich life. But if you think he's not consumed by politics, you are crazy."
- Chris said W was "more relaxed during lunch than during the whole campaign." He attributed a lot of it to Donna's presence--that he has to take her into account. He noted how W talked to a constituent for five minutes in the airport one day before he realized Donna was standing right there and he hadn't introduced her. "He was embarrassed. It's good for him to have to think about someone else."
- At lunch, "Next Tuesday, we'll all be nervous. It will be my long, hardest day. I'll go to the black precincts and walk around all day trying to get people to the polls. I'll do that for 10 hours."
- Bill, "We just got good news from Secrest. We're up by nine points. That's up from zero--a dead heat last time. But we expected that, because it was the day after the election. It takes into account likely voters; but who knows what a likely voter is." This was Tuesday noon. On Monday afternoon, Wyche had said, "Bill was feeling more positive today because of the way the organization is coming together. Bill is an organization man. That's where he looks for signs."
- I told Chris about the nine points as he dropped me off at the Wyndham. This was after Chris had told me that Clinton was definitely coming on Monday. Wyche wants him to come to South Georgia--"Macon, Albany, Columbus" it says on the schedule. Fran showed me and smiled. Gore will come tomorrow to North Georgia.
- On way to Rome, "This proves that all those town meetings don't mean a thing in this time of negative advertising. All that work got us nothing." (Chris) "We didn't get one inch of support from all those meetings." (Wyche) "Not one."

- Story of the car phone--in light of his "low tech" comments early. He said, "Let's turn off here and find a pay phone where I can make some calls. I'm too frugal to make these (car phone) calls at \$3.00 a minute. I read an article that said it cost 80 times as much--after four minutes--to use a car phone."
- I said, "I was surprised to find you using a car phone."
- He said, "It was a tooth and nail fight all the way. The first car we ordered had an air bag to protect the driver, but no air bag to protect the passenger--me. We had to order a car from Florida to get two air bags. And the car came with the phone. I held off using it for six days, and then I finally called my wife!"
- He talked a lot about being left out of D.C. stuff. Clinton goes to Washington today; and he was trying to figure out if it was at all possible for him to get to Washington this evening for a Vernon Jordan private party and for Clinton's meeting with senators tomorrow. I could see he was missing things. And so I asked him if he felt left out of the D.C. goings on.
- "I feel totally left out. I would have been in Little Rock last week for the leadership meeting. And I would have been in all the meetings, today with the Democratic senators to plan for the next session. Assignments are being handed out. I had hoped that all of what's going on this week would take place the week after Thanksgiving. But Clinton, to his credit, wants to move faster than that."
- RF, "Are you in touch with Mitchell?" WF, "I'm in touch with Mitchell, but the only thing other people want to talk about with me is 'How is the race going?' They are embarrassed to talk about anything else."
- He then went on to say that Mitchell had appointed him to the Intelligence Committee and how pleased he was--since he spent eight years on the Committee in the House. It will allow him, he said, to get into foreign affairs legitimately.
- "I've been given another plum--as head of the permanent Senate delegation to the Helsinki Commission. I get to choose the other senator. I even have \$50,000 expense account to entertain foreign visitors. And the executive director is an old friend of mine, Spencer Oliver. Of course, I may end up as his deputy depending on what happens next Tuesday."
- Vignette: Last night on the way to DeKalb County meeting, in heavy traffic that stopped and went, a guy pulls up beside Wyche and motions to pull down window, says: "Slap that guy Coverdell's face for me, will you. And kick his butt." Then he drove off! Wyche says, "He's from White County, that's good. We only got 33% there last time." Donna told that story to several people. Called it a great story for my book.
- Saw David Elrod at the Rome rally--he says one Chatanooga paper gave

Wyche's visit a big story. "It almost made me cry it was so good. The other Chatanooga paper--the Republican paper--had a big Coverdell story and not one word about Wyche's visit. And their reporter was right there the whole time."

- On way from Rome to Athens with Chris, he talked a lot about lack of out-reach from and direction for the field staff. No one goes and speaks for WF. That is thought to be his job and only his. Chris asked Bob Redding two years into Senate term, "What is the aim of this office? What is it we are trying to do?" Bob says, "Chris, I do not know." Problem is that the field staff has done nothing to create a reputation for WF. His appropriation stuff never gets presented so that he gets credit. W thinks that if he sends press release (and they send 'em for every bit of money they get) to newspapers, they should print them. They don't. Press not so gullible now, Chris thinks. Pork barrel gets ignored more than before. There is a large hint in all this why WF has such a foggy reputation. Even his town meetings don't get publicized in his speeches or his literature.
- Colin Campbell, "I think my paper has been very unfair."
- Nigut on WF, "I like Wyche. But what interests me is the hubris--the drama of hubris. His obsession with his reelection has affected all the other relationships in his life, with the press and with his old friends. Leave out the press if you want to--maybe there's a reason for that. But I don't know how many of his friends have told me that he no longer pays any attention to them. It has gotten so that people think about it in making their vote decision. To me, it's the most fascinating drama of the election. Will it make a difference? Who knows."
- As we pulled off the highway to drop Donna off--after driving from Athens--Chris said, "The three days before the November 3rd election were the longest days of my life. Each working day seemed 20 hours long." Donna agreed. Chris: "The campaign felt so flat. This time there's much more excitement, much more of a campaign. Two weeks ago all the excitement was centered on Clinton and Gore. I used to say we were the okra in the gumbo. Now I say we're the shrimp on the rice."
- On the drive from Athens, Donna described the excitement of that event, and how W was pumped up and Gore was great, and how Gore was talking about coming back Sunday and having Tipper come back. She said at one point, "I wish W were a little more patient, that he wouldn't jump on press people the way he does. I understand why he does it, but I don't think it helps him."
- Re the visits of the Gores, she said Al wanted to come back to Atlanta, but that Wyche wants him to come to Savannah. "We don't think the black vote turned out the way it should have in Chatham County; and we think Al could be the most help there." She said, "Wyche is ambivalent about it. He thinks it might look like over-kill. But I think he's decided to go ahead." They talked about Tipper and Donna going around together. Donna liked the idea. She's not used to politics, but is learning and

likes the excitement of it--as her talk of Athens makes clear, "We all ran onto the stage and the music was great" etc., etc.



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- In Rome, Wyche did not introduce Donna. It was a big gaffe, I thought. She stood in back of him throughout his speech, with Al Gore and Cong. Buddy Daren's wife. To someone not paying a lot of attention to Darden's wife, it was not not clear which woman was Wyche's wife. Not many people know he's married, and fewer still have ever seen Donna. Several women in the audience asked me where his wife was. (And the two men at my table at the ADL did not know he was married. Indeed, they told me that people wondered for a while whether "he was straight or not.") Anyhow, after Wyche finished, Ed Jenkins went to the microphone and introduced Donna--just before the rally ended. Chris chided him on it afterwards, and at Athens, Al Gore introduced Donna.
 - It was an incident that gave some credence to Chris' idea that he does things so much as a one-man band that he even forgets he's married and has other responsibilities. The fact is, Donna would be a great asset to Wyche, and she is very nearly hidden. She does not appear in any of his ads. She would soften him a bit. I think, by taking a little of the "politician" away from him.
 - Donna has a Ph.D. from Harvard in Child Psychology, started a child services unit in Wakefield for eastern Massachusetts, is very simpatico with Hilary Clinton, was married once before, worked for Norman Lear's "People for American Way," is now head of publication for Board of American Colleges and Universities (or something like that). She is a social worker, very liberal, has high brow tastes, is attractive, is not at all pushy, knows Tipper Gore pretty well and likes her. Tipper recruited her to the one women's luncheon group she has joined (not political), "the only thing I've joined in Washington."
 - Of course, she works at a responsible job and cannot simply leave to travel with Wyche any time. So she will never be a presence in Georgia. That's a political negative for him. All the more reason to keep her in the spotlight when she does come to Georgia. She wants to change her job and has applied (says Chris) to Albert Shanker's AFT for a job. We talked quite a lot and I never heard her say a complimentary thing about any Republican or any conservative. She really is not political, despite her lopsided views. She is certainly loyal, totally supportive, not a bit demanding of him, and as yet, has no well-developed sense of what an asset she is. Not full of herself; doesn't need politics; has a good job; is willing to live with his parents in Atlanta (for now--they may be looking for a condo in Atlanta). The last thing I did was to teach her the great wine swap, which seemed to delight her beyond all true proportions!
 - Maybe the upshot of all this is that Wyche doesn't know what an asset he has here. If so, it's an example of a very bad political instinct for a man who is supposed to have good instincts.
 - Another example of the above is the fact that he does not advertise the fact that he has held town meetings in every county. He should, in my

A:\FOWLER DISC #7, NOV 1992 (2 BOOKS)-10

opinion, say that over and over again. He doesn't. I don't think its in any of his TV ads or his brochures. I asked Chris if he emphasizes it and Chris said no, that it had come up in questions now and then and that one article said he had "criss crossed the state." Arlen Specter plays this hard. Why doesn't Fowler? Specter also played seniority. WF could do this--re agriculture.

- If I need evidence of an inept campaign, I might start here: no good use of his wife; no emphasis on town meetings. The problem is that Wyche needs all these fundamental building blocks of identification if he is to ward off the negative ads. My take on the Fowler problem is: that he has very little identification, or reputation, in Georgia with which to combat the negative attacks. He has no underpinning to fall back on when the crap hits the fan. In six years, he has failed to establish an identity or a reputation in Georgia. A "campaign" cannot create in 10 weeks what five years of work has failed to create. He needs more than name identification; he needs an identity, some reference point that people can hang onto. "Comes home to Georgia more than any senator in Georgia history" would be a nice one. Arlen Specter fended off a blistering attack with that basic argument. Part of that, of course, is what Wyche did for the state via his appropriations work. That's another string in Arlen Specter's bow. Much of Chris' complaint about the field staff amounted to frustration at its inability to capitalize on Wyche's appropriations success.
- There is an idealism about Wyche that keeps him from pandering or self-advertisement. He's negative, but hates doing it (it may have cost him the first election i.e. the crime spot). He hates to raise money. He thinks the press should be a traffic cop on negative ads. Chris says he's never been a teacher and doesn't know how to deal with people who are a big pain in the ass. Chris says Weltner "was his best friend--and his only friend." Cathy Rudder always said, "he's his own man" and he is. But there's a weakness here--the one-man band is refreshing, but an anachronism. He won't delegate except to Bill. Bill plays his cards close to his vest, doesn't communicate with workers, hires incompetents like Marty Smith who got arrested on November 2nd! for defacing a Bush-Quayle sign with spray paint! He's the guy who dumped me off at a closed restaurant in Savannah! If Bill won't give direction, nobody has any sense of direction.
- Nigut thinks this is all Wyche's obsession with reelection. It isn't. If he were obsessed with reelection, he would not be missing so many good bets.
- An incumbent must run on his record. The election is something of a referendum. But the record has to be reducible to a sentence or two. His isn't. He has not, to put it differently, made the transition from challenger to incumbent. He may be better at the first than the second. Maybe the one-man band works better for the challenger. Wyche has a lot of audacity; and it works best as challenger. Some people (Baxter on 19th) says he's not so feisty as in 1986; but it may not be a personality change, as Baxter suggests, but a very different context--one that calls for an aggressive presentation of his record and not an

attack on status quo--night mayor, W&M, 1986 fall into a pattern of attack on status quo. Wyche is a change agent; and it was not until Clinton won that he got a real theme to his campaign. That is, he has made himself part of the team promoting change in USA. Until November 5th or so, his campaign was "themeless." That's why I got so upset with Greer. His spots had no theme.

- There are, after all, only a few things an incumbent can do to win: preempt the race with big reputation or big bankroll or both; have a weak challenger in a weak context (local party or national trend); or have a record that will ward off attack; or be a super campaigner with a lot of luck.
- Could I structure my lectures this way?
- To go back to my first two days and pick up some of WF's comments.
-  - When I first got into the car, he said, "We're getting absolutely no free press. We've had not one positive article; but we've had two negative columns by Wooten and three by Williams."
- "Dick, we're just putting out fires." The latest was the inheritance tax flap, the attack in Albany by Coverdell that Wyche favored lowering the exemption from \$600,000 to \$200,000. That was the centerpiece of the debate I saw and preoccupied Wyche for the first two days. Ray Jenkins went down to Albany on Tuesday. Wyche thought it hurt him badly with farmers and small businesses and Coverdell stayed on the attack. It was totally false, taken from one line in a letter to a constituent and distorted. (Most of it is in the clips.)
- "One thing we learned from our exit polls was that we split the Perot vote 6-1/2% to 6-1/2%.
- After the Gainesville rally, he said to me, "I didn't look afraid or haunted, did I?" He wants to appear confident to the troops.
- That first day he said, "We're going to win this one, but it's going to be very close, 51-49% like last time. I'll be known forever as landslide Fowler."
- Donna: "Wyche says that the hardest thing about campaigning now is that everybody tells him what he should have done. Even his father tells him--that if he had had more yard signs, he would have won."
- From Wyche and Donna and Chris, the picture is of a father and son in constant conflict. Wyche's mother protects him against the old man. He calls it "my mother's house." It's easy to get a lot of psychological junk here. I've heard it, but I'll leave it where it lies. Suffice to say the relationship is complex and not warm--the father always trying to one-up the son.
-  - In Augusta, Susan paints a picture of unremitting, vicious hostility to W on the part of the establishment, and especially the newspaper. I

A:\FOWLER DISC #7, NOV 1992 (2 BOOKS)-12

recalled my earlier trip when Wyche said he thought he would get the paper's reluctant endoresement, by virtue of all he had done. He had even spent an hour trying to be civil with Kent, telling stories, etc. When Susan suggested that possibility to Phil Kent, the columnist, one day at a party earlier this year. He said, "It will be a snowy day in hell. My major short-term project is to get Wyche Fowler out of the United States Senate." Kent came to the Augusta debate to coach Coverdell! The treatment of him makes that clear.

- Susan told story of local judge whose court house was remodeled with emergency money WF got in the Appropriations bill. When the judge dedicated the restoration, he never mentioned Wyche's name. "And we have a copy of his letter telling us that Congressman Doug Barnard had been unable to get the money in the House Appropriations bill and asking Wyche to do everything he could to get it in the Senate bill. Which he did."
- Another example of idealism of WF, thinking good work could overcome ideology. Like thinking that media will identify false advertising.
- He expressed some concern over a Coverdell ad attacking WF as opposed to hunters and said they would counter it with a radio ad explaining that he was a hunter and that he only wanted gun control on Uzzis and killer, military-style weapons. A couple of people spoke to him in North Georgia and urged him to explain. It was just one more example of PC keeping WF hopping, answering one charge after another.
- This comment serves as a reminder that explanation is going on here--in the context of a barrage of attacks. It's "putting out fires" with "explanations." But it's not, "Senator, tell me why you voted for the war?" Except the Clarence Thomas case. That's a case where he has had to explain. He usually has to explain in the context of an attack, so that he spends his time counter-attacking. Not a lot of reasoned debate involved.
- He was most pleased, after the debate, with his extemporaneous comment that "the cock will crow" (Jesus to Peter?). "I stung him good with 'cock will crow.'" He denied his President! That's pretty strong stuff, I know. I hope all those bible-toting evangelicals hear that. Coverdell may not know what it means, but they will. I just thought of it sitting there during the debate." He was tickled with it as a private coup. Whether it matters to anyone else, I doubt. A debater's triumph. David Rogers noted it.
- The Republican suburban "doughnut" which circles Fulton and DeKalb counties, consists of Rorkdale, Gwinnett, Cobb, Fayette, Clayton and Henry. That's PC's stronghold.
- "He'll get a majority of the white males. The black voters are intensely loyal. Over 20 years I have built up a huge amount of good will. I believe I have won their confidence, their trust, their respect. In the last vote, 15% of my votes came from the blacks. We need 18%. It may come down to organized labor against the

A:\FOWLER DISC #7, NOV 1992 (2 BOOKS)-13

fundamentalists. Labor has the resources to get out the vote. But whether or not it will come together at the churches, at the homes, to get people to the polls, no one can know. I feel good about it. But I honestly don't know why." (check quote for line undeciphered.)

- Driving through the downtown, "His job is much easier than mine. He has all his voter lists computerized. After all, he's run four campaigns this year in this same little area. His vote is concentrated in three counties--plus the anti-incumbent thing. I have the whole state to cover to get my majority. For me, the logistics are very, very difficult. And it's a logistical election."
- On the way to the Capitol to the women's press conference, "I haven't the slightest idea what they are going to say. I'll try to get them together beforehand to see if we can work out a united front for the press. I'm going to hold my breath. They'll probably call me the lesser of two evils. I'm not even sure I should be there at all, because the press will try to divide us."
- "Last time, there were three women's groups which refused to endorse us--NOW, the Georgia Abortion Rights League and one other. I don't know how many didn't vote for me--a lot! But I don't know how many "a lot" is. I know some wanted to punish me. I will admit, privately, that had they gone all out for me, I would have won. They would have made more than 1/2% difference. I'm sure 30,000 voted against me."
- Comment after Constitution endorsed him on the 18th, "I could have done without their (slimy-acc. to Chris) endorsement. It's like you want to call the Constitution and tell them if that's the way you feel, I'd rather not have your endorsement." They called some of ads "down right vicious." They believe Cynthia Tucker wrote it, and they are not very fond of her. Why, I don't know. Maybe it's just part of the anti-Constitution bias.
- Their reporter, Ben Smith, said to me at station WDVN in Gainesville when I seemed to relate his paper to Gannett, "We're not a Gannett paper. We're not quite as bad as they are--but almost. We used to be a great paper, but not anymore."
- Campbell to me in Athens, ^{think my} "Our paper has been very unfair." ^{SM R}
- WF, "If he wins, you'll have a very interesting book. It will be the first time in history--you will research it--that an election has been won by someone who never gave one single reason why people should vote for him. It's all negative. Throw the bum out. That's why I feel that we will win, because we have a positive message, based on all the work I've done for 20 years. And I'll contribute in Washington. All he can do is piss in Clinton's eye."
- After the women's press conference, which I though was quite successful (until WF took the bait and answered a lot of barbed questions). He said, "The press will emphasize that I said 'no' when they asked me if I had any regrets. I shouldn't have said that. I'm my own worst enemy."


A:\FOWLER DISC #7, NOV 1992 (2 BOOKS)-14

I should have said, 'I may have regrets several years from now, but I won't know till then.'"

- It was after the women's press conference that WF and Nigut got into a shouting match. Nigut wanted to do a debate, or he wanted the Fowler people to explain that since Channel 2 had already had one debate, they wanted to pass it around. He wanted something to tell his bosses at Channel 2. What he got was the story that he had been put in a pool and lost out to other stations. His point is that he had to go back and tell his boss that reason. He wants a special status, because he is the only political reporter in the business. "I'm as competitive a person as you are Wyche." Chris thinks that the flap was a result of bad staff work by Fowler people. "They fucked over Nigut and he deserves to be upset."
- We stopped at Wyndham and W went up to my room to make calls. Chris, Donna and I sat in the lobby. Chris expounded on problem that "nobody knows Wyche Fowler's record" and gave his theory that the field staff needs to be given direction. He would like to be field director and do out reach stuff, representing WF at community groups, talking on his behalf before groups, etc. He does not have a high opinion of the field staff. This he did not say. He did say that only four people in the D.C. office have been around long enough to give it stability: Bill, Laura, Bob and Tracey. I gave them my theory about papers always attacking the incumbent and the need for a record to hedge against the attacks, i.e. it's not personal, it's occupational. Chris told me to tell W. I said it wasn't my place. Donna said she "didn't want to interfere." She told me at some other point in the trip that what bothered her was the inability of people on the staff to "put aside their own egos to work as a team."
- Chris also said at several points that the press office is very poor. No stability and no reporting of WF's record.
- WF, "I crave privacy. When this is over, the first thing I'm going to do is go home and take a long bath to wash all this slime off me." Said it several times; it shows his basic aversion to negative campaigning.
- Norm (who went home weekends during the campaign and still was!!!), "At least we have a campaign now. We didn't have one before. All we had then was 'keep the Atlanta Braves going for seven games, and fly in under the radar.'"
- ADL - speaker listed previous honorees, including WF, after mentioning PC's name--along with others who didn't come, "Paul Coverdell could not be with us (pause). These people are not honorees, they just think they should be honorees." Great hoots of laughter. A Jewish group--overwhelmingly Democratic--that obviously took it as a slap at Coverdell.
- In the car riding to DeKalb meeting, he called Sam Nunn's wife, Coleen, to tell her what a great new ad Sam had cut for him. And he tried to get both Wendell Ford and Jeff Bingaman--both of whom have given him

A:\FOWLER DISC #7, NOV 1992 (2 BOOKS)-15

money. JB=\$15,000 of his own campaign funds.

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- Re media again. The only reporters who have been allowed to ride in the car have been Helen Dewap (twice), Frank LaMonte (Augusta Chronicle), and David Rogers. He won't let the Constitution people ride with him. And they, of course, are retaliating against him. This is just one part of their war--which is no help to him, but which he seems determined not to cave in on.
 - Another thought: I never heard him say good things about his volunteers, or his campaign workers, or the headquarters activity. They are not part of his thoughts; and I never saw him go to headquarters to thank people or to show any interest in what they were doing. One day, when he had to go to headquarters to interview CNN, he stuck his head into the big room and shouted, "thank you all," but did not go around and thank people personally. I always felt when I got back to headquarters after travelling with Wyche, that I had come from another world--more disconnected than usual from the hard, GOTV efforts. Maybe Bill kept the workers energized, but I doubt it. They worked for a cause, but without much emotional input from WF. (After the election, when I talked to Fran, she said, "I have no idea how he was feeling or what he was thinking. I never know what Wyche is feeling or thinking.")
 - Donna said that when Wyche and Gore talked before the Athens rally, W told Gore that anything he could say about Wyche's integrity would be appreciated. Gore responded at rally by saying that if ever he was in a fight, the person he would want on his side was Wyche. Donna felt that Gore did respond. But the interesting thing here was that W was feeling the heel of PC's constant attacks on him.
 - One constraint on spending, "As you know, I have absolutely refused to go into debt." Both he and Bill have said that from the beginning.