

4 mos into his 1st term

Lindsey Graham, April 12-13, 1995, South Carolina (Book #1)

- Derrick (driver and staffer)
- Jennifer in campaign office; Pam and Jane in Anderson office.

*early view Council  
up differences  
among new comers.*

- He was the most talkative congressman I ever met, eager to please, anxious to know who I was and how I felt about everything. It was a torrent. I missed most of it. So I'll start with the last bit--on the way from the Phil Gramm reception. He does not come across as a Gingrich robot. He called self, "rowdy child," "unruly child," "rambunctious." (SC) "I was the person who suggested term limits for the speaker."

*first look  
at democracy  
begins  
for  
Congress  
PM -  
100% uncertainty*

- "We were sitting in the conference voting on everything, term limits for committee chairman, and I said to the guy next to me, 'Why shouldn't the speaker's terms be limited too?' He said he agreed with me. But he said I should speak up, ~~that~~ he didn't want to. People were thinking that it was intellectually inconsistent to give the speaker an unlimited term, but no one wanted to say it out loud. The next day, we were at a seminar at the Heritage Foundation and I mentioned it to several people. All of them agreed with me, but no one wanted to speak up. A reporter heard me talking and came up to me and said, 'Are you in favor of term limits for the speaker?' I said that I wasn't pushing it, but that yes, I did believe that if we were going to be intellectually consistent, the speaker's term should be limited too. The next day, my comment appeared in Roll Call. And the next day, Newt announced that he was in favor of term limits for the Speaker. He got out ahead of the train, I'll give him credit for that. He proposed 8 years--like the President. He never spoke to me about it; and to this day, we have not had one word about it. It's a good example of the difference between Newt's view of Congress and mine. He has a vision that looks outward, but he doesn't look inside the institution."

- Did you get the committee assignments you wanted? "No. I wanted Commerce because of the Savannah River Project. It didn't work out. They put a lot of freshmen on, but they favored people with close races. I got Science, which has some oversight responsibility for Savannah. And Economic and Educational Opportunities has worked out well for me. I'm interested in education. And labor issues are important to my district, since SC is a right to work state. The way Newt runs the House, committees don't mean as much as they once did. It's government by task force."
- Are you on any of the task forces? "No. I may be on the Air Power task force. I think Newt likes me. But I have been something of an unruly child. I was one of only two freshmen

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #1)-1

to vote against the Stenholm Balanced Budget Amendment. And I led the charge--Mark Souder and I--in favor of keeping the 3/5 vote on taxes in the (balanced budget) amendment. I was one of 15 freshmen to vote against the Defense supplemental bill because they couldn't prove to me that they could find the \$600 million to pay for it. And I was the only person to vote against the rule on tort reform. I thought that the \$250,000 cap on medical malpractice was too low.

- "I also took the lead in trying to get the freshmen and sophmores to join us in voting for the Democrats' retroactive term limits amendment. I gave a speech to the freshmen class saying that we should call their bluff and vote for their bill--that if we lost, we would have exposed their hypocrisy and if we won, we would have a term limits bill on the books. Gingrich popped into our meeting right after that and said what a bad idea it was. I got 34 freshmen to go with me--almost half the class. That's pretty good! I said if you're for term limits, you ought to be for all term limits. The old guys didn't like the retroactive bill. It proved to me that the old guys were not really in favor of term limits--and Newt wasn't either. It was an old-versus-new thing."

- "The same on the 3/5ths, the vote to raise taxes. I fought for that, because I had been campaigning on it for a year and I believed in it. The way it is now, Newt promised a freestanding vote on it on April 15, 1996. But that will come in on election year and will only show how split we had been in 1995. I wanted us to take a vote on the balanced budget amendment with the 3/5 vote on it. Do you think the Democrats would ever have voted against it if it was that or nothing? I don't think so. But even if they did, and we lost the amendment, we would have known who opposed it. I (don't) understand why Newt gave in to pressure. He was managing a difficult situation. He wanted to get a bill. I didn't care. I wanted to force people to stand up and be counted. That's why I went into politics. That's what makes me different from Newt." He said he got a lot of letters on his term limits stand and mentioned his standing order speech and his colloquy with Barney Frank.

- This idea--that you should stand up and be counted, say what you believe, fight and then if you lose, go on to the next issue--is very strong with him. He's independent, but in some ways, less sensible on individual issues, while being strongly part of the party, when all is said and done. His comments on abortion at the Edit. Bd. meeting, plus his comments on Arlen Specter sums up Lindsey pretty well. Have a fight and support the winner.

- He's not a powerhouse--but he's a gutsy little guy (he's short and not heavy) and he is a very personable. He may be a little

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #1)-2

bit surprised at where he is. He has the sense that he's different from the power movers and the rich.

- new graduates*
- "I'm an example of what America is all about. Neither my mother or my father went beyond high school. I'm the first person on either side of my family to go to college. I think that's why I'm so much in awe of the job I have. You think about these things, but you never think it will happen to you. Then one day you wake up and it did. If we ever lose this in America, the country is lost."
  - He talked about the Washington, DC schedule and the "card."  
"I hate to say no to anyone. I have the over-powering desire to go into every home in the district and thank people for their support and ask them if I can do anything to help them."
  - Re compassion: "The Democrats have gathered together all the disadvantaged people, worried about them, and built a philosophy out of it. I remember riding the subway with Pat Schroeder, making small talk about the work, and she talked about some Denver businessman she had been meeting with, and I said, "they're probably Republicans," and she said, 'No, they're compassionate.' And she believes that." He shook his head. "The Democratic party is Pat Schroeder, Dave Bonior, Barney Frank, and Miller from California."
  - There was a story in paper about girl 19 who has had four or five cancer operations--it keeps spreading and she has enormous courage and good spirit. She is dying. Her brother is in the Army and wants to get an assignment near home. LG calls the family on the car phone and says he was "touched" by the article. "I'm the new congressman. If there's anything I can do, please call me." Wants to know if he can help with the brother's assignment. Talks to mother and then the daughter, Tina. "Hang in there and play the hand you're dealt." He wants to help with emotional support. To me, it was an invasion of privacy. He didn't seem to think twice.
  - A couple of times he spoke about helping people, "To me, the best part of this job by far is what you can do to help people... And when you help someone, they will be with you for life."  
*the people you help*
  - He worked the phone constantly in the car, calling people to say hello or to offer help or renew an acquaintance. At one point he waved the phone and said to me, "There's the Contract, there's the third wave and there's this! How did any congressmen ever get along without it?" (I said you accumulated a pile of quarters and used public phones.)

*Crist*  
We drove by a huge flea market and he said, "That's a big event every Wednesday. They sell counterfeit goods. It's a

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #1)-3

great place to shop. And it's a great place to campaign. They are good people. Many of them work in the mills. They may make eight or nine dollars an hour. Nine dollars an hour is a good wage in this district. You wouldn't think that kind of district would set up very well for a Republican. It's probably a good thing that I'm the kind of Republican I am--a personable one. I'm not a country club Republican. Many of those folks at the market have the same core beliefs as the Republicans do, but there is a social barrier that keeps them from being Republicans. I can break down that barrier. And when you do, the dam will break. Democratic support will just collapse in no time... That's what happened in Anderson County in the election--the most Democratic county in the district. I won by 65%."

- "If I had my choice of one person to come into the district to campaign for me, it would be Richard Petty. Isn't democracy great?"

- I talked to him about Jack Flynt and it seemed to stick with him. Grenville suburbs (Powdersville) were like Clayton and Atlanta--he was person-to-person in primary. Key to primary is base i.e., primary constituency. "The person who has a base wins the primary. My home county gave me a 6,000 vote margin in the primary, because they know me. A lot of it was word of mouth. People who knew me called their relatives in other parts of the district. It was personal." I got the impression he worked very hard, talked about campaigning in Hardees. Said he raised \$15,000 and \$17,000 in fund-raisers.

- He said he picked up other people's good lines and liked Gramm's line "I've held a lots of different jobs and not one of the people who hired me was poor."

- There's a self-improvement strain in Lindsey--his constant questioning of me--not because he's suspicious, I think, but because he wants to learn.

- During Gramm's talk, he introduced LG and said, "He has not announced his support for anyone yet, but his presence tells us that in his heart, he's with us." Which he is. Derrick says he liked Dole at first, but that Dole has switched positions too many times. LG likes "stand up" types. LG said he thought Dole was "too much of a broker." (After I had used the word "broker" in describing Dole.)

- He called his two years as state rep, "A very useful experience." He spoke of himself as "rambunctious" there. He said it met six months a year, three days a week. "It was more social than Congress. At night, people would get together and socialize. Now, you should see the card I get

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #1)-4



with my schedule on it. They give it to me every morning and I hate to see it. I'm scheduled every 15 minutes, sometimes till 10:00 at night."

- "My schedule is out of control. One thing I'm going to have to learn is to say no. But a first-term congressman can't say no. I'm so appreciative of what people did for me in the election that I'd like to go into every home in the district and thank people personally."

"Our class is so interesting. Half of the class has had no previous political experience. I'm in the middle. I served one term in the state legislature. But I'm not a sophisticated politician. I tell you that if you ran this year as a sophisticated politician, your chances of being elected were zero."

- "I'm not sure what will happen to me. I know that eventually you get co-opted by any institution you belong to. Sometimes I wonder how long it takes before you become an institution." We chewed on that one--mostly me, from my Pryor-Pell stuff.

We talked about third party. But his preoccupation was with his support. "Third party people are funny. They are very interested and very well informed. But you can't please them. I know all their leaders in this district and I think I can get them to stay with me--that I stand for most of the things they do. I'm working hard at it. I'll be alright. But I'm not sure I can convince them to stay with the party (when they vote) for President."

- Everywhere, when he was asked about 100 days, he said, "I'm glad it wasn't 200 days."
- He likes to talk tough. At the packaging company where they had a problem with "cluster" regulations (air and water pollution regs) that would drive prices way up, he said, "We're going to mess them up big time."
- Also, when we got to his Anderson office--on the way in, he was reading an editorial in the Aiken paper about his comments at Savannah River yesterday. He was quoted--and he read the quote out loud to me, "I want to be the big man carrying the big stick all the time," and he added to me, "I like that!" It's part of the image he wants.

- He's a personally caring and an aggressively issue-oriented person, and his aggressiveness comes out in his independence in DC and his anti-bureaucracy stance at home. Feisty.

He emphasized his volunteers, in keeping with the large idea--expressed several times--that he wants to get people involved

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #1)-5

in politics. "We had a reception at the Ramada Inn for our volunteers and 500 people showed up. We blanketed the district with volunteers. When I got elected, they felt they were a part of it; and when they see me doing what they want me to do in Washington, they feel they made it possible."

Re a friend: "He wants me to keep the ban on assault weapons. There's no way I can help him on that. This is a gun district. Everyone in the district has a gun. Even children have guns--so as to make it a fair fight."

On the matter of county option on blue laws--which boils down to serving beer at ball games on Sunday. "I'm with the Baptists. Whatever the Baptists want, I want. There are more Baptists in this district than any other group."

- He was raised as a Democrat. "The first time I ever voted in a Republican primary, I ran in it!" (For state legislature.) (I'll have to ask more about his conversion. He says he talked about it to a guy from WP writing about southern politics.) Dave says he was "a yellow dog Democrat."

- As we left our meeting at the brand new Pickens County Office Building--where water authority problems and economic development infrastructure were big problems. "Some people say a congressman should stay out of local politics. I think that's wrong. If you can help to get people together on a problem and get things moving, you should. Otherwise, nothing may get done. I'll write an editorial praising people for what they did on the landfill and then I'll end with 'what about water.' I won't take sides, but I'll get them thinking about it and maybe they'll see that they can't just do nothing."

- "I think term limits is the most important idea of the contract. People who think it will go away are wrong. It will never go away. And some day it will pass. And it will change the way our political institutions work. I ran on a platform of institutional change--term limits, balanced budget, line item veto. Term limits is the most important one of all." Then into his version of the term limits fight--which I heard more than once! See his editorial column.

As we came out of the Pickens Sentinel, he talked about "marketing" as a problem. He was pleased that this weekly will be read. "I'll get a good story in the paper. They have a weekly circulation of \_\_\_\_\_ people. And everybody reads that paper." In the interview, he had mentioned how he worked with weekly newspapers, had a radio and TV show, press releases. But it got him thinking ahead.

- There's no doubt that he's running hard for reelection. We

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #1)-6

*unhappy but  
shortly*

*Intrigued  
by this  
way*

*"a local"  
in the  
sense  
unknown at  
the time  
No sense in this  
now (with)  
all the  
He pleads  
in 12 years  
ah? He looks  
ahead*

met in his campaign headquarters with a huge "Graham for Congress" sign out front. I can't exactly recall what he said, except "As you can see, we kept our campaign office open. You can't stop campaigning. That's one thing I learned about the two-year term. I never realized how much work is involved just to stay in office." On Thursday morning, he spent the time on the phone "raising money." (To retire his debt, all of it money he loaned to campaign.)

- We went to "Skins' Hot Dogs" for lunch. On the way, we went through a black neighborhood, and past a store from which several blacks were emerging. It triggered some thoughts. "I went into that store once during the campaign. Some Republicans say there's no use campaigning among blacks. I disagree. I talked in some black churches. And I'm going to try to get some middle class blacks involved. I got 15-20% of the black vote, which is just as much as Strom Thurmond gets. The way politics is moving now, it's going to be the white party against the black party. That's bad." This was said without any of the feisty quality that goes into his anti-government talk. It's a minor part of what's going on. He's riding the main tide and isn't about to put that in jeopardy.
- Coming out of Anderson Office, "Why would anyone want this job? I'll be saved from it by term limits! As you say, all politicians are very competitive. Once they get the job, they may not know how to get out of it. And term limits is a way to solve that problem. I know I won't be here after 12 years. And I think that's good. People lose their energy; and a change will revitalize them. They can stay in politics, but change jobs. There's no problem with moving around. I tell people that if I want to stay in politics, I'll run for the Senate or come back home and run for county council."
- I asked him whether he thought his term limits declaration gave him a different outlook. He said yes and stopped. I asked him to explain. "I don't care whether or not I become a committee chairman."
- When we went by an abandoned mill he said, "This is like the area I was raised in. They called it Seneca Mills Village. The houses were in rings all around the mill. They rented for \$4.00 a month. My father managed the company store. The workers bought their supplies there and used up all their pay. Then they'd start on next month's pay. They also had a bar next door. Workers would come in with cotton all over their clothes from the dust. Now, you can eat off the floor in the mill. Maybe some things were better then. They had recreation, baseball teams. But it was no way to live."
- I asked him if the contract was important in getting him elected. "Minimal. By far the biggest factor in my election

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #1) -7

1/16  
2002

was Bill Clinton. People here were against almost everything he did. My opponent tried to run away from Clinton and the party, but he couldn't. I had a great press conference where I held up in one hand his primary campaign brochure which said 'an independent Democrat with common sense,' and in the other hand his general election brochure which was word for word like the first one except for the word Democrat. 'He's trying to tell you he's not a Democrat,' I said. He said it was just one small word. I said that if he couldn't read that big print, he probably couldn't read legislative fine print in the legislature. He was an able person with a lot of experience in the state Senate. I couldn't out-resume him. But I had the institutional issues the public was interested in--term limits, balanced budget, line item veto. People wanted change in the way the government worked, and that is what I talked about."

- "When I first heard about the contract, I was reluctant. I was not real enthusiastic. I was happy running against Bill Clinton. And the contract gave my opponent the issue that I was in lock step with the party and giving up my independence. But the contract gave me an agenda to talk about and he had none--only sniping. The contract nationalized the election. That was it's big contribution."
  - Triggered by driving past Anderson College, he says he's going to give commencement speech. "Can you imagine me giving a commencement speech? Nobody ever cared what I said; now they want to hear my message. The transition from Lindsey Graham to Congressman Lindsey Graham makes all the difference. People may not respect politicians, but they respect the office. You can use the office to do a lot of good. And that's by far the most rewarding part of the job."
  - There's still some 'gee whiz' about him, underlined with some doubt as to whether or not he will become a career politician.
  - He came home every weekend but one during the 100 days. "I wanted to explain to people what we were doing and not let the Washington media tell them what we were doing."
  - He says often that Newt has a vision of the Congress outward, but no vision of the institution inward.
  - "The people of my district were used to voting Republican for President. I tried to push it down to the next level. In my home county, I was the first Republican state rep. since reconstruction. Now, every state rep. from my home county is Republican. And pretty soon all the state senators from Oconee will be Republican. The last Democrat is getting ready to switch."
- 2-18  
pass  
root sy

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #1)-8

- Lindsey is first rep. from district since 1877.
- When we first met in his campaign office and I said "How are you doing," he answered, "First Republican elected from this district since reconstruction. First 100 days and 2,400 people laid off at the biggest single employer in my district. It's a monumental job."

In SC, the effects of term limits will soon be felt in a log jam of unemployed politicians looking for the next job. He talked about it, but not clear if he sees opposition coming up.

- His old law office is next door to his campaign office. Pam ("receptionist" in Anderson) is sister of one of his former law partners--size of firm has varied from 2-4, now has 4. Took Jane from Butler Derrick--he says Derrick "very helpful to me during the transition." He doesn't know Derrick. Lisa calls Derrick nice, but very formal and buttoned up--like he should be "announced"--like royalty.

- On Thursday, we went to meet with a couple of groups interested in expanding loans and Federal Credit Administration--expand market for a cooperative that loans to rural people--guy owns country club and we went to the golf course for lunch. Lisa Buie accompanied us all day (works for Anderson Mail).

- Re "100 days": "These people who say they're against what we did, I don't know who they are. Nobody I talk to says that. Wherever I meet people--in the beauty shops, coffee shops, Hardees--they're all for it--wealthy people and minimum wage people."

- On way from club, we passed moderate housing, "This is the area I was telling you about with the new development. These people are moving in from out of town and they all vote Republican. But these modest homes you see right along here--and the trailers--these people are also voting Republican now. And that's the big change. They don't like what they see going on in society and in the government. The income levels between these groups are different; but the values are the same."

- "This is such a hard job that I imagine people will want to change after 12 years. But that's such a long way off and how do I know. Right now, I'm trying to be a politician and get reelected. I don't have time to think ahead. I know it worked for me in the military. After six years I was ready to change... With term limits, I think what we'll see is politicians moving from job to job. I don't think you'll find many people going back where they were. I'm 39, and that's

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #1)-9



about the average of my class. After 12 years, we'll still be in the prime of life. What will we do? Won't we have been away too long to pick up where we left off? Will we go into lobbying or some private interest group? That's not much to look forward to."

- Re his running in first place: I asked would you have run for Congress if Derrick had run again. "No. There was a state senate seat opening up in the district and I had already announced I was going to run--two days before Derrick announced. When he announced, it took me 48 hours (snapped his fingers) to decide to run for his seat. My friends all told me not to run. 'You haven't had enough experience,' they told me, 'wait, run for the state senate and move up later.' Two state senators with 10 or 12 years of experience were thinking of running. One or two people thought I could do it. But it is hard when your supporters tell you that it is not the right time. Once I decided, they swung right behind me. I believe there is no right time. They had the old, farm-team theory; and that theory is gone. I saw it as my opportunity, that it would not come around again, that this was Lindsey Graham's time and I went for it. You can't let your action be governed by fear, but you can't let it be governed by bravado, either."
- "Right now, interest in the contract is at a fever pitch. A few months from now, no one will be interested. So now is the time to strike while the iron is hot, and talk to as many people as I can. Wherever two people are meeting together, I'll go. It's hectic; but it's what I like best about the job, getting out in the community and meeting with people. I think I have a talent for letting people know I care, that I've thought about what I say, that I am sincere and honest. It gives you a good feeling when you meet people, talk to them and feel a part of the community as we just did (UDAG banquet). I think being a congressman puts you at the outer limits of being able to touch the community like that. Would you agree?"
- His greeting is "Hey, how you doin'?" Sometimes he just says it spontaneously when he can't think of anything else to say. "Hey, how you doin'?" When he goes to meet people, he says "Let's go in and say 'hey' to these people" or "I'm going to say hey."
- He greets people with "I'm Lindsey Graham. I'm your new congressman." He adds that to everyone he meets.
- In his banquet speech he talked tough and crisp. But he never mentioned the contract.
- "I try to talk to as many groups as I can that Republicans

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #1)-10

don't normally talk to. I want to <sup>enlarge</sup> the party, which we must do if we are to guide the party." He tried to hire the UDAG director away to do economic development, but "his salary was too high. I couldn't ~~offer~~ <sup>afford</sup> him."

- It takes him 3-1/2 hours to drive from one end to the other of his district.
- "Scheduling is the one thing I've got to get under control. What do you do when old friends call and want you to do something. My friend Bam, (Bahm) put up 300 signs for me, but he's a baby. He wants me to come see his azaleas. Well, I want to see his azaleas, but I don't have the time. I'm going to drive in the car with him for seven hours tomorrow and talk. And still he wants me to drive up to his house. So I'll go see his azaleas--because he put up 300 signs. How much longer can I do this?" He must have talked with "Bam" six times on the car phone today.
- "If you mention the "signs" group--the ones like Bam who put up signs during the campaign--in your book, I'd be eternally grateful." Re Dave's comment that they were "a world of their own."
- He just got computers in his office and has had hard time getting organized.
- Re the speed of the 100 days, "We passed a constitutional amendment before I had a letterhead."
- With Lisa during office interview, he defended lack of debate saying that "Most of the items in the contract had been around a long time and had been debated before. The bills were already written before the campaign. And the issues were discussed during the campaign. We didn't need hearings on most of it."
- "We used to have the farm system. You waited your turn before you could run. TV changed that. (Ravenal was first to use TV without any connections). If you have money, you can leap from the farm system. I did. Now I'm trying to create a farm system among Republicans. I watch every legislative race and every county council race to see who is coming along, and I try to energize people everywhere I go. I want that to be my legacy, a strong Republican party."
- He took TV ads in Greenville, Spartanburg and Augusta (could use Columbia and Ashville, but too expensive). The big papers are Anderson Independent Mail and Greenville News and Augusta Chronicle. LG says Anderson paper is like National Enquirer.

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #1) -11

- A Dave Woodard story re campaign. LG comes back from campaign one day and says, "I spoke to the Rotary Club at noon and I couldn't get any response, couldn't get a laugh, nothing. Then in the afternoon, I went to a mill. The manager took me out to meet the lintheads in the back. One guy says, what party are you? I said 'Republican.' The guy broke into a big smile and said, 'No more Democrats, no more damn Democrats'! And the others--all poor white mill workers--started slapping me on the back. That's when I knew we were going to win." (Dave calls em "lintheads," "white trash.")
- Dave sees LG as someone who says things like "I know I'm not the smartest person." (LG calls this "self-deprecation.") *but*
- LG and I went shopping for a TV. He has just bought a new house, has paid someone \$40,000 to decorate it. "All I owned was a suitcase. I don't collect many things. But he wanted a 40" Mitsubishi. "I love television. Newt reads books; I watch television." We couldn't find one. We went to two stores. But as he stood there looking at the high prices, he shook his head and said, "The average income in my district is \$13,500." "I'm paying \$1,000 a month rent now for an apartment. I'm looking forward to my house." He bought it in Seneca where he lived after his parents died. He talked about his salary as being not all that much, but in his district, it's a lot.
- In DC, he shares an apartment with Van Hilleary--whom he never sees, he says. They did have a pre-recess party. We had 70's music. Most of the class came by, but it was a party of zombies. Everyone was too tired to have fun."
- Dave says "His real heart is in the state. During the campaign, he kept talking about how much he liked the SC legislature. I had to keep telling him that people aren't going to vote to send him to Washington because he loves the SC legislature. I had to keep him talking about Washington. Someday, I think he'll come back and run for governor."
- He has two pictures on his office wall--one of himself signing the contract and one of his entire class on steps of Capitol.
- He says one difference between SC House and US House is that in US House, Rules Committee has all of the power. That's where the bills are put together."

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #1)-12

Lindsey Graham, April 12-13, 1995, South Carolina (Book #2)

- Most of this was from Lisa Buie's interview Thursday afternoon in his Anderson office.
- He said he was one of first three or four members to take one minute when House first opened because he was anxious to get started. "I felt the pressure to provide quality service and get off to a good start." By which he meant speaking out, not waiting his turn. Just as his decision to run rejected farm team behavior, so did his Washington start reject Rayburn-style behavior.
- "In the SC legislature, we spent the first month going to parties. And Congress didn't used to do too much either the first month or so."
- "I went from raising my hand to take the oath of office almost immediately to a major fight over the 3/5 provision for raising taxes in the balanced budget amendment. I got really upset--and so did a large group of us--when the leadership dropped it. They were being practical because they needed the votes of those who refused to support that provision. Our group got smaller and smaller and I got pushed further and further up front. " (He has picked up the rest of this account elsewhere in my notes. Here, the point is how fast he jumped in.)
- He described first day in terms like "off to the races" and "whirlwind" ending at 3:00 a.m. He said he was surprised by "the amount of information the Republican party made available to us. I think the level of organization of the Republicans was better than the Democrats."
- I think the first bill he got through the SC House was a term limits bill. I'll have to check.
- "If you have the slightest interest in politics, if you ever wanted to be involved and see the fruits of your labor, this experience would make you happy. In a sea of clams, I'm the happiest clam. I have actually cast votes that made a difference. How many people have talked about the balanced budget? I got to cast a vote that got it out of the House. I helped make it happen."
- "I'm the first person in my family on either side to go to college. Neither my father nor my mother graduated from high school."
- His father was 47 when he died--married late, mother younger than he was. He was in the Army and in small business, ran a restaurant and liquor store--Dad ran one, Mom ran the other.

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #2) -1

Worked hard 18 hours a day--LG would stock shelves and wait on tables.

- "I don't drink. I'm not judgmental about it. But I saw the effects of alcohol and they are bad."
- "My parents worked hard, 18 hour-days. We lived in one room in the back of the restaurant--the Sanitary Restaurant. We sold food and beer. It was a close family. I can remember the shift changes at 3:00, when the mill workers would come in all covered with lint and cotton, some with fingers missing. They would bring old bobs and long scissors."
- "It was a bar where blacks came in bought beer and took it out with them. It was segregated. I used to think 'Why is it that way?' We knew that it shouldn't have been that way. Later on, everyone could come in and sit. But housing was segregated and substandard. I still remember when the first black kid came to the 5th grade. It was a big change; and I remember wondering how it must be for those kids. There were never more than a handful of blacks, and so the numbers were never threatening to the white community. When change came, it was easier for the upper part of the state to adjust. It's hard to determine good and bad sometimes. My parents accepted the situation; but they were not evil people. It wasn't right and it wasn't fair, but it didn't seem like evil when you lived it everyday. It didn't seem as though evil was lurking around you. I can understand why we have affirmative action and why it is hard to change. My concern is that when you cure problems, you create other problems. When the government gets in, it never gets out. Affirmative action is now dividing us instead of bringing us together. It is creating another class of victims. The injustices of the past were real; and government action is creating new injustices."
- His mom died in June 1976 and father died in September 1977--mother had hodgkin's disease, father cancer.
- Speaks of family "had a successful small business," "made a pretty good living," but he stresses the "huge medical bills." "I paid on them all through my career in the Army. Major illness really hit hard. I learned you can lose everything."
- He was 22 and sister 13 when parents died. Went to live with uncle and aunt. "Their death taught me one thing for sure. Your world changes--just like that! Don't ever take anything for granted."
- On health care, he faults primary care in mom's case--not diagnosing it--rest high quality. "I will try every private option before I bring the government in." Sees problem, but no Clinton plan. And he concludes, "when you talk to me about

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #2)-2



health care, you aren't talking to someone who doesn't understand. I've been through it." He does seem to put a lot of stock in his experience as a warrant of his positions and sincerity in advocating them.

- When he said he worked in state legislature as a page in summer when he was in college at University of SC. Lisa asked if that got him interested in politics. He didn't pinpoint it as the experience--seems to have been more gradual.
- He did say that page experience "opened my eyes to government. I thought it was interesting... In school I liked history and documentaries and policy. I remember when John Kennedy was shot. We heard about it in school. And I remember walking home from school and some guy saying, "They killed Kennedy, ain't that great." I couldn't understand why anyone would say that. I thought it was unpatriotic. I can remember my grandmother cried for days; and that makes me think that there must be something there to move people that way."
- I was struck that when he handled the race question and the Kennedy question how inarticulate he seemed and how unsettled his opinions and formulations seemed to be. Historical sweeps of the past don't grab him; but the current sweep does. And at the UDAG banquet, he was very articulate.
- He talked about high school with fondness. "I was in the bottom half of my class in high school. But I was involved in sports. And high school was a ton of fun. It shaped my life because I was around people who expected to go to college. Your friends mold you. I was always my own best critic. I pushed myself. I was very self-motivated. I was around kids who talked about going to college and I was led. It changed my outlook."
- Class of '73 in high school. Went into Army and wanted to be fighter pilot--had ear problem and couldn't. Had private pilot's license at 16, "I wanted to fly jets."
- What were you like growing up? "If I thought you wanted me to go left, I'd go right. If I thought you wanted me to go right, I'd go left. I loved getting arguments started. I would argue with a sign post. I argued with my aunt for years because I insisted on calling it the Civil War instead of the War Between the States."
- That's nice, because I see him, now, as someone who likes a fight and who likes to be thought of as someone who likes a fight.
- "I had a supportive family and great friends, and they brought out the best in me. I've exceeded many expectations,

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #2)-3

including my own. I have a good mind... I'm not the most talented person in the room, but I try hard. You don't have to be the most talented to succeed, but you do have to want it the most."

- Couldn't get into law school first try--took a summer course and got in second time--got his best grades in law school, but did poorly on standard tests. Even that contrast seems appropriate. "I was one of the few people who actually enjoyed law school. I loved debating professors. I was doing just what I always had done. I had been a lawyer since the sixth grade and didn't know it." The love of arguments, taking a stand.
- "I got my best grades in law school (3.3 he said)."
- "I take myself a little more seriously now than I used to. The role of congressman has had that effect. I'm still Lindsey and my hope is that I will grow into the role."
- He was a prosecutor in the Army--"the chief prosecutor in Europe," he said at one point. He went into a long story of how he made Army shut down military drug testing labs for 30 days and voided thousands of pending drug cases because he found faulty false/positive testing procedures. Called it "great satisfaction" and it probably was a very important early success.
- His major notoriety in SC legislature came from his bill prohibiting gays from being in the National Guard. (LG still in the National Guard.)
- "Most Americans are uncomfortable around the homosexual life style and where that life style is openly displayed. I don't know why it is, but that's the way people feel. It's just a fact. In the military, you need cohesion. And a display of the homosexual life style in the barracks would lower morale. When Bill Clinton tried to introduce that life style into the military and legitimize it, it bothered people. And I was doing my job representing my people. In my part of the country, people don't knock your door down to see what you're doing. But they do feel uncomfortable when you push it on them. I spoke out on it and my bill passed 90-20. I pat myself on the back. I had the guts to go out and say what other people wanted to say, but didn't. President Clinton felt it was something he had to do. I did what I had to do. I didn't go to Columbia to beat on gays. I responded to what Bill Clinton did."
- He talked about his big vote in Oconee--80% in primary, 70% in general. He said again what he had said before. "I do best where people know me, where I grew up. I carried every

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #2)-4

precinct in my home county. My family left me a good name. There were well thought of. People will open their pocketbooks if they want you to do something for them, but they will open their hearts if they know you and like you."

- I'm not sure I have this right. He said it a lot about Oconee and Pickens, too. In my sense, his primary constituency was his home county and the people who knew him. They had never had a congressman from those two counties and they were proud of him--not a party thing.
- He talks about the free market system as something he believes will help everyone--that he's not a spokesman for corporate America anymore than he is for country club America. "It would be the height of hypocrisy for me to go up to Congress and give money to a corporate America that I don't even know. That's not who I am."
- "The Chamber of Commerce and the Xian Coalition share the same values--get the government out of my life. If you're business, it's the economic stuff. If you're social, you are against homosexual rights and abortion."
- "Being nice, approachable and honest is a good way to be anything--friend, spouse, parent or congressman. People respect honesty, character and commitment to serving the public. If you act that way outside politics, you can bring it into politics. The people I hang around with, go to dinner with, are the people I'm like."
- "In 1996, term limits will be a tremendous issue."
- Speaks of his CSpann talk--on term limits--last one to speak on special order. He had no notes. (I have the speech from Record). He talks about Newt every time he brings up term limits. "The vision does not include personal issues inside Congress. He's desensitized to the way people look at Congress. His view of the country is the view of the career politician. I serve my country in the way I served in the military--I did what I wanted to do, what I should do and I was glad when I got out."
- All I can say about LG and term limits is that he fought hard for it, feels strongly about it and is confused about it. It's not like the military.
- "If I stay for 12 years, I'll be a career politician--unless you have a magic wand." Here he concedes something he conceded the night we drove home together from UDAG. But he won't admit it to himself now--too far away.

Re "the class": "I'm more traditional than most of my class.

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #2)-5

I served in the legislature. Half of them--40%--never held elective office. We are idealistic, serious, and we have the same agenda. You could take my campaign literature and put an overlay on it for anyone else in the class. There is a lot of camaraderie and spirit. We fractured once in a while. And all of us have gone through the debate about whether to stick to our guns, or to compromise and be practical. We have made a difference. You worry whether you are going to get the hang of it. But I think we got the hang of it and we met our expectations."

- Re the people in Powdersville trailers and modest home: "They are tired of the agenda in Washington. They have strong values. The religious right have religious values and they are everyday people. The mass of folks are not members of the Xian Coalition or the 700 Club. They share values and have few choices in national politics."
- Lisa said he had come across as "mainstream Republican candidate" in campaign and asked him how he was going to bridge the various factions. "The only way I know is to be nice to everybody and not over-promising. Just be Lindsey."
- He said that to me when we parted, "I've just been Lindsey." I said "I take that as a compliment." He said "It was meant to be."
- Re the 3/5 vote and what he argued, he said again to Lisa: "I say put the contract up for a vote and see who has the guts to say 'no.' If the Democrats vote against it, we can use it in 1996. Let's flush em out."
- "Every rural county has a few strong families--self-made people who acquired wealth, assets and friends without letting it wear on them. They control the county. If they support you, you can carry it."
- He is at home with self-made people like the guy we lunched with at golf club. *Re method, it is the contract, that it is itness, that leads to this kind of comment.*
- He says he has second most rural district in delegation. Dave says 2% of income comes from agric. now. It's business-BMW-Michelin I-85.
- On the matter of going to functions, "In some of these rural counties, you are the highest public official they ever see. When they invite you, you have to go."
- Dave says Abbeville and McCormick are like dead holes. In one, biggest income producer is deer hunting season.
- Lindsey is a determined, tough-love kind of person--

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #2)-6

*Outs, de the luncheon context, he probably wouldn't make this statement.*

approachable, upwardly mobile politically, comfortable with who he is, but a little self-conscious about it, a self-improvement person.

- LG on Spence, "He liked being in the minority. He liked complaining about what he couldn't get done. Now he's got a lot to worry about. He lets me do whatever I want with the Savannah River Project. He could care less about it." Told me not to quote him on that.

LINDSEY GRAHAM, APRIL 1995 (BOOK #2) -7