

Lindsey Graham - April 3-4, 1996 in South Carolina

Wednesday, April 3, 1996

- 1:30-3:00 p.m.: Visit MCI Customer Sales and Service Center, Greenville, SC: tour facility and address employees, Q&A
- 3:45-5:00 p.m.: Imperial Die Casting Company, Liberty, SC: tour facility
- 5:30-7:00 p.m.: Dinner with President & Vice President of Imperial Diecast, Calhoun Corners, SC

Thursday, April 4, 1996

- 12:00-12:15 p.m.: Taping of promotional program for High Hopes for the Handicapped, TV studio in Oconee Hall, Tri-County Tech, Pendleton, SC
- 1:00-2:00 p.m.: City of Anderson Community Development Block Grant Week Celebration, Sullivan Shops, Anderson, SC
- 2:30-3:15 p.m.: Meeting about George's Creek Sewer Project, Anderson District Office: meeting to discuss joint project with Combined Utilities, Pickens County Public Service Commission, and Western Carolina Sewer Authority
- 4:00-5:00 p.m.: Anderson Youth Association, Anderson SC: new facility groundbreaking
- 7:00-8:00 p.m.: Anderson Lion's Club, Anderson College Cafeteria, Anderson, SC

Book #1

Derrick Pierce, Lynn, Pam, Jane

- I flew down in AM via Charlotte and was met by Derrick Pierce, who had arranged the visit. We went and had lunch at "California Dreaming" and went over to MCI, a huge modern facility in a large office park with modern buildings, where we waited for Lindsey to arrive en route from Columbia, where he had a meeting with the Governor on problems of Savannah River site. (That problem is LG's biggest one and he talked about it a lot during the day, later.)
- Derrick's big news was that Lindsey has no opponent as yet (filing date is later this month) and that it looks like he may be unopposed. He says Lindsey is not among top 10 listed Democratic targets. He sees Lindsey as unbeatable, in any case, and says that he's preparing as if he had an opponent.
- Derrick sees district as "rural," a "rural, low income, family-loving, God-fearing, gun-toting, Baptist" district! He notes the change from textiles to high tech. Says it has no pockets of wealth, except the people in Aiken are better educated and better paid, since they are scientists at the Savannah project. They are, however, staunch Republicans.
- Or as LG puts it, "They are in trouble. But the good news is that they vote Republican, which is a good thing since they make up 25% of the voting population."
- We talked a lot about Strom Thurmond, who will run for the Senate vs. a wealthy Democratic opponent. Derrick thinks ST will win and, after he sets record for longest tenure by U.S. Senator, he'll retire. We talked about all the politicians circling around Hollings and Thurmond.
- Derrick says he "wouldn't be surprised" to see LG run for Governor. And, after saying that, he almost agreed that that, indeed, is LG's goal. At dinner with the businessmen, Lindsey tossed that out as something he might do--in the course of saying that he would not want to stay in Congress for long--but that he would not necessarily retire from politics.
- "It's a job--a good job. I like it. But as a career, it sucks," he told the business group at dinner.
- When he gets to MCI, he seemed glad to see me, wrung my hand and, subsequently introduced me as "the book writer." And he made sure I was included in everything and would--unlike most others--say things to me as we toured the plants. And he asked if I could come along on what was billed in his schedule as a "private dinner" with the management group of the

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Imperial Die Casting Company. He suggested I ride with him when we left MCI; and when he left me at the Ramada Inn, he insisted on coming in to the desk till I got registered. He is very solicitous and seems to want to talk to me.

- As for talk, he was every bit as voluble as before. When we were alone, the first thing he said was, "A lot has happened in a year. I'm a veteran now. I feel like I have been there forever!"
- I asked him whether the Contract, as such, ever meant anything to his constituents and he shook his head. He spoke of the woman who, in his MCI talk, said he was cutting Medicare. "She doesn't understand any of the numbers I talked about. A 63% increase means nothing to her. What she wants to know is whether I'm the kind of person who 'will not hurt my grandmother.'" For people in the south, politics is very personal. Personality is very important. If they like you and they think you are trying hard, they will vote for you. They don't understand the problems the way I do."
- "Here's a question for you. What happened in 1994. Did we win the election? Or did they lose it? Which was it? (I said, 'They lost it.') (He nodded.) I think you're right, but it's an interesting question. I put it to our members in the Conference. Dick Armey says we won it. Newt says they lost it. In the Conference, opinion was 50-50. I think its very important that we decide which it was, so we'll know how to behave in this election. But we haven't decided yet. If they lost it, we've got a lot more work to do."
- He told several stories of the balanced budget fight and McNeil Lehrer. (He said he'd tell me how he got on McN-L, but never did.)
- The burden of the longest story was that he wanted to make the point on McN-L that Clinton had broken his word by not submitting a budget, and that his argument about Clinton's breaking his word was beginning to take hold and get the Republicans off the defensive when Clinton did offer his budget and carried the day.
- There is the same streak in LG that I saw in DMc--that you ought to keep your word; at the same time it is a little naive to think that everyone will keep his word when the stakes get very high. But he agreed that Clinton put his budget on the table at the most strategic moment and took all the wind out of their sails.
- He admits that the Republicans got blame for shutting down the government, that they ended up shooting themselves in the foot and leaving Clinton out ahead of them. "That's hard to do,

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but we did it." "We had no exit strategy." He asked me, "What did we do wrong?" I gave him my 40 years idea and said one effect it had was that the Republicans wanted to get it all rather than declare victory for the changing in debate agenda and come back and get the rest. He agreed with me, he said, and propounded my idea to the business group with approval. (Lindsey interjected, 'He said the day of big government is over!')

- leaving!
- "As new members of a big class, I can tell you I was excited about the opportunity we had and I wanted to get everything done at once. That this was our one big opportunity. Looking back, I think it was a mistake. We didn't need to get it all in one Congress--not even the balanced budget. That's the one thing I wanted to achieve more than anything else. And most of all, we didn't have an exit strategy. We know how to get started, but not when to stop."

- His other long story was about how he spoke up in conference against a plan to return furloughed workers with pay, but without resources for the department to work with (since appropriations bill hadn't passed). *He told it again in Nixon's office. I got it then.*

- "The class has broken into groups. There are the moderates who didn't speak up in the early days when it was hard to be a moderate--when to be a man was to be conservative. Now they are more willing to be moderate, which is probably a good thing. Then you have the shut-the-government-down group. I'm probably in that group, but I'm not as ideological as most of them. I've been a legislator and I'm practical. I know you have to get agreements to get things done. And I am a swing person, because I get along with all groups in the class. Steve Largent wanted me to run for Class President, but who wants to be Class President? You just call meetings. I do like to be out front when there's an issue--partly because of the issue, but partly, too, because (he smiled) I'm attracted to a fight." This was first expression of what was a major theme of my first visit. He repeated it later.

- in place 2/2/83
- At dinner, "My job is to represent the values of the people of my district--nothing more, nothing less. I think I do that well. I was born and brought up here. I've lived my entire life here and I think I know how people feel and what they want. If I'm wrong, they can fire me. That's democracy. So far, they have been very good to me. I'm amazed at how good they've been."

- He called David McIntosh "a very intense person, very ideological. He believes strongly in what he believes." There was some hint here that DM was a little too ideologically driven for LG--even though their views are pretty nearly the same. I think that distinction is important

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going great, but its other plants--in NC and two in Illinois are not doing as well and have had to layoff people, as auto sales drop.

- On high tech, LG said (when we sat outside at restaurant and two guys were on phone guiding a couple of other guys to the restaurant) "What did we ever do without car phones and fax machines."

- And Derrick said that people who watch CSpan call the office to explain what's been said there. "I'm amazed at how many people watch CSpan. They call the office all the time to ask us to explain something they heard or saw."

- Lindsey said several times, "This is what I like most about the job--seeing the people of the district at work, learning about how they make their living. Everything we do, in education, in the work place is to get people in to the economy. I like to watch that; and I like to go to festivals to meet the people of the district in that way." Plant visits and festivals he likes because he learns from them about his constituency. Not fluff to him.

"I am amazed at how much influence one freshman can have in the Congress. With a margin of only 15 Republicans in the House, 25 votes gives you a lot of bargaining power. And with the kind of organization we freshmen have, someone like me can actually get 25 votes. That's influence."

"This is an exciting district--some businesses leaving, more businesses coming in. It's a business-friendly district, a quality of life district, where money goes a lot further than elsewhere. My job is to get the district ready for the future. That's why I'm so interested in improving our infrastructure--highways, water and sewer systems. (Which means you have to be an educator?) I'm an educator and an arbitrator. There are feuds going on in the district that are 50 years old, over who runs this county or that county. That's got to stop. We can't afford it any more. I think both sides--in Anderson County--accept me as a neutral arbitrator. I don't live here; and I haven't been involved in their feuds. We've had some success. These three counties--Anderson, Pickens and Oconee, fought for years over land fill problems. We've broken through and have settled on a piece of land for one common landfill. We'll have to line the entire landfill with a liner under EPA rules. And I guess that's ok. But it's not where we should be spending our money. I'm working with the University (Clemson) to set up a research and recycling facility next to the landfill. Our aim is to recycle 90% of the waste, so we'll only have to put 10% in the landfill."

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- He sees district as "diverse" too--with some of the world's premier nuclear scientists in the southern part of the district, and an average income of \$13,000 in the rest. "There's not one interest--like a compact suburban district."
- "Shutting down the government is not a problem in this district. My constituents are all in favor of it."
- At the Imperial Die Casting plant, one of the top people talked to him about the gun ban. He was a big 2nd Amendment backer, who collects guns; and his colleague kidded him. LG said to that group, "If you had two groups of constituents, one of which wanted to keep their guns and the other wanted to take those guns away from them, which one would you want to have mad at you?" That settled it. He called the guy later, "the 2nd Amendment guy." And the next day LG called himself "a 2nd Amendment guy."
- "When you were here last year, we were in the Contract phase. Now it's different because we've actually done things and we have so much more to talk about."
- He says, "The last week was historic. We passed a lot of legislation, senior income earnings, farm bill, product liability, immigration." He says the President will sign some of them. But he doesn't think any of them will be defining for Dole.
- He thinks Dole can win if you look at electoral college. "Clinton needs a hat trick. If he doesn't win California, Ohio and New Jersey, he loses. We can lose California and win. If we win Ohio, we win." He calculates GOP base at around 200+, i.e. states which have gone Republican 6 of 7 past president elections.
- They asked me at dinner what I thought and I said if I had to bet, I'd say "Clinton has a slight edge." ('Only slight' asked one guy and I said 'yes, only slight.') They are all Republicans, but they worry about Dole's age and they all thought his post-State of the Union talk was awful. Lindsey says Gingrich should have given it.
- When I mentioned the Christy Whitman scenario for VP, he dropped his head on the wheel and I thought he'd go off the road! "The Xian coalition and other conservatives in the party would cause a meltdown. There would be such a turmoil that voters who were on the fence would be frightened away for fear that a party like that could not possibly govern the country." His point is that the sheer intra-party spectacle would disqualify the party as such. He said he'd vote for that ticket, but could not possibly work for it. He favors a midwestern governor.

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- "You could shoot Bill Clinton out of a cannon and he could spread \$100 bills all over South Carolina and he'd never carry this state." He said this to me in the car and again at dinner, where he asked the group if they agreed. All six nodded in agreement.
- These die casting guys run "a foundry jobbing" business. They make aluminum castings for lawn mowers, refrigerators, AT&T, gas and electric meters, etc. They thanked LG for "what you did about OSHA" (on his committee). They are small-50 employees. I'd say - 10th largest die casting company (4 units) in USA. Very competitive--big furnaces on the factory floor, aluminum at 1200 degrees, poured into molds with fire coming out the top of furnaces. It's old industry and indoor haze from furnaces; in sharpest contrast to MCI--fresh, well lit bays of white collar workers (600 in "sales") (several hundred in "service") sitting informally dressed, in front of computers, talking to customers. Fourteen hundred employees, two-and-a-half floors, 22,000 square feet per floor. Mammoth incentive systems. (15% turnover)
- Lindsey was lobbied by MCI during telecommunications bill. Their Washington Governmental Relations Rep came down for Lindsey's visit. So did President of Imperial come from Chicago for the visit. The Imperial people have no PAC. Their trade association is National Association of Die Casters. And President of the holding company is on the Board.
- They have not yet given him money. Lindsey paid for his own dinner, but took a hat and a mug! (Impact of new gift ban.) The President kept saying at dinner, "We'll be there if you need us." "We'll be there for you." Lindsey said he'd appreciate it and that he hated "fund-raising." "I hate fund-raising--but you have to do it." I don't know what MCI wants. But Imperial wants relief from regulation--OSHA, family leave, EPA.
- They talk of abuse of benefits a lot. There was one group in the plant who complained about carpal tunnel (?) problems. It turned out they all went to same doctor who operated on them. "The doctor bought himself a boat. We got rid of this doctor and we got rid of the problem." An abuse of work place injury provisions. There was the guy who took family leave to take care of his wife, got a job painting full-time and took money under the table. These things hurt small business in ways that they don't hurt large business.
- When Lindsey offered a toast at dinner, it was "Here's to free enterprise." I hadn't heard that one before.
- He tried to name all six men after the dinner and failed.

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Interesting that he would try! A Jack Flynt trick. He did get 4 of 6!

- "I have four lives in this job--a Washington life, a campaign life, a district life and a private life. I don't have much time for a private life. I don't have a family; and I don't see how members with families can do it."
- As we drove away from the dinner, he said, "I've got to find a way to live in my job. Do you know what I mean--get a life. I keep saying, 'when this battle is over or when I finish this job I'll do it.' But I haven't. I've gained 10 lbs. and I feel lousy... I go to the House gym sometimes--use the stair master, pick up a basketball, lift a little, but not enough."
- Derrick says LG did finally support Gramm--just as Gramm dropped out (poor timing!).
- He was on the car phone with someone and wanted to tell them about me. "How do you pronounce your last name?" (Fenno) "We'll just call him Dick. He's writing a book. He was here last year and he's back with us." He has not, for all his hospitality, figured out how to pronounce my name. I'm Dr. Fenno on all their schedules--and I can't get Derrick to call me Dick. I'm Dr. Feeno.
*to other
about me.*
- At the MCI talk to the new sales people, the biggest "hand" came when two women asked about crime "victim's rights" and "people killing each other." All nodded agreement. The other questions were: "Why don't we pull back from rest of world and help people here ("Pat Buchanan ahs made an impression") and the main one, "Why are you cutting Medicare?" "I can see cutting Medicaid or welfare, but don't cut back on the old people." He had to explain slowing growth, but didn't convince. She persisted. Later, he noted that "Clinton had a success, that his ideas "are out there." "That we are a bunch of extremists." He said he couldn't persuade that woman with his numbers, but that she might well vote for him on "personality." (See earlier comment.)
- He also said of the group he talked to, "Those are your average Americans--just coming onto the job market."
- Appropos of Gingrich's pledge (during the three-fifths fight) of a spring vote, he said next week they would take that vote, but that the number was now two-thirds. (They did; and they didn't get enough for amendment.)
- All-in-all, Lindsey talks much less combatively here than he does in Congress--at least with me. There seems like some flexibility. For example, he does see a clear difference between himself and people who have never been in politics...

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(May be that's more in how they interpret what happened and where to go than it is original positions and votes.)

- LG to officers of die casting company: "I want to see what you do, but I won't remember that. I want to know what your problems are; and I will remember that. Let me know if there's anything I can do to help you."
- In the car going to our first activity the second day, we started talking about the lack of opposition. "Nobody is raising money. Nobody is beating me up in the papers. But they'll find somebody to run. They won't let me go in free. But it would be nice--wouldn't it. I could go around and help other Republicans--help grow the party. On the other hand, they say it helps if you win overwhelmingly in your first reelection. It sends a message--70/30 would be a help, I guess."
- For the rest of the day--till my last word in front of the Ramada Inn at night, I kidded about that--that for his sake, I hoped he didn't have an opponent, but for my sake, I hoped he did! He said come back and he urged me to use his name in writing to Barbara Cubin, "or with any member of the class."
- Later that day, when we had a long chat in his office, he returned to the subject of campaigning and opposition. I asked about fund-raising. "I have prepared for the 1996 campaign in the most expensive way of anyone in Congress. I never shut down the campaign office after I was elected. I have kept three people. I pay \$3,000 a month to one to organize my fund-raising; I pay \$2,000 to another to deal with the FEC and get it right and I pay \$1,500 a month to another to be my silent campaign manager. She goes everywhere when I can't go. We have raised \$310,000, most of which goes to keep the office going. We have \$90,000 in the bank. It's expensive, but it is worth it. Do you know when I made that decision? The day after I got elected. And do you know what my goal was? To run without opposition in 1996. I wanted to keep everybody from running against me. So far, it's worked. I want to turn this seat into a permanent Republican seat."
- He also, in connection with this, talked about his plans for the Republican party and himself. He would like to spend the election "growing" the Republican party. "I spend a lot of time one-on-one convincing people to run for office. (His \$3,000 employee is one who is). I'm creating a farm team of my own in the district. If I want to run for another office, I will have a team in place. I'm also keeping my lines open in the legislature. I was down in Columbia yesterday, talking to some of my buddies, keeping up old ties. You have to do that if you are going to run state-wide, you need an

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organization in place. You just can't decide one day that you are going to run. 1998 against Hollings is too soon. I think eight years in Congress would be about right. In 1998, the Governor's two terms will be up. If I wanted to go that route--and I am thinking about it--I'd have to have an organization in place." He said more but idea is that he's building a Republican party--as "my legacy" (he says) and as stepping stone and thinking of running for governor. (He gives a good speech, I'll say that.)

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Book #2

- I asked him--given the huge change in the politics of the area--whether he saw himself as the beneficiary of state-wide change or as own agent of that change.
- *9 theme* "I was the guy who was lucky enough to run at the right time. And I won because of Bill Clinton. But once I had won, and other people saw what I had done, they said 'I'm glad I voted for that guy.' They liked me, they liked what I had done and then I became an agent of change. Does that make sense?" (Yes, I said it did.) And he went on to discuss his party building.
- I asked him if he thought Butler Derrick was "ripe." He said yes. "If he had run, it would have been a tough fight. The incumbent has a big advantage. But the right candidate could have knocked him off. Some of the people who ran against me in the primary could not have beaten him. But the right person could have." (I think he sees self as that 'right person,' but I didn't ask him if he would have run vs. Derrick. Dave said he would not have, that he had decided to run for another office.)
- *Chris* He went on to talk about the Republican party story--"a remarkable story" of people who shifted parties after the 1994 election. He sees himself as having big role. "For two full days after the election, I was on the phone persuading Democratic office holders to change to Republican. Of the six state representatives from Anderson, all but one were Democrats in 1994. Two became Republicans and three retired. In 1996, all six will be Republicans, almost a total change since 1994. I spent a lot of time with the State Senator from Anderson--telling him 'now is the time to do it.' Two years from now will be too late."
- The Senator switched and did become a Republican. So did--members of the county commission--members of the city council, the Sheriff of Pickens County became a Republican (see later numbers). It's amazing and it's not going back to what it was. I want a solid Republican party to be my legacy. The revolution is alive and well in South Carolina." They'll give Spratt a hard run. Even Clyburn has a respectable opponent. He is the biggest party builder I've seen.
- *** Make party-building a theme of LG. New?
- His freshman reference group has rubbed out all other affiliations. He never mentioned "delegation." He doesn't know Democrats. When I asked him, he said he knew Doyle who took over Santorum's seat and "Eddie" from NY. Turned out to

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be Edolphus Towns. "We play basketball together. We guard each other and agree not to try hard. Our lockers are beside each other. Whatever we do, we should never lose the House gym! There's more civility there than any place in the House."

- Of the two Republicans with whom he is compared, Sanford and Inglis, he said their districts differed from his by income level. Says Sanford is "a great guy and my buddy." But he will not continue in politics after six years. Inglis is "a good conservative," but he's one of Newt's boys. He would never think of crossing Newt. He would never vote down a rule (as LG did).
- Walking in to do a TV spot, he said that he remembered what I had said about the qualities of politicians (competitive especially) and said, "Our class has those qualities."
- By contrast, "The older Republican members remind me of All Star Wrestling, of Mr. X who always loses. They get used to losing. They are great guys and they like the job, but they don't want change. I think they hate us more than they do the Democrats because we represent change. Take Guy VanderJagt, probably a very nice guy. But he let the Republican Congressional Committee go to seed. He didn't care."

Floyd Spence: "He's a great fella, but he's one of those old timers who's used to losing. He doesn't want to do anything. I wish I could be Chairman of the AS Committee for one week. We'd have the Savannah site settled in no time. I don't mean to demean him, he's a wonderful man. But he has no agenda. He just likes the job."

- "I'm a congressman because I want to get something done, not because I want to be the congressman. I think that's a big difference. Some members just like the job. They see it as a good job. I don't need a job. I had a job. The fun thing is to affect public policy."
- "I'd say 90%--80% for sure--of our class are interested in the program. But you take Jimmy Quillen--80 years old, a grand guy--but he doesn't care whether we have a new tax code or not."

Re clips: "Did you see the one, 'Graham Leads Budget Revolt.' That one got a lot of notice back here--most of it favorable. People like to see you taking action."

He tells people at home, "I want my voting to be like y'all."

- Dave Woodard came over for coffee Friday a.m. and we talked about Lindsey. "He's his own man." Friends called him

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"Little Lindsey." Not interested in Contract--didn't want to go to D.C.--while he was up there, Democrats were pounding him for "going Washington." Was on phone a lot explaining why he was there to reporters back home. Got excited there. And got more excited after the election.

- Dave agrees with me that Lindsey is a party-builder--persuades people to change, gets people to run, wants to be Governor.
- Dave's theory is that party realignment takes hold throughout a district when the congressional candidate switches. Sees the congressman as "the bridge between the national and local politics."
- He makes point that "It was only after Lindsey won that all the local Democrats wanted to become Republicans. So many of them were switching at once that someone in the party said, "I know the Republican party is a big tent, but I didn't know it was a circus."
- He, too, sees Lindsey helping local people--some Republican woman in Charleston running vs. a state senator can't get help from anyone. "She helped Lindsey in his campaign and that's all Lindsey needed. He's helping her. No one else will help, but Lindsey."
- He compares LG to Inglis (Duke grad) and Sanford (in with wealthy Charleston estate crowd) and says that LG would have seemed the most unlikely of the three as a prospect for me. "But Lindsey has turned out to be best politician of the group."
- I asked (and I guess I should ask LG next time) where his conservatism comes from. He mentioned the family background, Dad "ran a bar, that's what it was, where people came in, played pool, smoked, cursed and gambled. Lindsey says his father was a small businessman, but that's putting quite a gloss on it. Then his parents died and he was left with a 12 year old sister whom he raised and put through college. The first time he took his tests for law school, he didn't pass and he had to enter a summer course to qualify. So he's come up the hard way, without much help from anybody." Idea is that this self-made man idea is source of conservatism.
- * I also think it helps explain his scrappiness. He's always scrapped!
- In this sense, he makes a nice contrast with McIntosh, whose conservatism is connected to "New Federalist Society," a cerebral thing. But it makes LG a lot like Mac Collins. McIntosh's conservatism is cerebral; LG and Mac C's is

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experiential.

- * I should ask LG where his conservatism comes from and when and why he became a Republican.
- Dave agrees that LG is among the hardest line of conservatives, but that he also (as LG thinks of himself) is more of a politician than most of the others--that he can reach to others in the group.
- Dave says LG "politics" all the time, that he has the time (because he's single) and that "None of us knows anything about his private life. And we don't ask. He keeps that entirely for himself."
- That was appropos of Lindsey's ambition to be governor and Dave's worry that a single man would have trouble in this state where "first family" is a big benefit and is more or less expected.
- LG talked about his scrappiness twice (at least) during my trip. Once, when he talked about Newt Gingrich in the car early, and once in his office, late in the day.
- "Newt is not popular in my district. He's too partisan--'I'm right, you're wrong.' He's a polarizing force. Newt and Bill Clinton are equally unpopular here."
- "There's a certain gentility in the South. People admire a fighter. And they don't mind it when I'm feisty, because they know it isn't personal. They know I will go against my party when I think its right."
- "I have a strange relationship with Newt. When I stood up in conference and opposed his idea of putting people back to work without any money, he listened. If we sent people back to work, I said, what did he think would that person say when a reporter came up and asked: 'What are you doing?' 'Nothing.' 'Why not?' 'No money.' When I asked that question, I think he saw me, for the first time, as a guy who thinks. We had all been saying to ourselves, 'This is so neat, everything is going to work out for us'--that we forgot to worry about how the other person was thinking or what the other person might do. Since then, I've become sort of the designated freshman--may be in the whole conference--who tries to picture what the other person is thinking."
- * That's also what DMC thinks he's good at!!? The point may be that both men see that as a key weakness among Republicans.
- He went on at some length--and I can't recall the details--about how he and Newt got into "a shouting match" over

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campaign finance reform tactics. He's on the task force and the task force is trying to supersede "Linda Smith and that crowd" and get something out sooner than a lot of older Republicans want. "Newt is a compromiser. He wants to get a bill out. He's a very practical politician. But he weakens the legislation and it doesn't tell people how we are different. I think we should point up our differences. If we lose, we lose. We have an historic opportunity. I don't think we should waste it."

- His point is that he'd rather lose if that's what it takes to make people understand how different they are and that it's not business as usual. He wants to stay on message. But it won't hurt him back home and he knows that.

- The other time he spoke of his feistiness was later in the day. "I've always been a fighter. I'm a short guy. People like it when a little guy gets in and fights for his position. Besides, I like a good fight. When I see an argument starting, I want to run over and get in on it. After all, you've got to have a little fun. Politics lets you inject these quirks of personality into the process. But I'm in this business because I want to get things done. That's my goal as a politician, to accomplish something, to change public policy. That's what drives me."

- On the matter of Newt as compromiser, he emoted several times about how "tired I am" of seeing the Contract and other legislation watered down by Newt's compromises with "the moderates."

- "I'm tired of changing our whole program because 25 or 30 moderates object to it. Some of the items in the Contract--the three-fifths provision in the Balanced Budget Amendment and term limits--were watered down because Newt wanted to compromise. My attitude is: why should we conservatives be the ones to compromise. If they can do it, so can we. We can get 15 to 20 conservatives to hold out. Let's have a vote and if we lose, we lose."

- "Dick Armey has taken over the legislative leadership and Newt has faded into the background. I'm sure that's a big disappointment to him after the way things began."

- He feels that Armey has things back on track and he trumpeted the "historic week" they had just before recess--immigration, farm, assault weapon ("I'm a second amendment guy") senior citizen earnings.

- He says Armey "invites a small group to meet with him; and I've been lucky to be included. I like Armey and I think he listens to me." (Not clear whether he meant about the group--

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is he a regular at meeting?)

- He talked a lot about the party switches that had been made post 1994--nine in all, he said. I'll list them later--having gotten them from Derrick on way to airport. But his conclusion still stands. "This election will be crucial. If all the new Republicans win, we'll be in good shape."
- I asked him where "the liberals" were in his district. "Around the university and the college, I guess. (After an uncharacteristic pause) There just aren't any wild liberals in the district."
- He went on to talk about black voters... "With the blacks, I approach them one-on-one. I work with community leaders. Blacks may not vote for me, but I try to depress the zeal with which they oppose me." *Check with Glaser types.*
- On dearth of unemployment, the TV guy at TriCounty Tech said, "If we had a little unemployment, we could fill this place." And LG replied, "In this district, if you don't have a job, it's because you don't want a job."
- I asked him what his major accomplishment had been so far. "I've been able to push the agenda, push the institution, push the envelope--push, push, push to change the relationship of the government to the people. It's a bold agenda. It all grows out of the campaign. It's not extreme; it's keeping your word. I've never lost my zeal for pushing 'the bridge too far.' That's a significant accomplishment. I think we've changed Congress' view of itself. We've made that happen."
- *Some view? AM - appeared briefly*
"For me, personally, the greatest impact has come from banding together with like-minded freshmen who were not afraid to say no when necessary. From working with people inside the conference, I learned that 15 votes meant influence. And I learned it through the school of hard knocks. I was one of only three who voted to keep three-fifths vote in the Balanced Budget Amendment. We wanted an up or down vote on the Barton resolution. I saw our class fold because the leadership was afraid we would lose the moderates. I know Newt wanted something that would pass. But the three-fifths vote was a defining vote. It told who we are and why we are different; and it should have been a pure vote. The next learning lesson was term limits. Henry Hyde is a nice guy. But he changed the Contract provision in his committee. We had another King of the Hill procedure just as we did on three-fifths. The senior Republicans conspired with the leadership to vote on a watered down version. They wanted something that would pass in the Senate. I saw the leadership putting oil on every squeaky wheel, trying to get unanimity. I even voted for the retroactive version. I was so pissed off. The leadership was

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spreading oil on all the voting blocs. I want to make the people in my conference take hard vote on the tough issues--the defining issues. I'm still trying to make the point that we are different. It doesn't bother me if something doesn't go in the Senate. If the Republican House is truly different from the Republican Senate, so what?"

- "I am getting more sensitive. And the image of freshmen class differences has become clearer over time--especially as the election gets closer."
- He talks about how he voted against that rule on labor-HHS appropriation. "If the moderates were getting oil, I thought, why shouldn't we." His idea was that 90% of the time he agreed with Newt, but his disagreements were on defining issues or (as he didn't mention) issues when something hit home--as with lawyer bashing on product liability, or may be HHS appropriation. I'll have to look at that one.
- His "lessons" as he put them, "all built up to the stand-off and the shut-down. May be it was a mistake; but it was the embodiment of our strategy. It increased my strength with our base vote at home. We needed that stand-off to keep on base. Nobody doubts now that I'm not like Bill Clinton." *vir*
- I asked him to describe his base: "Family and friends--the Xian Coalition did not support me in the primary--the business community, working families, conservative groups, the NRA. It goes back to the personal thing. My base is those people I've met."
- He talked a lot about Savannah River site--and I'm going to have to get up to snuff on that. For now, 5,000 (or 6,000) people have been laid off, he spends 60% of all his time on that issue. He thinks the DOE and Administration are anti-nuclear and anti-nuclear weapons and that all their positions (in favor of linear accelerator built to be out west and in favor of slowing down the Yucca Flats construction) should be viewed in that light. There's not unanimity of support behind his particular position (which is pretty complex, but creates fears at SRS that they may lose work) but he thinks that people have learned to trust him some because he's worked so hard to learn.
- "I haven't chained myself to the fence, but now I'm coming on like gang busters. Westinghouse has said that if the government doesn't stop cutting funds, they won't be able to operate the facility they will have to withdraw as the contractor. They're a business and if they say that, I'm with them. We have gotten down to the core of competency and we can't cut any more."

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- That's how he reconciles budget cutting with district needs.
- After the talk at the Lions Club dinner, he talked about the group: "They are our strongest supporters--the WWII generation. They support everything we are doing. They are mostly retired, moderately well off and worried about their children and grandchildren. Did you hear them? Willing to have their COLAs taken away for three years! These are the generation that has sacrificed all their lives. And they are prepared to sacrifice again."
- He singled out plants and festivals as things he liked to do. Ties back to earlier comment.
- When we talked in his office, I asked him how he reconciled his passion for budget balancing with the needs of his district. His answer was long and convoluted and I'll have to ask him to go through it again.
- He began by saying it was important "to set it up right." One way he sets it up is to say that he wants people to keep money at home and not send it to DC. "I'm not taking money away from you, I'm letting you keep it--because Anderson can do things better for Anderson than Washington can do for Anderson."
- He also mentioned that when guy came to office to ask for help in some coordinating idea for health care, he gave the guy \$250--to show that he cared.
- Lindsey sees himself as very conservative, but not "ideological." He described Mark Souder as "very ideological." And my sense is that he thinks of self as more practical than the ideologs in his group. But he is equally, if not more, stubborn than they are. I'll have to probe that some more.
- Pat Buchanan got 35%, in Republican primary, in Anderson county. "Two of his best counties were in my district--Anderson and Abbeville. The conservative coalition loves Pat. If he just flies into my district, he'll get 30%. But those same people will vote for me."
- I asked him if his PAC contributions would tell us something about his support and he said yes. With the exception that a lot of business money--general money--came to him as an incumbent.
- He mentioned money from chemical companies (I think) because of nuclear business.
- He said he got money from trial lawyers. "I'm in favor of

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tort reform. We need it. But the leadership was piling all kinds of extra provisions into the bill to the point where it was just trashing the lawyers. I'm proud of my profession and I got pissed off by the way in which they were picking on the profession. I made a speech about it, saying how inconsistent it was for us to take so much from the states and nationalize tort reform when our whole philosophy is to return power to the states. Also, I was opposed to a \$250,000 cap on pain and suffering. The California doctors kept that in. That cap means taht the elderly and kids--who have no resources of their own--are left out of the system and cannot gain enough from their misfortune to support them. I guess the trial lawyers saw that and said 'may be that guy can be saved.'"

- On his committees: "Science is terrible. I don't like it. I have no interest in it. It's very technical and involves a lot of small technological issues. The subject and me did not marry well. Bob Walker (the Chairman) is not very well liked. He's considered something of a kook." No help on SRS.
- "The Education Committee is great. I'm on a subcommittee on OSHA and on education. OSHA is important to my district and education is the nation's number one problem--or should be." Very happy with it.
- Powdersville--a bedroom community for Greenville is--says Derrick--"the fastest growing community in SC" and "staunchly Republican." Only Republican State Representative pre-1994 is from there.
- * Derrick laid out the party switching, concentrated in 3rd District's northern part--due to Lindsey, I would argue. He's been a real catalyst here. First, he was the first Republican elected to state House from his county. Then, by example, and by lots of one-on-one persuasion, he got Democrats to switch to Republican and then he recruited people to run in 1996 as Republicans.
- There are six representatives in state legislature from Anderson County. Before 1994, five Democrats, one Republican.
- After the 1994 election:
 - one switched to Republican, but did not run in 1996.
 - 1 retired as a Democrat and may be replaced by Republican.
 - 1 switched and will run as a Republican.
 - 1 tried to switch, was rejected by Republicans and retired.
 - 1 was a Republican and still is.
 - 1 is Democrat and will have stiff opposition.

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- There is a chance that a state delegation from Anderson was 1R, 5D in 1992, can be 6R in 1996!
- In addition in Anderson County:
 - 1 state senator switched and will run as Republican.
 - 1 state senator is Democrat and will run as Democrat vs. strong Republican opponent.
- In Oconee County:
 - 1 senator switched and will run as Republican.
- In Pickens County, the sheriff switched after 1995. Here, Lindsey paved the way and all three Republican state representatives and one senators are running unopposed, and there's one open seat.
- All three counties have Republican sheriffs!
- Derrick says there have been pockets of switchers elsewhere in the state, but nothing to compare with these three counties. LG has been catalyst and construction engineer.
- He talks a lot about "the incumbent advantage" and mostly about fund-raising and getting people to know you better. It's the first time he's ever known "the incumbency advantage," so it's not strange that he feels it's something he's learned since his election.