

Lindsey Graham (R/SC) December 4-5, 1997

December 4

Arrive 2:30 - Derrick drives to parade

5:00 Honea Path X-mas Parade

7:00 Commitment to Excellence Banquet, Anderson Civic Center

December 5

7:00 Speech to Oconee Chambers, Seneca

11:00 Opening of Maven Capacitors Plant in Pickens - tour

1:00 Lunch with Denise, Derrick, Lindsey, Old Farmers Market, Pendleton

3:00 Due West X-mas Parade

6:30 Easley X-mas Parade

*has never been an insider.
- who's interested about policy is that he is
very adamant about policy but he is adamant
about avoidance of policies - except tax cuts, that is basic.
in 2002 the war was extreme for deficit spending - republic*

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- Derrick Pierce met me at Greenville-Spartanburg Airport and we drove to Honea Path. Waited at a restaurant for Lindsey. I drove with Lindsey to Honea Path parade and watched it with Derrick. Then to Anderson Civic Center for School banquet. Sat with Lindsey, Derrick, Dave Woodard, Laurie Ashley and a Republican State Rep, Brad Jordan.

This will be post-camp

From Honea Path to Anderson, Lindsey and I talked. Well, Lindsey talked in his rapid fire fashion. He wanted to tell me all about what he'd been doing. "Were you here last time before or after the coup? I've got to get you all the articles." "I've been having a lot of fun."

- The main impression I got from the talk was that Lindsey has not given an inch in his stick-to-itiveness about principle. Dave says Lindsey told him, "I'd rather lose on principle than compromise." That's the attitude he's had since day one. He wants to cut spending, get the government out of things, do what they did on the Contract. He does look back on the Contract as the highlight time, the good old days, etc. He does not care about passing bills. Or getting a majority.
- "We're spending money now like we never would have in the 104th Congress under the Contract. We saved \$50 billion dollars in the 104th Congress."
- "The budget compromise was a fraud. We were going to balance the budget anyway, the way the revenue was coming in."
- "Gingrich has got to go." "Our leadership was all over the place; we were rudderless."
- "I told people that I was making the test of Gingrich's leadership the management of the tax cut. Could he manage a 1-1/2% tax cut? He couldn't. He agreed to give the \$500/child tax cut to people who didn't even pay taxes! Every time he went to the White House, he came out with more spending than he went in with."
- LG liked the \$500 per person tax cut, but thought Gingrich gave pieces of it away.
- Re the proposed increase in committee allowance, "That started it. It was outrageous. Subcommittees had been turning back money, and the leadership wanted an increase. So we held it up. That was the first shot in the war."
- He highlighted the HHS fight and the testing controversy as key fights. On testing, Livingston wanted a bill and went along with Obey substitute. Lindsey called it an outrage,

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went on TV and said it "sold out" Republican views. He said Livingston runs Appropriations with Democratic votes because the conservative Republicans won't go along with him.

- "Goodling and I finally wrote the language on national testing and the Republican Conference accepted it. Livingston was livid, but he was running the Appropriations Committee with Democratic votes--letting Obey, a liberal Democrat, set the policy. But the leadership hung Livingston out to dry (see Roll Call). I threatened to get 50 signatures and demand a conference so we could find out who was telling the truth--Boehner or Livingston. When they heard that, they decided to let me and Goodling write the language."
- "All the leadership wants to do is pass bills. But they are tearing the heart and soul out of the (Republican) Conference when they do. The heart and soul of the Conference is conservative. I am the mainstream of the conference."
- I asked him how many real conservatives there were in the Conference. "There are 50 or 60 conservatives. Then there are 30 moderates. So we checkmate each other. Newt is moving toward the moderates. He's got a little group he works with there. Then there are the Rotarian Republicans in the middle. They just hate conflict, so they support Gingrich."
- He didn't like the compromises passed at the end of the 104th. He thought again that "the leadership just wanted to pass bills" and that they gave away their principles.
- I asked him, "If you wanted a long-term career in the House, would you have done what you did?" He said, "As you know, I'm not climbing the ladder in the House. If I am, I'm going about it in the wrong way! But if I wanted a future in politics, I'd do exactly what I've been doing. What I'm doing is exactly the way to do it if you want to be reelected or be Governor or Senator. I'm speaking out about social security and about entitlements--they are the biggest problems."
- He had a phone call in the car from David Funderburk, who wanted to do a fund-raiser for him.
- "It's frustrating, but it's also fun. I'm having fun because I'm making a difference--much more than I ever thought I could have with so little experience. The freshmen class is still the backbone of the Republican Conference."
- I mentioned the split he talked about in the freshmen class--political career vs. no career. He said, "Yes, it's still there, only it's worse." But the subject got changed.
- Dave Woodard says that he's thought a lot about what makes

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Lindsey the way he is and he thinks being a bachelor is a big explanatory factor. He sees key to LG is that he's a risk taker.

- "Being a bachelor, he has only himself to think about. During the campaign, he took the attitude that all he had to do was use his credit card. We used to tell him that we had to pay our bills. He takes risks that he wouldn't take if he had other people to think of. He does what he wants to do and doesn't care what others think."
- I think he's like that too, in sense that he doesn't play out the consequences of his desire for principled confrontation.
- (Dave) "Winning the last election by such a convincing margin has given him a lot of self-confidence. I don't think he would have taken on Newt Gingrich if he hadn't won by such a margin at home."
- Derrick talks about how he still accepts a lot of events because he doesn't want to turn people down. LG said at one point, "I love parades. But I don't love them quite as much right now."
- Re Christmas parades as constituency staple: there were 48 of them in the district this year. He had about 30 invitations and he accepted 20. They don't have 4th of July or Memorial Day parades here, but X-mas parades are major events.
- When we got out of the car at Honea Path, Lindsey said, "I've got to go right over and talk to the people running the parade. They are the people who run everything in town." Bob McCormack, "Civitan of the Year," came over to chat with me-- said Civitans (who ran the parade) collected and spent on good projects, \$32,000 last year. The club has 27 members.
- "I voted for the HHS appropriation. You have to show some team spirit. I rationalized that we had made a great many changes. We filibustered it with 100 amendments, and got a lot of improvements." Then, to the testing controversy.
- He wants to go after entitlements and says that's where the money goes. He wants some privatization of social security, bite the bullet, etc.
- Dave and Derrick both say he'd like to be Governor, but he's handicapped (they say) by his lack of a media base. Other young Republicans have a media base: Inglis in Greenville-Spartanburg, Sanford in Charleston. Lindsey gets second billing in Greenville and Augusta papers. He can't call a press conference and count on any one big paper coming to it.

*He's climbed
with
No
media
base
Reminds*

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Dave says LG doesn't have a money base either--same geographical handicap. Anderson paper was training group for reporters who came from somewhere else in Knight Ridder chain. Now it's been sold. Again, Derrick compared it to National Enquirer.

- Dave and I agree on Lindsey's likeableness, but we are both surprised at how active he's turned out to be. Tonight, when introduced at the banquet, he stood at the table instead of the podium and introduced us at his table, said 'Merry Christmas' and sat down. He stayed through all the 100 or so introductions of attendees. Also cracked a joke about Laurie Ashley having "a line of clothes." Dave thinks that dry wit helps him. Actually, it was the only joke that got told all evening. A very sober, earnest crowd. Dave said he gossiped with Rep. Jordan, picking up all the State House gossip. Dave says it shows his immersion in state politics, as a tipoff to his state-wide ambitions.
- Dave says of Lindsey and five or six of his soul mates: "They go to the movies together. I think they must get in the dark there and hatch their plans."
- LG talked about the triggering events of the "coup" and made a series of disparaging remarks about the leadership, but I can't recall them.
- The trigger was the flood disaster aid bill. He said Newt backed down again and shouldn't have and that set people off. The bad marketing of that bill, too, got him mad.
- Dave took a poll after "the coup" and found Lindsey's approval record to be "in the high 60's." "My liberal colleagues in the department can't understand why he would do such a thing, but out here where the people are, they love him for it."
- Dave doesn't see any real base for a challenger. "There are no unions. The teachers are not his supporters, but here he is at their banquet. He'll get some help from that."
- He says the big turnaround for the Republican party came when Carroll Campbell became governor and started party building with local offices, threatening Dems that if they didn't switch, they'd run someone against them.
- Friday morning we went to the Oconee Chamber of Commerce breakfast (4 chamber groups) in Seneca.
- Lindsey talked about taxes, budget agreement, entitlements.
- Afterward, I asked the president of the group and the man who introduced Lindsey what they thought about the attendance and

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Lindsey.

- Re attendance, "It was a good turnout--50% better than normal. All the businesses were there. People like to listen to Lindsey."
- *authentic* President: "We think of Lindsey as a young statesman. He's up there to do what he thinks is right. He's not up there trying to make a name for himself or to make a career out of politics."
- Real estate guy (Kuhn): "We're proud of Lindsey and what he's trying to do. We liked it when he took Newt Gingrich to the mat for backing down on his principles." He was introduced (by real estate guy) as "the man who took Newt Gingrich to the mat for going back on his principles."
- Derrick said afterward re the coup, "It plays very well here. Newt Gingrich is less popular in the district than Bill Clinton."
- Last night, Lindsey and Dave bantered about that. Lindsey: "I told people that Newt Gingrich was less popular than I was before you took your poll." Dave: "Then I took the poll and you were right."
- Obviously, that gives Lindsey a lot of confidence.
- Re district, introducer called it "the mountains to the coast district."
- Lindsey explained (as he had to me in the car) that the budget agreement of the 105th ended up spending \$70 B more than the 104th. He called the \$70 B "the signing fee." In the car he said, "Newt Gingrich called the \$70 B the signing fee." A bad deal.
- He called the \$90 B tax cut "the highlight of the session for me... But do you know what percent of the total budget that was--1-1/2%. If we can't manage the government with 1-1/2% less money, we ought to stay home--which we probably should anyway."
- "Why do we end up spending more this year than last year? Because we're Congress."
- Average family income in 3rd District is less than \$30,000--in that context he touted the \$300 per child tax credit. "I'm proud of the \$500 per child tax credit."
- He railed against the \$660 B we took out of social security and put in the regular government account, leaving an IOU

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behind. Won't be any money for "boomers."

- "If we privatize social security, we will have done a great service to the country."
- "Next year is the year the tax code will be wounded. It might be fatal, but it will be on its last legs. The primary reason for the existence of the Republican party is to change the tax system in this country."
- He wants to sunset the code--by 2000 or 2001.
- Re Q&A on subject of race, "I don't want to get into happy talk and neglect the making of hard decisions."
- I asked him if he was comfortable with the chamber group in Seneca. "I was as comfortable with them as I would be with any group. They are from my home county. I know all of them. They are business types, chamber types. But I say the same thing wherever I go. We did 15 town meetings last month, and we had good attendance. In Clemson, we had 200 people, but most meetings were about 30. I said the same thing to all of them about cutting the size of government."
- I asked him to compare this group with last night's group. "Where were we last night?" (Derrick told him, teacher's group.) "I don't know them as well. I didn't know all of them. But I spend a lot of time on education. I was comfortable there. But I wouldn't say I was as comfortable as this morning." LG is not one to say that he was really uncomfortable anywhere.
- Re freshmen career and non-career politicians, "There are three types. There are the people who want to make a career in the House and stay for 20 years. Then there are the ones who are not staying, but are subject to being led. They worry a lot about their job. Then there are the ones who don't want to stay and are willing to take tough positions. They want change and they don't care. It's a lot easier for those who have safe seats. There's a big difference between having a safe seat and a marginal seat in terms of what you can do in the House. The ones I admire the most are the ones who have tough seats and still do everything I do and more--like Mark Newman and Steve Stockman."
- Near end of the trip, Derrick told LG that Gingrich was coming to Clemson in December--and Lindsey hadn't been told. "That puts me in an awkward position. I haven't heard about it. What's the protocol? I suppose if he's coming to my district, I should be there. I'm trying to dispel the idea that I hate the guy. I don't. I just think he's got to go as Speaker. He's dying to have me ask him to do a fund-raiser so he can

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Sharp - almost perfectly right.
Dank almost in 100%.

say that everything is fine... His legacy is that he turned the minority into the majority."

- "What should be the size of our party's mid-term gain in 1998? I think the average is a thirty seat mid-term gain. I'm trying to find an historical mark for how well we should do. That will be my mark for Gingrich. If we don't meet that mark, he should not be Speaker. If we don't do well in 1998, someone will run against him."
- How do you describe your district? "It's rural; it has a low average income, and pockets of prosperity; energy issues are very important; our basic employment is in manufacturing; environmental issues are important because there's so much water. It's hard to describe the district. It's very diverse. God, country and guts, I guess. You can't represent the district well without understanding the SRS and nuclear energy generally."
- Blacks--18%. "I do better with blacks than most Southern Republicans because I have the kind of district where you can make a lot of friends through personal contacts. I go to black churches. And when I talk about reforming welfare, I get Amen's as loud as anywhere else. The average is about 10% for most southerners. I get 15%. Still, in Anderson, some black precincts are like 325-12. McCormack County is 50% black and I get 40% there. That's pretty good. We're becoming a black party and a white party in the south and that's bad."
- "My district is low income. It's not a typical Republican district in income level. It's a typical southern conservative district. It gets back to: did we win or did they lose. We didn't win this district; they lost it. People got fed up with Bill Clinton-type politics as demonstrated by the northeastern Democrats. A new type of representation has become popular. 'I am against this, I am for this.' I ran against a 40-year institution and established a new standard of politics for the district. That makes it possible for me to pass along something different to the next generation of politicians. I feel a lot of pressure to do that. I tell Newt that 'We've got to deliver a product and we'll win.' I believe that showing a hard edge on political reform is good politics, that it is just as popular as the old formula."
- He talked in the morning and in the car about "kid care"--children's health entitlement financed by tobacco tax. He thinks it will just grow and to make it dependent on smoking is silly. Revenues from tax will go down if smoking declines. What to do with money? "Give it to anyone, but for God's sake, don't give it to Congress."

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- On taxes, "Congress ought to slow down and listen. I'm willing to listen. But I'm not willing to go with the status quo."
- I asked Derrick (in Joe's Sandwich Shop where we went to get out of the biting cold while we waited for the Easley X-mas parade) whether Lindsey had told me anything I hadn't heard before. He said Lindsey's talk about Senate was first time he'd ever heard that, i.e., "Just between us, I'm finding the idea of the Senate much more attractive than I ever have before. I like the House. I'm happy in the House. But in the Senate, you can have so much more influence than you can in the House."
- The other thing Derrick said he hadn't heard before was some musing as we drove from Due West to Easley that maybe he was over-exposed. "I think people like to see you in their parades. But maybe they don't. Maybe they get sick of seeing me." I commented that in a district without a big media market, and is so large, "it isn't likely that they will get too much of you."
- Derrick had fretted all day because the Oconee papers said LG would be in their parade and Lindsey was not going to be. Derrick thinks they just took it for granted he'd be in the parade if he spoke there. It's like they feel they own him in his home area. Derrick didn't like that attitude on their part because it might make Lindsey look like he welshed on them--was too big for his britches. He wanted LG to say something about the mistake in his morning speech. But he didn't.
- All afternoon, as we talked, Lindsey stressed the importance of personal contact. I don't see how anyone can hold a large rural district, without a major media market, without extensive personal contact. He agreed and nodded vigorously and said, "it's indispensable."
- But the twist he puts on it--in relation to issues--is that if you are going to take strong issue stands as he does, people have to trust you. And if you are going to get people to trust you, you have to go to them and meet with them. He doesn't believe that you can do what JF did, have an issueless campaign. "People like me won't let you." So representation is about issues and people because you can't win trust without lots of contact. But policy drives personal contact for Lindsey. Or, put it this way: personal contact is not satisfying all by itself to Lindsey. Still, he likes parades, wants to be nice to everybody on a personal level.
- "I feel pressure to go to people and tell them what's going on. They sent me up there, and I have an obligation to tell

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them what I'm doing."

- "It doesn't bother me one bit to argue with Newt. And I think people should know it. I could come back and BS people. But I won't and people know I'm right. Sometimes people will say to me, 'you can't do everything by yourself.' It's as if they want to protect me--to keep me from doing something that may be too risky or too dangerous. You know what I'm saying? When they say that, it makes me want to do it even more! A lot of people don't like to argue. But I'm the guy they sent up there to argue for them."
- I asked him what he'd say if he became convinced that he could do better with more experience than he'll get in his 12 years. "I don't know why I picked 12 years. Six seemed too short a time; twenty seemed too much--12 seemed about right, I guess. It's like airplane pilots. Young people make the best fighter pilots because they are young and take risks. Older people make better commercial pilots because they've had experience. If I were married and had a kid, I might not take the risks. I do now. Or maybe after 12 years, I'll be tired. It will be interesting to see what I do." (It's like this, he said bringing two hands together and passing each other--like who knows).
- "I'm optimistic about what we've done and what we'll do in the future. We nationalized the election in 1994. It hadn't been done before. We'll do more next year." I may not have the last sentence right. I cite this because he is an optimist. And he thinks that his boldness has paid off and will pay off. And the emphasis was on program, as usual.
- "Accountability is more important than ever. When you are bringing about major changes, to carry them out, you need people's trust. And that means you've got to go see them. You don't have to choose between being articulate and having a sound message. You have to convince people that you have their interests at heart. And that takes all the skills now. It means a solid understanding of entitlements and the ability to communicate to the average citizen. You have to sell yourself to people while you have their attention, so that they will trust you."
- "I could not, in this day and age, conduct a campaign that didn't address the major policy problems. And no one else could either. Because people like me would not let them. We are not going to let anyone not talk about policy. My rule is to make sure the debate continues. I want to see that things don't get pushed off the table by happy talk." "Happy talk" is one of his no, no's--probably because it leads to watered down principles, compromise and passing bills.

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- Re task forces: "Gingrich abandoned the task forces because he needed support from the committee chairman and that was the only way he could get it. Newt is always searching for a constituency."
- Re party turnover: "I don't want to be part of an old business under new management. I want to be part of a new business. And I want to make changes that transcend party--like the balanced budget amendment."
- Why did he get into politics in first place? "It's a form of public service. I had served in the military and politics was the next thing. I guess I had a desire to hear my own voice as a lawyer. And it was not a long leap from judge advocate to politics. I was used to helping a client with a cause. Politics allows you to take a cause without so many rules. I was different from my class. Many of them were business people who got frustrated dealing with the government. They were cause-driven, more than I was. I became cause-oriented when I adopted the Contract mentality. But I was not driven by policy in the beginning. That came afterward. And it astonished me. I thought I'd get satisfaction by helping people. But it turned out to be so much different that it astonished me. I handled some big cases as judge advocate; and the biggest rush in the world was to take on a cause and win. Politics provides that, too. And politics gave me a good opportunity to do what I always wanted to do. In high school, I talked about politics. I remember when JFK was killed. I liked his spirit about getting into politics." This answer went all around the barn, as if he really didn't know why. Or maybe, no one ever asked him before.
- "My job is to dispel the fog. Every time Newt talks, he adds to the fog." He thinks Newt did well on Fast Track. But thinks Newt gave away too much on \$500 tax credit. Still, after it passed, he sure touted it--at the heart implant factory talk, for example. He leaned out of the Jeep in the Easley parade and yelled--"\$500 tax cut!"
- Re seniors, he spoke of how he goes to them and talks turkey--tells them that we owe them a lot. "Going around a lot to see people matters," he says. He thinks elderly come away feeling ok. I talked about the need for transition period for the very elderly. He said they'd have to cushion that transition somehow.
- Couldn't be like Flynt. "The only thing that's fun is to be a player in the arena--if you like policy."
- When I asked him how he became the leader of the coup, he simply rehearsed the sequence of events surrounding the flood disaster legislation. That was the key, the last straw for

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him and a few soulmates who had started grumbling at the time the leadership proposed an increase in committee funding.

- I'll have to look at the votes around that time, but on one of the disaster votes, the leadership had gotten the conference to agree to some proposal and when the vote on the floor came, they voted no. Lindsey kept saying, "The leadership voted no, and we wanted to know why--after the agreement in conference." But Lindsey voted no, too, as did 50 or 60 other Republicans. Livingston was involved somehow and was hung out to dry. Lindsey spent time blasting Livingston and praising him as he talks, so I'm not sure exactly what he was talking about. Anyhow, the problem over disaster came to a head after a break of some sort.
- I think what happened is that before the break, there's a deal in conference, but over the break, there is no marketing of it, no word from leadership; Clinton gets the upper hand and when they come back from break, the deal is off, the vote comes and leadership votes "no" against their own deal--or what Lindsey and friends thought was the deal. That key vote comes at night and the guys meet in Lindsey's office. As far as I can tell, that was the thing that made Lindsey "the leader" in the press, i.e., they met in his office.
- Lindsey says they were all very upset but were not talking about anything imminent, but rather that "if things don't get better, we may have to do something about the Speaker. We were very serious, and we talked about very serious things, but we had no plan to do anything. At that point, it was wait and see."
- Then, the leaders hear about it; Delay says, "If you're going to do something, you should do it soon." Armey gets involved, etc., a couple of reporters hear about it and things move from there.
- He has a set of clips he carries with him--some of which I have and one of which I'd like to get, from The State, since it's about Lindsey.
- To understand Lindsey's present thoughts on "what's up," the two events that stand out are the disaster relief bill and the HHS-national testing episode. The first triggers the coup sequence and the second shows leadership Appropriations disarray, out of which comes Lindsey's work with Goodling. "I like Goodling--and he's a moderate Republican."

Re national testing, "We changed the way Congress operates. Appropriations cut a deal and we upset the deal. We beat the Appropriations Committee. There's always been a conflict between Appropriations Committee and the authorizing

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committees. But the authorizing committees have always been afraid to fight appropriations because they might lose their own project. Appropriations ruled by fear. Now, Appropriations is on notice and they are afraid of what the authorizing committees might do." He sees apocalyptic change from one episode--of which history has dozens, of course. His battle with Livingston is involved in disaster bill and testing bill.

There is, here, an exaggeration of accomplishment syndrome. It began with Contract and is part of the Contract mentality.

- "I hope the next generation of politicians will not behave like our leaders. They govern by intrigue. A tells B one thing about C, and tells C another thing about B. Then A does something different from what he told B or C. That's no way to govern the country. Dick Arme y is the big loser from all this. After all the different things he said, no one trusts him."
- "The new freshmen are very interesting. When they came in, they were a lot more politically experienced than we were and they didn't get excited about anything. Now, after they've watched our leadership in action, some of them are out there leading the charge. And its funny to watch the leadership--they are afraid we are going to co-opt those people."
- He also noted that the southerners and westerners were becoming allied--mentioned Pombo (CA). He's the guy credited with stopping Lindsey when he pushed over some chairs in conference, trying to get to refute Arme y.
- When I asked about his committees, "I spend 50% of my time on Savannah River. I'm on the National Security Committee where most of its money comes from. But I go wherever that subject leads me."
- "Education is my most active committee. I spend more time and energy in that committee than the others. I enjoy this issue and I like the chairman. I think education is untapped ground for Republicans. It's a big issue of mine and I think we can use it to close the (support) gap between Democrats and Republicans with the public. It can help us define ourselves. We can eliminate waste and we can win the debate over who should get the money. In our bill, ninety cents out of every dollar should go to the teacher in the classroom, not to the bureaucracy. It's an anti-bureaucracy bill. It closes the back door to the bureaucrats and puts money in the classroom. My motto is 'send the money to someone who knows my child's name.' We need to set goals. Our K-12 policy sets a goal \$.90 cents of every dollar, it provies for an audit to make sure the money goes where it's supposed to and it provides for

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legislation."

- He spoke again of "a massive amount of party switching" in his district. Picked up a State Senate (?) seat in McCormack County. "I think I've been somewhat helpful in my invisible role as a good image for the Republicans." This idea of LG's that he's a role model is strong. He mentioned Tom Alexander (?) and the guy who spoke at the education banquet as recent converts. He said he's talking at a lot more schools now to get people interested in politics. "We're building a farm system."
- I asked him if knowing where his money came from would help me understand what kind of a representative he is. He started to list people and rambled. "We can get all that for you," he said a couple of times. He mentioned Duke Power, Westinghouse as "having plants in his district"--said he got energy industry money, utilities, business. "It's a poor district and it's hard to raise money." Said he was gratified that he got a lot of small contributions. He downplayed NRA and said he didn't vote vs. gun control because of them. But on the car phone with Funderburk, he said that "the gun boys haven't given anything this year. They should be ready about now to help." And I found out they were his single biggest donor.
- I asked him re "power structures." He talked about demise of old politics. "We had Democratic controlled courthouses with the old rural machines and 40-year mayors. They have been replaced by younger people with a different philosophy. The question is: what kind of a system will replace it? That's what I've got to do. Just look at my voting record. The last thing I want is to be another Butler Derrick. He was a major player in the Democratic party in Congress. But that was beginning to hurt him back home. When the Democrats took full power in 1992, he couldn't hide. He had to support the Democratic President because he was part of the leadership."
- I asked about his hardest votes. He named three. Appalachian Regional Commission, \$100 M to the UN and Nunn/Lugar money to help Russia dismantle nuclear arsenal. He called it "foreign aid." He said none of these was "a conservative vote," i.e., they all increased spending.
- He defended Appalachian Commission on basis of district goals. "Four of my counties are covered by grants. They are for infrastructure that does good in my area, so I supported it. Was I being inconsistent? Yes, it was not a conservative vote. It was a vote to spend money. But I rationalized that we had already cut a lot from the bill."
- \$100 M for UN - Helms had good package--UN needs to be reformed and it is a useful institution.

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- Nunn/Lugar money. "It's in our national interest to pursue Democracy in Russia and to help them dismantle their nuclear weapons."
- I asked him if he still supported the line item veto. "Absolutely. It changed the way Congress works. It will have a chilling effect on spending if you think your project might be singled out as wasteful. I believe in the fear factor... (But) I voted to override Clinton's line item vetos because I thought they were useless. I hated to have to override." I didn't push him, but it did seem pretty inconsistent.
- Near the end, as we got to Easley for the parade, we started talking about who I might travel with. Of the older guys, he recommended Archer, Livingston, ok he said. Rogan, McInnis, Latham were mentioned. Shaefer,

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