

Lindsey Graham (R/SC) October 25-26, 1996

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- Denise Bauld
- The Mac Collins people got me to the Fulton County Airport, where I met up with Dan Quayle and his staff, Ann Hathaway and Greg Wilson (W&M, student of Larry Evans). We motored to a Bob Bar, barbeque, back to the airport, flew to Augusta and went out for dinner at some club--DQ, Mattingly, two state reps, Ann, some strange woman and myself. Next morning, I had breakfast with Dan, taught him a little political science for his course. Then we went to a Charlie Norwood breakfast, back on the plane to Anderson, SC to do an "event" for Lindsey. I met Dave Woodard there; he took me in tow after the event--book signing and picture taking, speech making and visit to middle school to "Say No to Drugs" talk (well covered on TV and in papers). Quayle left; Dave and I drove to his polling out fit and to headquarters and to the motel (Comfort Inn). Lindsey called that evening to tell me that we would hit the road at 7:30 the next morning--that we would have a 2-1/2 hour drive--which we did. The stops were: Ridge Springs Harvest Festival parade and speech, "politicking" in downtown Aiken; ride around Aiken; Airport Aiken rally with the Governor and the bus tour group, drive through Edgefield, stop at the SC Waterford Association dinner, dinner with LG and Denise Bauld at Villa Luigi--Lindsey's family home. And, for me, back to the Yankee clincher over the Braves.
- Dave Woodard on the opponent, Debbie Dorn. "She's a good campaigner, but she's in the wrong district. She has no money. She thought her campaign would be so good that the money would come in. It didn't." No AFL-CIO money in this district.
- He pointed out that in their Medicare mailing, they used the Contract With America. So they didn't run away from it. Actually, none of the Republicans I followed ran away from it. Lindsey was introduced at his rally (and so were Barr and Norwood) as someone who did what he said he would do. That was a theme in every freshman race I saw--four in all.
- I asked him about the freshmen class, whether they hung ~~by~~ together to the end or split. "We all kept the same spirit we brought from the election. But a split developed between those who wanted to make a career in politics and those who didn't. Jerry Weller, he's a buddy of mine, but he wants to make a career in politics; Roger Wicker, he wants to make a career in politics. It's the same split that's always there among politicians--between those who want to find out where the public is so they can go there and those who want to move the public from where they are to where they ought to be. If you take 10 politicians, seven of them will lack the self-

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confidence or the aggressiveness to move the public. They will give the public what they want and do it responsibly. The other three will try to move the public. Newt is one of those three. Some of those three will grab you by the neck and pull you along. There are others that the public will listen to and say to themselves, I like that guy, I think he's right and I trust him. (Implicitly, that's Lindsey.) You can't get away from it. Politics is a people business."

- It is important to Lindsey that people like him. And, feisty and stubborn and determined as he is, there is that desire to be liked--and, with that as an addition to his message--to be trusted. He speaks of trust a lot. He used it repeatedly in talking about Medicare. "After the senior citizens have heard me explain what the situation is and what we tried to do to save it, they trust me." He believes that if he can do it, everyone can do it. That if he can do it in a few cases with senior groups here, anyone can do it with all seniors anywhere. It is a parochial view, strongly held--a sampling error, I think. He relies heavily on idea that seniors don't want to pass debt and poor service onto their grandchildren. Again, I think that's true, but it's not the whole picture. Seniors are in a fragile, vulnerable condition and they are easily scared, too.

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- Lindsey has a lot of faith in "marketing" and he sometimes thinks that better marketing is all that's needed. That is his view still with respect to the budget showdown. He believes that if the Republicans had "sold" their position better, they could have hung on and won. That's very debateable in my view. The problem is that before the tide would have had a chance to turn, the Republicans would have been in the soup.

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- Almost the first thing he said to me (after he had enthused about Dan Quayle, their prospective golf game in Phoenix, his new respect for Dan as a prospective leader, his liking of Dan as "a really" nice guy) was: "when the Republicans held their very first conference after the election, there was a question I was dying to ask. And I've been kicking myself in the butt ever since for not asking it. I wanted to ask the question, "Did we win or did they lose?"

"If you think we won, give me five things you think we should do. If you think they lost, give me five things you think we should do. You can't figure out where you want to go until you take an inventory of what it was that got you there. And the other question I wanted but didn't ask was, "If you were in their place, what would you do?" We acted like we thought we won. And we never asked ourselves what the Democrats would do." He sees this as I do, as a fatal juncture. We talked about that in my last visit. Now, I wonder if my words aren't

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coming back to me!!

- He talked about the budget shutdown again, but I don't think he connected (as I do) the budget shutdown with his emphasis on win-lose interpretation. Maybe it's implicit. Anyway, he focussed on Dole's passage of a CR at midnight, and sending it to the House.
- "Our poll numbers were dropping (during the shutdown), but I believed they had slipped as far as they were going to go. I was one of the fiery ones saying no, no, no, don't give in. The President had agreed that we would each put a balanced budget on the table. We had produced ours. He had not produced his. The issue was keeping his word. I went on McNeil Lehrer a couple of times and said that if anyone lied to me like that in private practice, I'd never have anything to do with that person as long as I lived. But Dole put a continuing resolution through the Senate that provided for opening the government. I lost a lot of respect for Bob Dole right there. When it came to our conference, I was madder than I've ever been in politics. I asked Newt 'Did you know Dole was going to do this?' He said he did and I said, 'Why didn't you tell us?' He proposed that we compromise by paying the workers even though there was no appropriations to give them anything to work with. I got up and I said 'How am I going to explain this to the Greenville News when they got the First Service and ask them what they are doing and are told 'We are doing nothing!' 'How am I going to explain to the hard working people of my district that we are <sup>not</sup> paying government workers for ~~not~~ working?' I was mad. He listened and came up with a different compromise... We did a terrible job of marketing our position. The President had smart advisors. They had a budget all the time, but they held it back so long as our numbers were dropping and we were getting the blame. He played us like a fiddle."
- "I wanted to do better than last time. There was momentum in 1994, but there isn't this time. So if I do better, people will know I did it. The two state senators will know that; and will be less likely to run. I got 60% in 1994. I'd like to get 65%; but 61% would be good in a year without momentum-- and against a viable opponent. I hoped I wouldn't have an opponent, but it's much better for me to have one so I can show strength. She's not the best opponent, she's way too liberal. But she almost made the runoff in 1994, so she's viable. (Denise says, 'I knew she'd be back, that's why I collected her vote total in the primary and put them on my chart.') People will know I didn't have a cake walk. I've told the media that I could do better this time. I hope that wasn't a mistake." Denise pipes up, "Well, it's done now." the last thing he said to me as we left the restaurant was, "61% in a year with no momentum will be pretty good."

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- "At the southern end of the district is one of the most advanced nuclear power facilities in the world. At the northern tip is one of the most sophisticated water treatment plants in this country. In-between, it's 160 miles of pick-up trucks and guns." And, he added jokingly, "Guns for babies."

- Denise recalled that in an earlier campaign, he had called Anderson "the most god fearing, gun-toting, in-your-face city in the state" and that it had been quoted in a headline in the paper. She said they all were scared about the reaction, but it was one of approval, "Yea, that's us all right."

- On the phone, when he called me the evening before our trip, he said that he had "misjudged" DQ as "a rich kid" and that he had been very impressed with him during the event. When I met him the next day, he was all enthused about Quayle as a future leader of the party. "We're going to get a small group together and play some golf out in Phoenix." He thought Dan's speech was great and told him to bottle it and take it everywhere. More than that, he kept saying how much he liked DQ. "He's a nice guy. I was misled by the media picture of him. He's got a great sense of humor. The 1996 election will result in the purging of the old guard in the Republican party. It's our time now. We need a leader that people like and will respond to. I think DQ could be the leader we are looking for."

- He spoke often about his conviction that the heart of the new Republican party will be "a southern-midwestern coalition." I think his view is that the moderates will have to adjust or leave. It's not that he wants them to leave, far from it. It's just that he may propose "take it or leave it terms," and they will be forced out.

- Example: "The Republican party is a pro-life party. There can be pro-choice Republicans, but not a pro-choice platform. Those words that Bob Dole proposed were meaningless. The conservatives will set the agenda. We can water down the agenda to help the moderates, but we cannot change the agenda. The lunch bunch is not the Republican party."

- "After the election, there is going to be a huge fight in our conference--may be even some bloodletting." Lindsey is looking forward to that--the young conservatives will purge the old guard and set the terms of cooperation for the moderates. He has all the same determination to "plunge-ahead-the-hell-with-the-consequences-if-you're-right" that he displayed from the beginning. Better to go down fighting than yield at crunch time--and better to be quicker to define crunch time than to avoid it.

- Why and how did you become a Republican. "I placed my bets."

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I had never been to a Republican meeting of any kind. I had always been conservative, I wanted to go into politics, and I asked myself what would I feel comfortable doing and where was the country going in the future. I looked at it like a business. It was a gamble. It would be hard to win as a Republican, but if I did, I would be in the best possible shape for the future. It didn't take a rocket scientist to see what direction the country was moving in. It was a risk, but not a huge risk since the Republican party was the party of the future. Any young person who wants to go into politics in the south today will be a Republican. If Butler Derrick had run, I would not have run against him." Denise said, "But he thought long and hard about it."

- Clearly, he believes that his special personal asset in talking to people about things like Medicare ("we need a compassionate conservatism" he says) is his personal background. He <sup>reels off</sup> the facts so fast I can't keep up: "first person in my family to go to college, father worked in cotton mills, mother and father ran a small business, parents dependent on social security and Medicare." "I know where you're at. My life has been as close to yours as is possible for people in my generation. I am not you, but I know what the system has done to you. I don't come from the country club. I joined a country club because my mother and father worked hard and sacrificed to make it possible for me to have things they didn't have."

- "It's an easy district to represent--except for the Savannah River Site. I've worried myself sick trying to reconcile the problem of Savannah River with the kind of congressman I want to be. How many other congressmen have been faced with the loss of 9,000 jobs? I've tried to tell them the truth--that the Site has an important and honored role to play in our nation's security, but that 25,000 employees was not viable. I told them that 15,000-16,000 was more like it. They have taken the layoffs with great spirit and with a positive attitude. I'm very proud of their reaction." He drove me around Aiken--a lovely southern town, big trees and big homes.

- \*When I told him my book was called Home Style and described some of the practices, he said, "Politics has been nationalized now. There isn't much of that home style any more." Yet he talks about how crucial it is that people like and trust you and "politics is a people business." So I'm not sure what he meant.

- A question to be grappled with, however, is whether or to what degree politics has been nationalized since the 70's. Maybe Jack Flynt's HS is not doable, but Gerry Studds' is. The technology has changed a lot of it. People talk to each other by car phone and that cuts down personal contact. Money buys

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TV and that substitutes for personal contact. Flynt-style personal contact can be approximated, but can't be the sole method. Lindsey does talk about the personal side, he did hit his supporters 6-8 of 60 stores in Aiken. But it's hard to hold a personal following and go against your party as Jack did. He held a Wallace district as a Democrat by personalizing it. Communication methods have changed and politics has been polarized. They have combined to produce nationalization. That is, it's harder to hide out in your party when you differ strongly with your party. Jack was part of a large group that differed from their party (at least their party's presidential candidate).

- He and Denise pulled out her figures and gave a county-level analysis of where they do well and where they hope to gain. Aiken is, as he described it at the airport, "the heart of the Republican party in my district." It goes 2-1 Republican and the only problem is turn out. Aiken plus his two home counties--Pickens and Oconnee are his strongholds. And he does very well in Anderson. This time they hope to hold their own in these places--maybe pick up a little in Anderson. And they have targeted Laurens as their opportunity for gains. Also, but less so, Saluda. Laurens is a big county and was Bryan's home county. Greenwood is a big one and is Dorn's home county. "Maybe I haven't paid as much attention to Greenwood as I should have."

- Several people have asked him to be on the committee on committees. He can't decide. It's not clear why. The plus for him, he says, is not personal influence per se, but the chance to put his freshmen colleagues in places that he knows will help the conservative cause. Idea is that he knows them and knows who fits best where in an ideological sense. Doesn't see it as a stepping stone. Why do they want you. "Politics is a personal business. They like me."

- He likes Education and doesn't want to leave it. Likes Goodling. Wants to leave Science for National Security. Why? "I like the military. I was in the military and it will be more help with Savannah River than Science." Will it hurt--there is already a South Carolinian on National Security? "Politics is a personal business." Later, when I said membership on the Committee or Committees would assure him of a position on National Security, he said he knew it. But he never brought that up.

- Three of the things he did, he did to keep in touch with supporters. (1.) We got to Aiken well ahead of schedule so he "did a little politicking" up and down Main Street. He stopped in at "five stores on this side and four on the other. They are good supporters." He left a stack of his advertising cards on the counter in all the stores. (2.) Re the airport

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- at Aiken, he said when we left, "I'm glad we came down here. All the people I need to see in Aiken were there." (3.) After a "stop-by" at the SC Wildfowl Association, "That was a good stop. I talked with the organizer of the dinner and they will appreciate the fact that I came." If you multiply these small touches" by 365 days a year, you get some idea of how a congressional district gets cultivated and maintained.
- By contrast, the Ridge Springs Festival Parade was expansionist. It was a little town in the farthest reaches of the district. He had never been there. "Is Ridge Springs in my district" he kept saying. He rode in an open car and gave a brief two minute talk at the gazebo in town. A Democratic incumbent state legislator said, "I don't just come around at election time. I'm here in my district all the time." A slam at Lindsey, which he recognized.
  - It was in Saluda County--which they hope to do better in this time. At last time, Denise said, "They told us you don't be able to find any Republicans in Saluda County to work for you. We did, and we carried Saluda. Then they all started coming out of the closet to help us."
  - Re Mac Collins, "I'll bet he's kicking butt."
  - Re David McIntosh, "He's a good guy. He's very smart. He's had a lot of influence with his subcommittee. He has a bright future in the House." Then: "I have no interest in moving up in the House." Related somewhat to it, he said he liked the way Newt runs the House--with task forces and with whatever keeps the committees honest. He wants important committees, but not more political committees.
  - He thinks 8-20 freshmen will lose. But he thinks Repubs will have a 20-seat majority. (Let's see if he has any kind of idea what the world is like beyond his district.)
  - The night I left, Denise, Lindsey and I went to dinner in Central, his home town. We ate in what used to be his house and our table was in what used to be his parent's bedroom! He pointed out his bedroom as we entered the restaurant! Villa Luigi. Walking to the restaurant, he showed me the two stores where his parents had their restaurant and bar.
  - Denise Bauld is a great example of a personal constituency. LG called her "my number one supporter. I would not be where I am if it had not been for her." Her husband (Greg) is Lindsey's best friend. They grew up together. Greg doesn't care about politics. She does. "Before he ran, we used to argue and argue. He would play devils advocate from the left because I was so conservative. I couldn't do that." "She organized the biggest rally ever seen in the district (for the

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state assembly race) 500 people. Getting people to come to that rally was my campaign." Denise has been with him from day one, in every campaign. She's a nurse who now does consulting--but doesn't even do that during campaign time. When he went to England to study nuclear power in order to inform himself for Savannah discussions, he took Denise with him and Greg came, too, along with Denise's best friend. He will go to Japan as a guest of Fuji film in January and he wants Denise and Greg to go with him there too. He pays their plane fare. Earlier, I had told him of my theory that six people could run a congressional campaign, she had agreed. Re Denise, he said, "You talk about the few loyal people you need to run a campaign? Denise is the best example of that."

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- One way I know how secure she was in Lindsey's affections occurred the moment we picked her up. I headed for the back seat. She said, you sit up front. I said no. She insisted. "All I need are my "brains" she said referring to her papers and notebooks. Insecure staffers want to sit up front and monopolize their bosses' time, make themselves feel important, etc. I knew she had no problems. As we rode, she leaned forward so we all had our heads together talking. And she interjected on occasion. At dinner, she said "It has been thrilling to watch someone who was known as a goof-off kid grow into such a strong and smart congressman."

- On this trip, her concern was yard signs. We rode for over four hours all told almost through the length of the district. Everywhere we looked for his signs and noted them as we went by--commenting on their location. We also looked at his opponent's signs. When her large ones with her picture loomed, LG would say "Ohh" or "Ugh" or "Ouch" or sound as though he'd just had bad news. Once (near Greenwood) she had so many in a row without a Graham sign (near where she was holding a barbeque), pulled over with the intention of putting one of LG's there, but he decided he didn't want to be seen on the highway putting up a sign in her territory. We did stop at a beauty shop later, in Anderson, and put in a sign that had been promised. Denise keeps a list of the people who want a sign and is constantly thinking about who or when each one will get put up. "Signs are a big part of our campaign," says Lindsey. "People pay a lot of attention to them." They figure that if don't have signs, you don't have a campaign. "The reason people think my opponent is a good campaigner is because of all the signs she has." This candidate pays a lot of attention to signs as a measure of his campaign, that's for sure. I ask Denise, "What's the secret to the placement of signs?" "Getting permission," she jokes. "If you put them on the right-of-way, the highway department will take them down--with pleasure. If you put them on private property, you need permission. Sometimes, you compete for permission in good spots. Months ago, I got permission to put a sign in front of

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a gas station in Clemson. It's the best spot in town. Everyone goes by it. When I went to him, he couldn't believe it. But he was pleased to be asked and he reserved it for us. If someone puts a sign up one year, they wonder why you didn't ask them the next year." We would drive by a spot and she'd say "I'm going to put a big sign in front of that Dairy Queen. They said we could."

- There's a lingo "graveyard of signs" a bunch of them in one spot. Also, you have to take them down afterwards--but that's not enforced, she says. They will have a sign at every polling place.
- She's unloaded two of her big signs in Aiken to a young woman who works in their office. Then she dropped off a dozen at a Chevrolet Dealer's place along the way home. They have and will put up 10,000 signs. They had 1,000 for his first state house run.
- "For signs, this campaign is ten times the first one. For money, it's 50 times the first one."
- Re his trip to Japan, "My rule is: you spend a billion dollars a year in my district, I visit your country."
- Talking to the reporter after the Aiken Rally, "I'm not going to stay in the job for more than ten years. If I don't run for something else, I'll get into another line of work. I think you wear yourself out in this job and should know when you can't do it as well as you should. My problems is that I'm so overwhelmed that people would want me to serve that I want to do my best to help everyone. So, I work all the time. I don't know how to stop--I think, you live in four worlds: the district, Washington, the campaign and your personal life. And the last is the one that gives way to the others." Still complaining that he has no life. The thrill of the job makes him anxious to please.
- \*Two ideas about change. Car phones are totally new. They change campaigning, but I'm not sure about representation. The importance of information about the opponent's money-raising success. There is a lot of shared information about money from periodic FEC reports. Also, they try to get information about the opponent's media buys. But that is not so public. "The Financial Constituency" "The Contribution Constituency." (Mo F.)
- A methodological note. He asked if I had "dinner plans." "No, but don't worry about me." "We'll take him to Central." "Ok, but I won't let you pay for my dinner." At dinner--as at various times during the day--he asks me a lot of questions about myself. I start talking about myself--as I must when he

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asks, especially in that very informal setting. I don't take wine lest it loosen my tongue--but it doesn't matter. He persists, and I talk too much about myself. This may be Lindsey's way. I think it is. It may be the result of a third visit! Maybe two is the limit that I can do while keeping my role as the observer. By the time I left after dinner, he was thanking me for coming! As if I was a friend that had come to help in some way.

- "Ways and Means doesn't interest me. I'm not interested in taxes."

- His September poll--45%-28%. "No one is above 50%. I don't know why."

- "The Xion Coalition is only active in a couple of counties. It has developed splits--the Buchanan group and the others."

- Re Newt, "He's not a nice man." Why? "He lies to you." Still, he admires Newt and likes the way he runs House--with committees being kept in their proper place by task forces.

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