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(McIntyre)

February 9, 1989

Noon

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SOUTH CAROLINA BUSINESS EVENT
TBD, SOUTH CAROLINA
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1989

Thank you... Thank you very much.

((As a former businessman myself, I always enjoy speaking to business groups. As many of you know, I got my start in the oil business down in Texas. One morning when I was out selling equipment for drilling rigs, I stopped at a diner for breakfast and ordered a cup of coffee and some eggs. When the waitress brought my order she asked, "Would you like anything else?" I said, "How about a few kind words." She said, "Don't eat the eggs."))

Having made my living in the hydro-carbon business, I have an appreciation for what you face. I know what it's like to take risks. I've met a payroll. And I've had to lay people off when things were tough.

I'll always remember how I felt when a hurricane wiped out the very first offshore oil rig that my company put in the water off the coast of Texas. We were warned about the hurricane so we

were able to get the workers off the rig, but we weren't able to save the rig itself.

After the storm, my business partner and I went up in a small plane to see what damage had been done to the rig. We flew up and down the coast but we couldn't find anything. The rig had been completely destroyed... washed under. Nothing left.

So what did we do? We did exactly what all of you have done when you've been hit by setbacks. We picked up the pieces and started over. We rebuilt.

What I learned back then, 26 years ago in Texas is that a job is more than a source of income. It's a source of pride. It's a source of meaning in your life. We often debate economic statistics in this country, but I think many people forget what those statistics actually represent. Every job means something. That's one reason why I am so proud of the progress we've made as a nation these past eight years.

Today we are in the midst of the longest peacetime economic expansion in our nation's history -- 75 months and counting. Productivity is up. Real family income is up. A higher percentage of our men and women are at work than ever before. In fact, we've created more jobs since 1982 than all of Europe and Japan combined.

Our economic expansion will not die of old age. It will only die of bad policies. The fastest way to throw our economy into reverse would be to raise taxes. New taxes would stifle everything from investment and personal savings to consumer spending. New taxes would invite a recession. And that's why I told the Congress last week that if we invest wisely in the future we can fund our priorities without new taxes. I made a promise to the American people not to raise taxes and I intend to keep that promise. (XX)

Here in South Carolina, you set an all-time record for new capital investment last year. Your per capita income is the highest it's ever been, and your unemployment rate is at its lowest point in 15 years.

You can be proud of what you've accomplished, just as I am proud of what American business has accomplished throughout our great nation. At its best, American business reminds us of who we are. At its best, American business reminds us of who we can be.

That's what I'd like to talk with you about today. Who we can be, who we must be, to guarantee that America remains the most prosperous and productive nation on the face of the earth.

South Carolina's state motto reads, "Prepared in mind and resources." My message to you today is simply this: Live up to

that motto. Help make a difference. Help educate and train our young people for the future so that they, too, will be "prepared in mind and resources."

When I was Vice President, I chaired a Task Force on Regulatory Relief which was intended to survey the wilderness of government regulations and determine which rules were hurting business, and which were helping. I'm proud to say that we were able to clear away some of the underbrush that was getting in the way of economic growth and development.

Now that I'm President, I have revived that task force and expanded its mission. Vice President Quayle is knowledgeable not only about regulation, but particularly about ways to use education and training programs to improve the skills of the American workforce. I have asked the Vice President to chair a Task Force on Competitiveness, which will incorporate both goals -- regulatory relief and job training.

The jobs created in the near future will be more complex -- demanding better reading, writing, and reasoning skills. That means we must do a better job of teaching our children today the skills they will need for the jobs of tomorrow. If we do, if we move quickly and work together, we will be able to offer a job to everyone who wants one during the next decade.

You know, the high school graduating class of the year 2000 is already in the first grade. We must ask ourselves: Are these kids being taught the skills they will need to lead productive lives in the 21st century? Will they be literate? Will they be as well schooled in math and science as the Japanese?

South Carolina, led by your outstanding governor, Carroll Campbell, deserves credit for emphasizing the importance of education. The state budget and control board has proposed a budget which earmarks nearly one of every three new dollars for public education. The Governor's School for Science and Mathematics established last year has exceeded expectations. And business leaders from around the state, many of whom are in this room, have rallied behind the workforce initiative Governor Campbell last year.

Education is, fundamentally, a state and local issue. But Federal government does not have a role to play and a responsibility to fulfill. I have said many times that I want to be "the Education President." That's what I ran on, that's what I intend to follow-through on, and that's part of the legacy I hope to leave to future generations of Americans.

The education package that I sent to the Congress last week can be summarized in three little words with very big meaning: excellence, choice, and accountability.

We must reward excellence and cut through bureaucracy. We must help those schools that need the help most. We must give choice to parents, students, teachers and principals. And we must hold everyone concerned accountable -- we cannot tolerate mediocrity in education. As I told a group of school kids who visited the White House recently, "Mediocrity may be the easy way out, but excellence is the only way up."

In my budget I have asked to begin this year a \$500 million program to reward America's best schools -- "merit schools" -- and to give incentives to other schools to match their excellence.

I have made other proposals such as the creation of a new National Science Scholars program, more funding for Head Start, incentives for innovation in the classroom, and a new effort to let those with talent and expertise in all fields become certified to teach.

I've been asked many times, "Why education? Why do you want to be the Education President?" The answer is that education is critical to our future, both individually and as a nation. Education is the key to opportunity. In an egalitarian society like ours, education is the great lifting mechanism. The surest way to win the war on poverty is to win the battle against ignorance.

And what is clear about the '90s is that as a nation we will face an unprecedented level of competition in the world marketplace. The best investment we can make to prepare for that competition is in the education of our most precious resource -- our children.

Our workforce of the future is still in school. We need partnerships with the private sector in every community in America to make sure that the skills being taught in the classroom are the skills that are needed in the workplace of the '90s and the 21st century.

I'd like to see every business that has the wherewithal to adopt a school in its community. I'd like to see businessmen and women speak in the schools more so that you can build bridges between your businesses and local students.

It's in your interest to do it. Better schools will mean better American workers, and better workers will mean better, more competitive products.

You know, I've visited South Carolina enough times to learn that your state flower is the yellow jessamine (JAZZ-min). I've been told the yellow jessamine was selected not just because of its fragrance, but because of its resilience. It's as dependable as the sunrise. Spring reawakens in South Carolina when the yellow jessamine is in full bloom.

The legacy we leave for our children and our children's children should be as constant as the yellow jessamine. If we plant the seeds now, if we invest wisely now, if we are careful gardeners committed to cultivating excellence, we will succeed in preparing our young people for the challenges of the future. Then, each new generation of Americans will bloom in the springtime of their own lives, in a nation of prosperity and endless opportunity.

Thank you very much.

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Gordon James - Advance

x7565

- ① SPECIFICS ON WHAT SOUTH CAROLINA IS DOING AT THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVEL RE: EDUCATION/COMPETITIVENESS
- ② South Carolina heroes who we can quote.

* John C. Calhoun
 v.p.
 * Henry Timrod
 poet

Jesse Jackson
 Andrew Jackson
 James Burn
 st + Supreme
 Ron McLean
 Killed + Black

- ③ Any letters to Pres. Bush on education - * from S.C. ?
- Correspondence x2304 |

Hall of states 624-5490
 SC office 624-7784

Bob Zee (Labor - Public Information)
 Work Force 2000 523-6666

Ann Mc. chief speechwriter
 Mark Lange 523-7918

SPECIAL Delivery



STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA
WASHINGTON OFFICE
444 N. CAPITOL ST. #234
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
202/624-7784

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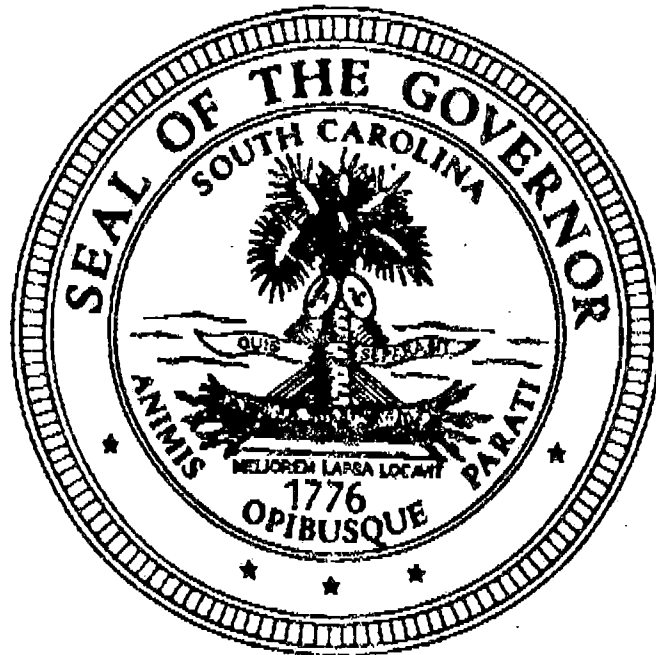
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MESSAGE:

*I included some extra "stuff."
I hope it helps.*

SOUTH CAROLINA

State of the State



Governor Carroll A. Campbell, Jr.

January 18, 1989

1989 STATE OF THE STATE

TONIGHT I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU MY GOALS AND VISION FOR 1989, BUT I FIRST WANT TO SAY SOMETHING TO THE FRESHMEN LEGISLATORS: YOU HAVE A TOUGH ACT TO FOLLOW.

I AM CONVINCED THAT WHEN HISTORIANS LOOK BACK ON THE 107TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THEY WILL CONCLUDE THAT MORE GOOD WAS DONE FOR MORE PEOPLE THAN ANY OTHER TWO-YEAR PERIOD IN MODERN HISTORY.

TOGETHER WE BUILT THE FRAMEWORK OF ECONOMIC GROWTH THAT WILL LAST LONG AFTER WE ARE GONE FROM THIS PLACE. TOGETHER WE STRENGTHENED THE FRAMEWORK OF EDUCATION WHICH WILL NURTURE GENERATIONS YET BORN.

WE KEPT OUR EYES ON THE BIG PICTURE, ON THE MACRO-ISSUES OF OUR GENERATION WHICH SEE BEYOND THE TEMPORAL EMOTIONS OF THE MOMENT TO THE SWEEPING DEMANDS OF THE FUTURE.

THE BIG PICTURE IS ECONOMIC GROWTH.

THE BIG PICTURE IS EDUCATION, PREPARING OUR CHILDREN TO TAKE HOLD OF TOMORROW WITH SPIRITS ENRICHED AND SKILLS SHARPLY TUNED.

THE BIG PICTURE IS A BOLD GOVERNMENT THAT PRACTICES WHAT THOREAU CALLED THE HIGHEST ART: IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE THROUGH EXPANDED OPPORTUNITY.

LET US DISAGREE ON THE INDIVIDUAL HUES AND COLORS, BUT LET US AGREE TONIGHT THAT THE BIG PICTURE OF EXPANDED OPPORTUNITY SHALL FOREVER DOMINATE THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

I ASKED YOU FOR EIGHT BILLS TO MAKE SOUTH CAROLINA COMPETITIVE FOR JOBS AND YOU ADOPTED SEVEN.

X/ I AM PLEASED TO REPORT TO YOU THAT 1988 SET AN ALL-TIME RECORD WITH THREE-POINT-SEVEN BILLION DOLLARS IN NEW CAPITAL INVESTMENT, WHICH IS 53 PERCENT HIGHER THAN THE PREVIOUS RECORD.

THE STATE DEVELOPMENT BOARD TELLS ME THIS INVESTMENT WILL PRODUCE ABOUT 50-MILLION DOLLARS IN LOCAL TAX REVENUE FOR OUR SCHOOLS EVERY YEAR.

THAT'S BIG PICTURE SUCCESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AND IT WOULDN'T HAVE HAPPENED WITHOUT YOU.

I CAN REPORT TO YOU THAT OUR PER CAPITA INCOME IS NOW 42ND IN THE COUNTRY, THE HIGHEST EVER. SOUTH CAROLINA HAS THE LOWEST UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN 15 YEARS; AND IT WOULDN'T HAVE HAPPENED WITHOUT YOU.

LEST ANYONE THINK THIS IS ACCIDENTAL, I POINT OUT THAT JUST ONE NEW LAW, THE FEE-IN-LIEU-OF-TAX, WAS CITED BY TWO COMPANIES INVESTING MORE THAN ONE BILLION NEW DOLLARS IN SOUTH CAROLINA. THAT'S JUST ONE EXAMPLE.

TONIGHT I AM SEEKING TWO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES. THE FIRST IS AN INCENTIVE PACKAGE TO ENCOURAGE A REGIONAL AIRLINE HUB IN THE STATE, ACTION ESSENTIAL FOR CORPORATE HEADQUARTERS AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT.

AND I ASK THAT WE JOIN TOGETHER IN DECLARING AFFORDABLE, QUALITY CHILD CARE A RIGHT FOR WORKING WOMEN.

THIS IS PURELY AN ECONOMIC ISSUE. LACK OF AFFORDABLE DAY CARE CONSTITUTES ONE OF THE GREATEST OBSTACLES TO EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES FOR WORKING WOMEN IN SOUTH CAROLINA. IT FURTHER DENIES BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY A SOURCE OF PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYEES AND DENIES THE STATE POTENTIAL TAX REVENUE.

IN SHORT, WE ALL LOSE. EXCEPT IN LIMITED CIRCUMSTANCES, THE STATE SHOULD NOT GET INVOLVED IN FUNDING DAY CARE CENTERS.

BUT WE CAN AND SHOULD INVOLVE OURSELVES WITH EDUCATING THE PRIVATE SECTOR ON THIS NEED, AND ENCOURAGING COMPANIES TO SUPPORT DAY CARE CENTERS WITH A SERIES OF TAX INCENTIVES. THIS WILL BENEFIT THE COMPANIES, THE STATE AND THE WORKING MOTHERS WHO DESPERATELY NEED IT.

IN EDUCATION WE HAVE MOVED FROM DREAM TO REALITY OR, AS CHURCHILL PUT IT: "FROM THE WONDERFUL CLOUDLAND OF ASPIRATION TO THE UGLY SCAFFOLDING OF ATTEMPT AND ACHIEVEMENT."

THE FIRST CLASS OF JUNIORS AT THE GOVERNOR'S SCHOOL FOR SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS WHICH WE ESTABLISHED LAST YEAR HAS AN AVERAGE OF 1160 ON THEIR PSAT SCORES. THIS EQUALS THE SAT SCORE OF SENIORS AT THE LONG-ESTABLISHED SCHOOL FOR SCIENCE AND MATH IN NORTH CAROLINA.

MOREOVER, 19 PERCENT EXCEEDED THE CUTOFF SCORE FOR THE NATIONAL MERIT SCHOLAR QUALIFYING TEST IN THEIR FIRST YEAR.

THIS IS A REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENT AND I WOULD LIKE TO INTRODUCE TO YOU THE YOUNG MAN WITH THE HIGHEST PSAT SCORE AT THE GOVERNOR'S SCHOOL. HE SCORED 1,440 OF A POSSIBLE 1,600 AND HE'S IN THE BALCONY TONIGHT REPRESENTING THE ENTIRE SCHOOL. LET'S WELCOME DAVID ENGLAND OF SUMMERVILLE, ESCORTED BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE GOVERNOR'S SCHOOL, LEE COX.

UNTOLD THOUSANDS OF SOUTH CAROLINIANS LABOR ON THAT UGLY SCAFFOLDING OF ATTEMPT AND ACHIEVEMENT FOR THE SIMPLE PURPOSE OF MAKING LIFE BETTER IN OUR STATE.

EMPLOYERS FROM 215 PLANTS HAVE EXPRESSED DETERMINATION TO IMPROVE BASIC SKILLS OF 17-THOUSAND WORKERS BY SEEKING ENROLLMENT IN THE WORK FORCE INITIATIVE I CREATED LAST YEAR TO FIGHT ILLITERACY. *Education is like your index finger - you can count on it.*

I WANT TO THANK SPRINGS INDUSTRIES FOR HELPING LEAD THE WAY.

WYFF-TELEVISION IN GREENVILLE IS PRODUCING AND AIRING TELEVISION LITERACY CLASSROOMS AND MORE THAN A THOUSAND ADULTS ARE ENROLLED. OTHER BROADCASTERS ARE UNSELFISHLY DEVOTING VALUABLE AIRTIME TO FIGHT ILLITERACY.

ACROSS THIS STATE EMPLOYERS AND LOCAL LITERACY PROVIDERS ARE WORKING TOGETHER TO TAME THIS MONSTER.

IN TWO SHORT YEARS YOU AND I HAVE RENEWED COMMITMENT TO HIGHER AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION BY RAISING THE LEVEL OF FUNDING AND CREATING THE CUTTING EDGE RESEARCH INITIATIVE.

WE HAVE DECLARED BY WORD AND DEED THAT ALL OF EDUCATION IS CRITICAL, THAT ALL OF EDUCATION IS WORTHY, THAT ALL OF EDUCATION SUFFERS UNLESS ALL IS ADDRESSED.

LET ME BE BLUNT: SOME IN THE STATE EDUCATION BUREAUCRACY HAVE SUGGESTED THAT WE SOMEHOW ARE MOVING BACKWARDS IN OUR COMMITMENT. THEY LIKE TO GO BACK 15 OR 20 YEARS AND SHOW HOW THE PERCENTAGE OF BUDGETED MONEY FOR EDUCATION IS DECLINING.

THAT IS LIKE COMPARING TODAY'S GASOLINE PRICES TO THOSE OF 1900 IN THE HORSE AND BUGGY DAYS.

DEMANDS ON STATE GOVERNMENT HAVE GROWN IN RECENT YEARS. WE ARE UNDER COURT ORDER TO SPEND HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS ON PRISONS AND MENTAL HEALTH FACILITIES. WE ARE REQUIRED TO DO MORE AND MORE IN WELFARE AND MEDICAL MATCHES.

SO, LET'S SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT. YOU APPROPRIATED AND I SIGNED INTO LAW A HIGHER PERCENTAGE OF NEW MONEY FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION THIS YEAR THAN IN ANY OF THE PRIOR FOUR YEARS. THE PERCENTAGE OF NEW MONEY RECOMMENDED BY THE BUDGET AND CONTROL BOARD FOR NEXT YEAR MORE THAN DOUBLES THAT OF 1986.

THE BUDGET AND CONTROL BOARD HAS PROPOSED A BUDGET WHICH EARMARKS NEARLY ONE OF EVERY THREE NEW DOLLARS FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION. IT MAINTAINS THE SOUTHEASTERN AVERAGE FOR TEACHER SALARIES, FULLY FUNDS THE EFA AND BUYS MORE TEXTBOOKS AND BUSES. THIS BUDGET ALSO KEEPS US ON TRACK WITH HIGHER AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

THERE'S NO QUESTION THAT THIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND GOVERNOR ARE FULLY COMMITTED TO EDUCATION. WE WILL KEEP EDUCATION PRIORITY NUMBER ONE IN SOUTH CAROLINA THIS YEAR AND IN FUTURE YEARS.

TO THAT END, I ENDORSE THE BROAD CONCEPTS OF THE TASK FORCE WHICH LOOKED BEYOND THE FIRST FIVE YEARS OF THE EDUCATION IMPROVEMENT ACT.

I WILL WORK WITH THE ESTABLISHED SUBCOMMITTEE TO DEVELOP A TIMETABLE AND STRATEGY FOR IMPLEMENTATION AND I WILL PERSONALLY

LEAD THE WAY INTO THE NEXT FIVE YEARS BECAUSE THERE'S NO TURNING BACK NOW.

I WANT TO ACKNOWLEDGE JIM EDWARDS' LEADERSHIP IN SETTING UP THE EDUCATION FINANCE ACT AND DICK RILEY'S ROLE IN THE EDUCATION IMPROVEMENT ACT AND THANK THEM FOR THEIR EFFORTS.

OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN PUBLIC EDUCATION ARE NATIONALLY KNOWN. STUDENT PERFORMANCE HAS MOVED FROM NEAR THE BOTTOM NATIONALLY TO THE MIDDLE ON ALMOST EVERY ACHIEVEMENT MEASURE.

NOW WE FACE THE CHALLENGE OF MOVING BEYOND AVERAGE PERFORMANCE TO SUPERIOR PERFORMANCE BY PUSHING TOP STUDENTS TO HIGHER STANDARDS WHILE PULLING THE BOTTOM UP. THIS REQUIRES GREATER FLEXIBILITY AND INNOVATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL.

TO REACH AVERAGE ACHIEVEMENT LEVELS, WE MANDATED NOT ONLY WHAT SHOULD BE ACHIEVED BUT HOW IT SHOULD BE ACHIEVED, RESULTING IN AN ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF MONITORING, INSPECTING, ENFORCEMENT AND PAPERWORK.

THIS STRATEGY MADE SENSE WHEN OUR ACHIEVEMENT LEVELS WERE NEAR THE BOTTOM OF THE NATION, BUT IT WILL NOT TAKE US TO THE PINNACLE OF EXCELLENCE WHICH WE SEEK. WHAT WORKS FOR MINIMUM PERFORMANCE WILL NOT PRODUCE OPTIMUM PERFORMANCE.

I THEREFORE AM CALLING FOR LEGISLATION TO TAKE US BEYOND MINIMUM MANDATES BY GIVING GREATER FLEXIBILITY AND INNOVATION TO THOSE SCHOOLS WHICH HAVE DEMONSTRATED SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENT GAINS.

THE BILL I AM DRAFTING FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION WILL ALLOW THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION TO RETAIN RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTAINING REQUIRED STANDARDS OF PERFORMANCE, WHILE GIVING THESE SCHOOLS FREEDOM TO DEVELOP THE PROGRAMS TO MEET THOSE STANDARDS.

IF YOU PASS THIS LAW AS PROPOSED, NEXT YEAR 258 OF THE 12-HUNDRED SCHOOLS WOULD QUALIFY.

SCHOOLS WITH DEMONSTRATED ABILITIES TO PRODUCE MUST BE FREED TO INNOVATE. PRINCIPALS MUST HAVE AUTHORITY TO RUN THEIR SCHOOLS

TO MEET THE UNIQUE NEEDS OF THEIR COMMUNITY. TEACHERS MUST HAVE LATITUDE TO TEACH AND COMMUNICATE AND CARE AND CREATE.

WE'LL REACH THE PINNACLE OF EXCELLENCE WHEN TEACHERS, PRINCIPALS, PARENTS AND THE COMMUNITY COME TOGETHER TO ADDRESS EDUCATIONAL NEEDS UNIQUE TO THEIR CHILDREN. EXCELLENCE WILL BE DEVELOPED IN THE COMMUNITIES, NOT THE BUREAUCRACY.

I ALSO ASK YOU TO SERIOUSLY CONSIDER STATE TREASURER GRADY PATTERSON'S PROPOSAL TO RAISE THE LEGAL DEBT LIMITS OF THE COUNTIES FOR THE PURPOSE OF SCHOOL BUILDING CONSTRUCTION.

THE STORY IS TOLD IN THE BIBLE ABOUT THE SHEPHERD OF A HUGE FLOCK WHO WENT TO GREAT TROUBLE TO FIND ONE LOST SHEEP. WE ARE LOSING SHEEP DAILY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, WITH ONE-THIRD OF OUR STUDENTS DROPPING OUT BEFORE GETTING A HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA.

THE COST TO SOCIETY IS STAGGERING; THE COST TO INDIVIDUAL LIVES IS UNSPEAKABLE.

LIKE THE SHEPHERD IN THE PARABLE, WE MUST SEEK THESE LOST SHEEP IN THE BRIAR PATCHES OF POVERTY, TEENAGE PREGNANCY, LEARNING DEFICIENCIES AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE. WE MUST DO EVERYTHING WITHIN OUR POWER TO BRING THEM BACK INTO THE FOLD OF PRODUCTIVITY.

ADDRESSING THE PROBLEMS OF AT-RISK YOUTH REQUIRES COORDINATION OF A WIDE RANGE OF AGENCIES AND SERVICES AND WE DO NOT HAVE IT.

I THEREFORE AM ESTABLISHING BY EXECUTIVE ORDER THE GOVERNOR'S COUNCIL FOR AT-RISK YOUTH CHARGED WITH DEVELOPING A STATE POLICY TO REDUCE THE DROPOUT RATE.

THE COUNCIL WILL INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL RELEVANT HUMAN SERVICES AGENCIES, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, MAJOR EDUCATION GROUPS AND PARENTS. I WILL ASK THE COUNCIL FOR A FULL REPORT BY JULY FIRST.

ALSO, I RECOMMENDED IN MY PROPOSED BUDGET 300-THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR PILOT PROJECTS IN THE CLASSROOM FOR INNOVATIVE APPROACHES TO THIS PROBLEM, AND I ASK YOU TO FUND THIS FIRST STEP.

IN ADDITION, IF REVENUES FOR THE EDUCATION IMPROVEMENT ACT SURPASS THE CURRENT ESTIMATE, AND I AM CONFIDENT THEY WILL, I ASK YOU TO TARGET ALL OF THE REVENUE UP TO AT LEAST NINE MILLION DOLLARS TOWARD REMEDIAL AND COMPENSATORY INSTRUCTION FOR AT-RISK YOUTH IN GRADES SEVEN THROUGH TWELVE.

IN ANOTHER AREA, SOUTH CAROLINA IS RANKED NEAR THE TOP IN THE NATION IN INFANT MORTALITY. THIS IS A MORAL AND SOCIAL OUTRAGE OF THE HIGHEST ORDER THAT DEMANDS ACTION.

THEREFORE I AM ESPECIALLY PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE TONIGHT THAT TWO OF THE MOST PRESTIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS IN SOUTH CAROLINA, BLUE CROSS-BLUE SHIELD AND WIS-TELEVISION OF COLUMBIA, HAVE SIGNED AN AGREEMENT WITH MY OFFICE TO LAUNCH A STATEWIDE ASSAULT ON INFANT MORTALITY.

WHILE DETAILS ARE STILL BEING WORKED OUT, I CAN TELL YOU THAT WE WILL EDUCATE PREGNANT WOMEN ABOUT THE NEED FOR PRENATAL MEDICAL CARE, AND OFFER INCENTIVES TO THOSE WHO GET SUCH CARE.

ALL PREGNANT WOMEN WILL BE ELIGIBLE, BUT THE PROGRAM IS TARGETED TOWARD THE POOR.

WE WILL NOT SPEND ONE STATE DOLLAR, THANKS TO THE GENEROSITY OF BLUE CROSS AND WIS. THIS IS PUBLIC SERVICE AT ITS BEST; IT IS PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP AT ITS BEST.

PRENATAL CARE IS JUST PART OF THE PROBLEM. THE HIGH DROPOUT RATE AND MANY OTHER SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARE A RESULT OF CHILDREN WHO DON'T GET PROPER MEDICAL CARE AFTER THEY'RE BORN.

I HAVE RECOMMENDED ABOUT 900-THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR THE NATIONAL GOVERNOR'S INITIATIVE FOR POOR, PREGNANT MOTHERS THAT WOULD EXPAND COVERAGE FOR CHILDREN FROM AGE ONE TO AGE TWO. I LOOK FOR FURTHER EXPANSION IN FUTURE YEARS AS THE MONEY IS AVAILABLE.

IT IS NOT ONLY THE RIGHT THING TO DO, IT IS THE FISCALLY RESPONSIBLE THING TO DO BECAUSE THIS PROGRAM CUTS LATER MEDICAL COSTS.

SO THE STATE OF LONG-TERM ECONOMIC GROWTH IS SOUND. THE STATE OF EDUCATION CONTINUES TO IMPROVE. BUT WHAT ABOUT THE STATE OF THE FAMILY POCKETBOOK?

AS COMPTROLLER GENERAL EARLE MORRIS FIRST POINTED OUT, THERE ARE SERIOUS INEQUITIES IN THE TAX CODE.

THE STATE'S CONFORMITY WITH THE FEDERAL TAX REFORM ACT OF 1986 RAISED THE RATE OF TAXATION ON THE FIRST TWO THOUSAND DOLLARS OF INCOME BY 50 PERCENT, HITTING THE WORKING POOR DISPROPORTIONATELY.

AND OUR TOP TAXATION RATE STARTS AT TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS, AND HAS NOT BEEN ADJUSTED IN 30 YEARS. THIS EATS AWAY THE LITTLE DISCRETIONARY INCOME OF THE THOUSANDS OF FAMILIES IN THE LOWER TO MIDDLE INCOME BRACKETS.

AND WORST OF ALL WE DO NOT INDEX TO INFLATION TO GUARD AGAINST HIDDEN TAX INCREASES.

BUT THERE'S MORE. WHILE FEDERAL CAPITAL GAINS TAXES INCREASED BY 40 PERCENT AFTER TAX REFORM, SOUTH CAROLINA'S CAPITAL GAINS TAX INCREASED 250 PERCENT. IT'S HURTING THE SMALL BUSINESS PEOPLE SELLING THEIR BUSINESSES, THE FARMERS WHO MAY NEED TO SELL LAND AND MIDDLE AGE COUPLES MOVING TO SMALLER HOMES AFTER THEIR FAMILIES HAVE GROWN UP.

NOT ONLY THAT, WE'RE STYMIEING ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND GENERATING LESS TAX REVENUE BECAUSE OF IT.

AND THERE'S SOMETHING ELSE. THE DECISION WAS MADE TO TAX PREMIUMS ON AUTO INSURANCE, WITH MOST OF THE MONEY GOING TOWARD GENERAL OPERATIONS OF STATE EVEN AS INSURANCE RATES WERE SOARING.

IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT TO DO JUSTICE AND TO LOVE KINDNESS ARE REQUIRED OF ALL PEOPLE.

WHERE'S THE JUSTICE IN A TAX CODE THAT PLACES A DISPROPORTIONATE BURDEN ON THE MIDDLE AND LOWER INCOME WORKING PEOPLE?

WHERE'S THE KINDNESS IN A TAX CODE THAT USES HIDDEN TAXES AS CASH COWS FOR GOVERNMENT AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PEOPLE IT PURPORTS TO SERVE?

I CALL UPON YOU TO CORRECT THESE INJUSTICES WITH A 76 MILLION DOLLAR TAX CUT TO BE PHASED IN OVER FOUR YEARS BECAUSE IT IS THE RIGHT AND EQUITABLE THING TO DO.

I'VE OUTLINED MY PROPOSALS ON ACCOMPLISHING THIS SERIES OF TAX CUTS AND AM CONVINCED THEY ARE SOUND AND RESPONSIBLE, DESPITE THE OBJECTIONS OF SOME THAT THEY AMOUNT TO FUNNY MONEY.

ISN'T IT INTERESTING THAT WHEN THEY TALK ABOUT TAX CUTS IT'S FUNNY MONEY, BUT WHEN THEY TALK ABOUT SPENDING IT IT'S FUN MONEY?

LET'S BE CLEAR. I HAVE PROPOSED A TAX CUT REGARDLESS OF WHETHER WE HAVE A SURPLUS THIS YEAR BECAUSE IT IS THE RIGHT THING TO DO. BUT REVENUES SO FAR ARE GROWING AT ALMOST TWICE THE RATE NECESSARY TO MEET OUR EXPENDITURES.

IF WE DO HAVE A SURPLUS THIS YEAR, I URGE YOU TO ACCELERATE THOSE TAX CUTS BY ONE YEAR RATHER THAN SPENDING IT ALL. SURELY, IN TIMES OF PROSPERITY YOU WON'T DENY THE TAXPAYERS FAIRNESS.

IF WE CAN SPEND IT, THEN WE CAN GIVE IT BACK TO THE PEOPLE AND I DO NOT INTEND TO SIGN A BUDGET THAT CONTAINS COSTLY NEW SPENDING PROGRAMS UNLESS TAX RELIEF IS PART OF THE PACKAGE.

BUT TAX FAIRNESS IS ONLY PART OF THE BIG PICTURE. LET US RESOLVE TO COMPLETE WHAT WE STARTED LAST YEAR BY ENACTING SUBSTANTIVE REFORM TO LOWER AUTO INSURANCE RATES FOR GOOD DRIVERS.

TOGETHER WE PASSED A HIGHWAY SAFETY BILL THAT TOOK EFFECT LESS THAN THREE WEEKS AGO, AN ESSENTIAL MOVE TO MAKE THE HIGHWAYS SAFER AND CUT THE COST OF CLAIMS THAT MAKE RATES HIGHER.

TOGETHER WE PASSED A REGULATORY REFORM BILL THAT TOOK EFFECT LAST JULY OVER A YEAR AFTER IT WAS SIGNED INTO LAW. WITHOUT ACT 166, THE CHIEF INSURANCE COMMISSIONER SAID THE RECOUPMENT FEES WOULD HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY HIGHER FOR EVERY DRIVER.

SINCE ACT 166 BECAME LAW, STATE FARM HAS SENT OUT REBATES, FARM BUREAU FILED FOR A RATE REDUCTION AND ALLSTATE REDUCED AUTO INSURANCE RATES FOR CERTAIN POLICYHOLDERS, SPECIFICALLY CITING OUR ACTION AS THE REASON.

ACT 166 IS BEGINNING TO WORK. IT WILL WORK BETTER GIVEN MORE TIME, BUT I SAID IN THE BEGINNING AND I SAY AGAIN THAT IT IS JUST PART OF THE ANSWER.

NOW LET'S MOVE AHEAD WITH TRUE INSURANCE REFORM. THE CHOICES WE FACE ARE THESE:

MAKE THE CURRENT SYSTEM WORK, EVEN THOUGH WE HAVE SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND PEOPLE DRIVING UNINSURED ILLEGALLY WHILE PEOPLE ARE LULLED INTO BELIEVING THEY ARE PROTECTED BECAUSE WE HAVE COMPULSORY INSURANCE.

OR WE CAN ELIMINATE COMPULSORY INSURANCE AND LET THE MARKETPLACE WORK. THAT CHOICE IS IN YOUR HANDS AS LEGISLATORS AND MINE AS GOVERNOR.

I CHOOSE FIRST TO TRY TO MAKE THE SYSTEM WORK. HOWEVER, IF WE CANNOT GET THE JOB DONE THROUGH THE SYSTEM, I AM PREPARED TO ELIMINATE COMPULSORY INSURANCE SO THE PEOPLE CAN, BY CHOICE, PURCHASE THEIR OWN INSURANCE AND PROTECT THEMSELVES AT A MUCH LOWER RATE THAN THE PRESENT SYSTEM ALLOWS.

I HAVE BEEN MEETING WITH LEGISLATORS ON FORGING A CONCENSUS BILL, AND I WANT THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH CAROLINA TO KNOW THAT YOUR REPRESENTATIVES -- SENATE AND HOUSE -- ARE AS COMMITTED TO RATE REFORM AS I.

TIME DOES NOT PERMIT ME TO DISCUSS THE IDEAS WE'VE BEEN WORKING ON. ON YOUR DESKS ARE POSITION PAPERS OUTLINING THE ALTERNATIVES WE HAVE TO WORK WITH.

ONE THING, THOUGH, I ASK YOU NOT TO SEND ME A SEATBELT LAW WITH A MANDATED ROLLBACK AND CALL IT REFORM. THAT WOULD BE MISLEADING THE PEOPLE.

**THE
ALMANAC
OF
AMERICAN
POLITICS
1988**

**Michael Barone
Grant Ujifusa**

Published by

**National
Journal**

In 1980 it has elected Republican Claudine Schneider, nuclear plant and running a losing race against Edward in, in 1978; she came back and won in 1980. That is; her three reelection wins, by increasing margins, she m she voted against Reagan budget cuts and sponsored ships abroad. She was one of the leaders in the fight, ch River breeder reactor. She was less successful on the she and her civil rights group allies have been unable to Supreme Court's *Grove City* decision; the hangup has IX—non-discrimination in education—regulations and aste-end tax she has co-sponsored with Ron Wyden of e hazardous waste by taxing its disposal.

to tolerate Schneider's apostasy on some or even many ily kind of Republican that could be elected from the n on economic issues; it is on cultural issues that she is to run against Senator Claiborne Pell in 1984, when she try in 1990? In the meantime she remains a pivotal and

4% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 38% with using units rented; median monthly rent: \$159; median house 47,207; 3% Black, 2% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

..... 110,452 (53%)
 98,046 (47%)

ed 1980; b. Mar. 25, 1947, Clairton, PA; home, Narragansett; mont Col., U. of Barcelona, Spain, Windham Col., B.A. 1969; an Catholic; divorced.

er: Founder, RI Cmtee. on Energy, 1973; Exec. Dir., Con- tion Law Foundation, 1973-78; Producer, pub. affairs prog- ovidence TV, 1979-80.

es: 1512 LHOB 20515, 202-225-2735. Also 30 Rolfe Sq, ston 02910, 401-528-5020.

ommittees: *Merchant Marine and Fisheries* (6th of 17 R). ommittees: Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Em- ment; Oceanography; Oversight and Investigations (Ranking mber). *Science, Space and Technology* (4th of 17 R). Sub- mittees: Natural Resources, Agriculture Research and Em- ment (Ranking Member); Science, Research and Technol- ct Committee on Aging (10th of 26 R). Subcommittee: Health Long-Term Care.

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| CFA | LCV | ACU | NTU | NSI | COC | CEI |
| 75 | 86 | 5 | 42 | 10 | 47 | 38 |
| 100 | — | 26 | 56 | — | 44 | |

| | |
|---------|----------------------|
| 86 CONS | 1985 LIB — 1985 CONS |
| 48% | 42% — 58% |
| 0% | 78% — 22% |
| 0% | 71% — 26% |

Key Votes

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| 1) Lmt Cln Water Act | — | 5) Retain Gun Cont | FOR | 9) Aid Angola Reb | AGN |
| 2) Rpl Tobac Sub | FOR | 6) Contra Aid | AGN | 10) Tax Reform | FOR |
| 3) Grm-Rdmn Def Red | — | 7) Lmt Text Imp | FOR | 11) S Africa Sanc | — |
| 4) Ban Polygraph | FOR | 8) Limit SDI | FOR | 12) Immigr Reform | FOR |

Election Results

| | | | | |
|--------------|----------------------------------|---------|-------|-------------|
| 1986 general | Claudine Schneider (R) | 110,524 | (72%) | (\$325,052) |
| | Donald J. Ferry (D) | 43,149 | (28%) | (\$67,685) |
| 1986 primary | Claudine Schneider (R) unopposed | | | |
| 1984 general | Claudine Schneider (R) | 135,151 | (68%) | (\$236,111) |
| | Richard Sinapi (D) | 64,357 | (32%) | (\$44,184) |

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

| 1985-86 | | Direct Cont. 1985-86 | | PACS Breakdown 1985-86 | |
|----------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|----------|
| Receipts | \$365,759 | Indiv. | \$175,403 | Corp. | \$38,825 |
| Expend. | \$325,052 | Party | \$9,326 | Labor | \$62,295 |
| Unspent | \$123,222 | PACS | \$157,612 | Ideo. | \$20,287 |
| | | | | T/M/H | \$32,005 |
| | | | | Agr. | \$250 |
| | | | | CWOS | \$3,950 |

SOUTH CAROLINA

Settled by slave-driving sugar planters from Barbados, ruled by a handful of large landholders with hair-trigger tempers always jealous of their honor, South Carolina has been most of its history an oligarchy on the democratic North American continent. Its leading political theorist, John C. Calhoun, distilled his principles rigorously and came up with a philosophy more akin to steely capitalism than agrarian communalism; his followers, in their fierce opposition to any act that restricted or reflected negatively on slavery, were maneuvered into firing on Fort Sumter and starting the Civil War. After the war many were ruined and South Carolina's economy was in tatters. Yet the community leaders reasserted their control over the black majority and were firmly back in power by the 1870s.

Through most of South Carolina's history there is an eerie continuity, of control by a very small number of its richest citizens. This was the only state in which presidential electors were still chosen by the state legislature as late as 1860, and as late as 1948 only 142,000 South Carolinians voted for President in a state of more than two million people. This was a state and a colony of a very few rich people and of a much larger mass—at some points in history, mostly black—without very much to show for their labors at all. Behind the fierceness of the oligarchy was of course fear. The planters of Barbados and early South Carolina were outnumbered 100 to 1 by their slaves, and through the antebellum period a frisson of fear ran up South Carolinians' spines when they recalled the Denmark Vesey slave rebellion of 1822. A century later white supremacists felt queasy when they remembered the time during the 1870s when South Carolina's blacks controlled the state legislature and the congressional delegation. The blacks did nothing more to oppress the whites than insist on being treated equally. But slavery and then segregation, based on force, would always raise the specter that force would be used in return, for liberation or just revenge.

After 280 years of oligarchy, South Carolina has had 40 years of democracy, as the franchise was extended, first to poor whites starting in the late 1940s, then to blacks after the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Interestingly, this coincides with a period of rapid economic growth. As late as World War II South Carolina's income, education, and health statistics were among the worst in the nation, more typical of a banana republic—or of its original West Indian model—than of

most American states. Today South Carolina's income levels, discounted for a somewhat lower cost of living, are close to national levels; health standards are similar to the rest of the nation; education levels, though low, are now not far from the national average.

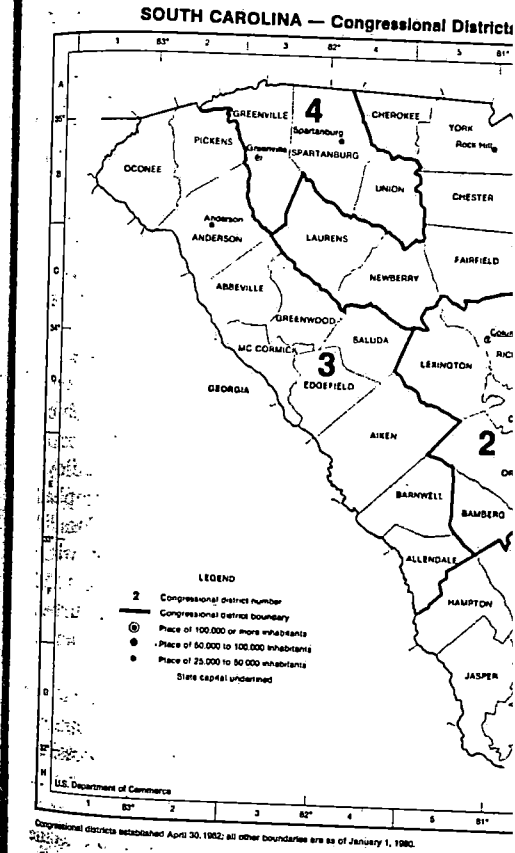
The South Carolina that emerged from World War II is today scarcely recognizable. That was a state where hundreds of thousands lived off subsistence agriculture and many up through the 1960s—when Ernest Hollings discovered them and made a federal case of it—were malnourished or even starved. For some years South Carolina saw as its economic salvations the naval bases that clustered around Charleston (helped along by Mendel Rivers, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee) and the textile mills that dotted the hilly upcountry landscape around Greenville and Spartanburg. More important, South Carolina by the 1970s had become perhaps the most aggressive state in the South in attracting new industry. It has gone over to Europe and enticed French and German firms to set up major operations in the Piedmont and the Lowlands. It advertised its business climate (translation: one of the lowest rates of unionization), its taxes (very low), and its willingness to meet local employers' needs (very high). Gradually, it saw its standard of living moved up toward the national average, even as that average was itself rising rapidly. And it has used some of that increase in affluence to upgrade the quality of its local work force, through public expenditures on schools as well as highways, teachers as well as policemen.

This dramatic change occurred gradually as another, more dramatic change occurred suddenly: the end of racial segregation. The massive outmigration of blacks from the lowlands in the years after World War II stopped around the time civil rights were established and the state's economy took off. South Carolina long since has had a white majority: 30% of its residents were black in 1980; and it has long since stopped practicing white supremacy: 28% of its registered voters were black in 1986. Now, since these blacks are younger than whites and tend to have more children, the long-term prospect is for the black percentage to increase.

The old South Carolina was solidly Democratic for years: 88% for Franklin Roosevelt in 1944. But it was also the leading Dixiecrat state: Strom Thurmond, then South Carolina's governor, was the Dixiecrat ticket-bearer against Truman in 1948, and he carried his own state easily. The civil rights revolution; the expansion of the electorate to include first lower income whites and after the Voting Rights Act of 1965, blacks; the increased prosperity of the state—all these changed the tone and substance of South Carolina politics. For a time it seemed the state might be going Republican: its newly prosperous and anti-civil rights whites went heavily Republican in state as well as national races in the 1960s, and Strom Thurmond became a Republican in 1964. But that Republican surge peaked as long ago as 1966. Discontented whites went for George Wallace in 1968, and blacks provided a large vote base for national and state Democrats.

By the early 1970s South Carolina had the politics it has today, with an electorate split almost precisely equally between three groups. One are the blacks, who remain heavily Democratic. The second are the country-club whites, who are solidly Republican in national and most state contests. The third are what used to be called textile-mill whites. They are the swing vote in South Carolina, the bloc that determines the outcome of just about every election. They are people at one and the same time exhilarated and terrified by the changes they have seen around them, and in their own lives, in South Carolina in the last generation. They live in affluence beyond their dreams, and if their pleasant subdivisions and small houses amid strip-development highways look quite ordinary to visiting intellectuals and journalists, they represent an undreamed-of comfort for many South Carolinians who grew up without indoor plumbing or electricity or, often enough that they can remember it, enough to eat. They are leery of policies—and institutions, like labor unions—that seem to threaten the economic order which has proved so bountiful. At the same time, there is an underlying appreciation among textile-mill whites, as there is not among country-club whites, that government has made some contribution to this bounty and to their affluence. Social Security is seen not just as a drain on one's paycheck or an added cost of household help, but as a vital supplement to income for old age.

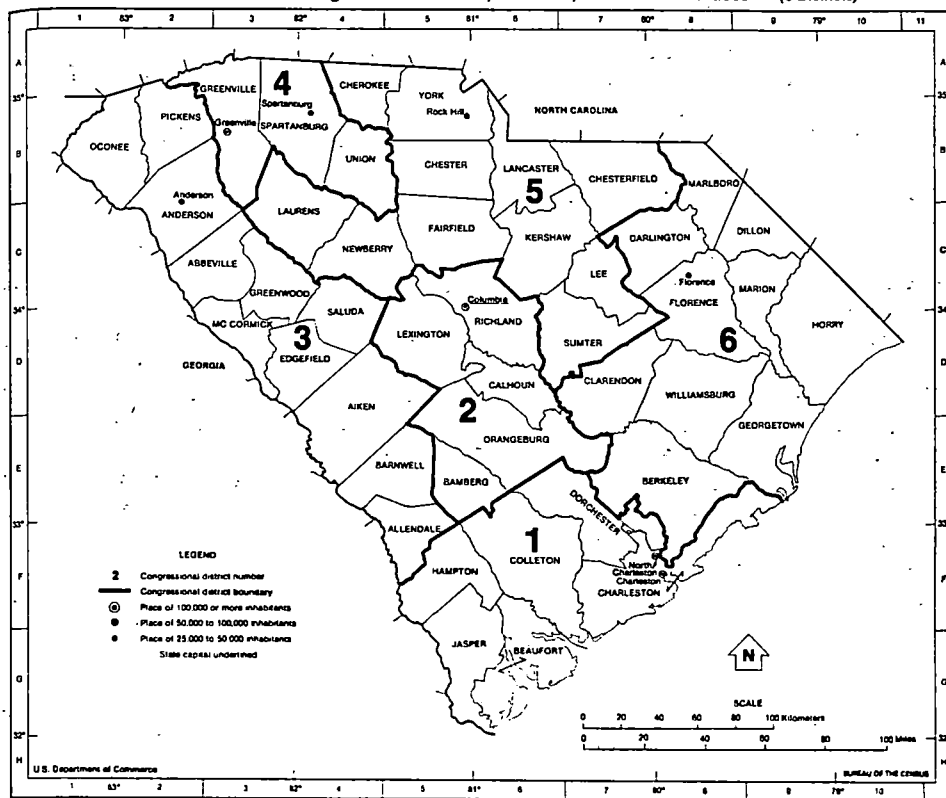
But like most people who move upward, they also have a nostalgia for—and tend to



sentimentalize—what they left behind. There is litigation, though there are nasty incidents occasionally in Charleston in 1986. Many others surely have an they now seem—are no longer in force. More difficult inhabit, so different from the underdeveloped courts and abortion, of places where traditional moral values be mocked. South Carolina, hotblooded enough to most bellicose of states, the least inclined to support mill whites' political legacy is Democratic, and economic security and the attractiveness of candidates from the Republicans they had flirted with after Democrats. When Carter appeared at the Firecracker be speaking their language. But once in Washington public policy entrepreneurs and malaise merchants to the Republicans. That movement has continued into better jobs and more pleasant subdivisions. The Ernest Hollings and Governor Richard Riley. But Ronald Reagan, Strom Thurmond, and the Republican Carroll Campbell.

Governor. South Carolina elected a Democratic

SOUTH CAROLINA — Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Places — (6 Districts)



Congressional districts established April 30, 1982; all other boundaries are as of January 1, 1980.

sentimentalize—what they left behind. There is little yearning left to return to racial segregation, though there are nasty incidents occasionally like the hazing of black cadet at The Citadel in Charleston in 1986. Many others surely have an uneasy sense that old rules—however unjust they now seem—are no longer in force. More disturbingly, the affluent South Carolina they inhabit, so different from the underdeveloped country they grew up in, also is a land of divorce and abortion, of places where traditional moral values are flouted and even patriotism seems to be mocked. South Carolina, hotblooded enough to have started our only civil war, is perhaps the most bellicose of states, the least inclined to support a conciliatory foreign policy. The textile-mill whites' political legacy is Democratic, and for a time in the 1970s their concern for economic security and the attractiveness of candidates like Jimmy Carter moved them away from the Republicans they had flirted with after the civil rights revolution and toward the Democrats. When Carter appeared at the Firecracker 400 stock car race in 1976, he seemed to be speaking their language. But once in Washington, he seemed to be talking the language of public policy entrepreneurs and malaise merchants, and textile-mill whites began moving back to the Republicans. That movement has continued in the 1980s, as the textile-mill whites move into better jobs and more pleasant subdivisions. They will still vote for Democrats like Senator Ernest Hollings and Governor Richard Riley. But they will also vote for Republicans like Ronald Reagan, Strom Thurmond, and the Republican governor they helped to elect in 1986, Carroll Campbell.

Governor. South Carolina elected a Democratic governor, Richard Riley, in 1978 and 1982,

income levels, discounted for a somewhat lower standards are similar to the rest of the nation; in the national average.

After World War II is today scarcely recognizable. That of subsistence agriculture and many up through them and made a federal case of it—were South Carolina saw as its economic salvations the helped along by Mendel Rivers, chairman of the textile mills that dotted the hilly upcountry. More important, South Carolina by the 1970s in the South in attracting new industry. It has German firms to set up major operations in the business climate (translation: one of the lowest its willingness to meet local employers' needs it moved up toward the national average, even has used some of that increase in affluence to enough public expenditures on schools as well as

As another, more dramatic change occurred, the massive outmigration of blacks from the lowlands in the time civil rights were established and the since has had a white majority: 30% of its the stopped practicing white supremacy: 28% of once these blacks are younger than whites and the fact is for the black percentage to increase.

For years: 88% for Franklin Roosevelt in 1944. Strom Thurmond, then South Carolina's governor, in 1948, and he carried his own state easily. The state to include first lower income whites and, the increased prosperity of the state—all these a politics. For a time it seemed the state might anti-civil rights whites went heavily Republican and Strom Thurmond became a Republican in an age as 1966. Discontented whites went for large vote base for national and state Democrats. Politics it has today, with an electorate split almost evenly: the blacks, who remain heavily Democratic. Solidly Republican in national and most state textile-mill whites. They are the swing vote in the outcome of just about every election. They are terrified by the changes they have seen around in the last generation. They live in affluence in mansions and small houses amid strip-development intellectuals and journalists, they represent an urban class who grew up without indoor plumbing or a car, enough to eat. They are leery of it seem to threaten the economic order which underlies an underlying appreciation among textile-mill whites, that government has made some contribution to their life. It is seen not just as a drain on one's paycheck but as a supplement to income for old age. They also have a nostalgia for—and tend to

who has been hailed as the nation's best and who retired with great popularity. Yet it replaced him with a Republican. Why? It becomes easier to understand if you remember the legacy of oligarchy and realize that voters here resent the way that tiny gaggles of men have controlled the state's politics. Edgar Brown, elected to the legislature in 1920, chaired the Senate Finance Committee from 1942 to 1972, when he retired at 84; Sol Blatt, elected in 1932, was Speaker of the House for all but four years from 1937 to 1972 and served in the House until he died in 1986. Riley campaigned in 1978 to "declare war on the Good Old Boy system," and bucked it in the legislature, failing on tax reform in 1983 but putting through in 1984 a thoroughgoing education reform, complete with higher taxes to pay for it. It included merit pay and pay raises for teachers, a building program, remedial education, cash bonuses to schools that improve; it was passed after Riley convinced businessmen and voters that the state needed a better educated work force if it is to enjoy further economic growth.

In 1986 Republican Representative Carroll Campbell, like Riley before him, promised to throw out the "good ol' boy system" of the entrenched politicians. The theme had some credibility because the Democratic nominee, Lieutenant Governor Mike Daniel, was a Columbia veteran who had beaten outsider Phil Lader in the primary (Lader, for the sake of party unity, declined a runoff which he was entitled to) and was quick to get defensive about Riley's record and Campbell's charges that the state was not doing well. During the campaign Campbell called for cutting insurance rates, reorganizing state government, and lowering taxes. He did well against the folksy Daniel in debates. In September he volunteered to take a urine test, while Daniel emotionally refused to do so; in the last week he charged that prominent Democrats had gotten "sweetheart contracts" from the state, and won 51%-49%. His margins came in urban and suburban areas, especially in his home base of Greenville, and he may have been helped by increased turnout upcountry; most rural counties went for Daniel.

Once in office, Campbell took the high road, stressing the same education and economic development themes Riley did. Campbell has the blow-dried look of so many young Republicans, but is an experienced and aggressive politician who has been mentioned as a possible Senator or maybe more. He ran unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor in 1974, served as an aide to Governor James Edwards, who did a better job than almost anyone expected, won his House seat in 1978, and won seats first on Appropriations and then on Ways and Means. Some Democrats claim that in the 1978 race Campbell encouraged a minor candidate to attack the Democrat Max Heller on the ground that, as a Jew, he did not believe in Jesus, and noted that a Campbell poll asked two questions about religion; Campbell denied that he had anything to do with the third candidate and said the questions were asking voters which descriptions would best describe each candidate ("a Christian man," "Jewish," among others) and which qualities would make them more or less likely to vote for a candidate ("a Jewish immigrant," "a native South Carolinian," among others). In 1986 he not only showed talent but enjoyed good fortune: his House colleague Tom Hartnett bowed out of the race for governor and ran for lieutenant governor as part of a team with Campbell. But they were on separate lines and Hartnett lost 50%-49% to Democrat Nick Theodore. Campbell owes him one.

Unlike Edwards and so many other Republicans who by good fortune stumble into governorships, Campbell had to work hard to win his and seems to be building an effective Republican party. South Carolina had four special elections in early 1987 to fill vacancies in the state legislature; Republicans won four of four, including the seat formerly held by Democratic Representative Liz Patterson and one in rural and heavily black Edgefield County. "We're cutting them off at the grass roots," one Republican exulted, perhaps prematurely; but Republicans here are doing a better job than in most southern states of generating candidates able to win local elections in all kinds of constituencies.

Senators. For a long time South Carolina's Senate seats have in effect been the political reward of the most politically formidable of its governors: Burnet Maybank (first elected governor in 1938 and Senator in 1940), Olin Johnston (1934, 1944), Thurmond (1946, 1954), and Hollings (1958, 1966). The current Senators are formidable men who rose from humble

beginnings, made their careers in the courtroom United States. They have proved to be two of Senate today—or maybe ever. Strom Thurmond was first elected to the legislature at 29, in 1946. Hollings won his first election at 26, in 1948.

Thurmond has combined a reputation for firmness and adroitness that has enabled this onetime symbol of the segregation era of integration. Thurmond was elected governor in 1954 on a platform of States' Rights—i.e., anti-civil rights—Democrats. He was elected to the Senate, stunningly, as a write-in in 1964. He would resign and seek election in the 1968 campaign he switched to the Republican ticket; in 1968 he was the key power broker at the South for Richard Nixon.

This was his peak of national influence, but it was also the time when blacks were getting the vote, and for a moment he reacted to the enfranchisement of South Carolina he had for others: he hired black staffers in the executive branch, he helped black federal judges, helped black local officials, and he ended up voting for renewal of the Voting Rights Act. He probably gets few black votes, but he has soft spots in large numbers to vote against him or form a solid base.

Thurmond as the senior Republican Senator was a ceremonial post he enjoyed, and which put him in a position to influence the Presidency. He also served as chairman of the Joint Committee on the Judiciary in the 1970s to use his seniority to outrank the liberal Chief Justice. He is courteous, cooperative, conciliatory, but ready to stand up for his principles. He has a pleasant working relationship with Joseph R. Biden, excellent health, though his hearing isn't good, and he is an alert and ready if the matter is something he might overlook some. Thurmond is a retired Army general, an unabashed supporter of an aggressive and assertive foreign policy, and a strong supporter of becoming ranking Republican on the Armed Services Committee, Virginia's John Warner as he had Mathias. He is a member of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committees. He is not aggressively pursuing conservative causes. Instead, he is stopping cop-killer bullets, reforming the antitrust laws, and lobbying for foreign countries. He did push the deal on the South Carolina from getting more nuclear waste. He did not stop all Reagan judicial nominations. But one gets the impression that Thurmond got tired of being a controversial figure and wanted acceptance and to make himself a consensus national figure. He could do it, but he has.

Thurmond's seat came up in 1984, and he was reelected. He has a bedrock of support in South Carolina that is well over 50%. He has a strong challenge by Democrat Charles R. Campbell. Carroll Campbell might appoint Nancy Thurmond, who was in his late 60s and she in her early 20s; she announced her candidacy in the Thurmond campaign. But Thurmond shows no sign of running for the Federal Election Commission as a candidate for

who retired with great popularity. Yet it replaced her to understand if you remember the legacy of the way that tiny gaggles of men have controlled the legislature in 1920, chaired the Senate Finance at 84; Sol Blatt, elected in 1932, was Speaker of 72 and served in the House until he died in 1986. "The Good Old Boy system," and bucked it in the fighting through in 1984 a thoroughgoing education reform. It included merit pay and pay raises for teachers, cash bonuses to schools that improve; it was a message to voters that the state needed a better educated growth.

Campbell, like Riley before him, promised to outmaneuver entrenched politicians. The theme had some lieutenant Governor Mike Daniel, was a Columbian in the primary (Lader, for the sake of party loyalty) and was quick to get defensive about Riley's record not doing well. During the campaign Campbell attacked state government, and lowering taxes. He did not volunteer to take a urine test, while last week he charged that prominent Democrats had lost and won 51%-49%. His margins came in urban areas of Greenville, and he may have been helped by voters who went for Daniel.

He stressed the same education and economic development the blow-dried look of so many young Republican politicians who has been mentioned as a possible lieutenant governor in 1974, served as an aide to the job than almost anyone expected, won his House races on Ways and Means. Some well encouraged a minor candidate to attack the incumbent, he did not believe in Jesus, and noted that a woman; Campbell denied that he had anything to do with voters were asking which descriptions would be "Jewish," among others) and which qualities of a candidate ("a Jewish immigrant," "a native of only showed talent but enjoyed good fortune: of the race for governor and ran for lieutenant they were on separate lines and Hartnett lost well owes him one.

Persons who by good fortune stumble into governorship seems to be building an effective Republican administration in early 1987 to fill vacancies in the state including the seat formerly held by Democratic and heavily black Edgefield County. "We're a Republican exulted, perhaps prematurely; but most southern states of generating candidates vacancies.

Senate seats have in effect been the political prize for its governors: Burnet Maybank (first elected in Charleston (1934, 1944), Thurmond (1946, 1954), and others are formidable men who rose from humble

beginnings, made their careers in the courtrooms, and ran unsuccessfully for President of the United States. They have proved to be two of the most durable and forceful members of the Senate today—or maybe ever. Strom Thurmond's career goes back more than 50 years now: he was first elected to the legislature at 29, in 1932, and was reelected senator at 81 in 1984. Hollings won his first election at 26, in 1948.

Thurmond has combined a reputation for firmness and steadfastness with a flexibility and adroitness that has enabled this onetime symbol of racial segregation to prosper politically in an era of integration. Thurmond was elected governor in 1946 and won 39 electoral votes as the States' Rights—*i.e.*, anti-civil rights—Democratic candidate for President in 1948. In 1954 he was elected to the Senate, stunningly, as a write-in candidate; he promised the voters that if he won he would resign and seek election in the ordinary manner, and in 1956 he did. During the 1964 campaign he switched to the Republican Party and supported Barry Goldwater for President; in 1968 he was the key power broker at the Republican National Convention, when he held the South for Richard Nixon.

This was his peak of national influence, but it was also a moment of peril: South Carolina's blacks were getting the vote, and for a moment Thurmond seemed to be in trouble. But he reacted to the enfranchisement of South Carolina's blacks by working as doggedly for them as he had for others: he hired black staffers in the early 1970s, pushed through the appointment of black federal judges, helped black local officials and citizens' groups with federal projects. He has ended up voting for renewal of the Voting Rights Act and the Martin Luther King holiday. He probably gets few black votes, but he has softened black voters' hostility; they don't turn out in large numbers to vote against him or form a strong political base for a possible opponent.

Thurmond as the senior Republican Senator was president pro tempore of the Senate for six years, a ceremonial post he enjoyed, and which put him in the theoretical line of succession to the Presidency. He also served as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, having taken care in the 1970s to use his seniority to outrank the liberal Charles Mathias. As chairman Thurmond was courteous, cooperative, conciliatory, but ready to move fast when he had the votes. He seems to have a pleasant working relationship with Joseph Biden. In his middle 80s, he remains in excellent health, though his hearing isn't good, and if he doesn't seem attentive to detail to some observers, those who think he might overlook some legislative detail or particle of procedure may find him alert and ready if the matter is something he cares about.

Thurmond is a retired Army general, an unabashed enthusiast for things military, and a supporter of an aggressive and assertive foreign policy. But in 1987 he did not exercise his option of becoming ranking Republican on the Armed Services Committee, declining to elbow aside Virginia's John Warner as he had Mathias. He is also a member of Veterans' Affairs and, as of 1985, Labor and Human Resources Committees. Thurmond has surprised some observers by not aggressively pursuing conservative causes. Instead he has worked on consensus measures like stopping cop-killer bullets, reforming the antitrust laws, outlawing designer drugs, and keeping South Carolina from getting more nuclear waste. He wants to bar former federal officials from lobbying for foreign countries. He did push the death penalty when he could and stoutly backed all Reagan judicial nominations. But one gets the impression that some time around 1970 Thurmond got tired of being a controversial figure widely hated, and decided to seek maximum acceptance and to make himself a consensus national leader instead. Not many then would have guessed he could do it, but he has.

Thurmond's seat came up in 1984, and he was reelected with scarcely any fuss. He has a solid bedrock of support in South Carolina that is well over 50%; he showed that in 1978 when he beat back a strong challenge by Democrat Charles Ravenel. There's been speculation about a possible Thurmond successor for nearly 20 years now. Should the seat become vacant, Governor Carroll Campbell might appoint Nancy Thurmond, whom the Senator married in 1968 when he was in his late 60s and she in her early 20s; she and their four children are a feature of every Thurmond campaign. But Thurmond shows no sign of retiring: in March 1985 he registered with the Federal Election Commission as a candidate for reelection in 1990. The span of his career is

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awesome; Thurmond knew Pitchfork Ben Tillman, the South Carolina governor and Senator who was born in 1847, and his children have a good chance of living into the 2050s.

South Carolina's other Senator, Ernest Hollings, ran for President in 1984 and made less impact than he wished—and less than his talents and program might seem to have warranted. Then in 1985 on the same issue he had emphasized in his campaign for the Presidency with such dismal results he made a great impact indeed. The issue was the federal deficit, and while he won few votes with the budget freeze he proposed on the stump and on the Senate Budget Committee, he was successful in proposing the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit-cutting bill. Hollings has been tussling with budgets for a long time, as chairman of the Senate Budget Committee in 1980 after Edmund Muskie resigned to become Secretary of State, and as ranking Democrat on the committee in 1981 and 1982, when the groundwork for the deficits was laid by the Reagan budget and tax cuts.

Now, however, Hollings is devoting much attention to his duties as chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee. He was careful to relinquish the ranking seat on Budget and take it on Commerce in 1983; for Commerce, which has jurisdiction over most federal regulation, is much the better place from which to raise funds for campaigns, presidential or otherwise. As chairman, Hollings is well-informed and aggressive. He is dubious about some deregulation of communications, and backs the fairness doctrine in broadcasting. As a young lawyer he made his living as a plaintiffs' lawyer in negligence cases (he looks like a Charleston aristocrat, but has a modest background) and is not likely to back federal law limiting tort claims. He is skeptical about airline deregulation. For the first time in the 1980s Commerce seems to have a regulator as chairman.

Why did Hollings fall flat as a presidential candidate? One reason is the times: appeals for shared sacrifice fall flat in a peaceful, prosperous America. Another reason is the constituency. The Democrats' selection process is geared to mostly liberal party activists, and Hollings failed some of their litmus tests. He may have been the Senate's leading opponent of the MX missile in 1983, for example, but they recognized, accurately, that on most military and foreign issues he is an unreconstructed hawk. He may have been the Senate's most effective fighter against hunger in the 1960s and 1970s, when he was spurred to action by discovering how poorly many people were eating in South Carolina, but he expressed a not-at-all-veiled scorn for schemes of income redistribution and job guarantee programs.

But Hollings, like many politicians, was the victim of his successes. Successful in getting himself elected governor at age 36 in 1958, steering this bellicose state calmly toward complying with court desegregation orders, Hollings had faced his most difficult tests years before in an utterly different political world. This man who beat an incumbent Senator in 1966 and then established himself as a Senate insider betrayed on the campaign trail what he has shown in the committee room: a tendency to speak too quickly and too cruelly, a tendency to pounce on the weaknesses of others in a way that ends up hurting him. He won only 11% of the votes of the relatively few Maine Democrats eligible to vote after criss crossing their state; his weak showing days later in New Hampshire was anticlimactic.

Not that any of this hurt much when Hollings came up for reelection in 1986. There was a primary between two serious Republicans, but both had liabilities; the nominee, U.S. Attorney Henry McMaster, was stiff and lifeless; he emphasized drugs. Hollings worked hard in Washington and campaigned hard in South Carolina and won 63%–36%.

Presidential politics. South Carolina, more than most southern states, has been tilting Republican in presidential contests—more than can just be explained by the Reaganward movement of textile-mill whites. One explanation is changing demography: the growth of Hilton Head-like developments up and down the coast and even inland has brought Republican voters here from the suburbs of the Midwest and South. There is also evidence, in sharply rising turnout in Greenville and surrounding upcountry counties in 1984 and 1986, of a successful effort to register and turn out evangelical and fundamentalist Christians in the homeland of Bob Jones University. In contrast, there is little evidence of an increase in black turnout, despite the

much publicized efforts of South Carolina registering to vote in Greenville in 1984 and

South Carolina, with its oligarchic tradition of presidential primaries. Oddly enough, the Register is notable, if only as the endpoint of John Connally's strong support of Senator Strom Thurmond. The cause was lost, and even though it was a manly cast), Connally still got only 30% of the votes in 1988 could be very important: the party in southern states vote in primaries. Evangelical county conventions (there's no party registration and were expected to have a near-majority of South Carolina native Lee Atwater surely hoped and may have the inside track here.

Congressional districting. South Carolina's in redistricting; the Democratic legislature got the 4th and the 6th, have changed partisan hands in close races.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 3,378,000; Pop. 1980: 1.40% of U.S. total, 24th largest. 13% with 1–3 children. Single ancestry: 19% English, 5% Irish, 4% Scotch-Irish, 78% family, 46% with children, 63% married couple; median house value: \$35,100. Voting age population: 1,305,330; no party registration.

1986 Share of Federal Tax Burden: \$7,842,000,000

1986 Share of Federal Expenditures

| | Total | |
|-----------------|----------|---------|
| Total Expend | \$9,944m | (1.20%) |
| St/Lcl Grants | 1,322m | (1.17%) |
| Salary/Wages | 2,170m | (1.80%) |
| Pymnts to Indiv | 4,552m | (1.25%) |
| Procurement | 1,784m | (0.87%) |
| Research/Other | 117m | (0.44%) |

Political Lineup: Governor, Carroll A. Campbell; State, John T. Campbell (D); Atty. Gen., Travis McCombs; Comptroller General, Earle E. Morris, Jr. (D). Representatives, 124 (91 D and 33 R). Senators, Strom Thurmond, Tim Wirth (D).

1984 Presidential Vote

| | | |
|-------------|---------|-------|
| Reagan (R) | 615,539 | (64%) |
| Mondale (D) | 344,459 | (36%) |

, the South Carolina governor and Senator
 d chance of living into the 2050s.
 s, ran for President in 1984 and made less
 nd program might seem to have warranted.
 in his campaign for the Presidency with such
 e issue was the federal deficit, and while he
 d on the stump and on the Senate Budget
 ramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit-cutting bill.
 g time, as chairman of the Senate Budget
 to become Secretary of State, and as ranking
 n the groundwork for the deficits was laid by

tion to his duties as chairman of the Senate
 sh the ranking seat on Budget and take it on
 diction over most federal regulation, is much
 campaigns, presidential or otherwise. As
 e. He is dubious about some deregulation of
 in broadcasting. As a young lawyer he made
 (he looks like a Charleston aristocrat, but has
 leral law limiting tort claims. He is skeptical
 ; 1980s Commerce seems to have a regulator

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 ng him. He won only 11% of the votes of the
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 nd even inland has brought Republican voters
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 y counties in 1984 and 1986, of a successful
 damentalist Christians in the homeland of Bob
 ice of an increase in black turnout, despite the

much publicized efforts of South Carolina native son Jesse Jackson, who took the trouble of
 registering to vote in Greenville in 1984 and then has played no role in the state's public life.

South Carolina, with its oligarchic traditions, has not been particularly hospitable to
 presidential primaries. Oddly enough, the Republicans had one in 1980, and it turned out to be
 notable, if only as the endpoint of John Connally's electoral career. Even though Connally had
 the strong support of Senator Strom Thurmond, faithful even when it was apparent that the
 cause was lost, and even though it was a manageable country-club electorate (only 145,000 votes
 cast), Connally still got only 30% of the votes to Ronald Reagan's 55%. The Republican contest
 in 1988 could be very important: the party is caucusing the weekend before most of the other
 southern states vote in primaries. Evangelicals turned out in force for the 1987 Republican
 county conventions (there's no party registration to prevent former Democrats from doing so)
 and were expected to have a near-majority of the state convention; it's not clear whether this can
 be duplicated and whether such votes would go to Pat Robertson. George Bush strategist and
 South Carolina native Lee Atwater surely hopes that South Carolina will give his man a boost,
 and may have the inside track here.

Congressional districting. South Carolina's congressional districts were changed only slightly
 in redistricting; the Democratic legislature gave only minor help to Democrats. Two districts,
 the 4th and the 6th, have changed partisan hands in the 1980s, and the 1st and the 2d have seen
 close races.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 3,378,000; Pop. 1980: 3,121,820, up 8.2% 1980-86 and 20.5% 1970-80;
 1.40% of U.S. total, 24th largest. 13% with 1-3 yrs. col., 14% with 4+ yrs. col.; 16.6% below poverty
 level. Single ancestry: 19% English, 5% Irish, 4% German, 1% French, Scottish. Households (1980):
 78% family, 46% with children, 63% married couples; 29.8% housing units rented; median monthly rent:
 \$133; median house value: \$35,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 2,179,854; 27% Black, 1% Spanish origin.
 Registered voters (1986): 1,305,330; no party registration.

1986 Share of Federal Tax Burden: \$7,842,000,000; 1.04% of U.S. total, 30th largest.

1986 Share of Federal Expenditures

| | Total | | Non-Defense | | Defense | |
|-----------------|----------|---------|-------------|---------|----------|---------|
| Total Expend | \$9,944m | (1.20%) | \$7,208m | (1.20%) | \$2,736m | (1.19%) |
| St/Lcl Grants | 1,322m | (1.17%) | 1,319m | (1.17%) | 3m | (2.70%) |
| Salary/Wages | 2,170m | (1.80%) | 400m | (0.68%) | 1,770m | (2.86%) |
| Pymnts to Indiv | 4,552m | (1.25%) | 4,108m | (1.18%) | 443m | (2.49%) |
| Procurement | 1,784m | (0.87%) | 1,263m | (2.27%) | 521m | (0.35%) |
| Research/Other | 117m | (0.44%) | 116m | (0.44%) | 0m | (0.38%) |

Political Lineup: Governor, Carroll A. Campbell, Jr. (R); Lt. Gov., Nick A. Theodore (D); Secy. of
 State, John T. Campbell (D); Atty. Gen., Travis Medlock (D); Treasurer, Grady L. Patterson, Jr. (D);
 Comptroller General, Earle E. Morris, Jr. (D). State Senate, 46 (35 D and 9 R); State House of
 Representatives, 124 (91 D and 33 R). Senators, Strom Thurmond (R) and Ernest F. Hollings (D).
 Representatives, 6 (4 D and 2 R).

1984 Presidential Vote

| | | |
|-------------|---------|-------|
| Reagan (R) | 615,539 | (64%) |
| Mondale (D) | 344,459 | (36%) |

1980 Presidential Vote

| | | |
|--------------|---------|-------|
| Reagan (R) | 441,841 | (49%) |
| Carter (D) | 430,385 | (48%) |
| Anderson (I) | 14,071 | (2%) |

GOVERNOR

Gov. Carroll A. Campbell, Jr. (R)



Elected 1986, term expires Jan. 1991; b. July 24, 1940, Greenville; home, Greenville; U. of SC, American U., M.A. 1985; Episcopalian; married (Iris).

Career: Real estate and farming; SC House of Reps., 1970-74; Exec. Asst. to Gov. James B. Edwards, 1975-76; SC Senate, 1976-78; U.S. House of Reps., 1978-86.

Office: P.O. Box 11369, The State House, Columbia 29211, 803-734-9818.

Election Results

| | | | |
|------------|--|---------|-------|
| 1986 gen. | Carroll A. Campbell, Jr. (R) . . . | 384,565 | (51%) |
| | Mike Daniel (D) | 361,325 | (49%) |
| 1986 prim. | Carroll A. Campbell, Jr. (R) unopposed | | |
| 1982 gen. | Richard W. Riley (D) | 468,819 | (70%) |
| | William D. Workman, Jr. | 202,806 | (30%) |

SENATORS

Sen. Strom Thurmond (R)



Elected 1956, seat up 1990; b. Dec. 5, 1902, Edgefield; home, Aiken; Clemson Col., B.S. 1923; Baptist; married (Nancy).

Career: Teacher and coach, 1923-29; Edgefield Cnty. Supt. of Educ., 1929-33; Practicing atty., 1930-38, 1951-55; SC Senate, 1933-38; Circuit Judge, 1938-42; Army, WWII; Gov. of SC, 1947-51; States Rights candidate for Pres. of U.S., 1948; U.S. Senate, 1954-56.

Offices: 218 RSOB 20510, 202-224-5972. Also 1835 Assembly St., Ste. 1558, Columbia 29201, 803-765-5496; 334 Meeting St., Rm. 600, Charleston 29493, 803-724-4282; 211 York St., N.E., Ste. 29, Aiken 29801, 803-649-2591; and 401 W. Evans St., Florence 29501, 803-662-8873.

Committees: *Armed Services* (2d of 9 R). Subcommittees: Conventional Forces and Alliance Defense; Readiness, Sustainability and Support; Strategic Forces and Nuclear Defense (Ranking Member). *Judiciary* (Ranking Member of 6 R). Subcommittees: Antitrust, Monopolies and Business Rights (Ranking Member); Courts and Administrative Practice. *Labor and Human Resources* (4th of 7 R). Subcommittees: Aging; Children, Family, Drugs, and Alcohol (Ranking Member); Education, Arts, and Humanities. *Veterans' Affairs* (3d of 5 R).

Group Ratings

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| | ADA | ACLU | COPE | CFA | LCV | ACU | NTU | NSI | COC | CEI |
| 1986 | 5 | 0 | 10 | 27 | 8 | 91 | 46 | 100 | 78 | 71 |
| 1985 | 0 | — | 11 | 0 | — | 91 | 61 | — | 97 | — |

National Journal Ratings

| | | |
|----------|-----------------------------|-------|
| | 1986 LIB — 1986 CONS | |
| Economic | 0% | — 84% |
| Social | 13% | — 85% |
| Foreign | 0% | — 86% |

Key Votes

| | | |
|------------------|-----|----------------|
| 1) Ease Gun Cont | FOR | 5) Grm-Rdmn D |
| 2) Immig Reform | FOR | 6) Contra Aid |
| 3) Lmt Text Imp | FOR | 7) SDI Funding |
| 4) Aid Tobac Ind | FOR | 8) Lmt PAC Cor |

Election Results

| | |
|--------------|------------------------------------|
| 1984 general | Strom Thurmond (R) |
| | Melvin Purvis (D) |
| 1984 primary | Strom Thurmond (R) |
| | Robert H. Cunningham (R) |
| 1978 general | Strom Thurmond (R) |
| | Charles D. Ravenel (D) |

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

| | | |
|----------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| | 1979-84 | Direct Cont. 1983-84 |
| Receipts | \$2,038,457 | Indiv. \$1,346,556 |
| Expend. | \$1,682,962 | Party \$15,457 |
| Unspent | \$364,686 | PACS \$596,785 |

Sen. Ernest F. (Fritz) Hollings (D)



Elected 1966, seat up 1991; b. Dec. 1, 1913, Charleston; The College of William and Mary, B.S. 1935; Ph.D. 1938; married (Therese);

Career: Army, 1949-54, Spoke for Gov. of SC, 1959-66.

Offices: 125 RSOB, Columbia 29201, 803-662-8135.

Committees: *Armed Services* (Ranking Member); *Commerce, Justice and Human Services* (Ranking Member); *Energy and*

Science, and Transportation (Chairman of 11 D). *Commerce and Tourism*; *Surface Transportation*. *Select*

Group Ratings

| | | | | | |
|------|-----|------|------|-----|-----|
| | ADA | ACLU | COPE | CFA | LCV |
| 1986 | 35 | 28 | 56 | 67 | 67 |
| 1985 | 45 | — | 55 | 60 | — |

National Journal Ratings

| | 1986 LIB — 1986 CONS | | 1985 LIB — 1985 CONS | |
|----------|----------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|
| Economic | 0% | 84% | 0% | 86% |
| Social | 13% | 85% | 0% | 83% |
| Foreign | 0% | 86% | 0% | 88% |

Key Votes

| | | | | | |
|------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|
| 1) Ease Gun Cont | FOR | 5) Grm-Rdmn Def Red | FOR | 9) Rehnquist Nom | FOR |
| 2) Immig Reform | FOR | 6) Contra Aid | FOR | 10) Tax Reform | FOR |
| 3) Lmt Text Imp | FOR | 7) SDI Funding | FOR | 11) Drug Death Pen | AGN |
| 4) Aid Tobac Ind | FOR | 8) Lmt PAC Contrib | FOR | 12) S Africa Sanc | AGN |

Election Results

| | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|---------|-------|---------------|
| 1984 general | Strom Thurmond (R) | 644,815 | (67%) | (\$1,682,962) |
| | Melvin Purvis (D) | 306,982 | (32%) | (\$9,023) |
| 1984 primary | Strom Thurmond (R) | 44,662 | (94%) | |
| | Robert H. Cunningham (R) | 2,693 | (6%) | |
| 1978 general | Strom Thurmond (R) | 351,733 | (56%) | (\$2,013,431) |
| | Charles D. Ravenel (D) | 281,119 | (44%) | (\$1,134,168) |

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

| 1979-84 | | Direct Cont. 1983-84 | | PACS Breakdown 1979-84 | |
|----------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|------------------------|-----------|
| Receipts | \$2,038,457 | Indiv. | \$1,346,556 | Corp. | \$373,374 |
| Expend. | \$1,682,962 | Party | \$15,457 | Labor | \$5,000 |
| Unspent | \$364,686 | PACS | \$596,785 | Ideo. | \$22,973 |
| | | | | T/M/H | \$157,940 |
| | | | | Agr. | \$1,000 |
| | | | | CWOS | \$9,250 |

Sen. Ernest F. (Fritz) Hollings (D)



Elected 1966, seat up 1992; b. Jan. 1, 1922, Charleston; home, Charleston; The Citadel, B.A. 1942, U. of SC, LL.B. 1947; Lutheran; married (Peatsy).

Career: Army, WWII; Practicing atty.; SC House of Reps., 1949-54, Speaker Pro Tem, 1951-54; Lt. Gov. of SC, 1955-59; Gov. of SC, 1959-63.

Offices: 125 RSOB 20510, 202-224-6121. Also 1835 Assembly St., Columbia 29201, 803-765-5731; and 112 Custom House, 200 E. Bay St., Charleston 29401, 803-724-4525; 126 Fed. Bldg., Greenville 29304, 803-585-3702; 233 Fed. Bldg., Florence 29503, 803-662-8135.

Committees: *Appropriations* (5th of 16 D). Subcommittees: Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary (Ranking Member); Defense; Energy and Water Development; Interior; Labor, Health and Human Services, Education. *Budget* (2d of 13 D). *Commerce,*

Science, and Transportation (Chairman of 11 D). Subcommittees: Communications; Foreign Commerce and Tourism; Surface Transportation. *Select Committee on Intelligence* (5th of 8 D).

Group Ratings

| | ADA | ACLU | COPE | CFA | LCV | ACU | NTU | NSI | COC | CEI |
|------|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1986 | 35 | 28 | 56 | 67 | 67 | 52 | 48 | 80 | 32 | 40 |
| 1985 | 45 | — | 55 | 60 | — | 52 | 37 | — | 55 | — |

m expires Jan. 1991; b. July 24, 1940, Greenville; ; U. of SC, American U., M.A. 1985; Episco- (ris).

tate and farming; SC House of Reps., 1970-74; v. James B. Edwards, 1975-76; SC Senate, 1976- f Reps., 1978-86.

11369, The State House, Columbia 29211, 803-

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------|-------|
| roll A. Campbell, Jr. (R) ... | 384,565 | (51%) |
| e Daniel (D) | 361,325 | (49%) |
| roll A. Campbell, Jr. (R) unopposed | | |
| hard W. Riley (D) | 468,819 | (70%) |
| liam D. Workman, Jr. | 202,806 | (30%) |

at up 1990; b. Dec. 5, 1902, Edgefield; home, Col., B.S. 1923; Baptist; married (Nancy).

and coach, 1923-29; Edgefield Cnty. Supt. of Practicing atty., 1930-38, 1951-55; SC Senate, Judge, 1938-42; Army, WWII; Gov. of SC, Rights candidate for Pres. of U.S., 1948; U.S.

OB 20510, 202-224-5972. Also 1835 Assembly Columbia 29201, 803-765-5496; 334 Meeting St., on 29493, 803-724-4282; 211 York St., N.E., Ste. 803-649-2591; and 401 W. Evans St., Florence 29503, 803-662-8135.

Subcommittees: *Con- d Alliance Defense; Readiness, Sustainability ategic Forces and Nuclear Defense* (Ranking committees: *Antitrust, Monopolies and Business Practice. Labor and Human Resources* (4th of 7 nd Alcohol (Ranking Member); Education, Arts,

| ACU | NTU | NSI | COC | CEI |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 91 | 46 | 100 | 78 | 71 |
| 91 | 61 | — | 97 | — |

National Journal Ratings

| | 1986 LIB — 1986 CONS | | 1985 LIB — 1985 CONS | |
|----------|----------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|
| Economic | 57% | 41% | 57% | 42% |
| Social | 66% | 33% | 50% | 46% |
| Foreign | 42% | 55% | 51% | 46% |

Key Votes

| | | | | | |
|------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|
| 1) Ease Gun Cont | FOR | 5) Grm-Rdmn Def Red | FOR | 9) Rehnquist Nom | FOR |
| 2) Immig Reform | FOR | 6) Contra Aid | FOR | 10) Tax Reform | FOR |
| 3) Lmt Text Imp | FOR | 7) SDI Funding | FOR | 11) Drug Death Pen | AGN |
| 4) Aid Tobac Ind | FOR | 8) Lmt PAC Contrib | FOR | 12) S Africa Sanc | FOR |

Election Results

| | | | | |
|--------------|--|---------|-------|---------------|
| 1986 general | Ernest F. (Fritz) Hollings (D) | 456,500 | (63%) | (\$2,233,843) |
| | Henry D. McMaster (R) | 262,886 | (36%) | (\$584,288) |
| 1986 primary | Ernest F. (Fritz) Hollings (D) unopposed | | | |
| 1980 general | Ernest F. (Fritz) Hollings (D) | 612,554 | (70%) | (\$723,427) |
| | Marshall Mays (R) | 257,946 | (30%) | (\$62,472) |

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

| 1985-86 | | Direct Cont. 1985-86 | | PACS Breakdown 1985-86 | | | |
|----------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|------------------------|-----------|-------|-----------|
| Receipts | \$2,395,632 | Indiv. | \$1,329,904 | Corp. | \$466,924 | T/M/H | \$264,933 |
| Expend. | \$2,233,843 | Party | \$17,223 | Labor | \$96,000 | Ag. | \$2,575 |
| Unspent | \$197,854 | PACS | \$913,697 | Ideo. | \$62,765 | CWOS | \$20,500 |

FIRST DISTRICT

There are few, if any, more beautiful urban scenes in America than the pastel row houses of Charleston wreathed with the springtime flowers of blossoming trees. Charleston, founded in 1670 and blessed with one of the finest harbors on the Atlantic, was one of the South's two leading cities up to the Civil War. Across its docks went cargoes of rice, indigo, cotton—all cultivated by black slaves and enriching the white planters and merchants who dominated the state's economic and political life. In the years that followed the Civil War, Charleston became an economic backwater. Today the old part of the city, beautifully preserved and still the home of the city's elite, houses fewer people than it did when it rained out shots on Fort Sumter in 1861.

This is an old society. The old South Carolina aristocracy, very private today, was once a leading force in American political life. The Democrats held their national convention in Charleston in 1860, and the hotheaded dandies in the galleries hooted down the northerners and so disrupted the proceedings that the northerners adjourned and reconvened in Baltimore while the southerners nominated a separate ticket that enabled Lincoln to be elected with 38% of the popular vote. South Carolina's blacks also have a colorful history. There were free blacks here before the Civil War (some even owned slaves themselves), and Charleston's blacks have been memorialized in *Porgy and Bess*. The local accent, which seems to outsiders to have a touch of New Jersey and which, rapidly spoken, can be incomprehensible, is best appreciated in the speech of Charleston native Ernest Hollings.

Since World War II, Charleston has been growing again, for two reasons. The first is military. The Navy established big bases here during the war and, with the help of Representative Mendel Rivers, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee from 1965 until his death in 1971, the bases grew to the point that they accounted for one-third of the payrolls in the Charleston area. The white working class area around the port and the bases in North Charleston remembers: its main street is Rivers Avenue. The military continues to be important here: every congressman since Rivers has taken care to serve on Armed Services. Another reason

for Charleston's growth is that the economy has the influx of Yankees and southerners to the con. The first of these, Hilton Head, was started by C concept at the time. Nearby were some of the po blacks lived in poverty and malnutrition; many s blacks are much better off, and practically th inspired, in varying degrees, by the original.

The 1st Congressional District of South Car Low Country south and west of Charleston, an Historically this was one of the most Democratic now it leans Republican in Ronald Reagan's. Hig affluent areas of Charleston, both in the old do Ashley River and out in the suburbs, have prove vote in most of this area until after 1965, are ever working-class, there is only a small margin of vc

The congressman from this district is a Rep experienced Charleston politician. With a fine cousin of Charles Ravenel, the young Democra about to be elected governor in 1974 until his nar a residency requirement; he ran against Strom Th and lost both times. The Republican Ravenel is f passers-by), worked hard on constituency servic Republican, significant support from black voter Tom Hartnett, who showed a flip contempt for tl for lieutenant governor (an office he narrowly nomination was Hartnett's predecessor, Mendel Davis's godson but retired at age 38 because of a Jim Stuckey, who was able to carry a couple of suburbs and on the coast.

In the House Arthur Ravenel got Hartnett's se to work the district hard, he has a good chance

The People: Pop. 1980: 520,338, up 25.3% 1970 children, 61% married couples; 36.1% housing units value: \$41,400. Voting age pop. (1980): 362,866; 29

1984 Presidential Vote: Reagan (R) Mondale (D)

1985 LIB — 1985 CONS

| | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| 57% | — | 42% |
| 50% | — | 46% |
| 51% | — | 46% |

| | | | |
|-------------|---------|--------------------|---------------|
| in Def Red | FOR | 9) Rehnquist Nom | FOR |
| d | FOR | 10) Tax Reform | FOR |
| ling | FOR | 11) Drug Death Pen | AGN |
| Contrib | FOR | 12) S Africa Sanc | FOR |
| | | | |
|) | 456,500 | (63%) | (\$2,233,843) |
|) | 262,886 | (36%) | (\$584,288) |
|) unopposed | | | |
|) | 612,554 | (70%) | (\$723,427) |
|) | 257,946 | (30%) | (\$62,472) |

| | | | | |
|------|------------------------|-----------|-------|-----------|
| 86 | PACS Breakdown 1985-86 | | | |
| ,904 | Corp. | \$466,924 | T/M/H | \$264,933 |
| ,223 | Labor | \$96,000 | Agr. | \$2,575 |
| ,697 | Ideo. | \$62,765 | CWOS | \$20,500 |

scenes in America than the pastel row houses of
owers of blossoming trees. Charleston, founded in
bors on the Atlantic, was one of the South's two
ts docks went cargoes of rice, indigo, cotton—all
white planters and merchants who dominated the
rs that followed the Civil War, Charleston became
of the city, beautifully preserved and still the home
it did when it rained out shots on Fort Sumter in

rolina aristocracy, very private today, was once a
The Democrats held their national convention in
ies in the galleries hooted down the northerners and
rners adjourned and reconvened in Baltimore while
that enabled Lincoln to be elected with 38% of the
ave a colorful history. There were free blacks here
ves themselves), and Charleston's blacks have been
accent, which seems to outsiders to have a touch of
n be incomprehensible, is best appreciated in the
s.

growing again, for two reasons. The first is military.
ing the war and, with the help of Representative
ed Services Committee from 1965 until his death in
ey accounted for one-third of the payrolls in the
ss area around the port and the bases in North
vers Avenue. The military continues to be important
ken care to serve on Armed Services. Another reason

for Charleston's growth is that the economy has become more diversified and has prospered by the influx of Yankees and southerners to the condominium communities on the barrier islands. The first of these, Hilton Head, was started by Charles Fraser in 1957; it was an untested, risky concept at the time. Nearby were some of the poorest areas in the United States, where lowland blacks lived in poverty and malnutrition; many spoke a distinct dialect called Gullah. Now the blacks are much better off, and practically the entire coast is covered with developments inspired, in varying degrees, by the original.

The 1st Congressional District of South Carolina includes Charleston and its suburbs, the Low Country south and west of Charleston, and a couple of black-majority counties inland. Historically this was one of the most Democratic of constituencies in Franklin Roosevelt's time; now it leans Republican in Ronald Reagan's. High-income whites in these new areas, and in the affluent areas of Charleston, both in the old downtown and in new neighborhoods east of the Ashley River and out in the suburbs, have proved to be heavily Republican; blacks, who did not vote in most of this area until after 1965, are even more heavily Democratic. With a small white working-class, there is only a small margin of voters who are switchable.

The congressman from this district is a Republican freshman, Arthur Ravenel, who is an experienced Charleston politician. With a fine old South Carolina Huguenot name, he is a cousin of Charles Ravenel, the young Democrat and 1950s Harvard football hero, who was about to be elected governor in 1974 until his name was yanked off the ballot for failure to meet a residency requirement; he ran against Strom Thurmond in 1978 and in the 1st District in 1980, and lost both times. The Republican Ravenel is folksy ("Hi, I'm your cousin Arthur," he greets passers-by), worked hard on constituency service as a state legislator, and has, unusually for a Republican, significant support from black voters. The seat was up in 1986 because Republican Tom Hartnett, who showed a flip contempt for the business of legislating, left the House to run for lieutenant governor (an office he narrowly lost); the expected winner of the Democratic nomination was Hartnett's predecessor, Mendel Davis, who won the seat in 1971 as Mendel Davis's godson but retired at age 38 because of a bad back. But Davis lost to Charleston lawyer Jim Stuckey, who was able to carry a couple of inland counties, but lost in Charleston and its suburbs and on the coast.

In the House Arthur Ravenel got Hartnett's seat on Armed Services. Assuming he continues to work the district hard, he has a good chance to make it a safe seat.

The People: Pop. 1980: 520,338, up 25.3% 1970-80. Households (1980): 77% family, 47% with children, 61% married couples; 36.1% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$174; median house value: \$41,400. Voting age pop. (1980): 362,866; 29% Black, 2% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|---------|-------|
| 1984 Presidential Vote: | Reagan (R) | 106,107 | (64%) |
| | Mondale (D) | 58,243 | (35%) |

Rep. Arthur Ravenel, Jr. (R)



Elected 1986; b. Mar. 29, 1927, St. Andrews Parish; home, Mount Pleasant; Col. of Charleston, B.A. 1950; French Huguenot; married (Jean).

Career: USMC, 1945-46; Realtor, general contractor, cattleman; SC House of Reps., 1952-58; SC Senate, 1980-86.

Offices: 1730 LHOB 20515, 202-225-3176. Also 640 Fed. Bldg., Rm., 640, Charleston 29403, 803-724-4175; 263 Hampton St., Walterboro 29488, 803-549-5395; and P.O. Box 1538, Beaufort 29902, 803-524-2166.

Committees: *Armed Services* (20th of 20 R). Subcommittees: Military Installations and Facilities; Military Personnel and Compensation.

Group Ratings and Key Votes: Newly Elected

Election Results

| | | | | |
|--------------|------------------------------|---------|-------|-------------|
| 1986 general | Arthur Ravenel, Jr. (R)..... | 59,965 | (52%) | (\$265,574) |
| | Jimmy Stuckey (D)..... | 55,262 | (48%) | (\$457,810) |
| 1986 primary | Arthur Ravenel, Jr. (R)..... | 8,487 | (57%) | |
| | Steve Jones (R)..... | 4,964 | (33%) | |
| | Pat Vanderhoof (R)..... | 1,561 | (10%) | |
| 1984 general | Thomas F. Hartnett (R)..... | 103,288 | (62%) | (\$339,508) |
| | Ed Pendarvis (D)..... | 64,022 | (38%) | (\$61,098) |

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

| 1985-86 | | Direct Cont. 1985-86 | | PACS Breakdown 1985-86 | |
|----------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|----------|
| Receipts | \$272,559 | Indiv. | \$192,305 | Corp. | \$32,850 |
| Expend. | \$265,574 | Party | \$8,636 | Labor | \$3,000 |
| Unspent | \$6,984 | PACS | \$83,052 | Ideo. | \$9,911 |
| | | Cand. | \$5,000 | T/M/H | \$34,419 |
| | | | | Agr. | \$2,000 |
| | | | | CWOS | \$872 |

SECOND DISTRICT

In 1786, just after the Revolution, the South Carolina legislature decided to move the state's capital away from the aristocrats of Charleston and into the upcountry interior, away from a city named after a king to a new city they created smack dab in the middle of the state and named after a discoverer of America. So began Columbia. The State House was built on high ground above the Congaree River, amid a town of Columbia cottages—1½ story houses with first floor porticos, dormers, and raised brick basements. Columbia has kept on growing pretty steadily ever since, pausing only as General Sherman came through, ever since. State government and the university, the Army's Fort Jackson and local insurance companies have proved steady employers, and in the years since 1945 Columbia has attracted plants from Michelin and Allied Chemical, United Technologies and FN of Belgium, Du Pont and Square D. The Columbia metropolitan area on both sides of the Congaree is the largest and most prosperous in South Carolina, and some are projecting it as one of the fastest-growing U.S. metro areas of the 1990s.

Columbia is one of those southern metropolitan areas that has been trending Republican for at least 30 years. Post-1945 economic growth and Strom Thurmond's Dixiecrat tendency enlarged South Carolina's electorate and yanked it away from its Democratic roots. Upwardly mobile South Carolinians, transplanted from rural areas with no electricity to comfortable subdivisions with two-car garages, preferred Republicans first in national and then in state and local

elections. The Columbia area went for Eisenhower in 1952, but in 1965, they were outnumbered usually by the you count not just Columbia's Richland and Lexington County across the river. South Carolina those two counties, plus part of the South Carolina was plantation country before 1865, and most politics follows racial lines. Orangeburg is the and of a massacre of black students by white

The congressman from the 2d District is Columbia as a University of South Carolina in the Columbia area since 1956. Spence became Thurmond, and that year narrowly lost a House seat supported Barry Goldwater in 1964, and was elected a Republican in 1965. When he ran for

Spence is now one of the most senior Republican on the Armed Services Committee, and ranking Republican on the district's parochial military interest is the military affairs, as well as a dependable congressional assignment—ranking Republican on the House Democratic chairmen—Charles Bennett, Loudermilk deserves credit for subordinating his natural ca of fellow members and, sometimes, stern pur abrasive, intellectually adventurous House Republican good-old-boy southern tradition.

For years the Republican trend among Columbia of the Democrats has produced small but outstanding opponents as Matthew Perry, a Thurmond, and Jack Bass, a top newspaper reporter. Orangeburg massacre. From 1974 to 1982 Spence won 59%. Then in 1984 he won with 62%—his best precisely the same as President Reagan's share Democrat Fred Zeigler ran a vigorous campaign little; to point up Spence's alleged health problem up the Capitol steps. Zeigler carried not only that carried just Lexington County, the most Republican showing district-wide. That apparently is a little out declaring his candidacy, opposing the congressional accessible suburban location—signs that he is another tough challenge in 1988. But rumors Republican state Senator Addison Wilson of Lexington the favorites to succeed him.

The People: Pop. 1980: 522,688, up 24.6% 19 children, 60% married couples; 32.7% housing unit value: \$40,800. Voting age pop. (1980): 372,290;

1984 Presidential Vote: Reagan (R).....
Mondale (D).....

A
 Mar. 29, 1927, St. Andrews Parish; home, Mount of Charleston, B.A. 1950; French Huguenot; married

C, 1945-46; Realtor, general contractor, cattleman; eps., 1952-58; SC Senate, 1980-86.

LHOB 20515, 202-225-3176. Also 640 Fed. Bldg., Charleston 29403, 803-724-4175; 263 Hampton St., 488, 803-549-5395; and P.O. Box 1538, Beaufort 2166.

Armed Services (20th of 20 R). Subcommittees: Operations and Facilities; Military Personnel and Com-

| | | | |
|-------|---------|-------|-------------|
| ..... | 59,965 | (52%) | (\$265,574) |
| ..... | 55,262 | (48%) | (\$457,810) |
| ..... | 8,487 | (57%) | |
| ..... | 4,964 | (33%) | |
| ..... | 1,561 | (10%) | |
| ..... | 103,288 | (62%) | (\$339,508) |
| ..... | 64,022 | (38%) | (\$61,098) |

| | | | | |
|----------|-------------------------------|----------|-------|----------|
| 6 | PACS Breakdown 1985-86 | | | |
| 5 | Corp. | \$32,850 | T/M/H | \$34,419 |
| 6 | Labor | \$3,000 | Agr. | \$2,000 |
| 2 | Ideo. | \$9,911 | CWOS | \$872 |
| 0 | | | | |

Carolina legislature decided to move the state's end into the upcountry interior, away from a city nack dab in the middle of the state and named bia. The State House was built on high ground mbia cottages—1½ story houses with first floor Columbia has kept on growing pretty steadily me through, ever since. State government and cal insurance companies have proved steady has attracted plants from Michelin and Allied gium, Du Pont and Square D. The Columbia e is the largest and most prosperous in South : fastest-growing U.S. metro areas of the 1990s. 1 areas that has been trending Republican for at from Thurmond's Dixiecrat tendency enlarged from its Democratic roots. Upwardly mobile with no electricity to comfortable subdivisions first in national and then in state and local

elections. The Columbia area went for Eisenhower in the 1950s; even when blacks got the vote in 1965, they were outnumbered usually by the increasingly Republican whites—particularly if you count not just Columbia's Richland County, but also the once rural and now suburban Lexington County across the river. South Carolina's 2d Congressional District is made up of those two counties, plus part of the South Carolina lowland country around Orangeburg. This was plantation country before 1865, and most of the people who live here now are black, and politics follows racial lines. Orangeburg is the site of South Carolina's main black state college and of a massacre of black students by white state highway patrolmen in 1968.

The congressman from the 2d District is Republican Floyd Spence, who once wowed Columbia as a University of South Carolina football player and has been running for office in the Columbia area since 1956. Spence became a Republican in 1962, two years before Strom Thurmond, and that year narrowly lost a House race to Albert Watson (a Democrat who supported Barry Goldwater in 1964, and was kicked out of the Democratic Caucus for it), and became a Republican in 1965. When he ran for governor in 1970, Spence ran for the seat and won it.

Spence is now one of the most senior Republicans in the House, a high-ranking member of the Armed Services Committee, and ranking Republican on the Seapower Subcommittee (although the district's parochial military interest is the Army's Fort Jackson). He is a solid hawk on military affairs, as well as a dependable conservative on all issues. He has another, thankless, assignment—ranking Republican on the House Ethics Committee. There he has generally let Democratic chairmen—Charles Bennett, Louis Stokes, Julian Dixon—take the lead, but he deserves credit for subordinating his natural camaraderie and supporting rigorous investigations of fellow members and, sometimes, stern punishment. He votes with many of the the newer, abrasive, intellectually adventurous House Republicans, but temperamentally he is part of the good-old-boy southern tradition.

For years the Republican trend among Columbia area whites combined with blacks' support of the Democrats has produced small but reliable majorities for Spence, even over such outstanding opponents as Matthew Perry, a black later made a federal judge by Strom Thurmond, and Jack Bass, a top newspaper reporter and the writer of the definitive work on the Orangeburg massacre. From 1974 to 1982 Spence's percentage was constant between 56% and 59%. Then in 1984 he won with 62%—his best percentage yet in this polarized district and precisely the same as President Reagan's share of the vote—and may have gotten overconfident. Democrat Fred Zeigler ran a vigorous campaign in 1986, arguing that Spence had accomplished little; to point up Spence's alleged health problems, Zeigler ads showed the Democrat running up the Capitol steps. Zeigler carried not only the Orangeburg area but Richland County. Spence carried just Lexington County, the most Republican in the state—with 71%, enough for a 54% showing district-wide. That apparently is a little too close for comfort. In early 1987 Spence was out declaring his candidacy, opposing the congressional pay raise, moving his district office to an accessible suburban location—signs that he is trying to forestall or at least be prepared for another tough challenge in 1988. But rumors circulate that he will retire, in which case Republican state Senator Addison Wilson of Lexington County and possibly Zeigler would be the favorites to succeed him.

The People: Pop. 1980: 522,688, up 24.6% 1970-80. Households (1980): 76% family, 45% with children, 60% married couples; 32.7% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$160; median house value: \$40,800. Voting age pop. (1980): 372,290; 32% Black, 1% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|---------|-------|
| 1984 Presidential Vote: | Reagan (R) | 105,337 | (62%) |
| | Mondale (D) | 61,368 | (36%) |

1084 SOUTH CAROLINA

Rep. Floyd D. Spence (R)



Elected 1970; b. Apr. 9, 1928, Columbia; home, Lexington; U. of SC, A.B. 1952, LL.B. 1956; Lutheran; widowed.

Career: Navy, 1952-54; Practicing atty.; SC House of Reps., 1956-62; SC Senate, 1966-70, Minor. Ldr., 1966-70.

Offices: 2113 RHOB 20515, 202-225-2452. Also 140 Stone Ridge Dr., Ste. 104, Columbia 29201, 803-254-5120; 1681 Chestnut St., N.E., P.O. Box 1609, Orangeburg 29116-1609, 803-536-4641.

Committees: *Armed Services* (2d of 20 R). Subcommittees: Military Installations and Facilities; Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials (Ranking Member). *Standards of Official Conduct* (Ranking Member of 6 R). *Select Committee on Aging* (23d of 26 R). Subcommittees: Human Services; Retirement Income and Employment.

Group Ratings

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| | ADA | ACLU | COPE | CFA | LCV | ACU | NTU | NSI | COC | CEI |
| 1986 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 8 | 24 | 77 | 46 | 100 | 76 | 51 |
| 1985 | 10 | — | 13 | 17 | — | 81 | 52 | — | 95 | — |

National Journal Ratings

| | | | | |
|----------|----------------------|---|----------------------|---|
| | 1986 LIB — 1986 CONS | | 1985 LIB — 1985 CONS | |
| Economic | 31% | — | 67% | — |
| Social | 0% | — | 89% | — |
| Foreign | 0% | — | 86% | — |

Key Votes

- | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| 1) Lmt Cln Water Act | FOR | 5) Retain Gun Cont | AGN | 9) Aid Angola Reb | FOR |
| 2) Rpl Tobac Sub | AGN | 6) Contra Aid | FOR | 10) Tax Reform | AGN |
| 3) Grm-Rdmn Def Red | FOR | 7) Lmt Text Imp | FOR | 11) S Africa Sanc | AGN |
| 4) Ban Polygraph | AGN | 8) Limit SDI | AGN | 12) Immig Reform | AGN |

Election Results

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------|---------|-------|-------------|
| 1986 general | Floyd D. Spence (R) | 73,455 | (54%) | (\$294,665) |
| | Fred Zeigler (D) | 63,592 | (46%) | (\$179,860) |
| 1986 primary | Floyd D. Spence (R) unopposed | | | |
| 1984 general | Floyd D. Spence (R) | 108,085 | (62%) | (\$240,229) |
| | Ken Mosely (D) | 63,932 | (37%) | (\$74,450) |

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

| | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|----------|
| 1985-86 | | Direct Cont. 1985-86 | | PACS Breakdown 1985-86 | |
| Receipts | \$277,527 | Indiv. | \$113,288 | Corp. | \$84,526 |
| Expend. | \$294,665 | Party | \$9,908 | Labor | \$6,500 |
| Unspent | \$9,912 | PACS | \$148,199 | Ideo. | \$8,915 |
| | | | | T/M/H | \$46,980 |
| | | | | Ag. | \$1,000 |
| | | | | CWOS | \$278 |

THIRD DISTRICT

As you move inland from the South Carolina coast, from the plantations owned by Charleston aristocrats, you find the upcountry lands pioneered by the likes of John C. Calhoun in the early 19th century. The pioneers wanted to make big plantations of these forests, but the land did not always cooperate: it was too hilly for the labor-intensive rice crop grown in the lowlands and sometimes too cold for cotton. So while the coastal plantations were tended by thousands of slaves, relatively few were brought here, and the land went mostly to smaller white farmers. That

history has consequences today. The 3d Con the Savannah River border with Georgia Allendale County, which is 62% black, and Pickens County, which is 7% black.

The southern part of this district is Strom county judge there in the 1930s maintain maintains his residence now in Aiken, a pros New York hunters, and which became soli 1960s. The northern part of the district is Pi The largest city here is Anderson, a mostly Wallace in the 1960s, it moved strongly towa away from them in the 1980s. This was the national Democratic ticket between 1980 ar

The congressman from the 3d District is B and is second in seniority in the oft-changin notice in his early years for defying old shibbc 37-year veteran Bob Sikes of his chairmansh he supported Jimmy Carter's move to can consistently more favorable to environmental party, and more inclined to support procedur

More recently he has won less notice, in pa body which for the most part controls the fic given that post in 1979, Derrick was expecte generally has been; in turn he was expected point of view of southern Democrats. His ro Derrick became a member in 1983—his sec budget issues goes to chairman William Gra junior members like Derrick, by helping Democratic compromise position will be, help

These are not terribly visible roles. But in t drive policy choices, and Derrick like other considerable leverage. He can use it for caus apparel protection bill that Derrick, as chairm this Congress. He can use it also as he did in 1 therefore passage of the McClure-Volkmer Carolina has one of the laxest attitudes tow festooned with gun shops. He can exert press property for a lakeside development in improve development of more advanced nuclear reactor southern end of the district, which is also the pl are now deposited.

Derrick proved himself popular in the distric issues. He got his lowest percentage ever, 58%, plans to run for statewide office and concentrat 1986. He may get a tough race in 1988 from F backing nearly won the 1986 Senate primary. Rules, 36 years younger than Chairman Cla Moakley of Massachusetts, the next man in line Rules some day.

The People: Pop. 1980: 519,280, up 20.2% 197 children, 65% married couples; 25.3% housing units

Apr. 9, 1928, Columbia; home, Lexington; U. of L.B. 1956; Lutheran; widowed.

1952-54; Practicing atty.; SC House of Reps., late, 1966-70, Minor. Ldr., 1966-70.

HOB 20515, 202-225-2452. Also 140 Stone Ridge lumbia 29201, 803-254-5120; 1681 Chestnut St., 09, Orangeburg 29116-1609, 803-536-4641.

med Services (2d of 20 R). Subcommittees: Mil- and Facilities; Seapower and Strategic and Criti- (linking Member). *Standards of Official Conduct* (of 6 R). *Select Committee on Aging* (23d of 26 es: Human Services; Retirement Income and

| | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| ACU | NTU | NSI | COC | CEI |
| 77 | 46 | 100 | 76 | 51 |
| 81 | 52 | — | 95 | — |

1985 LIB — 1985 CONS

| | | |
|----|---|-----|
| 0% | — | 95% |
| 0% | — | 76% |
| 0% | — | 76% |

| | | | |
|-----|-----|-------------------|-----|
| ont | AGN | 9) Aid Angola Reb | FOR |
| | FOR | 10) Tax Reform | AGN |
| | FOR | 11) S Africa Sanc | AGN |
| | AGN | 12) Immig Reform | AGN |

| | | | |
|-------|---------|-------|-------------|
| ..... | 73,455 | (54%) | (\$294,665) |
| ..... | 63,592 | (46%) | (\$179,860) |
| ..... | 108,085 | (62%) | (\$240,229) |
| ..... | 63,932 | (37%) | (\$74,450) |

PACS Breakdown 1985-86

| | | | |
|-------|----------|-------|----------|
| Corp. | \$84,526 | T/M/H | \$46,980 |
| Labor | \$6,500 | Agr. | \$1,000 |
| Ideo. | \$8,915 | CWOS | \$278 |

t, from the plantations owned by Charleston by the likes of John C. Calhoun in the early ntations of these forests, but the land did not ensive rice crop grown in the lowlands and al plantations were tended by thousands of d went mostly to smaller white farmers. That

history has consequences today. The 3d Congressional District of South Carolina, which follows the Savannah River border with Georgia for most of its length, starts in the lowlands in Allendale County, which is 62% black, and proceeds north to 3,500-foot Sassafras Mountain, in Pickens County, which is 7% black.

The southern part of this district is Strom Thurmond country. He grew up in Edgefield and as county judge there in the 1930s maintained stern white control of the black majority. He maintains his residence now in Aiken, a prosperous town which has long been a winter haven for New York huntsmen, and which became solidly Republican—as Thurmond did—in the middle 1960s. The northern part of the district is Piedmont upcountry, with almost an Appalachian air. The largest city here is Anderson, a mostly white textile-mill town; a strong city for George Wallace in the 1960s, it moved strongly toward the Democrats in the middle 1970s and strongly away from them in the 1980s. This was the part of the state with the biggest swing against the national Democratic ticket between 1980 and 1984.

The congressman from the 3d District is Butler Derrick, a Democrat who won the seat in 1974 and is second in seniority in the oft-changing South Carolina House delegation. He attracted notice in his early years for defying old shibboleths. In 1977 he was a leader in stripping Florida's 37-year veteran Bob Sikes of his chairmanship for financial improprieties; about the same time he supported Jimmy Carter's move to cancel a dam in the 3d District. Derrick has been consistently more favorable to environmental claims than most southern congressmen of either party, and more inclined to support procedural reforms.

More recently he has won less notice, in part because he serves on the Rules Committee, the body which for the most part controls the flow of legislation to the House floor. When he was given that post in 1979, Derrick was expected to be loyal to the Democratic leadership, and he generally has been; in turn he was expected to express within inner Democratic councils the point of view of southern Democrats. His role is similar on the Budget Committee, of which Derrick became a member in 1983—his second rotation on the committee. The spotlight on budget issues goes to chairman William Gray and to the Speaker and Majority Leader. But junior members like Derrick, by helping to set parameters and to determine what the Democratic compromise position will be, help to make the decisions.

These are not terribly visible roles. But in the hands of a bright legislator, process issues can drive policy choices, and Derrick like other talented Rules members is in a position of considerable leverage. He can use it for causes important to the district, like the textile and apparel protection bill that Derrick, as chairman of the Textile Caucus, will be championing in this Congress. He can use it also as he did in 1986 to smooth the way for floor consideration and therefore passage of the McClure-Volkmer bill to relax federal gun control laws; South Carolina has one of the laxest attitudes towards guns in the nation, and its roadsides are festooned with gun shops. He can exert pressure to get the federal government to sell surplus property for a lakeside development in impoverished McCormick County. He can push also for development of more advanced nuclear reactors in the big Savannah River nuclear plant at the southern end of the district, which is also the place where nearly half the nation's nuclear wastes are now deposited.

Derrick proved himself popular in the district, despite a rather liberal voting record on many issues. He got his lowest percentage ever, 58%, in 1984, but immediately afterwards rejected all plans to run for statewide office and concentrated on his work in the House; he won with 68% in 1986. He may get a tough race in 1988 from Henry Jordan, the surgeon who with evangelical backing nearly won the 1986 Senate primary. Derrick is now the third ranking Democrat on Rules, 36 years younger than Chairman Claude Pepper and nine years younger than Joe Moakley of Massachusetts, the next man in line. So he has a good chance of being chairman of Rules some day.

The People: Pop. 1980: 519,280, up 20.2% 1970-80. Households (1980): 79% family, 44% with children, 65% married couples; 25.3% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$104; median house

1086 SOUTH CAROLINA

value: \$32,000. Voting age pop. (1980): 366,318; 20% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1984 Presidential Vote:

| | | |
|-------------------|---------|-------|
| Reagan (R) | 102,301 | (67%) |
| Mondale (D) | 49,116 | (32%) |

Rep. Butler Derrick (D)



Elected 1974; b. Sept. 30, 1936, Springfield, MA; home, Edgefield, U. of SC, U. of GA, LL.B. 1965; Episcopalian; divorced.

Career: Practicing atty., 1965-74; SC House of Reps., 1969-74.

Offices: 201 CHOB 20515, 202-225-5301. Also P.O. Box 4126, Anderson 29622, 803-224-7401; 211 York St., N.E., Rm. 5, Aiken 29801, 803-649-5571; and 129 Fed. Bldg., Greenwood 29622, 803-223-8251.

Committees: *Budget* (4th of 21 D). Task Forces: Budget Process (Chairman); Economic Policy. *Rules* (3d of 9 D). Subcommittee: The Legislative Process (Chairman). *Select Committee on Aging* (16th of 39 D). Subcommittee: Health and Long-Term Care.

Group Ratings

| | ADA | ACLU | COPE | CFA | LCV | ACU | NTU | NSI | COC | CEI |
|------|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1986 | 55 | 70 | 54 | 75 | 75 | 26 | 27 | 22 | 44 | 23 |
| 1985 | 60 | — | 54 | 42 | — | 10 | 29 | — | 36 | — |

National Journal Ratings

| | 1986 LIB — 1986 CONS | | 1985 LIB — 1985 CONS | |
|----------|----------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| Economic | 69% | — 30% | 57% | — 41% |
| Social | 52% | — 46% | 58% | — 41% |
| Foreign | 63% | — 37% | 63% | — 37% |

Key Votes

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| 1) Lmt Cln Water Act | AGN | 5) Retain Gun Cont | AGN | 9) Aid Angola Reb | AGN |
| 2) Rpl Tobac Sub | AGN | 6) Contra Aid | AGN | 10) Tax Reform | FOR |
| 3) Grm-Rdmn Def Red | AGN | 7) Lmt Text Imp | FOR | 11) S Africa Sanc | — |
| 4) Ban Polygraph | AGN | 8) Limit SDI | FOR | 12) Immig Reform | FOR |

Election Results

| | | | | |
|--------------|------------------------------|--------|-------|-------------|
| 1986 general | Butler Derrick (D) | 79,109 | (68%) | (\$177,714) |
| | Richard Dickison (R) | 36,495 | (32%) | (\$4,261) |
| 1986 primary | Butler Derrick (D) unopposed | | | |
| 1984 general | Butler Derrick (D) | 88,917 | (58%) | (\$184,251) |
| | Clarence E. Taylor (R) | 61,739 | (41%) | (\$84,795) |

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

| 1985-86 | | Direct Cont. 1985-86 | | PACS Breakdown 1985-86 | | | |
|----------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------|-------|----------|
| Receipts | \$282,849 | Indiv. | \$93,815 | Corp. | \$30,750 | T/M/H | \$52,009 |
| Expend. | \$177,714 | Party | \$698 | Labor | \$105,850 | Agr. | \$12,500 |
| Unspent | \$227,992 | PACS | \$223,316 | Ideo. | \$17,757 | CWOS | \$4,450 |

FOURTH DISTRICT

When textile manufacturers were looking for a place early in this century, one place they found was between Charlotte and Atlanta. Cotton could be grown on the railroad, and there was a plentiful supply of low land (in those days) in the hills of upcountry South (the South Carolina's Interstate 85, which parallels the producing area in the United States. But it is one of the biggest cities in a region where population is scattered along highways, have attracted new businesses producing and Digital Computer, most of them requiring mills. This has long been one of the most industrial because of textiles; now with diversification it is the South or, for that matter, the western world. Mississippi, with some 200 balloons competing

Northern observers have always thought that big northern industries like steel and autos: that few big companies, operating huge factories, are a bargain for high wages and fringe benefits. But big textile companies, like Roger Milliken's operation there are lots of small producers as well, and squeezed other businesses out as autos squeezed become not more concentrated, but more scattered in cities (which aren't very large here anyway) than heavily settled rural landscapes, near an interchange and workers who want more go to the newer industries, exceptions, have made almost no headway as diversification is more than compensating for it. And the industrial North which set itself up for growing, and unions' power eroding—coming to a head versa.

The textile mill country has its own sets of civic press and politics and religious fundamentalism. Greenville's Bob Jones University. The two traditions. Spartanburg has been more Democratic James Byrnes when he was Senator (he was Secretary of State, and finally governor in the 1930s and 1943-45 and Senator 1945-65), who teared Greenville has been more likely to produce Republican Judge and defeated Supreme Court nominee Clarence James Mann, and Representative (1979-87) at the The 1986 race for Congress in the 4th District the much smaller Union County, was a contest Republican primary behind William Workman. South Carolina Republican family with many candidates with strong religious backing: Richard mentalists, and Thomas Marchant, associated 49% in the first primary and was hurt by attacks spend more than \$200,000 on the primary. In the actively than the Democrat, Elizabeth Patterson

1A

0% Black, 1% Spanish origin.
 102,301 (67%)
 49,116 (32%)

Sept. 30, 1936, Springfield, MA; home, Edgefield;
 GA, LL.B. 1965; Episcopalian; divorced.
 icking atty., 1965-74; SC House of Reps., 1969-74.
 CHOB 20515, 202-225-5301. Also P.O. Box 4126,
 2, 803-224-7401; 211 York St., N.E., Rm. 5, Aiken;
 -5571; and 129 Fed. Bldg., Greenwood 29622, 803-
 Budget (4th of 21 D). Task Forces: Budget Process
 onomic Policy. Rules (3d of 9 D). Subcommittee:
 : Process (Chairman). Select Committee on Aging
 Subcommittee: Health and Long-Term Care.

| | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| ACU | NTU | NSI | COC | CEI |
| 26 | 27 | 22 | 44 | 23 |
| 10 | 29 | — | 36 | — |

1985 LIB — 1985 CONS

| | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| 57% | — | 41% |
| 58% | — | 41% |
| 63% | — | 37% |

| | | | |
|------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| Cont | AGN | 9) Aid Angola Reb | AGN |
| | AGN | 10) Tax Reform | FOR |
| np | FOR | 11) S Africa Sanc | — |
| | FOR | 12) Immig Reform | FOR |

| | | | |
|-------|--------|-------|-------------|
| ..... | 79,109 | (68%) | (\$177,714) |
| ..... | 36,495 | (32%) | (\$4,261) |
| ..... | 88,917 | (58%) | (\$184,251) |
| ..... | 61,739 | (41%) | (\$84,795) |

PACS Breakdown 1985-86

| | | | |
|-------|-----------|-------|----------|
| Corp. | \$30,750 | T/M/H | \$52,009 |
| Labor | \$105,850 | Agr. | \$12,500 |
| Ideo. | \$17,757 | CWOS | \$4,450 |

FOURTH DISTRICT

When textile manufacturers were looking for places to move their mills out of New England early in this century, one place they found was the land along the Southern Railway tracks between Charlotte and Atlanta. Cotton could be shipped in and finished products out over the railroad, and there was a plentiful supply of low wage white labor (for the mills didn't hire blacks in those days) in the hills of upcountry South Carolina. Today, this same stretch of land along South Carolina's Interstate 85, which parallels the Southern, remains the number one textile-producing area in the United States. But it is more than that. Greenville and Spartanburg, the biggest cities in a region where population is scattered in small towns and along major and minor highways, have attracted new businesses producing Michelin tires and Stouffer's Lean Cuisine and Digital Computer, most of them requiring higher skills and paying higher wages than the mills. This has long been one of the most industrialized and blue-collar parts of the nation, because of textiles; now with diversification it is becoming one of the economic growth centers of the South or, for that matter, the western world. It stages the largest balloon race east of the Mississippi, with some 200 balloons competing.

Northern observers have always thought that textiles and the textile belt would go the way of big northern industries like steel and autos: that the manufacturers would be concentrated into a few big companies, operating huge factories, and that the workers would join unions who would bargain for high wages and fringe benefits. But history has taken a different course. There are big textile companies, like Roger Millken's operation which is headquartered in Greenville. But there are lots of small producers as well, and the concentration of textile companies has not squeezed other businesses out as autos squeezed others out of Michigan. The plants have become not more concentrated, but more scattered—in some large mills and small, not usually in cities (which aren't very large here anyway) but at the edge of small towns or in the middle of heavily settled rural landscapes, near an interchange or on a side highway. Wages have not risen, and workers who want more go to the newer industries; and unions, despite a few publicized exceptions, have made almost no headway at all. Yet the textile country is thriving and diversification is more than compensating for jobs lost because of cheap foreign competition. And the industrial North which set itself up as a model is now—with smaller companies growing, and unions' power eroding—coming to resemble the textile country rather than vice versa.

The textile mill country has its own sets of civic institutions: business leaders and their allies in press and politics and religious fundamentalists and evangelicals like the proprietors of Greenville's Bob Jones University. The two biggest towns here have divergent political traditions. Spartanburg has been more Democratic and was the home base of politicians like James Byrnes when he was Senator (he was also congressman, Supreme Court Justice, Secretary of State, and finally governor in the early 1950s) and Olin Johnston (governor 1935-39 and 1943-45 and Senator 1945-65), who tended to support their party on economic issues. Greenville has been more likely to produce Republicans and very conservative Democrats, like Judge and defeated Supreme Court nominee Clement Haynsworth, Representative (1969-79) James Mann, and Representative (1979-87) and now Governor Carroll Campbell.

The 1986 race for Congress in the 4th District, which includes Greenville, Spartanburg, and the much smaller Union County, was a contest between these three forces. There was a Republican primary behind William Workman III, newspaper editor and scion of an established South Carolina Republican family with many ties to the business community, and two candidates with strong religious backing: Richard Rigdon, who was associated with fundamentalists, and Thomas Marchant, associated with charismatics. Workman won, but got just 49% in the first primary and was hurt by attacks on his business ties, and because he had to spend more than \$200,000 on the primary. In the first months of the general, he campaigned less actively than the Democrat, Elizabeth Patterson, a state Senator and former council member

from Spartanburg, and the daughter of Olin Johnston. Patterson has a history of government service in the Peace Corps and Vista, civic involvement on college and agency boards, Sunday school teaching; she was attacked as a liberal but campaigned convincingly as a fiscal conservative concerned about human needs. Workman won 56% of the votes in Greenville County, but she won 60% in Spartanburg and 63% in Union, for a 52% victory. Given two years of incumbency, she has a chance to consolidate her hold on this district and may be helped if the Republicans continue to be split.

The People: Pop. 1980: 520,525, up 17.3% 1970-80. Households (1980): 78% family, 43% with children, 63% married couples; 30.4% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$132; median house value: \$34,300. Voting age pop. (1980): 373,015; 17% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1984 Presidential Vote: Reagan (R) 114,650 (70%)
Mondale (D) 48,691 (30%)

Rep. Elizabeth J. Patterson (D)



Elected 1986; b. Nov. 18, 1939, Columbia; home, Spartanburg; Columbia Col., B.A. 1961; United Methodist; married (Dwight).

Career: Recruiting office, Peace Corps, 1962-64, VISTA, 1965-66; VISTA SC Coordinator, 1966-67; Head Start Coordinator, SC Office of Econ. Opp., 1967-68; Aide to Rep. James R. Mann, 1969-70; Mbr., Spartanburg City Cncl., 1975-76; SC Senate, 1979-86.

Offices: 106 CHOB 20515, 202-225-6030. Also P.O. Box 10408, Fed. Station, Greenville 29603, 803-232-1141; P.O. Box 1330, Spartanburg 29304, 803-582-6422; and P.O. Box 904, Union 29379, 803-427-2205.

Committees: *Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs* (25th of 31 D). Subcommittees: Economic Stabilization; Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance; General Oversight and Investigations. *Veterans' Affairs* (19th of 21 D). Subcommittees: Education, Training and Employment; Housing and Memorial

Affairs. Select Committee on Hunger (16th of 16 D). Task Force: Domestic Task Force.

Group Ratings and Key Votes: Newly Elected

Election Results

| | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|---------|-------|-------------|
| 1986 general | Elizabeth J. Patterson (D) | 67,012 | (52%) | (\$594,026) |
| | Bill Workman (R) | 61,648 | (47%) | (\$639,859) |
| 1986 primary | Elizabeth J. Patterson (D) unopposed | | | |
| 1984 general | Carroll A. Campbell, Jr. (R) | 105,139 | (64%) | (\$690,962) |
| | Jeff Smith (D) | 57,854 | (35%) | (\$348,669) |

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

| 1985-86 | | Direct Cont. 1985-86 | | PACS Breakdown 1985-86 | |
|----------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|----------|
| Receipts | \$619,226 | Indiv. | \$93,815 | Corp. | \$17,802 |
| Expend. | \$594,026 | Party | \$10,000 | Labor | \$72,700 |
| Unspent | \$25,202 | PACS | \$177,080 | Ideo. | \$40,180 |
| | | | | T/M/H | \$40,698 |
| | | | | Agr. | \$2,500 |
| | | | | CWOS | \$3,200 |

FIFTH DISTRICT

In the years just before the American Revolution, Scotch and Scotch-Irish farmers, fleeing from the lands where they lived as impoverished tenants, moved up the valleys of the sluggish rivers of South Carolina and settled for the first time the uplands of the colony. Here they could farm their own land, away from the landlords and slaveholders of the big coastal plantations, and here they built rural communities which exist, much changed, today. This was fiercely contested

country in the Revolutionary War—the battles Cowpens were fought here, and Andrew Jackson soldier—and the fighting spirit has never entirely

Such is the 5th Congressional District of South counties between Columbia, Spartanburg, and farming country, and many residents still cultivate money off it if they have a tobacco allotment. textile mills have long been the biggest employers of new plants as well; many people here routinely Calvinist religion which the earliest settlers brought Protestantism today. The 5th District is the home and his wife Tammy Faye; here in Fort Mill, just a Heritage USA Christian vacation retreat, complete Island water park and a daily Passion Play. The full Republican area. In state and congressional elections which includes all the 5th District—remains solid

The congressman from the 5th District is Jim representative for such a district. He has degrees part of the small group of wealthy lawyers, bankers, small cities and towns in every county of South conservative. But those who stuck with the Democratic desegregation and of the national party's unpopular commitment to at least some of the party's liberal the 1974 gubernatorial campaign of Charles Ravenel intention but successful in involving a large number Democratic politics in this state. The people who understand that not everybody in these communities those who are Fritz Hollings—Charles Ravenel Dealing the interests of those ordinary citizens faithfully however contrary-minded they may sometimes see

Spratt has made a name for himself in the House knowledge and judgments can be relied on. As a fr Commerce and went to Armed Services instead. procurement, mastering the details while others were of the hard choices and tradeoffs that must be made election he was a leading backer of Les Aspin for the for him in the Democratic Caucus just after Speaker the aging Mel Price; when Aspin was under challenge and helped him turn around the first caucus vote seat on the Government Operations Committee to for protection for the Carolinas' textile industry.

position, voting often but not always with the Democratic Spratt was first elected in 1982, when incumbent week before the filing deadline; involved in political campaign together readily and won 38% in the primary who spent nearly \$1 million, and 68% in the general Democratic or Republican opposition in 1984 and statewide candidate but for the moment anyway see

The People: Pop. 1980: 519,716, up 12.9% 1970-80 children, 64% married couples; 26.5% housing units rented value: \$31,000. Voting age pop. (1980): 357,907, 29% F

inston. Patterson has a history of government
 /ement on college and agency boards, Sunday
 il but campaigned convincingly as a fiscal
 orkman won 56% of the votes in Greenville
 % in Union, for a 52% victory. Given two years
 r hold on this district and may be helped if the

-80. Households (1980): 78% family, 43% with
 rented; median monthly rent: \$132; median house
 % Black, 1% Spanish origin.

| | | |
|-------|---------|-------|
| ..... | 114,650 | (70%) |
| ..... | 48,691 | (30%) |

. Nov. 18, 1939, Columbia; home, Spartanburg;
 B.A. 1961; United Methodist; married (Dwight).

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 oordinator, 1966-67; Head Start Coordinator, SC
 pp., 1967-68; Aide to Rep. James R. Mann, 1969-
 inburg City Cncl., 1975-76; SC Senate, 1979-86.

HOB 20515, 202-225-6030. Also P.O. Box 10408,
 reenville 29603, 803-232-1141; P.O. Box 1330,
 1304, 803-582-6422; and P.O. Box 904, Union
 2205.

anking, *Housing and Urban Affairs* (25th of 31
 es: Economic Stabilization; Financial Institutions
 gulation and Insurance; General Oversight and
 /eterans' Affairs (19th of 21 D). Subcommittees:
 ning and Employment; Housing and Memorial
). Task Force: Domestic Task Force.

| | | | |
|---------|---------|-------|-------------|
| ..... | 67,012 | (52%) | (\$594,026) |
| ..... | 61,648 | (47%) | (\$639,859) |
| opposed | | | |
| ..... | 105,139 | (64%) | (\$690,962) |
| ..... | 57,854 | (35%) | (\$348,669) |

| | | | |
|------------------------|-------|----------|----------------|
| PACS Breakdown 1985-86 | | | |
| 5 | Corp. | \$17,802 | T/M/H \$40,698 |
| 0 | Labor | \$72,700 | Agr. \$2,500 |
| 0 | Ideo. | \$40,180 | CWOS \$3,200 |

1, Scotch and Scotch-Irish farmers, fleeing from
 its, moved up the valleys of the sluggish rivers of
 e uplands of the colony. Here they could farm
 eholders of the big coastal plantations, and here
 ch changed, today. This was fiercely contested

country in the Revolutionary War—the battles of Kings Mountain and brilliantly executed
 Cowpens were fought here, and Andrew Jackson as a boy was scarred when he defied a British
 soldier—and the fighting spirit has never entirely subsided.

Such is the 5th Congressional District of South Carolina, an odd-shaped collection of rural
 counties between Columbia, Spartanburg, and Charlotte, North Carolina. It still looks like
 farming country, and many residents still cultivate their property, and even make a fair amount
 of money off it if they have a tobacco allotment. But it is really a part of industrial America:
 textile mills have long been the biggest employers, and there has been an influx since the 1970s
 of new plants as well; many people here routinely commute as much as 50 miles. The rigorous
 Calvinist religion which the earliest settlers brought with them lives on in various forms of
 Protestantism today. The 5th District is the home base of ousted PTL televangelist Jim Bakker
 and his wife Tammy Faye; here in Fort Mill, just south of the North Carolina line, they built the
 Heritage USA Christian vacation retreat, complete with luxury hotel and campsites, Heritage
 Island water park and a daily Passion Play. The fundamentalist spirit does not mean that this is a
 Republican area. In state and congressional elections South Carolina outside the major cities—
 which includes all the 5th District—remains solidly Democratic.

The congressman from the 5th District is John Spratt. To some he may seem an odd
 representative for such a district. He has degrees from Davidson, Yale Law, and Oxford and is
 part of the small group of wealthy lawyers, bankers, and businessmen who run economic life in
 small cities and towns in every county of South Carolina. Most such people are very
 conservative. But those who stuck with the Democratic Party during the difficult years of
 desegregation and of the national party's unpopularity here were often motivated by a real
 commitment to at least some of the party's liberal views. And some, like Spratt, were involved in
 the 1974 gubernatorial campaign of Charles Ravenel, an enterprise unsuccessful in its original
 intention but successful in involving a large number of highly motivated young people in
 Democratic politics in this state. The people who run things in places like York and Rock Hill
 understand that not everybody in these communities is capable of managing civic affairs. But
 those who are Fritz Hollings—Charles Ravenel Democrats hope and believe they are represent-
 ing the interests of those ordinary citizens faithfully, however inarticulate they may be and
 however contrary-minded they may sometimes seem.

Spratt has made a name for himself in the House as a smart and hard-working member whose
 knowledge and judgments can be relied on. As a freshman he failed to get a seat on Energy and
 Commerce and went to Armed Services instead. There he became an expert on the issue of
 procurement, mastering the details while others were making headlines, with an understanding
 of the hard choices and tradeoffs that must be made in any procurement reform. After the 1984
 election he was a leading backer of Les Aspin for the Armed Services chairmanship, and spoke
 for him in the Democratic Caucus just after Speaker Tip O'Neill made an impassioned plea for
 the aging Mel Price; when Aspin was under challenge after the 1986 election he stuck with him
 and helped him turn around the first caucus vote and keep his chairmanship. He has used his
 seat on the Government Operations Committee to build up expertise on trade issues and work
 for protection for the Carolinas' textile industry. On issues generally he has taken a mixed
 position, voting often but not always with the Democratic leadership.

Spratt was first elected in 1982, when incumbent Ken Holland announced his retirement a
 week before the filing deadline; involved in politics and civic affairs, Spratt was able to put a
 campaign together readily and won 38% in the primary, 55% in the runoff against a candidate
 who spent nearly \$1 million, and 68% in the general election. He was reelected without
 Democratic or Republican opposition in 1984 and 1986. He has the capacity to be a strong
 statewide candidate but for the moment anyway seems more interested in working in the House.

The People: Pop. 1980: 519,716, up 12.9% 1970-80. Households (1980): 80% family, 47% with
 children, 64% married couples; 26.5% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$104; median house
 value: \$31,000. Voting age pop. (1980): 357,907, 29% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1090 SOUTH CAROLINA

1984 Presidential Vote: Reagan (R) 94,269 (62%)
 Mondale (D) 58,350 (38%)

Rep. John M. Spratt, Jr. (D)



Elected 1982; b. Nov. 1, 1942, Charlotte, NC; home, York; Davidson Col., A.B. 1964, M.A., Oxford U., 1966, Yale U., LL.B. 1969; Presbyterian; married (Jane).

Career: Operations Ofc. of Asst. Secy. of Defense, 1969-71; Practicing atty., 1971-82; Pres., Bank of Ft. Mill, 1973-82; Pres., Spratt Insur. Agcy., 1973-82.

Offices: 1118 LHOB 20515, 202-225-5501. Also Box 350, Rock Hill 29731, 803-327-1114; 39 E. Calhoun St., Sumter 29150, 803-773-3362; and 214 W. Laurens St., Box 964, Laurens 29360, 803-984-5323.

Committees: *Armed Services* (22d of 31 D). Subcommittees: Investigations; Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems. *Government Operations* (15th of 24 D). Subcommittees: Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs; Government Information, Justice, and Agriculture.

Group Ratings

| | ADA | ACLU | COPE | CFA | LCV | ACU | NTU | NSI | COC | CEI |
|------|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1986 | 60 | 70 | 54 | 75 | 71 | 33 | 27 | 50 | 59 | 31 |
| 1985 | 35 | — | 51 | 67 | — | 38 | 36 | — | 57 | — |

National Journal Ratings

| | 1986 LIB — 1986 CONS | | 1985 LIB — 1985 CONS | |
|----------|----------------------|---|----------------------|---|
| Economic | 50% | — | 50% | — |
| Social | 67% | — | 32% | — |
| Foreign | 55% | — | 44% | — |

Key Votes

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| 1) Lmt Cln Water Act | FOR | 5) Retain Gun Cont | AGN | 9) Aid Angola Reb | AGN |
| 2) Rpl Tobac Sub | AGN | 6) Contra Aid | AGN | 10) Tax Reform | FOR |
| 3) Grm-Rdmn Def Red | FOR | 7) Lmt Text Imp | FOR | 11) S Africa Sanc | FOR |
| 4) Ban Polygraph | AGN | 8) Limit SDI | FOR | 12) Immig Reform | FOR |

Election Results

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|--------|-------|--|------------|
| 1986 general | John M. Spratt, Jr. (D) unopposed | | | | |
| 1986 primary | John M. Spratt, Jr. (D) unopposed | | | | (\$66,944) |
| 1984 general | John M. Spratt, Jr. (D)..... | 98,513 | (92%) | | (\$58,272) |
| | Two others..... | 8,778 | (8%) | | |

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

| 1985-86 | | Direct Cont. 1985-86 | | PACS Breakdown 1985-86 | | | |
|----------|-----------|----------------------|----------|------------------------|----------|-------|----------|
| Receipts | \$156,055 | Indiv. | \$75,873 | Corp. | \$32,100 | T/M/H | \$19,950 |
| Expend. | \$66,944 | PACS | \$65,550 | Labor | \$9,250 | Agr. | \$500 |
| Unspent | \$118,089 | | | Ideo. | \$3,750 | CWOS | \$0 |

SIXTH DISTRICT

The 6th Congressional District of South Carolina extends from the North Carolina border to the shoreline, where they come upon the Grand Strand. Inland you find tobacco fields, which helps to explain why tobacco is so important to the district. This was once plantation country, and a large percentage of the counties have black majorities, and a large percentage in a South Carolina district, as it was before 1970. For years blacks from this district have taken the bus to New York (called the chicken bus) to make their livings. Now they remain in the district, and the percentage here is likely to rise.

The two places in the district with the highest average economic growth that attracted people from the rest of the state (the South). One is Florence, the district's largest city, which is only 22% black.

Nonetheless this is a district where black voters have been active in congressional politics greatly since the Voting Rights Act. The chairman of the House District of Columbia, who was accused of being a racist. In 1974 and 1975 he was elected in under special circumstances. In 1980 the incumbent Democrat John Jenrette in 1980 lost to Napier, and blacks stayed with him and he came close to winning.

Napier had a near-impossible assignment of a near-perfect Reagan voting record and sufficient support on civil rights issues. He is a clothing chain store owner Robin Tallon finished the runoff. Tallon had the same kind of concentrated his campaign efforts on turnout in most counties, but won enough votes to win with 52%. Napier's advantages of incumbency and most of the votes are committed and Democrat Tallon.

No one has ever accused Tallon of being a racist. He might expect of a small city clothing store owner and in black churches. His record is fairly conservative on cultural issues. In the House he spent much of 1986 seeking aid for the drought-stricken farm credit system to make more peanuts. In the Peanuts Subcommittee he has been a solid supporter of Rose.

Back home Tallon has now what Jenrette is likely to hold in fair partisan weather or foul. Tallon's national ticket is not too much of a drag: When he was congressman who can't run 8% ahead of his primary got 60% of the vote in 1984 and 76% in 1986; that is into the Republican base.

The People: Pop. 1980: 519,273, up 23.6% from 1970; children, 63% married couples; 28.4% housing units; value: \$33,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 347,458; 23.6% black.

A

..... 94,269 (62%)
 58,350 (38%)

b. Nov. 1, 1942, Charlotte, NC; home, York; A.B. 1964, M.A., Oxford U., 1966, Yale U., LL.B. ian; married (Jane).

tions Ofc. of Asst. Secy. of Defense, 1969-71; , 1971-82; Pres., Bank of Ft. Mill, 1973-82; Pres., gcy., 1973-82.

LHOB 20515, 202-225-5501. Also Box 350, Rock -327-1114; 39 E. Calhoun St., Sumter 29150, 803- 214 W. Laurens St., Box 964, Laurens 29360, 803-

Armed Services (22d of 31 D). Subcommittees: Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems. Gov- tions (15th of 24 D). Subcommittees: Commerce, Monetary Affairs; Government Information, Jus- ture.

| V | ACU | NTU | NSI | COC | CEI |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1 | 33 | 27 | 50 | 59 | 31 |
| - | 38 | 36 | - | 57 | - |

1985 LIB — 1985 CONS
 48% — 50%
 63% — 33%
 54% — 46%

| | | | |
|------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| Cont | AGN | 9) Aid Angola Reb | AGN |
| | AGN | 10) Tax Reform | FOR |
| mp | FOR | 11) S Africa Sanc | FOR |
| | FOR | 12) Immig Reform | FOR |

osed (\$66,944)
 osed (\$58,272)
 98,513 (92%)
 8,778 (8%)

| PACS Breakdown 1985-86 | | | |
|------------------------|-------|----------|----------------|
| 6 | | | |
| 73 | Corp. | \$32,100 | T/M/H \$19,950 |
| 50 | Labor | \$9,250 | Agr. \$500 |
| | Ideo. | \$3,750 | CWOS \$0 |

SIXTH DISTRICT

The 6th Congressional District of South Carolina is part of the state's lowlands, north and east of Charleston, up to the North Carolina border. This is low-lying land; the rivers wind lazily toward the shoreline, where they come upon the barrier islands now developed as South Carolina's Grand Strand. Inland you find tobacco fields; 15 acres can support a family, though not very well, which helps to explain why tobacco district politicians defend its interests so assiduously. This was once plantation country, and a large percentage of the people here are black; three of the counties have black majorities, and overall the district is 41% black. This is the highest percentage in a South Carolina district, and the percentage of blacks is no longer declining as it was before 1970. For years blacks from this area lined up after high school graduation and got on the bus to New York (called the chicken bone special, because they packed chicken dinners) to make their livings. Now they remain in South Carolina, and over the long run the black percentage here is likely to rise.

The two places in the district with the lowest black percentages are also those with above-average economic growth that attracted people from outside the area (though usually from the South). One is Florence, the district's largest city; the other is the Grand Strand area in Horry County, which is only 22% black.

Nonetheless this is a district where black voters have had the satisfaction of influencing congressional politics greatly since the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In 1972 they ousted the chairman of the House District of Columbia Committee, John McMillan, who was often accused of being a racist. In 1974 and 1982 they ousted Republican congressmen who had gotten in under special circumstances: In the latter case, Republican John Napier beat incumbent Democrat John Jenrette in 1980 after Jenrette's Abscam conviction. Even so, most blacks stayed with him and he came close to winning.

Napier had a near-impossible assignment in trying to hold onto the district in 1982. He had a near-perfect Reagan voting record and suffered from the recession and from the President's perceived attitude on civil rights issues. He was also hurt when Democratic legislator and clothing chain store owner Robin Tallon finished far ahead in the Democratic primary and won the runoff. Tallon had the same kind of support among blacks that Jenrette did, and concentrated his campaign efforts on turning out the black vote. He ran close to racial percentages in most counties, but won enough white votes in Horry County to win districtwide with 52%. Napier's advantages of incumbency and money were not telling in a district in which most of the votes are committed and Democrats begin with the bigger base.

No one has ever accused Tallon of being an intellectual. He has a good old boy style, as you might expect of a small city clothing store owner, that goes over well at Rotary Club meetings and in black churches. His record is fairly liberal on economic and foreign policy, solidly conservative on cultural issues. In the House he is a member of the Agriculture Committee, and spent much of 1986 seeking aid for the drought-stricken farmers of his area; he also wants to change the farm credit system to make more money available to farmers. On the Tobacco and Peanuts Subcommittee he has been a solid vote for the chairman, North Carolina's Charlie Rose.

Back home Tallon has now what Jenrette had until he got into trouble: a district he seems likely to hold in fair partisan weather or foul. This is one southern district where the Democratic national ticket is not too much of a drag: Walter Mondale got 42% of the vote here, and a congressman who can't run 8% ahead of his presidential nominee doesn't deserve to win. Tallon got 60% of the vote in 1984 and 76% in 1986; the latter showing represents his first serious inroad into the Republican base.

The People: Pop. 1980: 519,273, up 23.6% 1970-80. Households (1980): 80% family, 49% with children, 63% married couples; 28.4% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$104; median house value: \$33,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 347,458; 37% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1092 SOUTH CAROLINA

1984 Presidential Vote: Reagan (R) 92,875 (57%)
 Mondale (D) 68,691 (42%)

Rep. Robin M. Tallon, Jr. (D)



Elected 1982; b. Aug. 8, 1946, Hemingway; home, Florence; U. of SC, 1964-65; United Methodist; married (Amy).

Career: Owner, Tallon Sales; SC House of Reps., 1980-82.

Offices: 432 CHOB 20515, 202-225-3315. Also P.O. Box 6286, Florence 29502, 803-669-9084; and Horry Cnty. Cthse., Conway 29526, 803-248-6256.

Committees: *Agriculture* (14th of 26 D). Subcommittees: Conservation, Credit, and Rural Development; Cotton, Rice, and Sugar; Tobacco and Peanuts. *Merchant Marine and Fisheries* (18th of 25 D). Subcommittees: Merchant Marine; Oceanography; Panama Canal and Outer Continental Shelf.

Group Ratings

| | ADA | ACLU | COPE | CFA | LCV | ACU | NTU | NSI | COC | CEI |
|------|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1986 | 40 | 0 | 63 | 25 | 49 | 57 | 31 | 60 | 44 | 25 |
| 1985 | 45 | — | 61 | 42 | — | 48 | 32 | — | 50 | — |

National Journal Ratings

| | 1986 LIB — 1986 CONS | | 1985 LIB — 1985 CONS | |
|----------|----------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| Economic | 54% | — 46% | 52% | — 47% |
| Social | 22% | — 77% | 0% | — 76% |
| Foreign | 44% | — 56% | 46% | — 52% |

Key Votes

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| 1) Lmt Cln Water Act | FOR | 5) Retain Gun Cont | AGN | 9) Aid Angola Reb | FOR |
| 2) Rpl Tobac Sub | AGN | 6) Contra Aid | FOR | 10) Tax Reform | AGN |
| 3) Grm-Rdmn Def Red | AGN | 7) Lmt Text Imp | FOR | 11) S Africa Sanc | FOR |
| 4) Ban Polygraph | AGN | 8) Limit SDI | FOR | 12) Immig Reform | AGN |

Election Results

| | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------|--------|-------|-------------|
| 1986 general | Robin M. Tallon, Jr. (D)..... | 92,398 | (76%) | (\$269,708) |
| | Robert Cunningham (R)..... | 29,922 | (24%) | (\$61,949) |
| 1986 primary | Robin M. Tallon, Jr. (D)..... | 61,924 | (90%) | |
| | Luther Lighty (D)..... | 7,066 | (10%) | |
| 1984 general | Robin M. Tallon, Jr. (D)..... | 97,329 | (60%) | (\$422,256) |
| | Lois Eargle (R)..... | 63,005 | (39%) | (\$177,517) |

Campaign Contributions and Expenditures

| 1985-86 | | Direct Cont. 1985-86 | | PACS Breakdown 1985-86 | |
|----------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|------------------------|----------|
| Receipts | \$344,115 | Indiv. | \$146,582 | Corp. | \$47,955 |
| Expend. | \$269,708 | PACS | \$182,060 | Labor | \$47,305 |
| Unspent | \$76,934 | | | Ideo. | \$13,800 |
| | | | | T/M/H | \$61,550 |
| | | | | Agr. | \$6,800 |
| | | | | CWOS | \$4,650 |

SOUTH I

Almost everything started—or ended—in South Dakota suited up in the Dakota Territory on his v Horn. But 1876 also marked the end for the India South Dakota's Black Hills brought prospector Indians. It was the year Calamity Jane ruled in th was shot in the back there while holding up two p slaughtering the buffalo, who could not be contain that by the time Teddy Roosevelt got to the Dako one to shoot. The mining towns flared brightly they're still taking gold out of one mine in Lea headed west, to the plains of the Dakota Territ through, before the Indians were massacred in 11 many of them German and Scandinavian immn speculators, had built sodhouses and broken the la Dakotas to the Union in 1889.

That was just the moment that the Census Bu proclaimed the closing of the American frontier. between the English-speaking American civiliz remained then and remain now around the count the 25 years between statehood and World War Midwestern style into 640 acre square miles, fill Missouri River in the middle of the state, green then stops, the land is punctuated not by roads me and gullies and grasslands sweeping all the way to These are the plains where the Sioux once built a where the Sioux live today, on or just off reser Indians, the highest percentage in the nation. This 1973 Wounded Knee was occupied by Indian m Dennis Banks return to serve his sentence for reverberated in the state's politics: the chief pros two terms as governor; and the Republican Pa regained its position of political dominance after

By 1910 South Dakota's settlement patterns v here and there—and the state's political charact voters here flirted briefly with the Populists and South Dakota had become almost as monolithic: Dakota never had much use for the socialistic id on in the more Scandinavian soil of North I comparable to the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnes have been periodic farm revolts against incumb state's residents live on farms, and its day-to-d revenues, and hence is subject to wide fluctuation: Republican base that, despite such revolts, the st governor for only two years and elected only one

The last two decades, in contrast, have seen sha while McGovern's Democrats were on the rise, c