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OA/ID Number: 13713
Folder ID Number: 13713-003

Folder Title:
[Strom] Thurmond Fundraiser 4/11/90 [OA 6895]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	20	5	1

Peggy --

for Strom Thurmond,

will need info on Strom's kids -- their ages.

need to know basic bio of a fellow named Pitchfork Ben Tillman,
former Gov. of SC.

need to know Atwater's wives name -- Sally?

Nancy Moore	19	3/30/71
Strom II	17	10/18/72
Julie	16	3/20/74
Paul	13	11/9/76

Senate Historian

224-6900

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mary E. Hingood

857-4328

11:30

Nancy

Simpson
Warner

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4/9

~~Charlotteville~~

YES Warner

2023

~~NO Murkowski~~

6665

Dole CODEL
Middle East

YES Wendy Gramm - 254-~~6387~~

Comm Futures 6970

Trading Commissioner
Chairman

Dole 6521

Simpson

McClure

Metzenbaum

Murkowski

Wray - N

4/10

Thurmond 5972

~~Murkowski~~

Warner

Wendy Gramm

Thornburgh

633-2800

Mike Moore - Director
125 Marshal Service

9001
307-9600

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~Polly Williams~~
~~608/266-0960~~

Kelly Johnston - RNG
status - me + 475-6000
crime + drug
→ defense \$ services
- armed ranking
judicial

optimistic state
Hugo - Thru's role/leadership
ethics, honesty, integrity
not waste well-respected
in state

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	46%	52%	38%	62%
Social	66%	32%	62%	36%
Foreign	68%	32%	66%	32%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Claudine Schneider (R)	145,218	(72%)	(\$443,267)
	Ruth S. Morgenthau (D)	56,129	(28%)	(\$328,335)
1988 primary	Claudine Schneider (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Claudine Schneider (R)	110,524	(72%)	(\$325,052)
	Donald J. Ferry (D)	43,149	(28%)	(\$67,685)

SOUTH CAROLINA

Fifty years ago South Carolina was more like what is now called an underdeveloped country than part of an advanced country like the United States. Beneath its very thin veneer of rich people, it was the poorest state in the union, with income levels less than half the national average; its levels of illiteracy and of disease were among the nation's highest. "In this country where natural growth borders on the semitropical," wrote the *WPA Guide*, "and midday heat in the summer is prostrating except where sea breezes creep in under the thick foliage of live oak and myrtle or between the tall trunks of longleaf pine, there seems to be no hard grinding necessity for thinking too much about money in the bank, fine clothes, and weather-tight houses. The outdoors is too free, fishing is too good, and crops grow with only part of a year's work."

Some 43% of South Carolinians were black, almost all of them living in the Low Country—the swampy territory within 50 miles of the coast, where the great planters of the 18th and 19th century built rice paddies and cultivated exotic crops like indigo in the days before, as one South Carolina politician put it in the 1850s, "Cotton is King." The great wealth of the Low Country planters was destroyed by the war they did more than any other southerners to provoke, but their pride and their way of life continued. "The Low Countryman himself will not change. He will still have his afternoon nap, eat his rice, revere his ancestors, go hunting and fishing in season, and take time out from his labors to entertain his friends and guests with courtesy, ease, and graceful hospitality." Up-country South Carolina, settled by Scots-Irish and even Germans, with few slaves before the Civil War, had begun 50 years ago to develop the lowest-wage of industries, textiles. "Enterprising businessmen came in and established cotton mills, built towns around them, with schools, churches, banks, stores, and hospitals. Into the mills came the up-country farmer who was barely making a living, and out of the mountains came the barefoot man and sunbonneted woman, to take charge of spindles and looms." The mills in those days never hired blacks; even before World War II fair numbers of South Carolina blacks took the bus north to New York or Philadelphia to make a living.

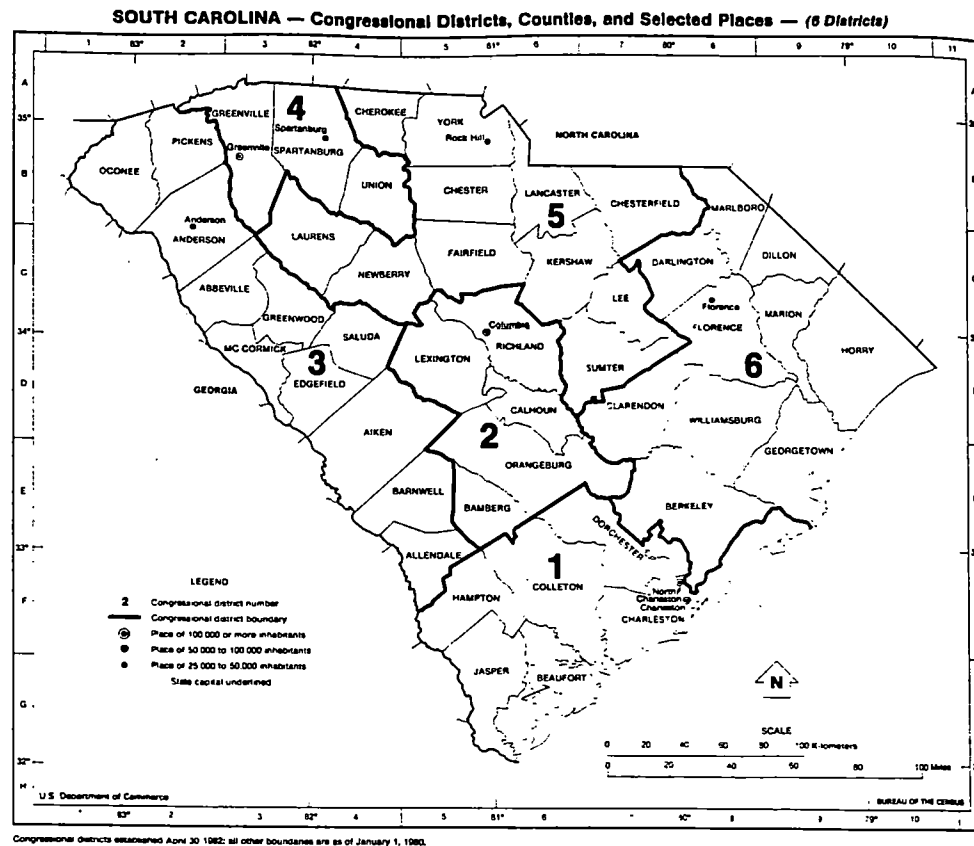
Politics in this underdeveloped South Carolina was a rough business, with harsh appeals to

racial fears and economic envies. And not many people participated. Only 99,000 South Carolinians voted for President in 1940, and 96% of them voted Democratic—the highest percentage in the nation. And in the Democratic primary in the year Strom Thurmond ran for governor, 1946, only 271,000 voted in a state of more than two million.

In the decades since, life in South Carolina has changed as much as in any state: the underdeveloped country has joined the First World. Today the state's incomes, discounted for its 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. South Carolina was helped upward for some years by the military bases clustered around Charleston (helped along by Mendel Rivers, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee), by the textile mills that dotted the hilly up-country landscape around Greenville and Spartanburg, and by the outmigration of Low Country blacks to the big cities of the Northeast. But that was only the beginning. By the 1970s South Carolina became the most aggressive state in the South in attracting new industry. It went 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 (low), and its willingness to meet local employers' needs (very high). Gradually, 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 expenditure on schools as well as highways, teachers as well as policemen.

Much of this was made possible because South Carolina was relieved, quite against the will of its white majority, of the burdens and stigma of racial segregation. Beginning in the 1950s, fewer people were kept from the polls by the poll tax, and turnouts surged as South Carolina became competitive in the presidential elections of 1952, 1956 and 1960. Then the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 ended segregation of public accommodations and in the workplace and brought blacks suddenly into the electorate. Politically, the reaction was a sharp rightward trend toward Republicans led by Strom Thurmond, who had turned Republican in September 1964 and had indicated his disapproval of this process. But even while candidates were denouncing school busing after a bus in one rural district had been burned, South Carolina was learning to live with integration and getting on with the work of economic development.

Politically South Carolina reached a not entirely uncomfortable equilibrium by the early 1970s. Almost 30% of its voters were black, almost all of them solid national Democrats. But while the white majority was polarized against them in the 1968 and 1972 presidential elections, there were enough movable white votes to elect a Democratic governor in 1970 and to cast South Carolina's electoral votes for Jimmy Carter in 1976. Affluent whites vote heavily Republican. But less affluent whites have become a swing vote, loyal to Strom Thurmond but favorable to Ernest Hollings, making most of South Carolina's gubernatorial elections over the last 20 years very close indeed. They yearn on the one hand for an end to old-style politics, to control of the legislature by an oligarchy of rural-based bosses; 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; but on the other hand, they are afraid that higher taxes will choke off growth. They are people at one and the same time exhilarated and terrified by the changes they have seen in South Carolina in the last generation—both around them and in their own lives. 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 hate it. They are leery of policies—and institutions, like labor unions—that seem to threaten the economic order which has proved so bountiful. Yet there is an underlying appreciation that



government—building highways, running schools, maintaining social security—has made some contribution to this bounty and to their affluence.

Many surely have an uneasy sense that old rules, however unjust some of them were, are no longer in force, that 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. This is a state where traditional religion has strong roots, and where cultural conservatism thrives, despite—or because—most people live in an environment where traditional rules do not always apply. 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. Most South Carolina voters find it simply implausible that large numbers of their fellow Americans would mock traditional values or cast aspersions on patriotism, and they find it hard to vote for a candidate who seems sympathetic to those views.

The legacy of these voters is Democratic, and for a while in the 1970s, when Jimmy Carter appeared at the Firecracker 400 stock car race in 1976, the Democrats seemed to be speaking their language. But in the 1980s, as South Carolina has been growing more affluent and the Democrats seemed to be increasingly liberal on cultural and foreign policy issues, the South Carolina swing voters have been moving Republican. The voters who were entirely happy with

Democratic Governor Richard Riley, elected in 1978 and 1982 by large margins, were also happy to elect Republican Governor Carroll Campbell in 1986, albeit by a much narrower margin, and it is surely not without significance that these two governors—political rivals and not especially friendly ones—should choose to emphasize the same issue: education. And it may turn out that this not-so-long-ago underdeveloped country is leading the nation on this important part of national life.

Governor. Richard Riley's 1984 education reform package has been called "in many respects . . . the most comprehensive, sophisticated, thoughtful approach to reform in the country." It contained merit pay and pay raises for teachers and a tough new testing program including a high school graduation test, a building program, remedial classes and gifted-children programs, cash bonuses to schools that improve and penalties for those who do poorly. It was passed after Riley convinced businessmen and voters that the state needed a better educated work force to enjoy further economic growth, and that the extra taxes he was seeking would be worth it. In four years South Carolina chalked up some of the highest increases in test scores in the country, attendance is up, the high school graduation rate is up, and more teachers report morale gains than in any other state. Building on that record, Campbell got teachers' salaries up to the regional average and committed the biggest share of five years of budget increases to education. He set up a statewide Governor's School for Mathematics and Science, and stepped up spending on colleges and technical schools, and created a higher education program with student scholarships, endowed professorships and accountability and assessment measurements.

This is all the more interesting, because on the national political spectrum Campbell is counted as a conservative. His political career—from his days in the legislature to a controversial race for Congress in 1978 (Democrats claimed and Campbell denied that he encouraged a minor candidate to attack the Democrat on the grounds that as a Jew he did not believe in Jesus) to his election for the governorship and strong support of George Bush in 1987 and 1988—has been closely associated with Lee Atwater, the South Carolinian who is now chairman of the Republican National Committee. Campbell is adamant about lowering taxes, but his approach to government is anything but *laissez faire*. Campbell wants to lower auto insurance rates and reorganize state government, and his work on education, like Riley's, shows an appreciation that South Carolina needs to improve the skills of its work force if its economy is to continue to grow, and that market forces by themselves are not going to do that. Those who want to see an example of what Newt Gingrich calls "governing conservatism" would do well to go down to South Carolina.

Campbell won his 1986 race against Lieutenant Governor Mike Daniel by only 51%–49%, and only after labelling him as one of the insider politicians. His margins came in urban and suburban areas, especially in his home base of Greenville, and he may have been helped by increased turnout up-country; most rural counties went for Daniel. Tom Hartnett, his colleague in Congress, agreed to run for lieutenant governor rather than give Campbell a primary fight; but he was beaten 50%–49% by Democrat Nick Theodore—one reason why Campbell had none of the rumored interest in an appointment by George Bush. Since his election Campbell's ratings have been high and he has gone some distance toward building a stronger Republican Party; his candidates have captured several Democratic districts in state legislative elections. Campbell also had success in his backing of Bush. The South Carolina Republican primary was scheduled on the Saturday before Super Tuesday, presumably at Atwater's instigation, to give Bush an opportunity to start out with a big win before the rest of the South voted; Campbell campaigned actively with him, helped build his organization, and had the satisfaction of seeing him win a strong victory. For 1990, Campbell himself starts out a strong favorite. Riley, reported to be considering the race, announced late in 1988 that he would not run; possible Democrats include 1986 contenders Mike Daniel, Phil Lader and Hugh Leatherman and Theo Mitchell, a black state Senator from Greenville.

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 commanding 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 nearly 60 years now: he was first elected to the legislature at 29, in 1932, and is plotting his reelection campaign for 1990. Hollings won his first election at 26, in 1948, and says those who think he may retire in 1992 are "non-thinkers."

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. He 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. His switch was an example of his mind at work. There are no baroque embellishments to his thoughts; he is not interested in nuance or qualification. His intellect is simple but strong: he decides where he wants to go, figures out how to get there, and then does it.

Thurmond, as the senior Republican Senator, was president pro tempore of the Senate from 1980 to 1986, 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 the current chairman, Joseph Biden. In his middle 80s, he remains in excellent health, and if he doesn't seem attentive to detail to some observers, those who think he might overlook some legislative point or particle of procedure may find him alert and ready if the matter is something he cares about.

Thurmond is a WWII veteran and 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, outlawing plastic guns, 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. A proud teetotaler—he pushes lemonade in the summertime—he wants large warning labels on liquor bottles. 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 who was 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 20 years now. But Thurmond shows no sign of tiring or retiring. With the same directness and steadiness of purpose he brings to all political enterprises, he has set out since early 1985 to put himself in a strong position to win reelection in 1990, and he seems to have succeeded. Some Republicans grumble that he supported Bob Dole rather than George Bush in 1988; some Democrats argue that he's not quite as strong as he seems. But the professional politicians seem convinced he still has his 50%-plus base and more, and in early 1989 he seemed likely to be a vigorous candidate—and a winner. The span of his career is 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; this is a man in touch with two centuries of American politics.

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. He continues to be the second ranking Democrat on the Budget Committee, and his proposal for 1989 is a budget freeze combined with a 5% value-added tax on everything but food, housing and health care. This is typical Hollings: he believes in an activist federal government, but he also believes in subjecting it to strict discipline.

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 the major opponent of deregulating broadcasting, and has been trying to reinstate the Fairness Doctrine and to start regulation of advertising on children's programs. 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 opposed to laws limiting tort claims. He has worked on various ocean issues on the committee, including the 1988 ocean dumping law; he has championed a National Global Climate Change Research Act; he worked on reviving the National Space Council to be chaired by the Vice President. He is pushing a constitutional amendment to allow Congress to limit campaign spending. On trade issues he proudly proclaims himself a "hawk," supporting vigorously the textile bill that was widely criticized as protectionist.

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 the party activists 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.

Confident and impressive in person even more than on television, Hollings has worked hard in Washington and campaigned hard in South Carolina. He seems well-positioned to run for reelection in 1992.

Presidential politics. South Carolina has become one of the most Republican of the southern states in presidential elections; in November 1988 it was, no doubt to Lee Atwater's great satisfaction, one of George Bush's strongest states in the country. He got 62% of the vote here, down only slightly from Ronald Reagan's 64% in 1984. One thing that is helping the Republicans is demographic change. The proliferation of Hilton Head Island-style condominium communities on the coast made two Low Country counties become more Republican between 1984 and 1988; the other big population gaining areas are counties just outside cities like Charleston, Columbia, and Greenville. With relatively few blacks and many upwardly mobile and/or deeply religious whites, they are heavily Republican. The election results tell the story. In counties where voter turnout rose more than 10% from 1980 to 1988, Bush beat Michael Dukakis 65%-34%; in counties where turnout rose less than 10% in the 1980s, Bush led Dukakis by the lesser margin of 59%-40%; in counties where turnout fell during the 1980s—many of them rural black-majority counties with little economic growth—Bush only barely beat Dukakis, 53%-46%.

South Carolina's Republican primary played a significant role in the 1988 contest; it was scheduled to help George Bush, and did. Carroll Campbell was one of three governors—John Sununu of New Hampshire and James Thompson of Illinois were the others—who were credited by Lee Atwater with major responsibility for Bush's three early crucial victories in their states. Bush's victory was especially sweet since it effectively extinguished the chances of Pat Robertson showing any significant primary strength to go with the support he had been able to win in packable caucuses.

As for the Democrats, they scheduled their caucus the weekend after Super Tuesday, presumably to deflect attention from it. Predictably, it was won by South Carolina-born Jesse Jackson, with blacks apparently accounting for more than half the turnout.

Congressional districting. South Carolina's congressional districts were changed only slightly in 1980s redistricting, and probably will not be changed significantly for the 1990s.

The People: Est. Pop. 1988: 3,493,000; Pop. 1980: 3,121,820, up 11.9% 1980-88 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 (1988): 1,437,628; no party registration.

1988 Share of Federal Tax Burden: \$9,141,000,000; 1.03% of U.S. total, 28th largest.

1988 Share of Federal Expenditures	Total		Non-Defense		Defense	
Total Expend	\$10,934m	(1.24%)	\$8,023m	(1.22%)	\$4,279m	(1.87%)
St/Lcl Grants	1,354m	(1.18%)	1,353m	(1.18%)	1m	(0.97%)
Salary/Wages	2,322m	(1.73%)	450m	(0.67%)	1,872m	(0.67%)
Pymnts to Indiv	5,139m	(1.26%)	4,666m	(1.19%)	473m	(2.54%)
Procurement	1,932m	(1.02%)	1,368m	(2.94%)	1,932m	(1.02%)
Research/Other	187m	(0.50%)	186m	(0.50%)	0m	(0.50%)

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 11 R); State House of Representatives, 124 (87 D and 37 R). Senators, Strom Thurmond (R) and Ernest F. Hollings (D). Representatives, 6 (4 D and 2 R).

1988 Presidential Vote

Bush (R)	606,443	(62%)
Dukakis (D)	370,554	(38%)

1984 Presidential Vote

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

1988 Republican Presidential Primary

Bush	94,738	(49%)
Dole	40,265	(21%)
Robertson	37,261	(19%)
Kemp	22,431	(11%)

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.

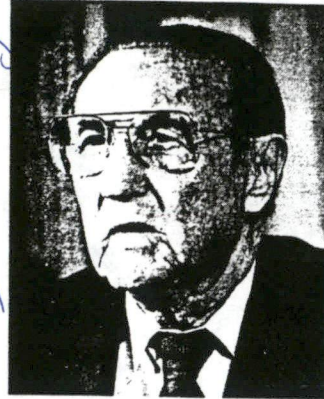
Office: P.O. Box 11369, The State House, Columbia 29211, 803-734-9818.

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. (R)	202,806	(30%)

SENATORS

Sen. Strom Thurmond (R)



Elected 1954 seat up 1990; b. Dec. 5, 1902, Edgefield; home, Aiken; Clemson U., B.S. 1923; Baptist; married (Nancy).

Career: Teacher and coach. 1923-29; Edgefield Cnty. Super. 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 cand. for U.S. Pres., 1948; Pres. Pro Tempore, U.S. Senate, 1981-87.**

Offices: 217 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 Deterrence (Ranking

Member). *Judiciary* (Ranking Member of 6 R). Subcommittees: Antitrust, Monopolies and Business Rights (Ranking Member); Courts and Administrative Practice. *Labor and Human Resources* (5th of 7 R). Subcommittees: Employment and Productivity (Ranking Member); Education, Arts, and Humanities; Labor. *Veterans' Affairs* (3d of 5 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	0	11	11	42	20	92	71	100	93	56
1987	15	—	11	17	—	96	—	—	71	62

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	22%	—	75%	15%	—	82%
Social	0%	—	89%	16%	—	78%
Foreign	8%	—	91%	0%	—	76%

Key Votes

1) Cut Aged Housing \$	AGN	5) Bork Nomination	FOR	9) SDI Funding	FOR
2) Override Hwy Veto	AGN	6) Ban Plastic Guns	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	7) Deny Abortions	FOR	11) Aid To Contras	FOR
4) Min Wage Increase	AGN	8) Japanese Reparations	AGN	12) Reagan Defense \$	FOR

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)

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 Tempore, 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; 112 Custom House, 200 E. Bay St., Charleston 29401, 803-724-4525; and 126 Fed. Bldg., Greenville 29304, 803-585-3702; 103 Fed. Bldg., Spartanburg 29301, 803-585-3702.

Committees: *Appropriations* (3d of 16 D). Subcommittees: Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary (Chairman); Defense; Energy and Water Development; Interior; Labor, Health and Human Services, Education. *Budget* (2d of 13 D). *Commerce, Science, and Tourism*; Surface Transportation. *Select Committee on Intelligence* (3d of 8 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	55	41	58	83	50	48	27	100	29	22
1987	40	—	57	50	—	62	—	—	17	27

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	52%	—	45%	—
Social	60%	—	39%	—
Foreign	39%	—	59%	—

Key Votes

1) Cut Aged Housing \$	FOR	5) Bork Nomination	FOR	9) SDI Funding	FOR
2) Override Hwy Veto	FOR	6) Ban Plastic Guns	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	7) Deny Abortions	AGN	11) Aid To Contras	FOR
4) Min Wage Increase	FOR	8) Japanese Reparations	AGN	12) Reagan Defense \$	AGN

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)

FIRST DISTRICT

There are few, if any, more beautiful urban scenes in America than the pastel "single houses" of Charleston, built flush with the sidewalk, turning their shoulders to the streets, with open "piazzas" inside their gateways facing south to catch the breeze, 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

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planters and merchants who dominated the state's economic and political life. Many of the old houses south of Broad were kept in families and preserved, but in the rest of the city, wrote the *WPA Guide* 50 years ago, "along streets no longer fashionable, clothes lines flap above abandoned gardens, and several Negro families are crowded out into some tumble-down big houses, spilling their progeny out on the sidewalk." In the years that followed the Civil War, Charleston became an economic backwater. Today prosperity has come back to Charleston, restoration has crept far north of the Battery, and the old part of the city, where the Ashley and Cooper Rivers meet to form the Atlantic Ocean, is still beautifully preserved and still the home of the city's elite, housing 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 black culture was 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 (but not aristocrat) Ernest Hollings.

Since World War II, Charleston has been growing again. At first the impetus was the military, with the big Navy and Air Force bases here nurtured by Mendel Rivers, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee from 1965 until his death in 1971; at one point 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, but the economy has diversified since Rivers's death 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. 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.

The congressman from this district is Republican Arthur Ravenel, an experienced Charleston politician with a fine old South Carolina Huguenot name. He is a cousin of Charles Ravenel, the young Democrat 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); Arthur Ravenel beat Democrat Jimmy Stuckey 52%-48%.

In his first term Ravenel compiled a somewhat mixed record ideologically and got a seat on

Armed Services—more or less a political necessity for this district—and worked to channel dollars into the Charleston Shipyard and military health care. He was concerned about acid rain because of damage to the Medway Plantation. His most vivid moment may have come when he told Defense Secretary Carlucci of the need for military involvement in fighting drugs, saying, by his own account, "What we need to do, upon positive identification, which is very important, is begin shooting down the drug-carrying planes and machine-gunning any survivors. I believe that very quickly these tough measures will put an end to drug smuggling. I further told the Secretary to think of all the money that will be saved by not having to have lengthy trials or having to maintain the drug traffickers in jail." He did not record Carlucci's reaction, but the voters in the 1st District responded favorably and reelected him by a 64%-36% margin.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 584,200, up 12.3% 1980-86; 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.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 100,179 (61%)
Dukakis (D) 62,594 (38%)

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, gen. contractor, cattleman; SC House of Reps., 1952-58; SC Senate, 1980-86.

Offices: 508 CHOB 20515, 202-225-3176. Also 640 Fed. Bldg., Rm. 640, Charleston 29403, 803-724-4175; 263 Hampton St., Walterboro 29488, 803-549-5395; P.O. Box 550, Estill 29918, 803-625-3177; and P.O. Box 1538, Beaufort 29902, 803-524-2166.

Committees: *Armed Services* (17th of 21 R). Subcommittees: Military Installations and Facilities; Military Personnel and Compensation.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	25	41	47	64	56	76	57	100	86	35
1987	24	—	31	29	—	61	—	—	87	51

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	34%	—	29%	—
Social	40%	—	32%	—
Foreign	30%	—	28%	—

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Arthur Ravenel, Jr. (R).....	101,572	(64%)	(\$118,702)
	Wheeler Tillman (D).....	57,691	(36%)	(\$82,035)
1988 primary	Arthur Ravenel, Jr. (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Arthur Ravenel, Jr. (R).....	59,969	(52%)	(\$265,574)
	Jimmy Stuckey (D).....	55,262	(48%)	(\$457,810)

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 up-country 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 porticoes, dormers and raised brick basements. The big event in Columbia's later history was the arrival of Sherman's Army: "Except for the State House," the *WPA Guide* noted in 1940, "no structure on Main Street antedates 'The Burning' by Sherman, in 1865. His name is still anathema to Columbians." In the post-Sherman years Columbia grew slowly, with state government and the university, the Army's Fort Jackson and local insurance companies proving steady employers. More recently it has started to boom, attracting 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. The Columbia where Sherman was remembered in the 1940s and where Jimmy Byrnes, after years in top posts in Democratic Washington, returned as governor to lament the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, has trended Republican in the years since. 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 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, most of the people who live here now are black, and politics follows racial lines.

The congressman from the 2d District is Republican Floyd Spence, who has been running for office in the Columbia area since 1956. Spence became a Republican in 1962, two years before Strom Thurmond, narrowly lost a House race that year 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 Watson ran for governor in 1970, Spence ran for the House seat and won it.

Spence won a close reelection in 1988 after a difficult year: in May he underwent a double-lung transplant. His illness had forced him to relinquish the increasingly hot seat of ranking Republican on the House Ethics Committee, and he was necessarily less active on the Armed Services Committee. But he insisted that he came out of surgery with "the lungs of an 18-year-old." Spence has often had serious opponents, tempted by the rather close balance of racial and political forces in the district, including Matthew Perry, a black later appointed a federal judge

by Strom Thurmond, and Jack Bass, a top newspaper reporter and the writer of the definitive work on the Orangeburg massacre when highway patrolmen shot black students in 1968. In 1988 his opponent was Jim Leventis, a Columbia county councilman and prominent attorney and banker, considered to be at least as strong as the opponents who had held Spence (with one exception) to the 54% to 59% range from 1974 to 1986. Spence recovered physically and started generating news about military contracts, a computer virus bill, and expanding the Congaree Swamp National Monument. Leventis actually raised more money and campaigned hard.

But in this polarized constituency the results were almost the same as in the close 1986 race. Spence won 53%—46%, carrying 68% in Lexington County and winning the Columbia area 54%—45%. After the election, Spence was still generating news, announcing a partnership between Hughes Aircraft and South Carolina State in Orangeburg. But the same factors which produced a serious challenge and a close race may well be operating in 1990.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 562,400, up 7.6% 1980–86; 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.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	103,577	(59%)
	Dukakis (D).....	67,446	(39%)

Rep. Floyd D. Spence (R)



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

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

Offices: 2405 RHOB 20515, 202-225-2452. Also 140 Stone Ridge Dr., Ste. 104, Columbia 29201, 803-254-5120; and 1681 Chestnut St. N.E., P.O. Box 1609, Orangeburg 29116-1609, 803-536-4641.

Committees: *Armed Services* (2d of 21 R). Subcommittees: Military Installations and Facilities; Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials (Ranking Member). *Select Committee on Aging* (20th of 27 R). Subcommittees: Human Services; Retirement Income and Employment.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	10	18	16	18	44	85	73	100	71	38
1987	4	—	15	14	—	73	—	—	93	56

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	*	—	*	29%	—	69%
Social	13%	—	84%	15%	—	84%
Foreign	0%	—	84%	0%	—	80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	—	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	—	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Floyd D. Spence (R).....	94,960	(53%)	(\$369,698)
	Jim Leventis (D).....	83,978	(46%)	(\$376,727)
1988 primary	Floyd D. Spence (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Floyd D. Spence (R).....	73,455	(54%)	(\$294,665)
	Fred Zeigler (D).....	63,592	(46%)	(\$179,860)

THIRD DISTRICT

The South Carolina up-country, many days' travel by wagon from the Low Country plantations owned by Charleston aristocrats, was first settled by Scots-Irish farmers, like the family of John C. Calhoun in the years just before and after the Revolutionary War. 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 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 was long a winter haven for New York hunters, and which now is the chief commercial center for the huge (15,000 employees) and troubled Savannah River Plant, which produces nuclear weapons material. The northern part of the district, where Calhoun had his mansion and his son-in-law created Clemson College nearby, is Piedmont and textile country, with mountains in the north. Here the Savannah River intersects with Interstate 85, the main street of America's textile belt, near Anderson, the largest city in the district.

The politics of this area, ancestrally Democratic, has been trending Republican for some time now. Aiken started voting Republican for Dwight Eisenhower in the 1950s, well before Thurmond switched parties in 1964; it has been steadily Republican ever since. Anderson, in contrast, has jumped around. It voted for George Wallace in 1968, Richard Nixon in 1972, Jimmy Carter in 1976 and 1980, Ronald Reagan in 1984, and by almost as large a margin, more than 2 to 1, for George Bush in 1988. Some of the river counties with their large black populations remain Democratic. But the textile mill counties from Clemson to the mountains are heavily Republican. The result is that what was a Carter district in 1976 and 1980 had become a Bush district by 1988.

This poses some problems for Butler Derrick, the Democratic congressman from the 3d District since 1974. The national Democratic strength here early in his career gave him leeway to fashion a distinctive record. He got a seat on the Rules Committee in 1979, where he was free to concentrate on whatever issues he liked with the understanding that he'd be helpful to the Democratic leadership. He also served two rotations on the Budget Committee, from 1975-79 and 1983-89.

But as the 1980s have gone on, he has gravitated more to district causes. He served as the chairman of the Congressional Textile Caucus, sponsoring a ban on Soviet textile imports and the requirement that the country of origin be named on garment labels. He was a lead sponsor of the 1987 textile protection bill vetoed by President Reagan. He argues that he vetoed in a conference committee session proposals to put Monitored Receivable Storage of nuclear waste in the Savannah River Plant area, by tying that measure to the selection of a permanent nuclear waste repository, which is expected to be in Nevada. On the other hand, he has been a staunch advocate of the Energy Department's selection of Savannah River for a new nuclear production facility; the area was badly hurt by the closedown of facilities due to charges of unsafety or obsolescence in 1988.

All of this must have helped Derrick in his 1988 reelection fight, his first rough contest in years. His opponent was Henry Jordan, an Anderson surgeon who lost the nomination to face Ernest Hollings in 1986; this time he had good financing, though much less than Derrick. Jordan accused Derrick of being a johnny-come-lately on the textile bill, though Jordan himself seemed to talk quite fondly of free trade; he also accused the Democrat of voting to release non-violent federal prisoners 90 days early to ease overcrowding—a way of linking him with one of Michael Dukakis's vulnerabilities. He got Oliver North to come to Clemson to campaign. Derrick was a familiar figure in his horn-rimmed glasses and trademark suspenders, and his work on textiles and the Savannah River plant must surely have worked in his favor. Yet he won with just 54% of the vote—one of two Democrats on Rules (David Bonior of Michigan was the other) with this not very impressive showing. Derrick carried Anderson with 54%, but only barely won the textile counties to the north; for all his work on Savannah River, he lost Aiken County, with its increasing numbers of affluent suburbanites. Derrick gave up any plans he had for statewide office in 1984, and he has a fine future ahead in the House: on Rules he ranks just behind the new chairman, Joe Moakley; he could easily be chairman some day and in the meantime is in fine position to exert leverage on all manner of things. But the 1988 result indicates that he may get more serious competition and may be hard pressed to hold this Republican-trending district.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 554,600, up 6.8% 1980-86; 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 value: \$32,000. Voting age pop. (1980): 366,318; 20% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	108,043	(66%)
	Dukakis (D).....	54,507	(33%)

Rep. Butler Derrick (D)



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

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

Offices: 201 CHOB 20515, 202-225-5301. Also 315 S. McDuffie St., 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: Rules (2d of 9 D). Subcommittee: Legislative Process (Chairman). Select Committee on Aging (12th of 39 D). Subcommittee: Health and Long-Term Care.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	70	59	57	82	69	36	23	30	54	23
1987	72	—	56	43	—	17	—	—	40	23

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	45%	—	54%	60%	—	39%
Social	42%	—	57%	44%	—	56%
Foreign	51%	—	48%	58%	—	41%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Butler Derrick (D)	89,071	(54%)	(\$641,429)
	Henry Jordan (R)	75,571	(45%)	(\$354,575)
1988 primary	Butler Derrick (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Butler Derrick (D)	79,109	(68%)	(\$177,714)
	Richard Dickison (R)	36,495	(32%)	(\$4,261)

FOURTH DISTRICT

When northern investors were looking for sites for textile mills as long ago as the 1880s, they looked to the up-country of South Carolina, to which they "were attracted by the mild climate, abundant water power, proximity to the cotton fields, and plenty of native [and white] labor already accustomed to a low standard of living." And so the textile industry of the South became centered by 1900 along the Southern Railway tracks between Charlotte and Atlanta, mainly in the Piedmont of North and South Carolina; and as the mills fled New England and the Northeast in the 1920s, the concentration here became even more thick. The textile country could look bucolic, as it did 50 years ago to a WPA writer in Greenville, where "winding streets, following old paths and roads, cross and recross the Reedy River," but Spartanburg, like Greenville, was "not so much a city as it is the civic center of a county highly developed agriculturally and industrially. The business district, where tall buildings, handsome stores, and modern hotels hobnob with shabby little old structures, occupies several blocks on narrow streets converging at Morgan Square. In the entire city, blocks are of irregular length and, without civic plan, streets have evolved from twisting woodland paths and lanes."

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 Counties 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 also stages the largest balloon race east of the Mississippi, with some 200 balloons competing each year.

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 which would bargain for high wages and fringe benefits. But history has taken a different course. There are big textile companies, like Roger Milliken'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's products have included moderate Democrats and Republicans, like Judge and defeated Supreme Court nominee Clement Haynsworth, Democratic Governor (1979–87) Richard Riley, and his Republican successor Carroll Campbell.

The 4th Congressional District of South Carolina, which includes Greenville and Spartanburg and one small county, has had seriously contested races when it has been open, as in 1978 and 1986. The most recent winner was Liz Patterson, a state Senator and former council member from Spartanburg and daughter of Olin Johnston. The primary action, interestingly, was on the Republican side—a struggle between William Workman III, a newspaper editor with many business and Republican ties, and two candidates with strong religious backing; Workman won, but got just 49% in the first primary and was hurt in the strife. 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% in Greenville County, but she won 60% in Spartanburg and 63% in Union, for a 52% victory.

In the House Patterson was proud of her work setting up child care centers in Veterans' Administration medical centers and of her fiscal voting record; like other South Carolina Democrats she is about in the middle of the House on economic, cultural and foreign issues. In 1988 there was again a Republican primary, with former Campbell aide Knox White beating a fundamentalist airline pilot 56%–45%. The general election was almost a carbon copy of 1986. White won 54% in Greenville County, but Patterson won 60% in Spartanburg and 67% in Union, for a 52% victory. This was 20% ahead of Michael Dukakis's showing here, but suggests another close race in 1990 if Knox White should challenge Patterson again.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 549,200, up 5.5% 1980–86; 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.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 114,191 (67%)
Dukakis (D)..... 54,572 (32%)

Rep. Elizabeth J. (Liz) 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 Ofc. of Econ. Opp., 1967-68; Aide to Rep. James R. Mann, 1969-70; Mbr., Spartanburg Cnty. Cncl., 1975-76; SC Senate, 1979-86.

Offices: 1641 LHOB 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, Finance and Urban Affairs* (22d of 31 D). Subcommittees: Economic Stabilization; Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance; Housing and Community Development. *Veterans' Affairs* (13th of 21 D). Subcommittees: Education, Training and Employment; Hospitals and Health Care.

Select Committee on Hunger (12th of 19 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	45	52	67	100	50	48	39	60	57	32
1987	72	—	63	43	—	26	—	—	60	32

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	40%	—	58%	41% — 58%
Social	40%	—	58%	48% — 50%
Foreign	44%	—	55%	50% — 48%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Elizabeth J. Patterson (D)	90.234	(52%)	(\$1,143,351)
	Knox White (R)	82.793	(48%)	(\$630,913)
1988 primary	Elizabeth J. Patterson (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Elizabeth J. Patterson (D)	67.012	(52%)	(\$594,026)
	Bill Workman (R)	61.648	(47%)	(\$639,859)

FIFTH DISTRICT

In the late 18th century Scots-Irish farmers moved from the sluggish rivers of Low Country Carolina to the up-country and Piedmont, where were fought some of the fiercest battles of the Revolutionary War. Kings Mountain and the 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 really subsided. Nor has the strong Calvinist religion which the earliest settlers brought with them; it lives on in various forms of Protestantism today—including the preaching of Jim Bakker and his wife Tammy Faye, who built their headquarters and their Heritage USA

Christian theme park and vacation retreat here in Fort Mill, South Carolina. What has changed, however, is that what looks like farming country—and still has many farms on it—has economically long since been a part of industrial America. Textile mills have been the biggest employers in up-country South Carolina, and the picture the *WPA Guide* gives of the city of Rock Hill 50 years ago is scarcely bucolic: "Railroad tracks run through the middle of the town, and the Memorial Bridge viaduct, honoring the military dead, connects the business district with the north residential section. While the houses are not outstanding architecturally, many along the wide, tree-bordered thoroughfares are distinguished for their lawns and gardens. Homes of the better educated and more prosperous Negroes are on the southern outskirts, with the usual fringe of cabins and 'shotgun' houses where the poorer classes of both races live."

In the 1970s metropolitan growth is moving out into these textile and tobacco farm counties, from Charlotte, North Carolina, just to the north, from the Greenville-Spartanburg strip along Interstate 85 which now specializes in more than textiles, from the state capital of Columbia. Eleven such counties in north and central South Carolina make up the state's 5th Congressional District.

The congressman from the 5th District is John Spratt. He comes from a politically active family in Rock Hill and has degrees from Davidson, Yale Law and Oxford; he was one of the young Democrats involved in Charles Ravenel's unsuccessful 1974 campaign for governor and have stayed in South Carolina politics since. Spratt was first elected in 1982, when incumbent Ken Holland announced his retirement a week before the filing deadline; he was able to put a campaign together readily and won 38% in the primary, 55% in the runoff against a candidate who spent \$929,000, and 68% in the general election. He has been reelected easily, winning 70% in 1988.

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 has become, according to *National Journal*, "one of the House's more influential members on matters military." His secret has been to study hard and master the details personally. Early on 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. He has been one of the Democrats most immersed in the details of the Strategic Defense Initiative, about which he has neither the unalloyed enthusiasm of a Jack Kemp nor the not very well informed opposition of some northern liberal Democrats; he favored only restricted funds for the Phase One SDI deployment. He worked on the difficult and for a South Carolinian sensitive issue of the safety of the Savannah River Plant nuclear reactors. He conducted breakfast seminars on chemical warfare and came up with a compromise that allowed carefully limited research to continue.

He has spent some time on domestic issues as well, sponsoring a bill requiring recycling for most consumer product packaging, supporting the "Buy American Bearings" cause, and transferring title to the Sandhills Forest to the state of South Carolina. On economic, cultural and foreign issues generally he has taken positions that put him at about midpoint in the House. Some have pushed Spratt to run for statewide office, but he says he has no interest in becoming governor, and seems uninterested in running against either incumbent Senator or against Richard Riley if he runs for Senate. So the likelihood is that he will continue what has been a productive career in the House.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 549,300, up 5.7% 1980-86; 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.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 91,385 (60%)
 Dukakis (D)..... 61,398 (40%)

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



Elected 1982; b. Nov. 1, 1942, Charlotte, NC; home, York; Davidson Col., A.B. 1964, Oxford U., M.A. 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: 1533 LHOB 20515, 202-225-5501. Also Box 350, Rock Hill 29731, 803-327-1114; 39 E. Calhoun St., Sumter 29150, 803-773-3362; and Box 964, Laurens 29360, 803-984-5323.

Committees: *Armed Services* (18th 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	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	55	57	61	64	75	29	30	33	57	29
1987	72	—	57	50	—	9	—	—	47	21

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	40%	—	58%	53%	—	46%
Social	50%	—	50%	48%	—	50%
Foreign	56%	—	43%	56%	—	44%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	John M. Spratt, Jr. (D).....	107,959	(70%)	(\$105,620)
	Robert Carley (R).....	46,622	(30%)	(\$8,449)
1988 primary	John M. Spratt, Jr. (D), unopposed			
1986 general	John M. Spratt, Jr. (D), unopposed			(\$66,944)

SIXTH DISTRICT

The 6th Congressional District of South Carolina is part of the state's Low Country, north and east of Charleston, up to the North Carolina border. Here 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 area 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 37% 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 may rise. Still, the places here with the most rapid recent growth are along the coast, especially the Grand Strand on either side of Myrtle Beach in Horry County. This is attracting migrants from other parts of the South, many of them affluent retirees, and almost all of them white.

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. The current congressman, Robin Tallon, is a Democrat who had the happy assignment of facing in 1982 the Republican who had beaten convicted Abscam defendant John Jenrette in 1980. Tallon, a Democratic legislator and clothing chain store owner, had strong support from blacks as 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%. Since then it has been no contest. Tallon was reelected with 76% in 1986 and 1988. Even the national ticket doesn't hurt much. Michael Dukakis lost the district, but only by a 56%-44% margin. Any incumbent with the franking privilege who can't run 7% ahead of the head of his ticket doesn't deserve to be in Congress.

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 of Charlie Rose's Tobacco and Peanuts Subcommittee. He has worked for South Carolina research projects, to beef up the Grand Strand beaches, to fund a hybrid striped bass project, and to maintain tobacco export credits despite reports of corruption by leaf dealers. His approach is not subtle. "South Carolina has the potential to become the Holly Farms of striped bass," he said on one issue. "The tobacco farmer in my district and elsewhere should be the point of reference for any government program, domestic or export," he said on another.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 575,900, up 10.9% 1980-86; 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.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 89,068 (56%)
 Dukakis (D)..... 70,037 (44%)

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: Retail clothing store owner. 1965-present; Real estate broker and developer, 1982-present; 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* (12th of 27 D). Subcommittees: Conservation, Credit, and Rural Development; Cotton, Rice, and Sugar; Tobacco and Peanuts. *Merchant Marine and Fisheries* (14th of 25 D). Subcommittees: Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment; Merchant Marine.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	40	52	69	73	69	60	33	90	62	28
1987	44	—	67	50	—	39	—	—	60	25

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	46%	—	52%	49%	—	50%
Social	40%	—	58%	48%	—	50%
Foreign	44%	—	55%	28%	—	70%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Robin M. Tallon, Jr. (D)	120,719	(76%)	(\$243,559)
	Bob Cunningham (R)	37,958	(24%)	(\$10,604)
1988 primary	Robin M. Tallon, Jr. (D)	65,608	(89%)	
	Luther Lightly, Jr. (D)	8,448	(11%)	
1986 general	Robin M. Tallon, Jr. (D)	92,398	(76%)	(\$269,708)
	Bob Cunningham (R)	29,922	(24%)	(\$61,949)

SOUTH DAKOTA

Half a century ago, work was stopped on Mount Rushmore. Sculptor Gutzon Borglum's design had not been fully chiseled out of the granite-crested mountain; Lincoln's beard was not finished, and Washington had been carved only to the lapels. But the looming war cut off federal subsidy of the project, and the four likenesses were recognizable—a national monument, the American political tradition embodied in a physically remote, forbidding environment. By this time Mount Rushmore had already become a symbol not just of patriotism but of the American can-do spirit; the seemingly wacky idea of carving statues out of a faraway mountaintop had been sanctioned when it was dedicated by President Calvin Coolidge in 1927, on the same summer vacation when he handed out slips of paper to reporters that read, "I do not choose to run for president in 1928."

And it was built in the Black Hills where the state that became South Dakota got its start, all of a sudden, a half century before in 1876. That year, as General George Custer suited up in the Dakota Territory on his way to be slaughtered by Crazy Horse's Sioux at Little Big Horn, prospectors discovered gold in the Black Hills—a discovery that marked the end for the Indians and their buffalo, as prospectors swarmed into land that treaties had reserved for the Indians. It was the year Calamity Jane ruled in the saloons of Deadwood, and Wild Bill Hickock was shot in the back there while holding up two pair, aces and eights. It was a year when hunters started slaughtering the buffalo, who could not be contained by barbed wire fences so thoroughly that by the time Teddy Roosevelt got to the Dakota Territory in 1885 he had a hard time finding one to shoot.

The mining towns flared brightly and then went dim or flickered out, though they're still taking gold out of one mine in Lead. But their fame attracted settlers, already headed west, to the plains of the Dakota Territory. It was not long before the railroad came through, before the Indians were massacred in 1890 at Wounded Knee, before enough settlers, many of them German and Scandinavian immigrants recruited by the railroads and land speculators, had built sodhouses and broken the land and set down roots to justify admitting both Dakotas to the Union in 1889.

That was just the moment that the Census Bureau and historian Frederick Jackson Turner proclaimed the closing of the American frontier. But bits and pieces of frontier, of marchland between the English-speaking American civilization and the civilizations that preceded it, remained then and remain now around the country. You can still see them in South Dakota. In the 25 years between statehood and World War I, the eastern third of the state, sectioned off Midwestern style into 640 acre square miles, filled up with farmers. But before you get to the Missouri River in the middle of the state, green turns to brown, cultivation grows sparser and then stops, the land is punctuated not by roads meeting every mile at precise angles but by buttes and gullies and grasslands sweeping all the way to the horizon with no sign of human habitation. These are the plains where the Sioux once built a civilization based on hunting the buffalo, and where the Sioux live today, on or just off reservations; currently, 7% of South Dakotans are Indians. This is not an entirely peaceful frontier even yet: in 1973 Wounded Knee was occupied by Indian militants, and not until 1984 did Indian leader Dennis Banks return to serve his sentence for riot and assault.

By 1910 South Dakota's settlement patterns were established—with patches of frontier left here and there—and the state's political character had been pretty well set. During the 1890s voters here flirted briefly with the Populists and William Jennings Bryan; but by the 1920s, South Dakota had become almost as monolithically Republican as Nebraska. Voters in South

Sally 6573

day-long briefings (Marriott)
luncheon - night reception
Thurmond

brief remarks 5 min

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Press Club - PACs
A Salute to Am's Greatest Leaders

Thurmond: 30 - Brief rem

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Kirkpatrick (lunch) Henson Moore
Sec. Derwinski
Brady
Neuffer
(dep. sec labor) Rod DeArment

11/12

FAX TRANSMITTAL

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TO: Peggy Dooley (202) 456-6218
FROM: Robert Adams

DATE: 4-2-90

RE: Thurmond - Articles

TIME:

NO. OF PAGES 9 (Including this page)

IF THERE ARE ANY PROBLEMS WITH THIS TRANSMISSION, PLEASE CALL.

Peggy - Hope this is what you are looking for. It may be appropriate for the President to mention Lee Atwater in his remarks. Lee got his start in politics.

under Sen. Hammond & we are all thinking
about him these days (as I'm sure White
House folks are too) Thanks, frost

At 87, Thurmond's not slowing down



Sen. Strom Thurmond flexes his muscles when asked how he feels during a news conference Monday at the Airport. With him are Sens. John Courson; John Drummond and Rep. David Wilkins.

THE NEWS — FRED ROLLISON

Senator opens bid for re-election

2/13/90 GVL NEWS
By Dan Hoover

Chief capital correspondent

Proclaiming that he feels "like a million dollars," 87-year-old Sen. Strom Thurmond announced his candidacy Monday for a seventh re-election campaign.

Reading from a three-page text from which he never missed a word, Thurmond made no promises — except to be Strom Thurmond.

"In all my years of public service,

I have never felt a stronger obligation to continue my work for the future of our state and our nation," suggesting that retirement after a 57-year public career that began with a 1933 legislative term has no attraction for him.

Thurmond called for caution in reducing defense expenditures. The veteran lawmaker also said he'll seek a balanced-budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution, and a death

penalty under federal law. And he added a new wrinkle, expressing concern about mounting environmental pollution.

Accompanied by his 43-year-old wife, Nancy, and bipartisan campaign co-chairmen, state Sens. John Courson, R-Columbia, and John Drummond, D-Greenwood, Thurmond made his re-election an-

See Thurmond, Page 5A

Thurmond opens bid for re-election

Continued from Page 1A
nouncement in a series of a half-dozen airport news conferences around the state, including the Greenville-Spartanburg Airport.

If re-elected, Thurmond could surpass Theodore Green of Rhode Island who retired in 1961 at 93 as the oldest man to serve in the U.S. Senate. With the death of U.S. Rep. Claude Pepper of Florida in 1989, Thurmond became the oldest member of Congress.

So far, Thurmond has no opposition on the horizon. Only Phil Lader of Hilton Head Island, runner-up for the 1986 Democratic gubernatorial nomination, has indicated any interest and that

has been lukewarm.

Democrats, with an eye toward making political capital over Thurmond's age, commissioned a poll several weeks ago to assess public opinion and perhaps use the findings to recruit a viable challenger. But party sources have described the results as much less than encouraging and are unlikely to use it as an issue barring a sudden deterioration in Thurmond's apparent vigor.

Just to make sure, Thurmond outlined his exercise regimen that he said includes daily calisthenics and a half-mile swim three times a week "instead of going out to cocktail parties."

The effect of age, Thurmond said, "depends on the individual. If ... he's exercised and dieted and taken care of himself, why they're still active."

Raising his arms over his head in a weightlifter's pose, Thurmond left little doubt that he had just given a self-portrait.

With a war chest steadily marching toward the \$1 million mark, his strategists hope to further discourage any serious challenge.

Thurmond, whose senate career dates to his 1954 victory as history's lone successful write-in candidate for that office, made note of both his seniority and

close ties to the Reagan and Bush administrations "... that will enable me to do more for South Carolina than ever before."

He has been unopposed for re-election twice and only Democrat Charles "Pug" Ravenel in 1978 has provided Thurmond with a serious challenge.

Except for 1978 when he took 55.6 percent of the vote, Thurmond's victories have been blowouts with 62.2 percent his lowest.

A Republican since 1964, Thurmond began his career as a Democrat, but ran for president in 1948 under the banner of the States' Rights Party — the so-called "Dixiecrats" — and carried four states with 39 electoral votes.

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Tuesday, February 13, 1990 5A

pared remarks, Thurmond himself with what he Reagan-Bush initiated the 1970s inflationed interest rates in a economy, and restored military power.

ahead, Thurmond said, "I see some of our great-ages ... Over the next we will be setting new and building the foundation century."

for protection and ent of the nation's quality, Thurmond said he k to improve education environment and the American family.

a brief question-and-answer session with reporters, the touched on several

Military spending: "Some of it can (be cut), but ... we can't jeopardize the freedom of the people of this nation. What's happening in Eastern Europe is just wonderful; it makes my heart glad; on the other hand, there are other nations that can cause trouble."

Budget deficits: "I passed a constitutional amendment through the Senate in 1984, mandating a balanced budget; the leaders in the House ... killed it. We could save billions of dollars because log-rolling goes on in Congress the same way it does in state legislatures."

Crime and drugs: "We must take steps to let the criminal know he can't take charge of this country. At the national level, we need the power of the death penalty."

The Washington
Times 2-13-90

Thurmond, 87, will seek 7th term as S.C. senator

By Major Garrett
The Washington Times

South Carolina Sen. Strom Thurmond, an 87-year-old Republican testotater who used to fight civil rights legislation with wrestling holds and the filibuster, said yesterday he will seek a seventh term in Congress.

"In all my years of public service, I have never felt a stronger obligation to continue my work for the future of our state and our nation," Mr. Thurmond told supporters yesterday at Aiken (S.C.) Municipal Airport. "I might be letting [you] down if I leave now."

Mr. Thurmond, a former Democrat, said his priorities in his seventh term would be improving education and protecting the environment from hazardous waste and pollution.

If elected, Mr. Thurmond would be one month past his 94th birthday at the end of his term and would become the oldest member ever to serve in Congress. Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island Democrat, was 93 years and three months when he left the Senate in 1961.

Democrats do not have an announced candidate, but Hilton Head businessman Phil Lader, the former president of Winthrop College, is being wooed by Louisiana Sen. John Breaux.

Mr. Thurmond's stance on civil rights has moderated with his age and the ascendancy of black political influence in the South. In 1971,

"That was the turning point in his political life," said Hastings Wyman, a former aide to Mr. Thurmond and publisher of Southern Political Report. "It spelled the end of racial politics in the state. It showed a certain willingness to change."

As former chairman and now ranking minority member of the Judiciary Committee and former president pro tempore of the Senate, Mr. Thurmond's influence and party prestige virtually is unmatched.

"I wouldn't elect a man just because of his seniority, but if he has all the other qualifications then it should be counted, and it is very helpful," Mr. Thurmond said yesterday.

On the Judiciary Committee, Mr. Thurmond shepherded many Reagan administration judicial appointees safely onto the federal bench, losing only one of 300 confirmation votes. He helped to deliver the South to Richard Nixon at the 1968 Republican National Convention and has been seen as a party broker ever since.

Mr. Thurmond's vibrant health and self-deprecating wit have made age an asset, just as it was for former President Reagan. Mr. Thurmond married his current wife, Nancy, when he was 66 and she was 22. The couple's four children are campaign favorites across the state, Mr. Wyman said.

"He has not in any way demonstrated that he's 87," said Wendy DeMocher, spokeswoman for the Republican Senate Campaign Commit-



Sen. Strom Thurmond

In 1954, after serving as governor, Mr. Thurmond bucked party bosses and was elected to the Senate as a write-in candidate, a first in U.S. politics. As he had promised voters, he resigned in 1956 — after two years in office — ran on the Democratic ticket and won.

In 1957, he established a Senate record for a one-man filibuster by speaking for 24 hours and 18 minutes against a civil rights bill pushed by fellow Democratic Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas.

In 1964, Mr. Thurmond wrestled then-Sen. Ralph Yarborough of Texas to the ground to keep the liberal Democrat from reaching the Senate floor to provide a quorum for pending civil rights legislation. He switched parties that year over the civil rights issue, announcing his support of GOP presidential candidate Barry Goldwater.

Mr. Thurmond's early opposition to civil rights became an issue in the 1978 campaign; but he blunted criticism by pointing to his support for black judges appointed to the federal bench and by voting to repeal the Civil Rights Act and to create a federal holiday in honor of the Rev.

cal influence in the South
Mr. Thurmond was the first South
Carolinian in Congress to hire a
black professional staffer.

publican Senate Campaign Commis-
tee. "He walks and talks so vigor-
ously."

federal holiday in honor
Martin Luther King Jr.

LEE BANDY



Washington Bureau

Campaigning key, not age

WASHINGTON

Sen. Strom Thurmond, the oldest member of Congress, is a phrase the Republican lawmaker can expect to read and hear throughout his re-election campaign this year.

"Does it bother him? Nah, he says."

"Could it undermine his re-election chances? Possibly. Much depends on the quality of his opposition — right now he has none. It also depends on how well Thurmond, at 87, stands up under the rigors of day-to-day campaigning."

Democrats are trying to recruit Phil Lader, a 43-year-old, Harvard-educated Hilton Head businessman who is energetic, bright and articulate. Lader, however, can't make up his mind between running for governor or the Senate or just staying put.

What attracts Lader's interest is a Democratic poll showing a new whole generation of voters who don't feel any attachment to the senior senator. Those feelings are tempered somewhat, however, by another finding. While these younger voters may have some doubts about Thurmond and show some inclination to support another candidate, they also do not want to see the senator hurt or embarrassed," says a Democratic consultant who has studied the poll over and over to find a soft spot in Thurmond's

Dwight Drake, former aide to Democratic Gov. Dick Riley, says age in and of itself should not be "any kind of detrimental factor" as long as that person is capable of doing the job.

Democratic pollster Harrison Hickman agrees, saying that age only becomes a negative in a campaign when a candidate begins to falter or his mind fails him. He then recalled a Thurmond misstep at a campaign rally on the state Capitol steps in 1986 when the senator urged South Carolina voters to get out there and support Dwight Eisenhower for president. He meant George Bush.

"I can see somebody rolling that one on television," Hickman suggested.

In 1980, age was blatantly used by Republican Slade Gordon against Democratic Sen. Warren Magnuson of Washington, who at the time was chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee. Gordon ran a TV spot showing Magnuson, who was failing in health, slowly descending an airplane ramp while a clock on the side of the screen ticked away the time it took him to get to the ground. The commercial ended with the slogan: "Slade Gordon for new vigorous leadership."

The Magnuson campaign answered the attack with its own TV spot: "When you've got clout, they don't start the meeting until you get there," Gordon won.

Generally, however, age is a sensitive area to explore and can backfire as an issue if not handled in a more subtle fashion than in the Gordon-Magnuson contest.

"People like Strom Thurmond," cautioned a strategist with the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, "They don't want to see anybody go out there and be mean and treat him unfairly."

Thurmond, a nonstop campaigner, will attempt to downplay the age issue in 1990. He'll utilize his youthful family a lot on the stump, decline any public debate to avoid comparison with a younger candidate, and be portrayed in television ads as an unusually active 87-year-old man.

find a soft spot in Thurmond's support.

Democrats have quietly raised the age issue with small groups of voters in focus group sessions in the Piedmont. Age is one area where they think Thurmond might be vulnerable.

When asked if age should be an issue, Lader responds, "That's not for me to determine. That's up to the voters. They will decide if he is serving effectively."

unusually active 87-year-old man. Voters will see him working out in a health club and hear his 43-year-old wife wondering "where Strom gets his energy."

Hickman says it won't work. "People know television ads are staged to put the candidate in the best possible light. The campaign will be the only real test. If he refuses to debate, that will be much more telling to the voters," he predicts.



(2-18)
Dan Hoover

Well armed for the race

The man raised his arms in the muscle-flexing pose of a weight-lifter.

For 87-year-old U.S. Sen. Strom Thurmond, the act during last Monday's Greenville stopover on a statewide flying tour to announce his seventh bid for re-election was as symbolic as it was a demonstration of his fitness.

After a public career that exceeds the lifespan of many folks, Thurmond can flex muscles of both pulsating sinew and political clout.

To illustrate that, it's almost March of an election year and Thurmond remains unopposed.

Apparently, only an on-again, off-again Phil Lader, Winthrop College president turned 1988 Democratic gubernatorial runner-

Unassailable?

That could be a moot point. There's no one I know of in the state who can beat Strom, or even come close," Democratic U.S. Rep. Butler Derrick of the 3rd District said last week.

Derrick, who introduced legislation to rename Clarks Hill Lake in honor of Thurmond and who hails from the senator's home county of Edgefield, said, "My best wishes to him."

Another Democrat, University of South Carolina political scientist Earl Black, forecasts another "cakewalk" for a Thurmond on the fast track toward becoming the oldest U.S. senator ever.

Black views a challenge to Thurmond as an exercise in futility, "especially this late."

Charles "Bud" Ferillo, a Columbia-based Democratic consultant reluctantly suggests that Democrats invest their time and treasure more productively elsewhere, like Florida swampland.

"As a good Democrat, I'm reluctant to discourage any qualified Democrat, but I don't see (a U.S. Senate victory) in the cards in 1990."

Thurmond, he says, is unbeatable.

Thurmond, Campbell get high job approval ratings from voters, pollster finds

Both seeking re-election this year

By Dan Hoover

Chief capital correspondent

COLUMBIA — Republican U.S. Sen. Strom Thurmond and Gov. Carroll Campbell hold job approval ratings among South Carolina voters of 85 and 78 percent, respectively, according to a survey done by presidential pollster Robert Teeter.

Ratings cut a broad swath across party, economic, racial and gender lines.

Both Thurmond and Campbell are seeking re-election this year.

Portions of the poll showed also that both men would win re-election overwhelmingly, based on

participants' response when it was taken in February.

Warren Tompkins, Campbell's chief of staff and political strategist, made the South Carolina portion of a national poll by Teeter's Michigan-based firm available to *The News*.

He said in an interview that Campbell's rating, one percentage point above that of President Bush, "puts a valid stamp of approval on what Carroll Campbell has tried to do" in economic development, education, and Hurricane Hugo recovery.

"You don't get numbers in the

See Poll Page 5B

Poll

high 70s just by no screwing up," he said.

But Democrats see it differently.

They have maintained that the polls reflect voter association with the last general election in 1988, in which President Bush swept better than 60 percent of the Palmetto State's votes, and fail to factor in their party's overwhelming edge in elected officials at all levels.

The poll was conducted Feb. 22-28 with a sampling of 500 selected via random digit dialing, with those not registered to vote screened out. It had a margin of error of plus or minus 4 percent.

Racial breakdowns of 74.8 percent white and 25.2 percent black tracked state voter registration percentages of 73.9 and 25.9. But, a 50.2-49.8 male-female split did not reflect the statewide percentage of 44.7-55.3 among registered voters.

The random digit dialing meth-

Continued from Page 1B



Gov. Carroll Campbell, left, and Sen. Strom Thurmond, both seeking re-election this year, hold high job approval ratings among South Carolina voters, according to a recent survey that Democrats refute.

FILE PHOTO

The random digit dialing method by Teeter's Coldwater Corp. also resulted in some statistical imbalance, with the 6th Congressional District in the Pee Dee being overly represented at 18.4 percent of the sampling with other districts ranging from a low of 15.6 percent for the coastal 1st District to a high of 17.6 for the Midlands 2nd District.

Participants were asked, "Please tell me if your general impression of Strom Thurmond/Carroll Campbell is very favorable, somewhat favorable, very unfavorable, or somewhat unfavorable."

Thurmond and Campbell had 71- and 53-percent approval ratings, respectively, from Democrats; 84 and 78 among independents; 95 and 87 from Re-

publicans, and 75 and 62 percent from blacks.

At 15 percent, more than twice as many Republicans rated Campbell as unfavorable as they did Thurmond. Among Democrats, 22 percent rated Thurmond unfavorable, 23 percent for Campbell.

The poll also set up separate trial heats between both Republicans and two Democrats, Charleston Mayor Joseph Riley Jr. and Hilton Head businessman Phil Lader, the runner-up for the 1986 Democratic gubernatorial nomination.

Although state Sens. Theo Mitchell of Greenville and Ernest Passailaigue Jr. of Charleston are announced candidates for the Democratic gubernatorial nomi-

nation, neither was included.

Tompkins said that Riley was matched because of a perception that they represented the strongest Democratic opposition and because the South Carolina portion of the poll was limited. Riley has said he will not seek any office in 1990 and plans to run for re-election in 1992.

While no one has announced against Thurmond, Lader has indicated some interest in both races.

Matched against Riley, Thurmond won 67-23, with the balance undecided or refusing to state a preference.

Campbell's showing in a mythical race against Riley was 61-27, with the rest undecided or declining to answer.

SUNTER ITEM

Tuesday, February 20, 1990

EDITORIAL

Strom again

Closest thing to sure bet in U.S. politics
gears up for seventh straight Senate run

There are not many sure things in this day and age, whether in the world of sports or in public affairs.

In professional football the San Francisco 49ers are mentioned as a possible dynasty, but even that remarkable team doesn't go to the Super Bowl every year, though when they do they usually make mincemeat of their opponents.

And in boxing, the prevailing wisdom until a week ago was that Mike Tyson would clean house on any and all challengers.

As for public affairs, even Ronald Reagan had the limitation of two consecutive terms as president to curtail his ascendancy. In the world of commerce, even Coca-Cola must contend with the challenge of Pepsi Cola. No, there are few sure things — except for a certain U.S. Senate seat now occupied by an 87-year-old man who, as one state Democrat recently observed facetiously, but not without some credence, "has entered the pantheon of the gods in South Carolina."

After 35 years in the U.S. Senate, Strom Thurmond is running, for the seventh time, for re-election. He was the first and only candidate for Senate to be elected as a

ic primary could select a nominee for the remaining four years of the term. He won by 60,000 votes, won again in 1956, switched to the Republican Party in 1964, and kept on winning and winning and winning.

A decorated World War II veteran, a circuit court judge, a state senator, a lawyer, a coach and teacher, a governor, a farmer — there isn't much that Strom Thurmond hasn't participated in, but politics has always been his forte, and his skills in that arena have been unsailable. His roots in the state's basic conservative political fabric are deep, and in recent years his outreach to a growing black constituency has buttressed his stature. It doesn't hurt his appeal to have had two popular Republican presidents in office for the past 10 years.

As for opposition this year, the Democrats are scurrying around in search of a challenger, with Phil Lader, former Winthrop College president who unsuccessfully ran against Mike Daniel in the 1986 Democratic primary for governor, mentioned most frequently as the designated sacrificial lamb. So far Lader is not showing great enthusiasm for a costly — and probably futile — race against Thurmond. The age and vigor is-

for Senate to be elected write-in candidate. That was in 1954, the year Hurricane Hazel visited South Carolina's coast. Now, over three decades later and following another hurricane, Thurmond is prepared to cake-walk his way into history toward becoming the oldest senator ever.

Today's new generation of voters weren't even born when Thurmond was first elected as a maverick Democrat who took on the formidable "Barnwell Ring" led by state Sen. Edgar Brown. Brown was nominated in 1954 by his party to succeed Burnet R. Maybank, who died before the general election after having won the primary unopposed. Thurmond was astute enough to promise, if elected, to resign in 1958 so that voters in the next Democrat-

mond. The age issues would likely be raised by any opposition, but how do you make that stick against someone with four young children?

Thurmond, as always, has touched all the bases, and as is his style, isn't taking anything for granted as his well-stocked campaign treasury attests. Already his TV commercials are reminding potential voters that he is seeking re-election. If there is anyone contemplating a run at the octogenarian, Thurmond is not wasting any time in throwing down the gauntlet.

Barring any unforeseen developments, Strom Thurmond, the nearest thing to a sure thing on today's political scene, is about to enjoy another free ride back to Washington.

4-D The State/Columbia, S

LEE BANDY



Washington Bureau

Is Thurmond unstoppable?

WASHINGTON

If Democratic businessman Phil Lader were to decide to challenge GOP Sen. Strom Thurmond, he would probably need about two years to make a race out of it. Unfortunately, the election is this November, hardly enough time to get cranked up and mount an effective campaign against an institution.

Lader, who has been pondering a Senate bid since last fall, has until April 30, the filing deadline, to make up his mind.

Thurmond's people, armed with fresh polling data, appear confident. A telephone survey of 500 registered voters taken by Republican pollster Robert Teeter Feb. 22-28 shows the senior senator clobbering Lader 75 percent to 17 percent. Teeter said the poll has a margin of error of plus or minus 4 percent.

If Charleston Mayor Joseph Riley were to run, it would be a little closer but not much.

Thurmond has budgeted \$3 million for his campaign but is prepared to spend up to \$6 million, if necessary, to win re-election to a seventh six-year term.

The senator formally launched his campaign last month with a whirlwind tour of the state and a television ad blitz that portrayed an energetic 87-year-old lifting weights, doing situps, and scurrying about the Capitol.

The message was clear: Thurmond, despite his advanced years, is in good health.

In the Teeter poll, 60 percent of the voters said they knew Thurmond was in his 80s. But an overwhelming majority of those people, 69 percent, indicated that they would vote for him.

The Democrats posed a similar question in a poll in November and came up with a similar result. While voters indicated that they would be less likely to support someone in his 80s, Thurmond was a special case, they said.

Democratic pollster Harrison Hickman, who took the survey, found it somewhat amusing that Thurmond would address the age issue so early in the campaign.

He viewed it as a defensive move.

"Physical fitness is not really the issue. It really doesn't answer the question of mental fitness," he said.

The Democratic candidate could stipulate that Thurmond is physically fit and still have age end up being an issue. People aren't going to ask, "How many push-ups can he do?"

The Teeter poll, however, shows that Thurmond enjoys rock-solid support among state voters: Sixty-nine percent of those surveyed say they will support him regardless of who runs against him.

Hickman, however, thinks those numbers can be reversed with the right type of campaign. The trick, he said, is to show that the senator's age has become "a symbol of being out of touch" politically, that his views are "backward" or "old-fashioned" in a modern, rapidly changing world.

Still, it's going to be tough.

Thurmond would win that race 67 percent to 28 percent, according to Teeter.

"Thurmond is even stronger than we thought," said Charles Black, a partner in Black, Manafort and Stone, a Republican consulting firm retained by the senator.

"I don't see how anybody can touch him."

Thurmond, who has been in the Senate for 35 years, was recognized by 98 percent of the voters in the poll. His job approval rating was 87 percent. Only 31 percent of the voters identified Lader.

Lader, who has a large leftover campaign debt from his gubernatorial bid four years ago, would need to spend \$2 million "just to get in the game," Black said.

Still, it's going to be won. According to Teeter, 83 percent of the voters view Thurmond as a "living legend," 82 percent believe he has more political clout than ever, 70 percent feel he has served the nation and state well; 63 percent say people are better off with Thurmond as their senator, and 80 percent expect him to win.

Earl Black, chairman of the University of South Carolina political science department, said, "I don't see how he can possibly lose."



Strom THURMOND

UNITED STATES SENATOR • SOUTH CAROLINA

FAX TO: Dooley

OFFICE: White House

PHONE: _____

DATE: 4-3-90 TIME: 2:35

PAGE 1 OF 8

SUBJECT: Info



URGENT, PLEASE CALL WHEN RECEIVED

FROM:

Pam Montgomery

****NOTE:** If you do not receive the number of pages specified
please call.

**SENATOR STROM THURMOND'S SERVICE RANKING AMONG ALL
WHO HAVE SERVED IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE**

Projected As Of January 3, 1991

			<u>Years</u>	<u>Months</u>
1) Hayden, Carl T.	D-AZ	3/4/1927 - 1/2/1969	41	10
2) Stennis, John C.	D-MS	11/5/1947 - 1/2/1989	41	2
3) Long, Russell B.	D-LA	12/31/1948 - 1/2/1987	38	
4) Russell, Richard B.	D-GA	1/12/1933 - 1/21/1971	38	
5) Warren, Francis E.	R-WY	11/18/1890 - 3/3/1893 3/4/1895 - 11/24/1929	37	
6) Eastland, James O.	D-MS	6/30/1941 - 9/28/1941 1/3/1943 - 12/27/1978	36	3
7) Magnuson, Warren	D-WA	12/14/1944 - 1/2/1981	36	
8) McKellar, Kenneth	D-TN	3/4/1917 - 1/2/1953	35	10
9) Young, Milton	R-ND	3/12/1945 - 1/2/1981	35	9
10) Smith, Ellison D.	D-SC	3/4/1909 - 11/17/1944 (35 years, 8 months, 13 days)	35	8
11) Ellender, Allen J.	D-LA	1/3/1937 - 7/27/1972	35	7
12) Thurmond, Strom	R-SC	12/24/1954 - 4/4/1956 11/7/1956 - present (35 Years, 5 Months, 8 Days)	35	5
13) Allison, William B.	R-IA	3/4/1873 - 8/4/1908	35	5
14) McClellan, John	D-AR	1/3/1943 - 11/28/1977	34	11
15) George, Walter	D-GA	11/22/1922 - 1/2/1957	34	1
16) Aiken, George	R-VT	1/10/1941 - 1/2/1975	34	
17) Borah, William E.	R-ID	3/4/1907 - 1/19/1940	32	10
18) Byrd, Harry F.	D-VA	3/4/1933 - 11/10/1965	32	8
19) Sparkman, John	D-AL	11/6/1946 - 1/2/1979	32	2
20) Byrd, Robert C.	D-WV	1/3/1959 - present	32	
21) Sherman, John	R-OH	3/21/1861 - 3/8/1877 3/4/1881 - 3/5/1897	31	11
22) Morrill, Justin S.	R-VT	3/4/1867 - 12/28/1898	31	10
23) Lodge, Henry C.	R-MA	3/4/1893 - 11/9/1924	31	8
24) Proxmire, William	D-WI	8/28/1957 - 1/2/1989	31	4
25) Hill, Lister	D-AL	1/10/1938 - 1/3/1969	31	

prepared by the
Senate Historical Office
May 19, 1989

WALTER J. STEWART
SECRETARY

RICHARD A. BAKER
HISTORIAN

DONALD A. RITCHIE
ASSOCIATE HISTORIAN

SUITE SH-201
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-7108
(202) 224-8900

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

HISTORICAL OFFICE

MEMORANDUM

May 19, 1989

TO: Pam Montgomery

FROM: Dick Baker *Dick Baker*

RE: Senator Thurmond's Senate Service.

At the start of his next term, on January 3, 1991, Senator Thurmond will have served in the Senate 35 years, 5 months, and 8 days. His tenure will be exceeded by only 11 of the 1,792 persons who have served since 1789.

He will surpass Ellison Smith (D-SC) 3 months and 6 days into his new term. That would occur on April 9, 1991.

At the end of his next term, on January 2, 1997, he will have served 41 years, 5 months, and 8 days. This would place him ahead of all senators who have ever served--except for Carl Hayden, who served 41 years and 10 months.

Ralph Garland
334-6415

Senate Committee Service of Senator Strom Thurmond

Government Operations.....1955-59
Interstate and Foreign Commerce*.....1955-65 *(became Commerce in
1962)
Public Works.....1955-57
Labor and Public Welfare.....1957-59
Armed Services.....1959-present
Banking and Currency.....1965-67
Judiciary (Chairman 1981-86).....1967-present
Rules and Administration.....1969-71
Joint Committee on the Library.....1969-71
Veterans Affairs.....1971-present
Labor and Human Resouces.....1985-present

Compiled by:

John G. Noory
U.S. Senate Library
November 6, 1989

Number of Bills and Resolutions
Sponsored and Cosponsored by
Senator Strom Thurmond
1973-1989

<u>Congress</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Sponsored</u>	<u>Cosponsored</u>
93	1973-74	53	227
94	1975-76	70	285
95	1977-78	68	476
96	1979-80	69	489
97	1981-82	137	520
98	1983-84	117	607
99	1985-86	133	704
100	1987-88	64	506
101*	1989-90	<u>54</u>	<u>297</u>
Total		765	4,111

*Through 11/4/89

Compiled by:

John G. Noory
U.S. Senate Library
November 6, 1989

Number of Recorded Votes Cast By
Senator Strom Thurmond
83rd-101st Congress

<u>Congress</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Votes</u>
83-98	1954-84	10,053*
99	1985-86	10,780
100	1987-88	11,543
101/1	as of 11/3/89	11,831

*Senator Thurmond cast his 10,000th vote on 9/13/84, Roll Call Vote No. 238.

Ramm

LIST OF HONORARY DEGREES GIVEN TO SENATOR STROM THURMOND

YEAR RECEIVED	NAME OF SCHOOL	TYPE OF DEGREE
1- 1948	Bob Jones University	Doctor of Laws
2- 1960	Presbyterian College	Doctor of Laws
3- 1961	The Citadel	Doctor of Military Science
4- 1961	Clemson University	Doctor of Laws
5- 1965	Trinity College Dunedin, Florida	Doctor of Humanities
6- 1970	California Graduate School of Technology	Doctor of Laws
7- 1973	Lander College	Doctor of Laws
8- 1974	Yonsei University	Doctor of Laws
9- 1974	Allen University	Doctor of Humane Letters
10- 1975	Limestone College	Doctor of Civil Laws
11- 1976	Baptist College	Doctor of Humane Letters
12- 1976	Erskine College	Doctor of Humane Laws
13- 1976	University of South Carolina	Doctor of Laws
14- 1978	Lee Chiropractic College	Doctor of Chiropractic Humanities
15- 1978	Life Chiropractic College- Marietta, GA.	Doctor of Chiropractic Movement
16- 1981	Medical University of South Carolina	Doctor of Humane Letters
17- 1981	Palmer College of Chiropractic	Doctor of Chiropractic Humanities
18- 1982	Winthrop College	Doctor of Laws
19- 1983	Voorhees College	Doctor of Laws

20-	1983	Tri-County Technical College	Doctor of Laws
21-	1984	Morris College	Doctor of Humanities
22-	1985	Chinese Culture University	Doctor of Laws
23-	1985	College of Charleston	Doctor of Laws
24-	1986	Claflin College	Doctor of Humanities
25-	1988	South Carolina State College	Doctor of Laws
26-	1988	Clinton Jr. College	Doctor of Humane Letters
27	1985	Truman University - Greenville S.C.	Doctor of Laws
28.	1984	Francis Marion College	Doctor of Humanities

This spring
BT will
receive Hon
Degrees from
Both Converse
College &
Wofford
College

McGroarty/Dooley
April 3, 1990
2:30 pm
[STROM]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: STROM THURMOND FUNDRAISER
NATIONAL PRESS CLUB
APRIL 10, 1990
6:30 P.M.

Thank you, Strom, for those kind words. It's my pleasure to be here tonight -- to join this gathering in support of a man who is an institution in American politics. The longest serving member of the U.S. Congress -- Strom Thurmond.

[Introductory acknowledgements.] Finally, let me mention one South Carolinian who can't be here tonight: Lee Atwater. // I know Strom and I and everyone here tonight wish Lee a swift and complete return to good health. // And all our thoughts are with Lee and his wife Sally as they {prepare for/celebrate} a new addition to the Atwater family. {The Atwaters' child is due April 10....}

Strom, I've been down to your home state -- in the aftermath of Hurricane Hugo. I know the people of South Carolina appreciate all you're doing to help them dig out from under the destruction Hugo left in his wake. That terrible tragedy brought out the best in the people of South Carolina -- proved that the bonds of community survived that storm undamaged -- and stronger than ever.

If I know anything about South Carolina's spirit, I know it's got high hopes heading into the 90's. And I know Strom

Thurmond feels the same way -- after all, you might say the 90's are his decade. // 87 years young -- and active in politics for more years than most of us has been alive. // [[In fact, there are some folks in South Carolina **who've made a career out of waiting to be Strom's successor.**]]

[[Strom, I'm tempted to ask you, "What's your secret?" but I'm afraid I'd get a lecture about eating my vegetables....]]

Let me speak for a moment about this man's remarkable longevity. When Strom Thurmond first took his seat in the South Carolina Senate in 1933, the greybeards, elder statesmen of his day **had been boys during the time of the Civil War.** // Today, after more than half a century serving the public interest, Strom's got a **direct** interest in helping this nation prepare to meet the **challenges of a new century: 4 teenage children -- Nancy Moore, Strom the Second, Julie and Paul.** //

Imagine looking out **over a sweep of history that stretches across two centuries.** Hearing, first-hand, tales of a century gone by -- sharing a child's dreams of the one yet to come. Imagine **shaping history,** for six decades in elective office. // That's a sense of perspective you can't replace. **And that perspective belongs to Strom Thurmond.**

Strom, you know I don't put my faith in polls -- but I think it's safe to say the people of South Carolina seem to be pretty pleased with your work. // And that's no surprise. Here's a man who's served his state and nation during the critical years of this century. As South Carolina moved from the days of

grinding poverty and the tar-paper shack, to the days of growing prosperity -- the high-tech renaissance -- of the new South Carolina. As the nation shed its crippling legacy of division and exclusion -- to recognize the equal rights of all. As the United States stood fast for freedom in the world -- stood with our allies in defense of democracy -- from the rise of the Soviet superpower to the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Strom Thurmond first took his seat in the Senate back in 1954. **The days of Ike and Khrushchev. Brown versus Board of Education. He's seen a world of change -- and he's done his share to steer this nation through times of tough passage. //**

But let me tell you: we're here tonight because Strom's work is not done yet. Strom, there are challenges ahead that call for the hard-won wisdom you possess. //

I need -- America needs -- Strom Thurmond in the Senate. We need his expertise in defense -- more than 30 years on the Senate Armed Services panel -- as we restructure the American Armed Forces to meet the changing threat to our national security. //

And today I call on Strom Thurmond to lead the way on **another issue, every bit as important as national security: I'm talking about the war on crime and drugs. I need Strom's help - - his great influence on his colleagues on the Judiciary Committee, and on the Senate floor -- in passing the tough new laws we need to fight crime in our cities and keep drugs off the street. //**

And when this old Circuit Judge and six-term Senator speaks out -- on the need for key reforms of habeas corpus or the exclusionary rule. Or in favor of the death penalty for drug kingpins who kill cops -- I know his colleagues will listen. //

And when our Anti-Crime Package becomes law, a large share of the credit will go to this man -- Strom Thurmond. //

Strom, let me say for all you've done and for all you will do: America thanks you -- and I'm sure the good citizens of South Carolina will agree that **Strom Thurmond has earned a seventh term in the United States Senate.** //

Once again, let me thank all of you for this warm welcome -
- God bless you all.

#

Grace M. Quatelli
633-4606

~~Lake Day~~

~~Dictionary of Bldg~~

~~Motto~~

leading banner on Sen. side

President's ^{line}
Package - acted on

end of next wk or after

Easter recess

exclusionary rule ^{reform}
corpus ^{reform} ~~death~~ ^{pen} ^{procedures}

\$ parts have passed ^{enhanced}
^{involving} ^{weapons}
what law
reforms

Notes?
Reports?

Tom
L
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108-226
1244

12/7/8
1/2 mile
3x week
work out
will
be
in
the
middle
of
the
week

9:30 am
4/5

DRAFT

April 5, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: DAN MCGROARTY

SUBJECT: SENATOR THURMOND FUNDRAISER

I. SUMMARY

On ~~Tuesday~~ ^{Wed.}, April ~~10~~ ¹¹, at 6:30 p.m. you will address a fundraiser for Senator Strom Thurmond at the National Press Club. 200-250 people are expected at the event, called "A Salute to America's Greatest Leaders." Senator Thurmond is running for his seventh Senate term, and as yet has no opponent.

The evening reception caps off a day-long series of briefings -- held at the J.W. Marriott -- by such Administration officials as Governor Sununu, Secretaries Brady, Yeutter and Derwinski, Henson Moore, and Rod DeArmant. Jeanne Kirkpatrick is the luncheon speaker.

~~Acknowledgments are not yet available.~~ Mrs. Thurmond will be at the event, and Senators Simpson + Warner are tentatively scheduled to be there.

II. DISCUSSION

The remarks (6 min./cards) discuss Senator Thurmond's vast experience and distinguished service in the Senate, and the important role he can play in helping Presidential initiatives -- especially the Anti-Crime Package and defense issues -- because of his prominent Senate positions.

Reference in section on ~~Lee Atwater~~ ^{###}

Acknowledgments - Sally Salmon
x6573



Strom THURMOND

UNITED STATES SENATOR • SOUTH CAROLINA

FAX TO:

Peggy Dooly

OFFICE:

PHONE:

DATE:

TIME:

PAGE 1 OF

3

SUBJECT:

Strom Thurmond

URGENT, PLEASE CALL WHEN RECEIVED

FROM:

Bill Dooly

**NOTE:

If you do not receive the number of pages specified
please call.

SENATOR STROM THURMOND

- 1902 Born December 5 at Edgefield, S.C. (Present home, Aiken, S.C.)
- 1923 B.S. degree from Clemson University (also holds 27 honorary degrees)
- 1923-29 **Teacher and Athletic Coach**; McCormick, Ridge Spring and Edgefield, S.C.
- 1924 **2nd Lt., U.S. Army Reserve**; commissioned on January 9, 1924 upon becoming 21 years old
- 1929-33 **Superintendent of Education**, Edgefield County, S.C.
- 1930 Admitted to S.C. Bar (studied law under father, Judge J. William Thurmond)
- 1930-38 **Attorney at Law**, Edgefield, S.C. (City Attorney and County Attorney)
- 1933-38 **State Senator**, representing Edgefield County, S.C.
- 1938-46 **Circuit Judge of South Carolina** (four year leave of absence for World War II service)
- 1942-46 **World War II**; First U.S. Army—American, European and Pacific Theaters. Landed in Normandy on D-Day with 82nd Airborne Division, awarded 5 Battle Stars. For his military service, earned 18 decorations, medals and awards, including the Legion of Merit with Oak Leaf Cluster, Purple Heart, Bronze Star for Valor, Belgian Order of the Crown, and French Croix de Guerre.
- 1947-51 **Governor of South Carolina**
- 1947 Married Jean Crouch of Elko, S.C., November 7; Deceased January 6, 1960
- 1948 **Candidate for President of the U.S.**, carried 4 States and received 39 electoral votes as States Rights Democratic candidate (third largest independent electoral vote in U.S. history)
- 1951-55 **Attorney at Law**, Aiken, S.C. (City Attorney of North Augusta, S.C.)
- 1954- **U.S. Senator**; elected as write-in candidate, November 2; first person ever elected to major office in U.S. by this method; sworn in Dec. 24, 1954. Served until April 4, 1956, when resigned to place office in a primary, pursuant to a promise made to the people during the 1954 campaign. Re-elected U.S. Senator and resumed duties November 7, 1956; re-elected 1960, 1966, 1972, 1978, and 1984; President Pro Tempore, U.S. Senate, 1981-1987.

U.S. Senate Committees

- Judiciary Committee, Ranking member, (Chairman, 1981-1987; member since 1967)
- Armed Services Committee, Senior member; (member since 1959)
- Veterans Affairs Committee, Senior member; (member since 1971)
- Labor and Human Resources Committee, (member since 1984)
- 1959 **Major General, U.S. Army Reserve**; served 36 years in Reserve and on Active duty. (Past National President, Reserve Officers Association, 1954-55)
- 1964 Switched from Democratic to Republican Party, September 16, 1964 (delegate to six Democratic and six Republican National Conventions)
- 1968 Married Nancy Moore of Aiken, S.C., December 22
Four children: Nancy Moore, J. Strom II, Juliana Gertrude and Paul Reynolds
- 1983 **President's Commission on Organized Crime** (appointed by President Reagan, November 28)
- 1985 **Commission on the Bicentennial of The U.S. Constitution** (By U.S. Senate, September 29)
- Member:** Baptist Church, South Carolina and American Bar Associations, Masons (over 50 years), Lions Club (over 50 years), Rotary Club, and numerous defense, veterans, civic, fraternal and farm organizations.

Facilities named for Senator Thurmond

Strom Thurmond Hall, Winthrop College, Rock Hill, S.C., 1939
Strom Thurmond High School, Edgefield County, S.C., 1961
Strom Thurmond Student Center, Baptist College, Charleston, S.C., 1972
Strom Thurmond Federal Building, Columbia, S.C., 1975
Strom Thurmond Center for Excellence in Government and Public Service, Clemson University, 1981
Strom Thurmond Auditorium at the University of South Carolina School of Law, Columbia, S.C., 1982
Strom Thurmond life-sized statue on the Town Square, Edgefield, S.C., erected by people of Edgefield County, 1984
Strom Thurmond Vocational Rehabilitation Center, Aiken, S.C., 1987
Strom Thurmond Educational Center, Union, S.C., 1987
Strom Thurmond Lake, Dam and Highway, Clarks Hill, S.C., 1987
Strom Thurmond Mall, Columbia, S.C., 1988
Streets in several South Carolina towns and cities

Selected Awards

Clemson University: Alumni Distinguished Service (1961), Medallion (1981), and Athletic Hall of Fame (1983)
WIS "South Carolinian of The Year" (1968)
33° Mason (1969)
National Patriot's Award by Congressional Medal of Honor Society (1974)
South Carolina Trial Lawyers Association Service Award (1980)
American Judges Distinguished Service Award (1981)
South Carolina Hall of Fame (1982)
Textile Man of The Year by the N.Y. Board of Trade (1984)
Napoleon Hill Gold Medal Humanitarian Achievement Award (1985)
Order of The Palmetto Award (1989)
Presidential Citizens Medal by President Ronald Reagan (1989)
Award For Life Service To Veterans (1989)
Major awards from American Legion, VFW, DAV, AMVETS and Paralyzed Veterans; National Guard; Army and Navy associations; farm groups; education groups; and several foreign countries.

Treasury shall, under such regulations as he may prescribe, redeem such notes in gold or silver coin, at his discretion, it being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law.

der the provisions of this act as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for, and any gain or seigniorage arising from such coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury. . . .

322. CLEVELAND'S SILVER LETTER

February 10, 1891

Letter to E. Ellery Anderson of the Reform Club

(*Letters of Grover Cleveland*, ed. by Allan Nevins, p. 245-6)

This letter was one of the dramatic incidents of the silver struggle. In January, 1891, a free silver bill had passed the Senate, largely through Democratic support, and it was widely believed that Cleveland was drifting toward support of the silver cause. This letter to the Reform Club dramatically announced his unalterable opposition to free silver and aligned him with the conservative eastern wing of the Democratic Party. For background, see A. Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, p. 465 ff.

New York, February 10, 1891

I have this afternoon received your note inviting me to attend tomorrow evening the meeting called for the purpose of voicing the opposition of the business men of our city to the 'free coinage of silver in the United States.'

I shall not be able to attend and address

the meeting as you request, but I am glad that the business interests of New York are at last to be heard from on this subject.

It surely cannot be necessary for me to make a formal expression of my agreement with those who believe that the greatest peril would be initiated by the adoption of the scheme embraced in the measure now pending in Congress for the unlimited coinage of silver at our mints. If we have developed an unexpected capacity for the assimilation of a largely increased volume of this currency, and even if we have demonstrated the usefulness of such an increase, these conditions fall far short of insuring us against disaster, if in the present situation we enter upon the dangerous and reckless experiment of free, unlimited and independent silver coinage.

323. TILLMANISM IN SOUTH CAROLINA

The Shell Manifesto

January 23, 1890

(*The Charleston News and Courier*, January 23, 1890)

The century-old sectionalism in South Carolina was partially allayed by the unifying experiences of the Civil War and Reconstruction, but it came to the front again in the late eighties with the agrarian distress of that period. The Populist movement as such made little headway in South Carolina, but the revolt against the Bourbon control of the Democratic party was the political equivalent of the populist revolt

elsewhere. The leader of the agrarian and up-country revolt against the Charleston "aristocracy" was Benjamin F. Tillman of Edgefield County. In 1886 and again in 1888 Tillman lost the nomination for governorship, but by 1890 the revolt was too strong to be controlled. The campaign of 1890 was inaugurated by the famous Shell Manifesto, written by Tillman, but published over the name of G. W. Shell. the

resident of the Farmers' Association. Tillman and his entire ticket were swept into office in the elections of that year. See, F. P. Simkins, *The Tillman Movement in South Carolina*; J. D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*; W. W. Ball, *The Tillman that Forgot*.

THE COMING CAMPAIGN

A CONTEST PROPOSED WITHIN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Address to the Democrats of South Carolina, Issued by Order of "the Executive Committee of the Farmers' Association of South Carolina."

Mr. W. G. Shell of Laurens, president of the Farmers' Association of South Carolina, requests the News and Courier to publish the following address:

To the Democracy of South Carolina: For four years the Democratic party in the State has been deeply agitated, and efforts have been made at the primaries and conventions to secure retrenchments and reform, and a recognition of the needs and rights of the masses. The first Farmers' Convention met in April 1886. Another in November of the same year perfected a permanent organization under the name of the "Farmers Association of South Carolina." This Association, representing the reform element in the party, has held two annual sessions since, and at each of these four conventions, largely attended by representative farmers from nearly all of the counties, the demands of the people for greater economy in the Government, greater efficiency in its officials, and a fuller recognition of the necessity for better and more practical education have been pressed upon the attention of our Legislature.

In each of the two last Democratic State conventions the "Farmers' Movement" has had a large following and we only failed of controlling the Convention of 1888 by a vote less than twenty-five—and that, in the face of the active opposition of every trained politician in the State. We claim that we have always had a majority of the people on our side, and have only been defeated by reason of the superior political skill of our opponents and our lack of

have watched closely every move of the enemies of economy—the enemies of true Jeffersonian Democracy—and we think the time has come to show the people what it is they need and how to accomplish their desires. We will draw up the indictment against these who have been and are still governing our State, because it is at once the cause and justification of the course we intend to pursue.

South Carolina has never had a real Republican Government. Since the days of the "Lords Proprietors" it has been an aristocracy under the forms of Democracy, and whenever a champion of the people has attempted to show them their rights and advocated those rights an aristocratic oligarchy has bought him with an office, or failing in that turned loose the floodgates of misrepresentation and slander in order to destroy his influence.

The peculiar situation now existing in the State, requiring the united efforts of every true white man to preserve white supremacy and our very civilization even has intensified and tended to make permanent the conditions which existed before the war. Fear of a division among us and consequent return of a negro rule has kept the people quiet, and they have submitted to many grievances imposed by the ruling faction because they dreaded to risk such a division.

The "Farmers' Movement" has been hampered and retarded in its work by this condition of the public mind, but we have shown our fealty to race by submitting to the edicts of the party and we intend, as heretofore, to make our fight inside the party lines, feeling assured that truth and justice must finally prevail. The results of the agitation thus far are altogether encouraging. Inch by inch and step by step true Democracy—the rule of the people—has won its way. We have carried all the outposts. Only two strongholds remain to be taken, and with the issues fairly made up and plainly put to the people we have no fear of the result. The House of Representatives has been carried twice, and at last held after a desperate struggle.

The advocates of reform and economy are

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	46%	52%	38%	62%
Social	66%	32%	62%	36%
Foreign	68%	32%	66%	32%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Claudine Schneider (R)	145,218	(72%)	(\$443,267)
	Ruth S. Morgenthau (D)	56,129	(28%)	(\$328,335)
1988 primary	Claudine Schneider (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Claudine Schneider (R)	110,524	(72%)	(\$325,052)
	Donald J. Ferry (D)	43,149	(28%)	(\$67,685)

SOUTH CAROLINA

Fifty years ago South Carolina was more like what is now called an underdeveloped country than part of an advanced country like the United States. Beneath its very thin veneer of rich people, it was the poorest state in the union, with income levels less than half the national average; its levels of illiteracy and of disease were among the nation's highest. "In this country where natural growth borders on the semitropical," wrote the *WPA Guide*, "and midday heat in the summer is prostrating except where sea breezes creep in under the thick foliage of live oak and myrtle or between the tall trunks of longleaf pine, there seems to be no hard grinding necessity for thinking too much about money in the bank, fine clothes, and weather-tight houses. The outdoors is too free, fishing is too good, and crops grow with only part of a year's work."

Some 43% of South Carolinians were black, almost all of them living in the Low Country—the swampy territory within 50 miles of the coast, where the great planters of the 18th and 19th century built rice paddies and cultivated exotic crops like indigo in the days before, as one South Carolina politician put it in the 1850s, "Cotton is King." The great wealth of the Low Country planters was destroyed by the war they did more than any other southerners to provoke, but their pride and their way of life continued. "The Low Countryman himself will not change. He will still have his afternoon nap, eat his rice, revere his ancestors, go hunting and fishing in season, and take time out from his labors to entertain his friends and guests with courtesy, ease, and graceful hospitality." Up-country South Carolina, settled by Scots-Irish and even Germans, with few slaves before the Civil War, had begun 50 years ago to develop the lowest-wage of industries, textiles. "Enterprising businessmen came in and established cotton mills, built towns around them, with schools, churches, banks, stores, and hospitals. Into the mills came the up-country farmer who was barely making a living, and out of the mountains came the barefoot man and sunbonneted woman, to take charge of spindles and looms." The mills in those days never hired blacks; even before World War II fair numbers of South Carolina blacks took the bus north to New York or Philadelphia to make a living.

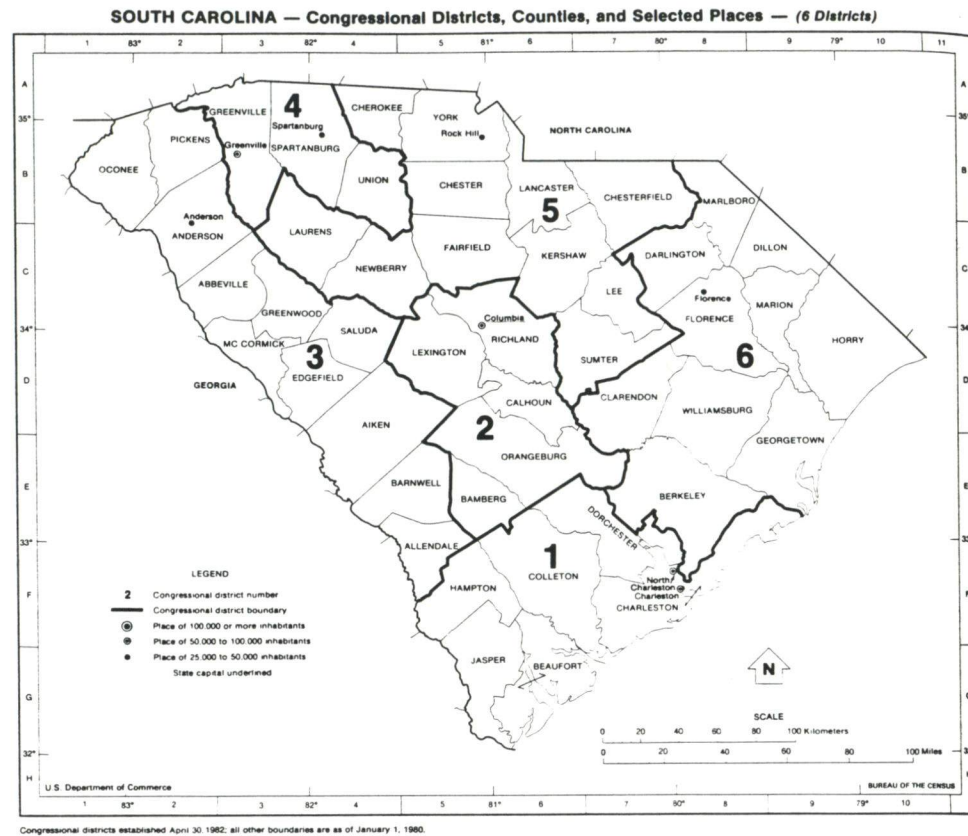
Politics in this underdeveloped South Carolina was a rough business, with harsh appeals to

racial fears and economic envies. And not many people participated. Only 99,000 South Carolinians voted for President in 1940, and 96% of them voted Democratic—the highest percentage in the nation. And in the Democratic primary in the year Strom Thurmond ran for governor, 1946, only 271,000 voted in a state of more than two million.

In the decades since, life in South Carolina has changed as much as in any state: the underdeveloped country has joined the First World. Today the state's incomes, discounted for its 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. South Carolina was helped upward for some years by the military bases clustered around Charleston (helped along by Mendel Rivers, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee), by the textile mills that dotted the hilly up-country landscape around Greenville and Spartanburg, and by the outmigration of Low Country blacks to the big cities of the Northeast. But that was only the beginning. By the 1970s South Carolina became the most aggressive state in the South in attracting new industry. It went 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 (low), and its willingness to meet local employers' needs (very high). Gradually, 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.

Much of this was made possible because South Carolina was relieved, quite against the will of its white majority, of the burdens and stigma of racial segregation. Beginning in the 1950s, fewer people were kept from the polls by the poll tax, and turnouts surged as South Carolina became competitive in the presidential elections of 1952, 1956 and 1960. Then the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 ended segregation of public accommodations and in the workplace and brought blacks suddenly into the electorate. Politically, the reaction was a sharp rightward trend toward Republicans led by Strom Thurmond, who had turned Republican in September 1964 and had indicated his disapproval of this process. But even while candidates were denouncing school busing after a bus in one rural district had been burned, South Carolina was learning to live with integration and getting on with the work of economic development.

Politically South Carolina reached a not entirely uncomfortable equilibrium by the early 1970s. Almost 30% of its voters were black, almost all of them solid national Democrats. But while the white majority was polarized against them in the 1968 and 1972 presidential elections, there were enough movable white votes to elect a Democratic governor in 1970 and to cast South Carolina's electoral votes for Jimmy Carter in 1976. Affluent whites vote heavily Republican. But less affluent whites have become a swing vote, loyal to Strom Thurmond but favorable to Ernest Hollings, making most of South Carolina's gubernatorial elections over the last 20 years very close indeed. They yearn on the one hand for an end to old-style politics, to control of the legislature by an oligarchy of rural-based bosses: 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; but on the other hand, they are afraid that higher taxes will choke off growth. They are people at one and the same time exhilarated and terrified by the changes they have seen in South Carolina in the last generation—both around them and in their own lives. 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. Yet there is an underlying appreciation that



government—building highways, running schools, maintaining social security—has made some contribution to this bounty and to their affluence.

Many surely have an uneasy sense that old rules, however unjust some of them were, are no longer in force, that 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. This is a state where traditional religion has strong roots, and where cultural conservatism thrives, despite—or because—most people live in an environment where traditional rules do not always apply. 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. Most South Carolina voters find it simply implausible that large numbers of their fellow Americans would mock traditional values or cast aspersions on patriotism, and they find it hard to vote for a candidate who seems sympathetic to those views.

The legacy of these voters is Democratic, and for a while in the 1970s, when Jimmy Carter appeared at the Firecracker 400 stock car race in 1976, the Democrats seemed to be speaking their language. But in the 1980s, as South Carolina has been growing more affluent and the Democrats seemed to be increasingly liberal on cultural and foreign policy issues, the South Carolina swing voters have been moving Republican. The voters who were entirely happy with

Democratic Governor Richard Riley, elected in 1978 and 1982 by large margins, were also happy to elect Republican Governor Carroll Campbell in 1986, albeit by a much narrower margin, and it is surely not without significance that these two governors—political rivals and not especially friendly ones—should choose to emphasize the same issue: education. And it may turn out that this not-so-long-ago underdeveloped country is leading the nation on this important part of national life.

Governor. Richard Riley's 1984 education reform package has been called "in many respects . . . the most comprehensive, sophisticated, thoughtful approach to reform in the country." It contained merit pay and pay raises for teachers and a tough new testing program including a high school graduation test, a building program, remedial classes and gifted-children programs, cash bonuses to schools that improve and penalties for those who do poorly. It was passed after Riley convinced businessmen and voters that the state needed a better educated work force to enjoy further economic growth, and that the extra taxes he was seeking would be worth it. In four years South Carolina chalked up some of the highest increases in test scores in the country, attendance is up, the high school graduation rate is up, and more teachers report morale gains that in any other state. Building on that record, Campbell got teachers' salaries up to the regional average and committed the biggest share of five years of budget increases to education. He set up a statewide Governor's School for Mathematics and Science, and stepped up spending on colleges and technical schools, and created a higher education program with student scholarships, endowed professorships and accountability and assessment measurements.

This is all the more interesting, because on the national political spectrum Campbell is counted as a conservative. His political career—from his days in the legislature to a controversial race for Congress in 1978 (Democrats claimed and Campbell denied that he encouraged a minor candidate to attack the Democrat on the grounds that as a Jew he did not believe in Jesus) to his election for the governorship and strong support of George Bush in 1987 and 1988—has been closely associated with Lee Atwater, the South Carolinian who is now chairman of the Republican National Committee. Campbell is adamant about lowering taxes, but his approach to government is anything but *laissez faire*. Campbell wants to lower auto insurance rates and reorganize state government, and his work on education, like Riley's, shows an appreciation that South Carolina needs to improve the skills of its work force if its economy is to continue to grow, and that market forces by themselves are not going to do that. Those who want to see an example of what Newt Gingrich calls "governing conservatism" would do well to go down to South Carolina.

Campbell won his 1986 race against Lieutenant Governor Mike Daniel by only 51%–49%, and only after labelling him as one of the insider politicians. His margins came in urban and suburban areas, especially in his home base of Greenville, and he may have been helped by increased turnout up-country; most rural counties went for Daniel. Tom Hartnett, his colleague in Congress, agreed to run for lieutenant governor rather than give Campbell a primary fight; but he was beaten 50%–49% by Democrat Nick Theodore—one reason why Campbell had none of the rumored interest in an appointment by George Bush. Since his election Campbell's ratings have been high and he has gone some distance toward building a stronger Republican Party; his candidates have captured several Democratic districts in state legislative elections. Campbell also had success in his backing of Bush. The South Carolina Republican primary was scheduled on the Saturday before Super Tuesday, presumably at Atwater's instigation, to give Bush an opportunity to start out with a big win before the rest of the South voted; Campbell campaigned actively with him, helped build his organization, and had the satisfaction of seeing him win a strong victory. For 1990, Campbell himself starts out a strong favorite. Riley, reported to be considering the race, announced late in 1988 that he would not run; possible Democrats include 1986 contenders Mike Daniel, Phil Lader and Hugh Leatherman and Theo Mitchell, a black state Senator from Greenville.

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 commanding 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 nearly 60 years now: he was first elected to the legislature at 29, in 1932, and is plotting his reelection campaign for 1990. Hollings won his first election at 26, in 1948, and says those who think he may retire in 1992 are "non-thinkers."

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. He 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. His switch was an example of his mind at work. There are no baroque embellishments to his thoughts; he is not interested in nuance or qualification. His intellect is simple but strong: he decides where he wants to go, figures out how to get there, and then does it.

Thurmond, as the senior Republican Senator, was president pro tempore of the Senate from 1980 to 1986, 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 the current chairman, Joseph Biden. In his middle 80s, he remains in excellent health, and if he doesn't seem attentive to detail to some observers, those who think he might overlook some legislative point or particle of procedure may find him alert and ready if the matter is something he cares about.

Thurmond is a WWII veteran and 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, outlawing plastic guns, 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. A proud teetotaler—he pushes lemonade in the summertime—he wants large warning labels on liquor bottles. 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 who was 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 20 years now. But Thurmond shows no sign of tiring or retiring. With the same directness and steadiness of purpose he brings to all political enterprises, he has set out since early 1985 to put himself in a strong position to win reelection in 1990, and he seems to have succeeded. Some Republicans grumble that he supported Bob Dole rather than George Bush in 1988; some Democrats argue that he's not quite as strong as he seems. But the professional politicians seem convinced he still has his 50%-plus base and more, and in early 1989 he seemed likely to be a vigorous candidate—and a winner. The span of his career is 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; this is a man in touch with two centuries of American politics.

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. He continues to be the second ranking Democrat on the Budget Committee, and his proposal for 1989 is a budget freeze combined with a 5% value-added tax on everything but food, housing and health care. This is typical Hollings: he believes in an activist federal government, but he also believes in subjecting it to strict discipline.

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 the major opponent of deregulating broadcasting, and has been trying to reinstate the Fairness Doctrine and to start regulation of advertising on children's programs. 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 opposed to laws limiting tort claims. He has worked on various ocean issues on the committee, including the 1988 ocean dumping law; he has championed a National Global Climate Change Research Act; he worked on reviving the National Space Council to be chaired by the Vice President. He is pushing a constitutional amendment to allow Congress to limit campaign spending. On trade issues he proudly proclaims himself a "hawk," supporting vigorously the textile bill that was widely criticized as protectionist.

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 the party activists 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.

Confident and impressive in person even more than on television, Hollings has worked hard in Washington and campaigned hard in South Carolina. He seems well-positioned to run for reelection in 1992.

Presidential politics. South Carolina has become one of the most Republican of the southern states in presidential elections; in November 1988 it was, no doubt to Lee Atwater's great satisfaction, one of George Bush's strongest states in the country. He got 62% of the vote here, down only slightly from Ronald Reagan's 64% in 1984. One thing that is helping the Republicans is demographic change. The proliferation of Hilton Head Island-style condominium communities on the coast made two Low Country counties become more Republican between 1984 and 1988; the other big population gaining areas are counties just outside cities like Charleston, Columbia, and Greenville. With relatively few blacks and many upwardly mobile and/or deeply religious whites, they are heavily Republican. The election results tell the story. In counties where voter turnout rose more than 10% from 1980 to 1988, Bush beat Michael Dukakis 65%–34%; in counties where turnout rose less than 10% in the 1980s, Bush led Dukakis by the lesser margin of 59%–40%; in counties where turnout fell during the 1980s—many of them rural black-majority counties with little economic growth—Bush only barely beat Dukakis, 53%–46%.

South Carolina's Republican primary played a significant role in the 1988 contest; it was scheduled to help George Bush, and did. Carroll Campbell was one of three governors—John Sununu of New Hampshire and James Thompson of Illinois were the others—who were credited by Lee Atwater with major responsibility for Bush's three early crucial victories in their states. Bush's victory was especially sweet since it effectively extinguished the chances of Pat Robertson showing any significant primary strength to go with the support he had been able to win in packable caucuses.

As for the Democrats, they scheduled their caucus the weekend after Super Tuesday, presumably to deflect attention from it. Predictably, it was won by South Carolina-born Jesse Jackson, with blacks apparently accounting for more than half the turnout.

Congressional districting. South Carolina's congressional districts were changed only slightly in 1980s redistricting, and probably will not be changed significantly for the 1990s.

The People: Est. Pop. 1988: 3,493,000; Pop. 1980: 3,121,820, up 11.9% 1980–88 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 (1988): 1,437,628; no party registration.

1988 Share of Federal Tax Burden: \$9,141,000,000; 1.03% of U.S. total, 28th largest.

1988 Share of Federal Expenditures

	Total		Non-Defense		Defense	
Total Expend	\$10,934m	(1.24%)	\$8,023m	(1.22%)	\$4,279m	(1.87%)
St/Lcl Grants	1,354m	(1.18%)	1,353m	(1.18%)	1m	(0.97%)
Salary/Wages	2,322m	(1.73%)	450m	(0.67%)	1,872m	(0.67%)
Pymnts to Indiv	5,139m	(1.26%)	4,666m	(1.19%)	473m	(2.54%)
Procurement	1,932m	(1.02%)	1,368m	(2.94%)	1,932m	(1.02%)
Research/Other	187m	(0.50%)	186m	(0.50%)	0m	(0.50%)

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 11 R); State House of Representatives, 124 (87 D and 37 R). Senators, Strom Thurmond (R) and Ernest F. Hollings (D). Representatives, 6 (4 D and 2 R).

1988 Presidential Vote

Bush (R)	606,443	(62%)
Dukakis (D)	370,554	(38%)

1984 Presidential Vote

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

1988 Republican Presidential Primary

Bush	94,738	(49%)
Dole	40,265	(21%)
Robertson	37,261	(19%)
Kemp	22,431	(11%)

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. (R)	202,806	(30%)

SENATORS

Sen. Strom Thurmond (R)



Elected 1954 seat up 1990; b. Dec. 5, 1902, Edgefield; home, Aiken; Clemson U., B.S. 1923; Baptist; married (Nancy).

Career: Teacher and coach, 1923-29; Edgefield Cnty. Super. 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 cand. for U.S. Pres., 1948; Pres. Pro Tempore, U.S. Senate, 1981-87.

Offices: 217 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 Deterrence (Ranking Member). *Judiciary* (Ranking Member of 6 R). Subcommittees: Antitrust, Monopolies and Business Rights (Ranking Member); Courts and Administrative Practice. *Labor and Human Resources* (5th of 7 R). Subcommittees: Employment and Productivity (Ranking Member); Education, Arts, and Humanities; Labor. *Veterans' Affairs* (3d of 5 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	0	11	11	42	20	92	71	100	93	56
1987	15	—	11	17	—	96	—	—	71	62

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	22%	—	75%	15%	—	82%
Social	0%	—	89%	16%	—	78%
Foreign	8%	—	91%	0%	—	76%

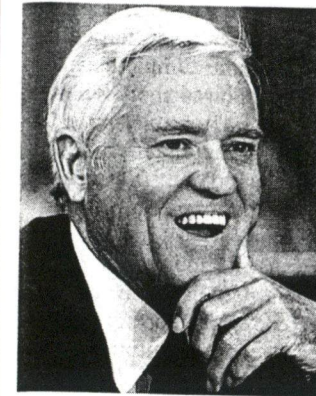
Key Votes

1) Cut Aged Housing \$	AGN	5) Bork Nomination	FOR	9) SDI Funding	FOR
2) Override Hwy Veto	AGN	6) Ban Plastic Guns	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	7) Deny Abortions	FOR	11) Aid To Contras	FOR
4) Min Wage Increase	AGN	8) Japanese Reparations	AGN	12) Reagan Defense \$	FOR

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)

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 Tempore, 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; 112 Custom House, 200 E. Bay St., Charleston 29401, 803-724-4525; and 126 Fed. Bldg., Greenville 29304, 803-585-3702; 103 Fed. Bldg., Spartanburg 29301, 803-585-3702.

Committees: *Appropriations* (3d of 16 D). Subcommittees: Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary (Chairman); 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* (3d of 8 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	55	41	58	83	50	48	27	100	29	22
1987	40	—	57	50	—	62	—	—	17	27

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	52%	—	45%	63%
Social	60%	—	39%	36%
Foreign	39%	—	59%	62%

Key Votes

1) Cut Aged Housing \$	FOR	5) Bork Nomination	FOR	9) SDI Funding	FOR
2) Override Hwy Veto	FOR	6) Ban Plastic Guns	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	7) Deny Abortions	AGN	11) Aid To Contras	FOR
4) Min Wage Increase	FOR	8) Japanese Reparations	AGN	12) Reagan Defense \$	AGN

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)

FIRST DISTRICT

There are few, if any, more beautiful urban scenes in America than the pastel "single houses" of Charleston, built flush with the sidewalk, turning their shoulders to the streets, with open "piazzas" inside their gateways facing south to catch the breeze, 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. Many of the old houses south of Broad were kept in families and preserved, but in the rest of the city, wrote the *WPA Guide* 50 years ago, "along streets no longer fashionable, clothes lines flap above abandoned gardens, and several Negro families are crowded out into some tumble-down big houses, spilling their progeny out on the sidewalk." In the years that followed the Civil War, Charleston became an economic backwater. Today prosperity has come back to Charleston, and restoration has crept far north of the Battery, and the old part of the city, where the Ashley and Cooper Rivers meet to form the Atlantic Ocean, is still beautifully preserved and still the home of the city's elite, housing 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 black culture was 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 (but not aristocrat) Ernest Hollings.

Since World War II, Charleston has been growing again. At first the impetus was the military, with the big Navy and Air Force bases here nurtured by Mendel Rivers, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee from 1965 until his death in 1971; at one point 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, but the economy has diversified since Rivers's death 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. 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.

The congressman from this district is Republican Arthur Ravenel, an experienced Charleston politician with a fine old South Carolina Huguenot name. He is a cousin of Charles Ravenel, the young Democrat 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); Arthur Ravenel beat Democrat Jimmy Stuckey 52%-48%.

In his first term Ravenel compiled a somewhat mixed record ideologically and got a seat on

Armed Services—more or less a political necessity for this district—and worked to channel dollars into the Charleston Shipyard and military health care. He was concerned about acid rain because of damage to the Medway Plantation. His most vivid moment may have come when he told Defense Secretary Carlucci of the need for military involvement in fighting drugs, saying, by his own account, "What we need to do, upon positive identification, which is very important, is begin shooting down the drug-carrying planes and machine-gunning any survivors. I believe that very quickly these tough measures will put an end to drug smuggling. I further told the Secretary to think of all the money that will be saved by not having to have lengthy trials or having to maintain the drug traffickers in jail." He did not record Carlucci's reaction, but the voters in the 1st District responded favorably and reelected him by a 64%-36% margin.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 584,200, up 12.3% 1980-86; 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.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 100,179 (61%)
Dukakis (D) 62,594 (38%)

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, gen. contractor, cattleman; SC House of Reps., 1952-58; SC Senate, 1980-86.

Offices: 508 CHOB 20515, 202-225-3176. Also 640 Fed. Bldg., Rm. 640, Charleston 29403, 803-724-4175; 263 Hampton St., Walterboro 29488, 803-549-5395; P.O. Box 550, Estill 29918, 803-625-3177; and P.O. Box 1538, Beaufort 29902, 803-524-2166.

Committees: *Armed Services* (17th of 21 R). Subcommittees: Military Installations and Facilities; Military Personnel and Compensation.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	25	41	47	64	56	76	57	100	86	35
1987	24	—	31	29	—	61	—	—	87	51

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	34%	—	65%	29%	—	69%
Social	40%	—	58%	32%	—	67%
Foreign	30%	—	67%	28%	—	70%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Arthur Ravenel, Jr. (R).....	101,572	(64%)	(\$118,702)
	Wheeler Tillman (D).....	57,691	(36%)	(\$82,035)
1988 primary	Arthur Ravenel, Jr. (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Arthur Ravenel, Jr. (R).....	59,969	(52%)	(\$265,574)
	Jimmy Stuckey (D).....	55,262	(48%)	(\$457,810)

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 up-country 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 porticoes, dormers and raised brick basements. The big event in Columbia's later history was the arrival of Sherman's Army: "Except for the State House," the *WPA Guide* noted in 1940, "no structure on Main Street antedates 'The Burning' by Sherman, in 1865. His name is still anathema to Columbians." In the post-Sherman years Columbia grew slowly, with state government and the university, the Army's Fort Jackson and local insurance companies proving steady employers. More recently it has started to boom, attracting 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. The Columbia where Sherman was remembered in the 1940s and where Jimmy Byrnes, after years in top posts in Democratic Washington, returned as governor to lament the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, has trended Republican in the years since. 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 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, most of the people who live here now are black, and politics follows racial lines.

The congressman from the 2d District is Republican Floyd Spence, who has been running for office in the Columbia area since 1956. Spence became a Republican in 1962, two years before Strom Thurmond, narrowly lost a House race that year 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 Watson ran for governor in 1970, Spence ran for the House seat and won it.

Spence won a close reelection in 1988 after a difficult year: in May he underwent a double-lung transplant. His illness had forced him to relinquish the increasingly hot seat of ranking Republican on the House Ethics Committee, and he was necessarily less active on the Armed Services Committee. But he insisted that he came out of surgery with "the lungs of an 18-year-old." Spence has often had serious opponents, tempted by the rather close balance of racial and political forces in the district, including Matthew Perry, a black later appointed a federal judge

by Strom Thurmond, and Jack Bass, a top newspaper reporter and the writer of the definitive work on the Orangeburg massacre when highway patrolmen shot black students in 1968. In 1988 his opponent was Jim Leventis, a Columbia county councilman and prominent attorney and banker, considered to be at least as strong as the opponents who had held Spence (with one exception) to the 54% to 59% range from 1974 to 1986. Spence recovered physically and started generating news about military contracts, a computer virus bill, and expanding the Congaree Swamp National Monument. Leventis actually raised more money and campaigned hard.

But in this polarized constituency the results were almost the same as in the close 1986 race. Spence won 53%—46%, carrying 68% in Lexington County and winning the Columbia area 54%—45%. After the election, Spence was still generating news, announcing a partnership between Hughes Aircraft and South Carolina State in Orangeburg. But the same factors which produced a serious challenge and a close race may well be operating in 1990.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 562,400, up 7.6% 1980–86; 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.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	103,577	(59%)
	Dukakis (D).....	67,446	(39%)

Rep. Floyd D. Spence (R)



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

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

Offices: 2405 RHOB 20515, 202-225-2452. Also 140 Stone Ridge Dr., Ste. 104, Columbia 29201, 803-254-5120; and 1681 Chestnut St. N.E., P.O. Box 1609, Orangeburg 29116-1609, 803-536-4641.

Committees: *Armed Services* (2d of 21 R). Subcommittees: Military Installations and Facilities; Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials (Ranking Member). *Select Committee on Aging* (20th of 27 R). Subcommittees: Human Services; Retirement Income and Employment.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	10	18	16	18	44	85	73	100	71	38
1987	4	—	15	14	—	73	—	—	93	56

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	*	—	*	29% — 69%
Social	13%	—	84%	15% — 84%
Foreign	0%	—	84%	0% — 80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	—	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	—	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Floyd D. Spence (R).....	94,960	(53%)	(\$369,698)
	Jim Leventis (D).....	83,978	(46%)	(\$376,727)
1988 primary	Floyd D. Spence (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Floyd D. Spence (R).....	73,455	(54%)	(\$294,665)
	Fred Zeigler (D).....	63,592	(46%)	(\$179,860)

THIRD DISTRICT

The South Carolina up-country, many days' travel by wagon from the Low Country plantations owned by Charleston aristocrats, was first settled by Scots-Irish farmers, like the family of John C. Calhoun in the years just before and after the Revolutionary War. 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 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 was long a winter haven for New York hunters, and which now is the chief commercial center for the huge (15,000 employees) and troubled Savannah River Plant, which produces nuclear weapons material. The northern part of the district, where Calhoun had his mansion and his son-in-law created Clemson College nearby, is Piedmont and textile country, with mountains in the north. Here the Savannah River intersects with Interstate 85, the main street of America's textile belt, near Anderson, the largest city in the district.

The politics of this area, ancestrally Democratic, has been trending Republican for some time now. Aiken started voting Republican for Dwight Eisenhower in the 1950s, well before Thurmond switched parties in 1964; it has been steadily Republican ever since. Anderson, in contrast, has jumped around. It voted for George Wallace in 1968, Richard Nixon in 1972, Jimmy Carter in 1976 and 1980, Ronald Reagan in 1984, and by almost as large a margin, more than 2 to 1, for George Bush in 1988. Some of the river counties with their large black populations remain Democratic. But the textile mill counties from Clemson to the mountains are heavily Republican. The result is that what was a Carter district in 1976 and 1980 had become a Bush district by 1988.

This poses some problems for Butler Derrick, the Democratic congressman from the 3d District since 1974. The national Democratic strength here early in his career gave him leeway to fashion a distinctive record. He got a seat on the Rules Committee in 1979, where he was free to concentrate on whatever issues he liked with the understanding that he'd be helpful to the Democratic leadership. He also served two rotations on the Budget Committee, from 1975-79 and 1983-89.

But as the 1980s have gone on, he has gravitated more to district causes. He served as the chairman of the Congressional Textile Caucus, sponsoring a ban on Soviet textile imports and the requirement that the country of origin be named on garment labels. He was a lead sponsor of the 1987 textile protection bill vetoed by President Reagan. He argues that he vetoed in a conference committee session proposals to put Monitored Receivable Storage of nuclear waste in the Savannah River Plant area, by tying that measure to the selection of a permanent nuclear waste repository, which is expected to be in Nevada. On the other hand, he has been a staunch advocate of the Energy Department's selection of Savannah River for a new nuclear production facility; the area was badly hurt by the closedown of facilities due to charges of unsafety or obsolescence in 1988.

All of this must have helped Derrick in his 1988 reelection fight, his first rough contest in years. His opponent was Henry Jordan, an Anderson surgeon who lost the nomination to face Ernest Hollings in 1986; this time he had good financing, though much less than Derrick. Jordan accused Derrick of being a johnny-come-lately on the textile bill, though Jordan himself seemed to talk quite fondly of free trade; he also accused the Democrat of voting to release non-violent federal prisoners 90 days early to ease overcrowding—a way of linking him with one of Michael Dukakis's vulnerabilities. He got Oliver North to come to Clemson to campaign. Derrick was a familiar figure in his horn-rimmed glasses and trademark suspenders, and his work on textiles and the Savannah River plant must surely have worked in his favor. Yet he won with just 54% of the vote—one of two Democrats on Rules (David Bonior of Michigan was the other) with this not very impressive showing. Derrick carried Anderson with 54%, but only barely won the textile counties to the north; for all his work on Savannah River, he lost Aiken County, with its increasing numbers of affluent suburbanites. Derrick gave up any plans he had for statewide office in 1984, and he has a fine future ahead in the House: on Rules he ranks just behind the new chairman, Joe Moakley; he could easily be chairman some day and in the meantime is in fine position to exert leverage on all manner of things. But the 1988 result indicates that he may get more serious competition and may be hard pressed to hold this Republican-trending district.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 554,600, up 6.8% 1980-86; 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 value: \$32,000. Voting age pop. (1980): 366,318; 20% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	108,043	(66%)
	Dukakis (D)	54,507	(33%)

Rep. Butler Derrick (D)



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

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

Offices: 201 CHOB 20515, 202-225-5301. Also 315 S. McDuffie St., 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: *Rules* (2d of 9 D). Subcommittee: Legislative Process (Chairman). *Select Committee on Aging* (12th of 39 D). Subcommittee: Health and Long-Term Care.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	70	59	57	82	69	36	23	30	54	23
1987	72	—	56	43	—	17	—	—	40	23

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	45%	—	54%	60%	—	39%
Social	42%	—	57%	44%	—	56%
Foreign	51%	—	48%	58%	—	41%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Butler Derrick (D)	89,071	(54%)	(\$641,429)
	Henry Jordan (R)	75,571	(45%)	(\$354,575)
1988 primary	Butler Derrick (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Butler Derrick (D)	79,109	(68%)	(\$177,714)
	Richard Dickison (R)	36,495	(32%)	(\$4,261)

FOURTH DISTRICT

When northern investors were looking for sites for textile mills as long ago as the 1880s, they looked to the up-country of South Carolina, to which they "were attracted by the mild climate, abundant water power, proximity to the cotton fields, and plenty of native [and white] labor already accustomed to a low standard of living." And so the textile industry of the South became centered by 1900 along the Southern Railway tracks between Charlotte and Atlanta, mainly in the Piedmont of North and South Carolina; and as the mills fled New England and the Northeast in the 1920s, the concentration here became even more thick. The textile country could look bucolic, as it did 50 years ago to a WPA writer in Greenville, where "winding streets, could look bucolic, as it did 50 years ago to a WPA writer in Greenville, where "winding streets, following old paths and roads, cross and recross the Reedy River," but Spartanburg, like Greenville, was "not so much a city as it is the civic center of a county highly developed agriculturally and industrially. The business district, where tall buildings, handsome stores, and modern hotels hobnob with shabby little old structures, occupies several blocks on narrow streets converging at Morgan Square. In the entire city, blocks are of irregular length and, without civic plan, streets have evolved from twisting woodland paths and lanes."

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 Counties 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 also stages the largest balloon race east of the Mississippi, with some 200 balloons competing each year.

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 which would bargain for high wages and fringe benefits. But history has taken a different course. There are big textile companies, like Roger Milliken'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's products have included moderate Democrats and Republicans, like Judge and defeated Supreme Court nominee Clement Haynsworth, Democratic Governor (1979–87) Richard Riley, and his Republican successor Carroll Campbell.

The 4th Congressional District of South Carolina, which includes Greenville and Spartanburg and one small county, has had seriously contested races when it has been open, as in 1978 and 1986. The most recent winner was Liz Patterson, a state Senator and former council member from Spartanburg and daughter of Olin Johnston. The primary action, interestingly, was on the Republican side—a struggle between William Workman III, a newspaper editor with many business and Republican ties, and two candidates with strong religious backing; Workman won, but got just 49% in the first primary and was hurt in the strife. 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% in Greenville County, but she won 60% in Spartanburg and 63% in Union, for a 52% victory.

In the House Patterson was proud of her work setting up child care centers in Veterans' Administration medical centers and of her fiscal voting record; like other South Carolina Democrats she is about in the middle of the House on economic, cultural and foreign issues. In 1988 there was again a Republican primary, with former Campbell aide Knox White beating a fundamentalist airline pilot 56%–45%. The general election was almost a carbon copy of 1986. White won 54% in Greenville County, but Patterson won 60% in Spartanburg and 67% in Union, for a 52% victory. This was 20% ahead of Michael Dukakis's showing here, but suggests another close race in 1990 if Knox White should challenge Patterson again.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 549,200, up 5.5% 1980–86; 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.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	114,191	(67%)
	Dukakis (D)	54,572	(32%)

Rep. Elizabeth J. (Liz) 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 Ofc. of Econ. Opp., 1967-68; Aide to Rep. James R. Mann, 1969-70; Mbr., Spartanburg Cnty. Cncl., 1975-76; SC Senate, 1979-86.

Offices: 1641 LHOB 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, Finance and Urban Affairs* (22d of 31 D). Subcommittees: Economic Stabilization; Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance; Housing and Community Development. *Veterans' Affairs* (13th of 21 D). Subcommittees: Education, Training and Employment; Hospitals and Health Care.

Select Committee on Hunger (12th of 19 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	45	52	67	100	50	48	39	60	57	32
1987	72	—	63	43	—	26	—	—	60	32

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	40%	—	58%	41%	—	58%
Social	40%	—	58%	48%	—	50%
Foreign	44%	—	55%	50%	—	48%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Elizabeth J. Patterson (D)	90,234	(52%)	(\$1,143,351)
	Knox White (R)	82,793	(48%)	(\$630,913)
1988 primary	Elizabeth J. Patterson (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Elizabeth J. Patterson (D)	67,012	(52%)	(\$594,026)
	Bill Workman (R)	61,648	(47%)	(\$639,859)

FIFTH DISTRICT

In the late 18th century Scots-Irish farmers moved from the sluggish rivers of Low Country Carolina to the up-country and Piedmont, where were fought some of the fiercest battles of the Revolutionary War. Kings Mountain and the 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 really subsided. Nor has the strong Calvinist religion which the earliest settlers brought with them; it lives on in various forms of Protestantism today—including the preaching of Jim Bakker and his wife Tammy Faye, who built their headquarters and their Heritage USA

Christian theme park and vacation retreat here in Fort Mill, South Carolina. What has changed, however, is that what looks like farming country—and still has many farms on it—has economically long since been a part of industrial America. Textile mills have been the biggest employers in up-country South Carolina, and the picture the *WPA Guide* gives of the city of Rock Hill 50 years ago is scarcely bucolic: "Railroad tracks run through the middle of the town, and the Memorial Bridge viaduct, honoring the military dead, connects the business district with the north residential section. While the houses are not outstanding architecturally, many along the wide, tree-bordered thoroughfares are distinguished for their lawns and gardens. Homes of the better educated and more prosperous Negroes are on the southern outskirts, with the usual fringe of cabins and 'shotgun' houses where the poorer classes of both races live."

In the 1970s metropolitan growth is moving out into these textile and tobacco farm counties, from Charlotte, North Carolina, just to the north, from the Greenville-Spartanburg strip along Interstate 85 which now specializes in more than textiles, from the state capital of Columbia. Eleven such counties in north and central South Carolina make up the state's 5th Congressional District.

The congressman from the 5th District is John Spratt. He comes from a politically active family in Rock Hill and has degrees from Davidson, Yale Law and Oxford; he was one of the young Democrats involved in Charles Ravenel's unsuccessful 1974 campaign for governor and have stayed in South Carolina politics since. Spratt was first elected in 1982, when incumbent Ken Holland announced his retirement a week before the filing deadline; he was able to put a campaign together readily and won 38% in the primary, 55% in the runoff against a candidate who spent \$929,000, and 68% in the general election. He has been reelected easily, winning 70% in 1988.

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 has become, according to *National Journal*, "one of the House's more influential members on matters military." His secret has been to study hard and master the details personally. Early on 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. He has been one of the Democrats most immersed in the details of the Strategic Defense Initiative, about which he has neither the unalloyed enthusiasm of a Jack Kemp nor the not very well informed opposition of some northern liberal Democrats; he favored only restricted funds for the Phase One SDI deployment. He worked on the difficult and for a South Carolinian sensitive issue of the safety of the Savannah River Plant nuclear reactors. He conducted breakfast seminars on chemical warfare and came up with a compromise that allowed carefully limited research to continue.

He has spent some time on domestic issues as well, sponsoring a bill requiring recycling for most consumer product packaging, supporting the "Buy American Bearings" cause, and transferring title to the Sandhills Forest to the state of South Carolina. On economic, cultural and foreign issues generally he has taken positions that put him at about midpoint in the House. Some have pushed Spratt to run for statewide office, but he says he has no interest in becoming governor, and seems uninterested in running against either incumbent Senator or against Richard Riley if he runs for Senate. So the likelihood is that he will continue what has been a productive career in the House.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 549,300, up 5.7% 1980-86; 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.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 91,385 (60%)
 Dukakis (D)..... 61,398 (40%)

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



Elected 1982; b. Nov. 1, 1942, Charlotte, NC; home, York; Davidson Col., A.B. 1964, Oxford U., M.A. 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: 1533 LHOB 20515, 202-225-5501. Also Box 350, Rock Hill 29731, 803-327-1114; 39 E. Calhoun St., Sumter 29150, 803-773-3362; and Box 964, Laurens 29360, 803-984-5323.

Committees: *Armed Services* (18th 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	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	55	57	61	64	75	29	30	33	57	29
1987	72	—	57	50	—	9	—	—	47	21

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	40%	—	58%	53% — 46%
Social	50%	—	50%	48% — 50%
Foreign	56%	—	43%	56% — 44%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	John M. Spratt, Jr. (D).....	107,959 (70%)	(\$105,620)
	Robert Carley (R).....	46,622 (30%)	(\$8,449)
1988 primary	John M. Spratt, Jr. (D), unopposed		
1986 general	John M. Spratt, Jr. (D), unopposed		(\$66,944)

SIXTH DISTRICT

The 6th Congressional District of South Carolina is part of the state's Low Country, north and east of Charleston, up to the North Carolina border. Here 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 area 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 37% 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 may rise. Still, the places here with the most rapid recent growth are along the coast, especially the Grand Strand on either side of Myrtle Beach in Horry County. This is attracting migrants from other parts of the South, many of them affluent retirees, and almost all of them white.

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. The current congressman, Robin Tallon, is a Democrat who had the happy assignment of facing in 1982 the Republican who had beaten convicted Abscam defendant John Jenrette in 1980. Tallon, a Democratic legislator and clothing chain store owner, had strong support from blacks as 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%. Since then it has been no contest. Tallon was reelected with 76% in 1986 and 1988. Even the national ticket doesn't hurt much. Michael Dukakis lost the district, but only by a 56%-44% margin. Any incumbent with the franking privilege who can't run 7% ahead of the head of his ticket doesn't deserve to be in Congress.

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 of Charlie Rose's Tobacco and Peanuts Subcommittee. He has worked for South Carolina research projects, to beef up the Grand Strand beaches, to fund a hybrid striped bass project, and to maintain tobacco export credits despite reports of corruption by leaf dealers. His approach is not subtle. "South Carolina has the potential to become the Holly Farms of striped bass," he said on one issue. "The tobacco farmer in my district and elsewhere should be the point of reference for any government program, domestic or export," he said on another.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 575,900, up 10.9% 1980-86; 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.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 89,068 (56%)
 Dukakis (D)..... 70,037 (44%)

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: Retail clothing store owner, 1965-present; Real estate broker and developer, 1982-present; 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* (12th of 27 D). Subcommittees: Conservation, Credit, and Rural Development; Cotton, Rice, and Sugar; Tobacco and Peanuts. *Merchant Marine and Fisheries* (14th of 25 D). Subcommittees: Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment; Merchant Marine.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	40	52	69	73	69	60	33	90	62	28
1987	44	—	67	50	—	39	—	—	60	25

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	46%	—	49%	—
Social	40%	—	48%	—
Foreign	44%	—	28%	—

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Robin M. Tallon, Jr. (D)	120,719	(76%)	(\$243,559)
	Bob Cunningham (R)	37,958	(24%)	(\$10,604)
1988 primary	Robin M. Tallon, Jr. (D)	65,608	(89%)	
	Luther Lightly, Jr. (D)	8,448	(11%)	
1986 general	Robin M. Tallon, Jr. (D)	92,398	(76%)	(\$269,708)
	Bob Cunningham (R)	29,922	(24%)	(\$61,949)

SOUTH DAKOTA

Half a century ago, work was stopped on Mount Rushmore. Sculptor Gutzon Borglum's design had not been fully chiseled out of the granite-crested mountain; Lincoln's beard was not finished, and Washington had been carved only to the lapels. But the looming war cut off federal subsidy of the project, and the four likenesses were recognizable—a national monument, the American political tradition embodied in a physically remote, forbidding environment. By this time Mount Rushmore had already become a symbol not just of patriotism but of the American can-do spirit; the seemingly wacky idea of carving statues out of a faraway mountaintop had been sanctioned when it was dedicated by President Calvin Coolidge in 1927, on the same summer vacation when he handed out slips of paper to reporters that read, "I do not choose to run for president in 1928."

And it was built in the Black Hills where the state that became South Dakota got its start, all of a sudden, a half century before in 1876. That year, as General George Custer suited up in the Dakota Territory on his way to be slaughtered by Crazy Horse's Sioux at Little Big Horn, prospectors discovered gold in the Black Hills—a discovery that marked the end for the Indians and their buffalo, as prospectors swarmed into land that treaties had reserved for the Indians. It was the year Calamity Jane ruled in the saloons of Deadwood, and Wild Bill Hickock was shot in the back there while holding up two pair, aces and eights. It was a year when hunters started slaughtering the buffalo, who could not be contained by barbed wire fences so thoroughly that by the time Teddy Roosevelt got to the Dakota Territory in 1885 he had a hard time finding one to shoot.

The mining towns flared brightly and then went dim or flickered out, though they're still taking gold out of one mine in Lead. But their fame attracted settlers, already headed west, to the plains of the Dakota Territory. It was not long before the railroad came through, before the Indians were massacred in 1890 at Wounded Knee, before enough settlers, many of them German and Scandinavian immigrants recruited by the railroads and land speculators, had built sodhouses and broken the land and set down roots to justify admitting both Dakotas to the Union in 1889.

That was just the moment that the Census Bureau and historian Frederick Jackson Turner proclaimed the closing of the American frontier. But bits and pieces of frontier, of marchland between the English-speaking American civilization and the civilizations that preceded it, remained then and remain now around the country. You can still see them in South Dakota. In the 25 years between statehood and World War I, the eastern third of the state, sectioned off Midwestern style into 640 acre square miles, filled up with farmers. But before you get to the Missouri River in the middle of the state, green turns to brown, cultivation grows sparser and then stops, the land is punctuated not by roads meeting every mile at precise angles but by buttes and gullies and grasslands sweeping all the way to the horizon with no sign of human habitation. These are the plains where the Sioux once built a civilization based on hunting the buffalo, and where the Sioux live today, on or just off reservations; currently, 7% of South Dakotans are Indians. This is not an entirely peaceful frontier even yet: in 1973 Wounded Knee was occupied by Indian militants, and not until 1984 did Indian leader Dennis Banks return to serve his sentence for riot and assault.

By 1910 South Dakota's settlement patterns were established—with patches of frontier left here and there—and the state's political character had been pretty well set. During the 1890s voters here flirted briefly with the Populists and William Jennings Bryan; but by the 1920s, South Dakota had become almost as monolithically Republican as Nebraska. Voters in South

Thurmond.

day-long event.

N.P. Club.

(6:30) →

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Brady. ^{Tell}
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P/M CONSULTING CORPORATION**FAX COVER SHEET**

TO: Peggy Dooley
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FROM: Tracey Barnes

P/M CONSULTING CORPORATION

1211 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW, SUITE 506

WASHINGTON, DC 20036

TELEPHONE NUMBER: 202-544-2120

FAX NUMBER: 202-543-7295

Peggy-

This is the packet of
info I send to interested
parties

U.S. Senator Strom Thurmond
Suite 506
1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036-2702

PRESIDENTIALGRAM

*** 7008 00128 1 ZP 0.205 BFPM057C ***

March 1, 1990

I am delighted to invite you to join in a "Salute to Two of America's Greatest Leaders" . . .

. . . President Bush and U.S. Senator Strom Thurmond.

This event, which will take place here in Washington, D.C. on Wednesday, April 11th, is designed to pay homage to two men who have dedicated their lives to building an America that is strong, proud and free.

I hope you can join us and agree to serve as a Co-Chairman of this special event. Tickets are \$1,000 per person. Those Co-Chairmen who buy or sell 4 tickets (\$4,000) will have the opportunity to have their picture taken with the President of the United States.

Our "Salute" will bring together Americans from all across the country in a full day of activities and briefings by some of the nation's top conservative political leaders. Our all day meeting will include a luncheon honoring Senator Thurmond and a special evening reception with President Bush.

If you find you cannot serve as a Co-Chairman, I hope you will join in this special event by at least purchasing an individual ticket. If time does not permit you to attend, please be with us in spirit by contributing \$100 and having your name listed in the special program which will be presented to the President and Senator Thurmond.

As you know, over the years I have had the distinct honor of working very closely with President Bush and Senator Thurmond. To honor both of these men together is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity that I am sure you will not want to miss.

Please use the attached form to tell me today that you will serve as a Co-Chairman, attend, or contribute to the success of this "Salute".

Sincerely,

PRESIDENTIALGRAM

SALUTE TO PRESIDENT BUSH AND SENATOR STROM THURMOND

Dear Lee:

YES!

_____ I would be honored to serve as a Co-Chairman of the Salute to President Bush and Senator Strom Thurmond and will commit to buying/selling _____ tickets for \$1,000 per ticket.

(Note: Co-chairmen must buy/sell a minimum of \$4,000 worth of tickets)

_____ I am interested in serving as a Co-Chairman but would like additional details. Please call me. My daytime phone number is (____) _____.

_____ I cannot serve as a Co-Chairman but I do want to attend. Enclosed please find a check for \$_____ for _____ tickets.

REGRETS.

_____ I cannot attend but wish to contribute to the success of the Salute to President Bush and Senator Strom Thurmond. Enclosed please find my contribution of \$_____.

(Note: All contributors of \$100 will have their name listed in the special commemorative program and will receive a copy of the program following the event)

PLEASE MAKE CHECK PAYABLE TO:
RE-ELECT THURMOND COMMITTEE

For additional information call 202-544-2120

Please note: Federal Election law permits individuals to contribute a total of \$2,000 (\$1,000 toward the primary and \$1,000 toward the general election) in support of Senator Thurmond's re-election. A husband and wife may each contribute \$2,000. Corporate contributions are not acceptable by law.

The Secret Service requires the following information:

Daytime Phone (____) _____ Home Phone (____) _____
Social Security Number _____ Date of Birth _____
Employer _____ Occupation _____

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U.S. Senator Strom Thurmond
Suite 506
1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036-2702

"SALUTE TO TWO OF AMERICA'S GREATEST LEADERS"**FACT SHEET**

Our "Salute" to President George Bush and Senator Strom Thurmond is a day-long series of events taking place in Washington, DC, with all proceeds going toward Senator Thurmond's re-election.

The day begins with a continental breakfast followed by briefings by some of the nation's top conservative political leaders. Included in the day's briefing schedule is a luncheon in honor of Senator Thurmond. The day concludes that evening with a reception honoring President Bush, with the President in attendance.

DATE April 11th, 1990

LOCATIONS The J.W. Marriott (Breakfast, Briefings & Luncheon)
1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.

The National Press Club (Reception)
429 14th Street, N.W.

TICKETS \$1,000 per ticket - Checks should be made payable to:

"The Re-elect Thurmond Committee"
and mailed to:
1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Suite 506
Washington, DC 20036

ACCOMMODATIONS A room block for participants of the event is being held at the J.W. Marriott Hotel with rooms available at a special rate of \$135.00 per night for both single and double rooms for the nights of April 10th and 11th. Reservations can be made by calling (202) 393-2000.

TRANSPORTATION USAir is offering a discount of 40% on coach fares and a 5% additional discount on promotional fares for individuals traveling to the event during the time period of April 8-14. Reservations can be made by calling 1-800-334-8644 and referring to Gold File #213571.

INFORMATION Inquiries can be made at (202) 544-2120.

CO-CHAIRMEN

We encourage any interested individual to serve as a Co-Chairman by selling four or more tickets (\$4,000). A member of the PAC community qualifies to become a Co-Chairman by making the maximum contribution of \$5,000. One special advantage to becoming a Co-Chairman is the opportunity to have a photograph taken with President Bush. Photo opportunities are limited, however, and will be granted on a first-come-first-served basis.

SAMPLE LETTER THAT CAN BE SENT ON YOUR OWN LETTERHEAD

Date

Mr. John Sample
123 Main Street
Anytown, USA 00000

Dear John:

I have recently been made aware of an event taking place in Washington which I think you will be very interested in hearing about.

The event is "A Salute to Two of America's Greatest Leaders" and is designed to do just that -- honor two great Americans: President George Bush and Senator Strom Thurmond.

The "Salute" consists of a full-day of activities taking place on Wednesday, April 11th. There will be a continental breakfast, followed by briefings from 9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m., both at the J.W. Marriott. The briefings feature Cabinet members, Republican Senators, and national leaders speaking on topics of concern to us all. There will be a luncheon half-way through the briefing sessions with U.S. Agency heads in attendance and featuring Dr. Jeane Kirkpatrick as the keynote speaker. The day concludes with a reception at the National Press Club with President Bush in attendance.

Tickets are priced at \$1,000 each, with all proceeds going to benefit the Re-elect Thurmond Committee.

There is no question that after his six terms in the United States Senate, we should do everything we can to guarantee that Senator Thurmond continue putting his experience to work on committees such as the Senate Judiciary Committee and the Senate Armed Services Committee.

As a Co-Chairman of the "Salute", I strongly urge you to take part. I will touch base with you in the next few days, but if you have any questions, please don't hesitate to call me. I hope I can count on you to help make this event a success.

Sincerely,

RE-ELECT THURMOND COMMITTEE
POST OFFICE BOX 11691
COLUMBIA, S.C. 29211-1691

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Vice Chairman

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SALUTE TO TWO OF AMERICA'S GREATEST LEADERS

INTERNAL UPDATE FOR CONFERENCE CO-CHAIRMEN

Washington, DC March 23 -- We have had a terrific response from our invitations to potential speakers for our April 11th Political Briefings. The Briefings, which are to be held from 9 to 5 at Washington, DC's J.W. Marriott Hotel, will give attendees the unique chance to hear from a number of high level conservative political leaders in an intimate setting.

A number of speakers have confirmed ahead of schedule. Those giving early support to Senator Thurmond include:

SECRETARY NICHOLAS BRADY
U.S. Department of the Treasury
DEPUTY SECRETARY RODERICK DeARMENT
U.S. Department of Labor
SECRETARY EDWARD DERWINSKI
U.S. Department of Veterans' Affairs
DR. JEANE KIRKPATRICK
Former Ambassador to the United Nations
DEPUTY SECRETARY HENSON MOORE
U.S. Department of Energy
GOVERNOR JOHN SUNUNU
White House Chief of Staff
SECRETARY CLAYTON YEUTTER
U.S. Department of Agriculture

★

APRIL 11, 1990

INSIDER BRIEFINGS

9:00 A.M. UNTIL 5:00 P.M.

SECRETARY NICHOLAS BRADY

SENATOR BOB DOLE

CONGRESSMAN NEWT GINGRICH

DEPUTY SECRETARY HENSON MOORE

SECRETARY ROBERT MOSBACHER

SENATOR ALAN SIMPSON

GOVERNOR JOHN SUNUNU

SECRETARY CLAYTON YEUTTER

AT THE J.W. MARRIOTT HOTEL

★

LUNCHEON

12:00 P.M.

ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR JEANE KIRKPATRICK

AT THE J.W. MARRIOTT HOTEL

★

PRESIDENTIAL RECEPTION

WITH U.S. DEPARTMENT AND AGENCY HEADS,

AND U.S. SENATORS

AT THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB



YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO A
"SALUTE TO TWO OF AMERICA'S GREATEST LEADERS"

HONORING

PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

AND

SENATOR STROM THURMOND

ON WEDNESDAY, APRIL 11TH, 1990

IN WASHINGTON, DC

R.S.V.P.
REPLY CARD ENCLOSED

\$1,000 PER PERSON
FOR ALL EVENTS