

Travel with Glenn Poshard (D/IL), May 9 - May 12, 1996

Thursday, May 9

Travel, dinner with Joe Foote and John Jackson.

Friday, May 10

Work in district office, Marion; lunch with Judy Hamilton, etc.

Saturday, May 11

7:30 a.m. Glenn is to meet with Oma Waldron in the Marion Congressional Office (the lady who used my handkerchief when she started to cry).

8:00 a.m. Glenn is to meet with Joe Owens in the Marion Congressional Office (the strip coal miner who wanted any other job so he could spend more time with his kids).

10:02 a.m. Benton Area Chamber of Commerce 25th Annual Rend Lake Water Festival Parade.

Louis and Ethel Seaton will have their truck decorated and will be in position 10-A for the parade line-up at 9:00 a.m.

1:00 p.m. Glenn is to meet Paul Black (district aide) at the intersection of Routes 16 and 32, north of Strasburg.

2:00 p.m. Press Conference to discuss the budget deficit reduction scorecard recently compiled by the Concord Coalition. Decatur Congressional Office.

2:30 p.m. National Association of Letter Carriers, United States Postal Service, the United Way of Decatur/Macon County, and the Decatur Trades & Labor Assembly Food Drive.

3:45 p.m. Glenn is to meet with Al Casals to discuss the Economic Development Administration projects within our district. Decatur Office.

6:00 p.m. Effingham County YMCA, "Go For The Gold" Dinner, dance and auction fund-raiser.

Sunday, May 12 (Mother's Day)

11:00 a.m. Uncle Pete's House.

12:00 Noon Restaurant with Mrs. Poshard.

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-1

3:00 p.m.

Birds: Meeting with flood victims.

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-2

Book #1

Glenn Poshard is smart and compassionate. He is also serious, thoughtful and idealistic. He is good-natured and tolerant. He is of the district to a remarkable degree. With many members, you do not have to know the district in order to know the congressman and vice versa. In this case, the two are so well integrated, so well meshed, that separation is nearly impossible. That is to say, I can't imagine GP in another district. And I can't imagine another congressman in GP's district (the old one anyway). Of course, someone else will represent the district in 1999. And he/she will probably be from the northern end of the district. In which case, we may have a case of "left-behind people in a left-behind district." But that remains to be seen. Maybe the integration of person and district I saw here can only occur for short periods of time. In which case, it is a kind of will-o-the-wisp. But this blend is what we should strive for--the ideal. And all real districts are approximations--inevitably. So I can describe the approximations!

- I flew from Rochester to Pittsburgh to St. Louis, rented a car in St. Louis and drove 2-1/2 hours to the place where they finally got a room for me--at the Rend Lake Golf Club--but in the made-over barn, not the regular guest house. It was a nice two-story house (the first floor was separate apartment) made up of second and third stories--you went up an outside staircase. Oil well "stripper" pumping in back yard and across the street!! It's 40 minutes from Carbondale and 25 from Marion where GP has office.
- Drove to Carbondale to a Chinese restaurant where I met Joe Foote and John Jackson. Had a nice meal with them and Joe's wife--talking politics. Joe was Carl Albert's press secretary, his wife worked for Clem McSpadden and then Glen English.
- They talked about Glenn Poshard. They see him as very serious about job--that he takes things too hard, decisions wear on him. Flag burning votes, he calls John to talk to him about it. Initially he was for the bill, read about it and decides he's against it.
- Takes lot of flak from gun owners and pro choicers--particularly the gun owners beat on him relentlessly. Pro choicers do, too, but they aren't as numerous--concentrated in university community. John admires him for stating his pro-life position in face of liberals in the university community that he needed for money.
- He never has enough money, they say. Always a shoe string operation, for him.

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-3

- John said, "Glenn is something of a mystic. He's extremely religious--so much so that I wouldn't be surprised if he went to a seminary when he gets out of Congress."
- He said from beginning that he would serve 10 years and get out, way before term limits had got started. This will be his last campaign.
- They talked about how very disruptive the redistricting was to Glenn (and to them at the university since they were the cream of his district).
- They talked about how he really got screwed in the Chicago-driven redistricting. They cut his district in thirds and he talked with Joe and John about which district to run in "or not at all." The old district had the bottom part of the state--cut horizontally. Then they changed to a vertically cut district running half way up the state. John speaks of the old southern district as "a separate culture," a real community that got sliced up. "Glenn fit that culture and that community perfectly." Costello's base is in East St. Louis and he doesn't need the southern part of the district. "We still think of Glenn as our congressman," says Joe. "The redistricting was a terrible blow to the university. People from Carbondale call him all the time now. We don't call Costello. He has his base up in St. Clair county. He does his business here, but he doesn't need us."
- You get a sense that the district and the congressman are far from the seat of power in Illinois.
- They talked interestingly about how he had been "a rising star" in the Illinois State Senate--very active in legislation. They don't think he's followed through in the House, and they wondered why he hadn't become a leader in D.C. "in his third and fourth term!" I wondered if he'd tried to change committees. Joe said he thought GP's choice of committees was poor, but that he wanted it because Ken Gray had it and Gray brought a lot of bacon home. They said that the redistricting came just as he was beginning to move and cut him off--too preoccupied. John said he wondered if that was true or "just an excuse." My speculation is that his 10-year promise hurt him inside Congress--removes some incentive, perhaps.
- John said Glenn was "half Paul Simon and half Ken Gray. He tends the district like Gray and he's an idealist like Simon."
- They said gun people and fund-raising prospect helped drive Simon out of Senate. They're starting an institute here at SIU with Simon--he'll teach half in Joe's college and half in John's college.

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-4

- Gray-Simon-Poshard is the lineage in this district. And they feel attachment to all of them who had that horizontally-cut district.
- Race vs. Terry Bruce was "his first and only sophisticated campaign. A couple of media people came in just in time. "He had to have media in Decatur, where people didn't know Glenn or Terry." Bruce won Decatur because he had much more money and had more media. He came from Olney. And Jo Poshard remembers the headline in the Decatur paper, "Bruce Moves In" to Decatur (in her scrapbook).
- They say the size of the district--260 miles long--wears Glenn out. His wife never went to Washington. Has kept up her teaching job--3rd grade in Carterville, where Glenn lived till the 1992 election. "Jo likes politics--in small doses. She's basically a strong person." (I came to see her as a real peach--as the very best of congressional wives.)
- I asked John if he thought this district might be like the Evansville district. He said that people who settled here were from the south. He didn't know who congressman was from the Evansville district--thought it was McCloskey. So there isn't a lot of communication. I see that SIU and Evansville play in same athletic league, however.
- Local facts: Rend Lake and Crab Orchard (which I cross driving to Carbondale are man-made lakes). Rend is more recent Corps of Engineers, Crab Orchard is New Deal--lots of federal largess there.
- And also prisons. "This district is dotted with prisons," says John. "It's sad but true. We'll take all the prisons we can get. No one else wants them. Chicago sends all their criminals to us." I said I saw one on the way in. He said, "You haven't seen anything. There's a big one in Frankfort. You drove right by that turn. And they're building an even bigger one in _____." I mentioned Marion--where I have a quote or two. Glenn says, "I have more prisons in my district than community colleges. That's sad but true." *Impact of crime issues is great & visible -- in prison, gun control. Issue-related & portable.*
- SIU, says Jo, "was the biggest industry in the district--the biggest industry in southern Illinois. There is just no industry down here. Decatur is different." It's got ADM.
- When I said I'd read where one voter (or paper) picked GP over Bruce because GP "was more thoughtful." They thought it was a good comment and then they both said "too thoughtful." They went on to talk about how it hurt him that he "took issues to heart" and "agonized over votes." They pegged their comments to both votes and town meetings. They said Paul Simon could give and take in a town meeting and then forget about it.

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-5

Glenn can't. He is "sickled o'er with the pale cast of thought," as Barber used to say.

- Maybe Poshard is like Conable?
- It's interesting how easily these two men compare Glenn with Simon and Gray. They make insightful comparisons within the small range they know and have lived with and can grasp. But so much is being held constant when they do compare. It's like Rochester people who could compare Barber and Frank Horton. The point is: how can we compare a dozen members with each other from different parts of the country. Answer: we can't. So we pin big labels on them and make that substitute for thought and for knowledge. Well, that's my job. But I can't do it for people in general. Can that be done--beyond political science? How would you go about making that point--most people are in no position to make comparisons beyond 2 or 3. And that's not enough.
- There's a real feeling for this district as a district. It's an entity; it isn't a space where 550,000 votes came from. It's more a community than that--yet it's not a community. When Dave Stricklin called me in Rochester to tell me about my lodgings and, again, when I called from Rend Lake to thank him, he said how pleased they were that they found a place for me in the district. "It's in the district. That pleases us even more," he said. Now who in Rochester would say "we got you a room at the Hyatt--it's in the district." Unthinkable! Some districts are communities; some are a mass of voters. That's not exactly the difference, of course, because every 'mass' has lots of communities in it. Well, it's different here, and I'll have to figure out how to talk about it.
- * Difference between HS and this. I could take each person through the allocation, presentation, explanation, career framework by name. That may not be what I'm learning, however.
- * There is a cliché in politics that constituency people just tend constituency. And the tacit assumption is that they couldn't do anything else. GP is a constituency person, has a philosophy about it but he could do anything. He's a good constituency person. Then, the question arises that his friends posed: why, with all that talent, doesn't he do more?
- At lunch, Judy, Betty, Vic and Bobby (about to leave to do PR for Centralia Hospital) talked about Glenn--mostly Judy and Betty who have been with him the longest. They both said, "It's impossible for us to separate the congressman from the friend," "we're like a family," "he's into everything, doesn't miss a thing," "can remember verbatim," "his attitude is let's do it." When all had gone but Judy, she said that "God is in

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-6

him," and that if he felt he had "a ministry" she wouldn't stop him. But she feels people need him as a congressman, "he's done so much for people here." Both said "he can walk into any restaurant and talk to people at any level."

- Judy told me that when he had to decide whether to run or what district to run in, she saw him the night before the decision and, again, the morning of the decision and that he couldn't make up his mind. He announced that he would hold a press conference on a certain evening and when she saw him that morning, he said he didn't know what to do. She finally, that A.M., told him he should run. Still, she didn't know whether he would run or quit. He got staff together at 4:00 and told them he'd decided to run. Then went to press conference. Point is that he does as he says so eloquently in flag speech agonize over decision. Everybody says that about him.
- On Friday, I spent the day in the office--with a couple of hours out to drive to Carbondale and talk to Joe Foote in his office. GP was supposed to come in and give commencement address down in Uhlín. The plane was late and he raced directly down and got there too late, so I went back to Rend Lake Manor. As of Friday night, I'd spent a day without seeing him. The office people were very helpful and friendly. Vic was going to drive me to Uhlín--a very southern-like part of district.
- On Saturday, we met, when I joined him in his office--talking about dietician's VA problem. (Oma Waldron)
- Reading his speeches, I think tolerance is his special quality. Having met him, now, I think loyalty to the system is his strongest characteristic. His one minute speech idea, support for Congress, party, voting. Said he'd like to use the one minutes to say "some things are going pretty dad-gummed well."
- "My father taught me a lot about party loyalty. He was a Roosevelt/Truman Democrat and proud of it. He grew up in the WPA, CCC days and believed in being loyal to your party. I don't believe a party should wash its linen in public. As hard as it may be sometimes, I believe you should always stand up for the party--never besmirch your party. (re his support of Durbin--"a guy who cut you up" Jo) I feel the same way about the institution of Congress. I may suggest reforms. But I would never demean the institution the way some people do." He spoke out on that several times--too many people knock the institution and that frightens him. "That's the only thing that makes me fear for our government--the terrible public cynicism." He does not run against Congress.
- Personal characteristics: laughs a lot and gets serious,

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-7

emotional, accessible, compassionate (with personal problems in his office). "Is everything going all right?" "Are you OK?" "hoss," "pal," "Oh, man." Jo embroiders many of his comments with the personal angle--very open couple. And he talked incessantly--almost non-stop in the car--and we were in the car a good five hours the first day! Couple of good stories--Legion (he won't go there any more) getting saved--boy saved, chases father--sumbitch got scared."

- The central story of the trip was the long story of the Bruce redistricting and primary campaign in 1992--Glenn carrying the theme, Jo adding to it at every stop--how she felt and how she thought other people felt and how Glenn felt. ("I'm his biggest fan!")
- The "Southern Illinois" House members see the redistricting coming and so they band together, kick in \$35,000 for a lawyer to work on ways to save their districts. "We took a blood oath that we would stick together, that we wouldn't let any one cut out a southern Illinois district."
- "It turns out that where turf is involved in politics, politicians will sell one another down the river every time."
- The deal is that Illinois has to lose two seats and that one will be in Chicago (Dem) and one downstate (Rep). When the Republicans see that the court (that will divide the redistricting) is made up of three Reagan appointees, the Republicans "know they've got us (Democrats) and they say 'no way will we give up a Republican seat.'" They want both seat losses to be Democratic seats.
- Glenn thinks the southern Illinois guys are going to fight it together. But unbeknownst to him, a deal is being cut to eliminate his district.
- A reporter came to him one day in DC and says I've heard that a new plan is about to come out and that you have lost your district. "I was in shock. I knew absolutely nothing about it. I thought that we had taken a blood oath to protect the southern Illinois districts, that we had spent \$35,000 on a lawyer for that purpose. It turned out there had been meetings in Chicago between Democrats and Republicans--meetings I knew nothing whatever about."
- "He goes onto House floor after, talking to the reporters and sees Michel and Hastert (2 downstate Republicans) talking. Goes right over to them and tells them what he's heard and asks if there's any truth to it. They say something general like 'Oh, don't get upset Glenn,' but apparently they do tell him a lot--he says he has a record of it. Then he sees the Illinois Democratic group all talking to each other--

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-8

Rostenkowski, Durbin, Bruce, Costello. Glenn asks Rostenkowski if its true that they have had meetings, who was there, have they cut out his district. Each one he addresses walks away. "They just walked away. Not one guy gave me an answer. I said to Terry, 'You and I are friends. Did you know about this meeting? Were you there?' He walked away. I followed him off the floor and still he wouldn't speak to me."

- Jerry Costello stayed on the floor so GP goes back to talk to him. "Jerry, you are the best friend I have in Congress." He said to me, 'I swear I knew nothing about what was going on.' Jo piped up, 'And we don't know to this day whether he did or didn't.'
- "They cut my district up into three separate pieces. And they drew the new line so that my house was one mile outside the new district. Each one of the other Democrats boosted his base at my expense. But the main purpose was to shore up and save a district for Terry Bruce. I was angry, very angry. I felt betrayed. But I didn't know what to do. For a while I wanted to go around and knock everybody, hold a press conference and tell all that Michel and Hastert had told me. That's when (John) Jackson helped to keep the lid on me--telling me to think it over, that I had a bright future in politics. Then I had to decide whether or not to run."
- He spent a week talking to people in St. Clair County to scope out running against Costello. "I met a stonewall. There's a machine up there and if you waver, you lose your job. Several people told me they couldn't support me, even though they preferred me. One man, whom I had helped get elected in my part of St. Clair County, hung up on me as soon as he heard I was thinking about running there. 'You're a good congressman. It's been nice talking to you.' (slam) It was a total stonewall."
- "Then I began crunching the numbers in the new 19th district and I thought it could be done."
- Much agonizing. Had a meeting with eleven Democratic county chairmen in his old district to ask their advice on running. Ten tell him not to and one says "go for it." (Williamson) Their argument is, "don't hurt Bruce's chances" and "you can't win."
- "Their advice was don't run, be patient. I told them that I once had tended my precinct for years, that I kept track of every voter, took them to the polls, scraped the sidewalk for the elderly, that my precinct had the best record in the county and you guys kept saying to me, 'be patient.' Well, I was patient and nothing happened. Finally I just decided to

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-9

run--for the state senate. I ran, got my ass whipped and ran again and won. If I had taken your advice, I never would have run."

- Then he began to get phone calls and letters telling him not to run. They told him he didn't have a chance; that he should stick by the party. "I think every member of the board of trustees at SIU called to talk about the chancellorship. They wouldn't offer it to me, but they all but offered it to me."
- Couldn't decide, Jo says. The morning of his announced press conference, he still hadn't decided. Stayed up all night thinking about it. "I felt I had been betrayed by my friends. I had not been treated fairly. They had cut up my district behind my back. Bruce had \$800,000. I had no money. I had never had money. We are not wealthy. We've borrowed money for every campaign. Most I ever made was \$34,000 a year. I knew that if I backed down and didn't run, I'd never forgive myself."
- Son David likes politics, had experience in politics and wants to be campaign manager--Glenn says ok.
- "We rented a motel room in Decatur and opened up a tiny headquarters. I knew nobody in Decatur. I didn't think I had ever been to Decatur in my life. We stayed up there and went to talk to every county official and every Democratic committee member. We would be out at 10:00 at night with flashlights trying to find the right house of some precinct committee member. We talked to every single one, face-to-face, told them we were running and didn't ask for any pledges."
- "Some nights I would drive David to the parking lot at the end of the evening, he would get into his old car and drive back to Springfield. David spent lot of time talking to them, having a beer, explaining my ideas."
- He got very emotional when he talked about what David had done, how well he had done and how well he did in Decatur (45%) for him. Wiped tears from his eyes. "I don't know why I still get so emotional about that campaign. I think its because of what David did and how proud I was when he was at his best. We did it together."
- "One month before the election, David came to me and said 'come up to Decatur. The Macon County officials are going to have a press conference.' I said 'don't push them.' And David said 'no, they want to have a press conference and they are going to endorse you.' And they did--the whole group--right under Terry Bruce's nose. David had done that, by talking with them over and over."

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-10

- A week later, Macon County officials all came down to the southern part of district and held a press conference. "That was the turning point. When the folks down here saw that I had the support of the Macon County officials, they became energized. They said 'this guy has a chance; and he could win.' And they took off."
- "We thought if we could get 38% in northern counties; 75% in my old counties and 44% in the others, we could win. We got 90% in my counties, 45% in the northern counties and 50% in the inbetween counties."
- All newspapers endorsed him.
- Had a debate where he had lost his notes in the computer.
- Bruce had gotten out of touch with constituents (says Jo). Moved his family to DC, came home and didn't seem to pay attention. Jo, "People expect to see their congressman. They want to see the congressman. That's where Glenn is so good. He comes home every weekend and goes everywhere he is asked."
- I believe that after today. We drove five hours to do almost nothing--do a little press interview, talk to DA guy, put in appearance at post office food drive, give a check to YMCA dinner dance. (Mostly in the car, I got home at 8:50. 12+ hours after I left this morning.)
- Glenn and Jo savored the memory of that victory; they went over election night and returns that exceeded expectations in every area--precinct-by-precinct. "That was some night."
- Glenn's media ads refuted Bruce--but no money for positives.
- Contrast with Bruce was story--no PAC money, attendance record, no newsletter, term limits, etc.
- Jo says GP showed up the others in these ways and they didn't like it. And that cost him his old district.
- His current support of Durbin for the Senate, "It's hard. But Paul Simon asked me to support him. Paul wants him; the party wants him. So I have supported him down the line. He knows what he did; he knows I know what he did. But I've supported the party. And I believe strongly in supporting the party--hard as it is in this case."
- He remembers a bright red flyer by Bruce comparing GP's vote on 1990 budget with the treatment of elderly under communism.
- Bruce's was a very negative campaign, he says.

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-11

- He asked me what I'd do if his current opponent, who is entirely negative, says nothing about the problems of district--he only talks about flag burning, guns, abortion. 'Be yourself,' I said, 'and if some one argument is killing you, refute it.' He says the guy only voted once in his life. "I cannot understand that. He wants to go to Congress and he thinks so little of the government that he won't even vote. If there's one thing that is a citizen's duty, it's to vote. I didn't hit him on that, but once when I mentioned it, people cheered. Can you imagine the cynicism people feel toward the government. That's what I fear more than anything else--the cynicism." That was a main theme of the day--if not the main theme.
- He went into great length on the flag amendment, crime bill and budget agreement. He agonized over flag vote. "I didn't have one minute's hesitation over the crime bill. It was a good bill and I knew I was going to vote for it. I tried to protect second amendment rights to the very end. But once the assault weapons ban was put in the crime bill, I never had any doubt about what I was going to do." No agonizing there.
- On the budget, he drew diagram (which I have) to the effect that the two extremes were holding out and there was no middle. The extremes are 100% apart and can't come to agreement. "I have never seen so much partisanship in my life as there is in the House today. The extremes are so strong, there is no middle. And democracy exists in the middle."

Book #2

- On the road to Harrisburg (see map), "This is a road I'm real proud of. It used to be the most dangerous road in the district--a narrow, curvy road. More people were killed on this road than any other. For decades, people have tried to get the money to make it a four-lane highway. I got the money. We've just completed half of it and we'll start work on the other half this summer. I know I talk a lot about projects. But I spend most of my time on projects like this. This is a poor district and it needs help. I spend time on these things and I take pride in the fact that I never miss a committee meeting that deals with projects in my district. In our first staff meeting every year we put down all the needs of the district and draw up a chart so that we can follow them closely day-by-day as each one moves along. There may be six things in committee dealing with my district. Some people say that this isn't an appropriate thing for a congressman to do. It is for me. I'm for cutting government, but I'm going to work like hell to get all there is to get from what's left in the pot."
- Later in the day when we drove into Salem, "We're coming into

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-12

a nice town. I've driven this street a hundred times. It was in the old district and I enjoyed working with people here. I hated to lose this town. At the time I was redistricted, I had 32 million dollars in highway money on the books ready to be spent in the district. When I got the new district, I had only \$3 million of that left. All of it was in the old district. I lost all my political capital. You have to start your whole political life all over again. You have to get to know a whole new group of people and you have to start from scratch in assessing the needs of the new district and starting to fulfill them. You have no political capital. Do you think it made any sense to take towns like Salem and Centralia away from my district. It was totally absurd."

- "Do you have any idea what a triumph it is for me to be a United States Congressman? Never in my wildest dreams did I ever think I would have such an honor and a privilege. When I walk on the floor, I think it is incredible that I'm there. And when I hear someone like Vaclew Havel! His speech was so moving for me. It confirmed my belief that we need people in the arts to provide guidance to politicians."
- "Many a night, when I leave the office at 10:30, I will walk down to the Jefferson Memorial and just sit there on the steps."
- He sees Abraham Lincoln as the perfect statesman and leader. John Kennedy is his favorite President. We talked about Kennedy off and on during the two days.
- "Jo likes the city. She'd be happy living in a city. I wouldn't. I'm more of a rural person. I like to live in rural areas."
- We went to his mother's apartment in Carmi, White County, where GP was born and raised. We took her to visit her one remaining brother, Uncle Pete. In order to get there, we drove through the hills and over country roads and Glenn would point out where various people lived and talk about his boyhood. He went to a two-room school for eight grades, "four grades in one room, four in the other." We saw the school. It was closed, the white paint had peeled, windows were broken. "Sometimes I go in there and just stand, looking around. I have great memories." He walked two miles to school and ~~we~~ retraced his route. "There were 15 kids and we'd pick 'em up along the way and walk together. I loved the creeks and the hills and the trees. It was the greatest thing. I made friends for life."
- Judy said that his shoes had holes in them and they would fold paper in them to cover the holes. Jo said, "He lived in real poverty, even though they didn't know it because everyone else

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-13

was poor." His father (who had an arm shot off when he was a kid) lived by trapping animals along the Wabash River and selling hides and by fly fishing in the river. Glenn went into the Army out of high school Jo talked about what a shock it was when he went to high school in town. He was called one of "the hill people" who came out of the back woods to go to school in town.) We talked about the Army. He loved it. He was used to discipline, respecting authority, using guns, etc. He was in Korea. Not a professional veteran. Army opened up the world to him and gave him GI Bill, etc.

- Out of all this, he got strong sense for plight of the poor. "There ought to be a more equitable distribution," he said on our last ride home when we passed Walmart. "It's a profitable company. But they pay their employees just above minimum wage and give them no benefits." Sense of exploitation, partly because it's non-union. "I'm a big union man."
- Story of "my grandpaw" who bought 120 acres of land (across the road from Uncle Pete) in 1940's and had the royalties stolen by Standard Oil. Came in and drilled for oil, said there was none, but gave him \$2,000 in exchange for deed to royalties for anything under the land. Then they made tens of millions off the oil under his property. "If we had had the Legal Services Agency, he would have had a lawyer and gotten a fair shake for his land. But he was a poor immigrant farmer. \$2,000 was a lot of money to him. What did he know?"
- Great sense for injustice here. (I told him about Harry Caudill's book.) We saw the pumps still going on the land. A reminder. He is a very strong union man--as strong as anyone I've seen--as the only way to fight injustice brought about by big business. Pat, his district rep. in Decatur, came from the Rubber Workers Union.
- When we were on the way to his mother's house, Jo and Glenn talked about her. She had a third grade education, as did his dad. She lived back in the hills by herself after Glenn's dad died. "She lived a very simple life--never went anywhere." Her little church (Baptist) and her religion were her mainstays. "She's almost child-like. She has had so little experience with the world. She has no idea what Glenn does, no understanding of politics."
- Glenn piped up: "When I won my first election, I called her up. I said, 'Mom, I won the election!' She said, 'You did!' I said, "I'm going to Washington, Mom." She said, "How are you going to get there?" They laughed. Then Glenn said that after he had been serving in the state senate, she asked him one day, "Are you still working in that big house up there?"

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-14

- Her conversation repeated itself over and over. She was worried that she hadn't brought her best sweater. She said the woman who did her hair might have burned it. She said to me five or six times "There were eight of us and my maw and paw make 10. That was quite a bunch." "Uncle Pete" was the only one of her siblings left and Glenn and Jo were determined to get her over to visit him. She couldn't remember when she saw him last. She lives in town, he lives in the hills outside town (Carmi). Her knee hurt and doctor had given her a cortisone shot and the shot hurt. She described it often and thought she'd get another one, but explained that you couldn't take too many. She talked about Angie's twins (2 years old). Angie is daughter of Glenn's brother, Ed, who lives in big house, spanish style, and is, says GP, "the second most successful State Farm insurance agent in the country." She kept saying, "They're so cute. You have to take everything off the table when they come to visit. You have to slap their little hands. If you slap their hands, they learn to be right." We all kidded about "training" children. Afterwards Glenn said, "Just think how different it all is now--the idea of training children, like dogs."
- Anyway, she gave me a hug when we left her. She would turn to me every little while, in the car, at Uncle Pete and at the restaurant and say, "You're from New York. That's a real big city." And when I left her at Ed's she said, "I'm glad I met you."
- Jo said she was glad I got to see Glenn's boyhood home, and his mother. He knew a lot of poverty and hardship; and he grew up to be accomplished and to have a feeling for what so many people in that area go through. He didn't hob knob with the local business people during this trip. It was mostly people who work with their hands, value a job and have local ties. No neckties!
- After the parade, where he stood in back of Ethel's & Louis' pickup, with flags attached all over it, throwing bubble gum at the spectators (and I rode with Ethel and Louis in the cab) with the loudspeaker on top blaring Bruce Springsteen, "I'm glad to be an American," he said to Jo: "You know what I saw today. I saw poverty. Those little kids hardly dressed, shivering in the cold with their mothers wrapping blankets around them. Coal country is hurting bad."
- That's what I saw too. Downtown Benton was largely boarded-up. The signs were still on the windows indicating the kind of store they were; but they were boarded-up. Coal wages were pretty good--\$35,000 to \$40,000 a year. But Clean Air Act killed the industry--they mine high sulfer coal and the "scrubbers" to clean it up cost too much--cost \$300-400,000 each.

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-15

- Judy Hampton, talking to a coal miner in the office (who had come to see Glenn about help in getting another job) spoke of her family. "All in my family worked in the mines. My grandfather was killed in the mine. My father was buried under once, but he got out alright. I was home when the mine office called and said he was in the hospital, 'condition unknown.' I had to go tell my mother. She was playing bingo. As soon as she saw me, she said she knew it was my dad. 'Is he alive,' she asked me. We went to the hospital. He was alive. But they had to saw off his arm--without anesthesia. He went back to work, but he suffered black lung all his life. My husband got an ear tore off and lost two fingers. He's a roofer; that's the most dangerous job in the mine. He got laid off when the mine closed; and says he won't go back to the mines. But he's too young to get his benefits and he'll have to work in some mine for a day after he's 55 to get his benefits. The wages were good, but it's an awful way to make a living. We didn't know anything else." (That's the gist of her story--which came in spurts. I'll have to get it more accurately next time.)
- At one point speaking of his pride in new highways--he spoke of three different ones that he got the money for. On one of them I said, "You can get those things from your committee." And he said, "Precisely, that's why I got on Transportation Committee. My district needs roads." And it sure does. It is far flung and has long distances between towns. I drove 180 miles just going from my place to Marion and back each day! Plus the trip to St. Louis. I commuted 60 miles each day. That's a first for me! I'm always located near the office. But these people figured I was just next door!
- Jo called Glenn a "risk taker" in talking about his first State Senate race. He ran against an incumbent, Gene Johns, because of an incident. GP was in educational administration lobbying the state legislature for something. He went to see Senator Johns and got a promise that he would vote in favor. Glenn and his group go up to gallery to watch the vote. Sen. Johns votes the exact opposite from what he'd promised, then looks up to the gallery, sees Glenn and laughs.
- "He was a rascal. I came home and said to Jo, 'I'm going to run against him in the primary.' I worked hard, but I got beat. I announced my full support for Gene and went out and worked hard for the party. Gene died near the end of his term and the party chairman appointed me to fill the seat for about three months. But I had to run for election when a Republican state representative from the southern party of the district announced for the seat. He controlled all the jobs in his district--in the prisons and on the highways. Every yard in his part of the district had Winchester signs. It was all patronage. But he made a mistake. He threatened that if

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-16

those people didn't support him, he would fire them from their jobs. That threat travelled like wildfire through the district and people turned on him. That's not something you do. I beat him in every county."

- "My first race for Congress was my best race, it was a classic--the kind of race every one should be. I ran against a sharp, law professor from SIU. We had some of the greatest debates. We went to every community college and debated the district's issues--no poison pills. The gyms were filled with enthusiasm and noise; and it got you real pumped up. I got so I considered him a friend (Pat Kelly). We were free of personal rancor, and it freed us for a spirited debate. We accomplished what candidates should do. He was a moderate, staunch Republican. There was nothing personal. It was a fair display of the difference between the two parties--no extremes. It was the high water mark of my congressional campaigns."
- "The low water mark was my third race (no opponent in the second race). After my vote on the flag, Jim Wam got into the race. Every meeting, every forum, every minute of the campaign it was nothing but 'he burned the flag.' He was a one-issue candidate. There was no discussion of any of the issues facing the district. In my sleep, I still hear that one speech of his which ended 'and he burned the flag.'"
- Jo teased him into giving his imitation of that speech, which he did. Wam is out in Colorado with wind coming off the great prairie and he's taking the flag down from a pole at night and the wind wraps the flag around himself and his little daughter, etc. GP is a spectacular imitator and it was hilarious.
- He worries constantly about the dialogue between members of Congress and citizens. "You hope that the public will judge you on balance--that they will judge you on your whole record, not just one vote."
- He sees Winters as his "least qualified" opponent. He plagiarizes Lincoln, lies about his work experience. We talked a lot about how to deal with Winters 'and GP kept asking what I would do. I suggested making him open up his income tax records. I'll catch up on all this next time. But when I left he said, "I'm going to take some of your suggestions in my campaign." We'll see.
- Sunday PM (after AM with his mother and his relatives), we drove to village of Birds, so small he'd never been there--58 homes plus one bar so far as I could tell. On Thursday, a 6-1/2 inch flash flood hit the town putting all 58 homes under water 3' or more. It hit at 8:15 in the morning in an area

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-17

that was already flooded by Embarras River. (It was on CNN most of Thursday.) Glenn took charge of the meeting of the people in the town, with the Red Cross, and with the State Emergency person.

- Driving in, you could see piles and piles of rugs, appliances, furniture, etc. out in front of the homes, waiting to be hauled away--and people said they'd been hauling stuff for two days. They had no insurance because they lived on a flood plain and weren't eligible. It was a poor, blue collar citizenry, living in mobile homes and neat, modest wooden homes. All 58 homes were damaged, two mobile homes were destroyed and 28 other homes had "major damage." Six families had been put up in a motel by Red Cross and they were serving meals, handing out blankets, etc.
- It turned out that GP was going to run the meeting--"to give the people some hope" as he said afterwards. The problem and the reason for hope was that if the feds declare it to be a disaster area (and "it" has to be the whole county (Lawrence), then aid will come. If not, the prospects are not good. Glenn could and did take the view that facilitating, legitimating process is underway.
- GP: "There is not anyone in this room that hasn't felt hardship. When you live in southern Illinois, it seems like hardship is part of what we are. We have overcome and we will overcome." A near-by refinery had just closed, costing the area 400 jobs.
- A young woman crying: "We don't have nothing. We lost our home. We got no money. We ain't got nowhere to go. What are we supposed to do."
- In the course of the discussion, as Glenn took questions from the 100 people jammed into the one local church, it became clear to me that no one could do the job well without knowing where the rivers flow and what the problems are all along the river. When questions about dredging, silt pileup, log jams, bridge problems come up, GP knows. And he had other examples of flooded areas to help his explanations and conjectures.
- Afterwards, he was concerned that he gave hope, but had made no promises. And he ventilated a little about the state representative who had gotten up and blamed the government. That's of a piece with his general defense of government. "Why did he have to get up and start blaming the government? He should have sat down. The state government was doing a terrific job."
- By the time we stopped at the Dairy Queen, he had stopped thinking about his part in the meeting. "I used to worry

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-18

after every speech or meeting whether I had said this or that just the way I wanted or whether I had left the wrong impression by what I said. But I don't do that any more." Have you wiped that meeting off your mind? "Yes, but tomorrow morning first thing I'll start making calls to see what I can do to help." It is his nature to worry.

- "My weakness is that I have lost touch with the party. I come home and do district things like I have been this weekend. I go where the problems are. I don't have time to make the calls to precinct committeemen. "How's it going?" I'll bet I don't know the names of more than 10% of the committee people in Decatur. When I was in the middle of the district, it was much easier to stay in touch. I knew the name of every committee person in the district. I don't have that linkage anymore. I go to their big events--in all 11 counties--at campaign time, but I don't do much else. I'm a little out of sorts on that."
- The district is a killer. And the fact that it is a killer physically keeps reminding him of the redistricting. Mostly, he shows a lot of equanimity, but under the surface, it rankles. He doesn't want to miss votes and hasn't since his first term, when he missed 3 or 4. So he waits in DC to vote, then rushes to catch the plane--usually 2:20 Friday. Then gets to St. Louis and has a 2-1/2 hour drive to the district. On the weekend, he drives up and down that district. Then he gets up at 3:30 a.m. Monday morning (sometimes Tuesday) to get 7:30 flight to DC to get to the House floor by noon that day for the inevitable vote on the Journal. "I'm tired," he said a couple of times. "The district beats you down." Given the kind of member he is--accessible and compassionate--he drives long distances for very little things--little in the electoral scale of things; but not little to the people involved.
- He fears that the next Congressman will come from the northern part of the district, that the southern part will lose representation. He agrees with me that it will be hard to win and easy to hold. (Another similarity with Jim Johnson.) The district was the first one in Illinois (1818), and when he got screwed, an important entity--historically and culturally--got wiped out. He had cultivated it without money. He didn't buy it. He grew it! I think he hates to preside over the abolition of the historic district. He has changed cultures really--from something with southern influences to something more midwestern. I said that and he said he hadn't thought of it that way, but it was correct.
- Either way, I think he represents the left-behind-people in the society.
- He speaks of the district as "marginal" and "marginally"

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-19

Democratic--one that could go Republican.

- The first thing he started talking about when we got in the car and started out Saturday was the size and complexity of the new district. "I used to be in the middle of my district. Now I'm at one end of a district that is 265 miles long. Communication was easy. I was within easy driving distance of everywhere. The 3 major networks ABC, NBC and CBS were concentrated here in Williamson County. The major newspaper was here. Now I have to think about two more TV stations in Decatur to touch the northern part of the district, 2 more in Terre Haute and 2 in Vincennes to touch the eastern part of the district. We can't buy all that media. We always have to borrow money to run."
- When he changed districts, he could have changed his accessible style--may be make a Washington career for himself. But it would have never occurred to him--too embedded.
- Re flag amendment: "I had to understand it in the heart, not just the head. The veterans will never forgive me. I've tried to explain my vote in dozens of Legions and VFW halls--where I'm welcome. I don't think they'll ever know why I did what I did. That will hurt me in places where they don't know me. The Legions and VFW halls are major social clubs. In these small towns, anybody who is anybody belongs. You can't get elected mayor if you don't belong. They are in the forefront of everything. I'll never forget the 4th of July following the vote. I was already scheduled at Steelville and Cairo. I'll never forget it--Steelville especially--the booing, yelling, screaming. It was rude and awful."
- The old district, in short, was compact. The new one is anything but.
- "My coal counties are hurting like hell."
- Favorite saying: "I love him/her to death."
- NAFTA: "I voted against NAFTA. It divided my district between farm country and labor country. I always thought it was more of a marketing device--an export platform--than a job producing program. I researched it and I had many different reasons why it was a bad deal and I articulated them at every stop." As "a union man," he would lean vs. it.
- Went on to tell about a story about how "eight or nine of us wanted a meeting with Mexican Minister of Commerce" and couldn't get. Then he finally got into the room with the guy at ADM in Decatur. He tells story of how he sits in the waiting room while Moseley Braun, Simon, and Durbin are taken up to the board room. Then he gets to go up and listen to

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-20

Mexican guy. GP finally gets to ask his questions. Gets no satisfaction. But the moral he draws is that: "I could not get to see the Mexican Minister of Commerce in Washington; but I could get to see him in the board room of Archer Daniels Midland. Now that's power." ADM is in some trouble and he's following that with interest. He's not a fan and ADM has no hold on him because they are huge PAC givers and he doesn't take PAC money.

- He told me the story of his taking PAC money, signing the statement for "some union group, I forget" and taking their money and then agonizing over the vote when it came up and he disagreed with them. "As I watched the issue develop, I felt totally different about it. I was sitting in my office before the vote with a big knot in my stomach. I didn't agree on the issue, but I had signed their statement and taken their money. I hadn't made up my mind when the bells went off. I waited till the last 10 seconds and then I voted the way I had told them I would. I didn't want to be called a liar. I went back to the office and told the staff: 'I can't do this again. I can't go to war every time I vote. The only way is don't take their money.' And I told them 'that's a keeper.' For me, it's the best decision. But I've never tried to tell others how it should be. I was the only one who declined PAC money among those who were freshmen." Says Dave Bonoir told him he was making a big mistake. He spoke about what happened when he didn't know better. "I spent 3 interview days at a time signing PACS."
- Jo spoke about how GP loses sleep, "agonizes," "takes it to heart," "takes things seriously."
- Dem. CCC "sends us these kids to campaign; we send them home."
- Re flag: Jo said he knew district was for the amendment, that the old district had big percentage of veterans.
- "I loved the service. The service was what gave poor boys a chance, a career. All my friends and I gravitated to the service. Every member of my family was in the service. The flag meant everything to me. I read everything I could get my hands on. I knew I could come to terms with the constitutional issue. The question was: could I come to terms with the deeper issue. For the veterans, symbol is the substance. I had to go back to my faith before I finally understood it. I thought I saw the constitutional issue; but my faith made me see that you must not limit dissent. The rest is pressure. It ensures democracy. As a Christian, I am called upon to sacrifice that which is most precious as well as that which is least precious." I think I've got it, but if I go into this, I'd better read his speeches on the subject-- where he spells out the Xian aspects of his thinking.

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-21

- Re PACs again: "Sometimes I'm almost envious of my colleagues. When you sit on the floor (of the House) you hear your colleagues talking. 'Did you get your check from such and such a group today. I'm expecting my check from such and such.' Jerry Costello held one fund-raiser in his district and he raised \$162,000 and all lawyers. I couldn't do that even if I wanted to. I voted to cap injury payments from malpractice suits."
- He puts \$500 limit over the whole cycle. He's doing well this way this year and can't believe it. In his 1st campaign, PACs not important--i.e., in state senate race. In Congress race, DCC took over--he said he didn't know enough then "to tell 'em to get lost," now he does (also with earlier comment).
- "Every 50 miles, the issues change. Starting from the southern tip of the district, the issues are about river commerce, locks and dams. The next 50 miles the issues are environmentalism and logging in the Shawnee National Forest; the next 50 miles brings you into coal country; the next 50 miles is oil county; 50 more miles and you're in the area where 65% of the district's population lives. The first 50 miles there, the issue is abortion, that's all there is; and for the last 50 you get to Decatur with agribusiness, Staley and ADM." Also, the media and TV change and you go along. Decatur and Illinoisan, he says, are "the two main regional papers."
- "I'm about as conservative a Democrat as you'll find outside the south, but the goal of these people up here (Effingham, Coles, etc.) is to attack the government."
- He helped get 1/2-cent per gallon of gas tax allocated for highway improvements (I think).
- Re Effingham County (where we stopped in at YMCA dinner dance, he left a check, but we didn't stay. Most were all dolled up and he wasn't.) "This county is a microcosm of what's been happening. It's a Catholic, strongly Democratic county, but in 1994 I won it by 50 votes and every other Democrat lost. It is a pro-life county and that is the only issue. Nothing else matters. The Christian Coalition and the Catholics have joined forces on this one issue. It's a big change in four years. It mirrors the county; and no one saw it coming. I've never seen anything like it. They were tenaciously Catholic. But they used to differentiate among Democratic candidates... They were not Reagan Democrats. ~~It~~ It's not economic with them, it's moral. If anything its welfare that they can't forgive. They think the Democrats are wasteful." *So, he's OK with them on abortion, but not on welfare-type issues.*
- "The key to me serving in Congress is relinquishment. You

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-22

relinquish control. If something is important, I've got to take my hands off it. What happens, happens." This doesn't make a lot of sense. I'll have to ask him about what he means.

- Jo: People in the district look to St. Louis as their big city--not Chicago--Cardinals not Cubs!
- "The whole point of our job--if we have the opportunity--is to talk in-depth so people will understand why we did what we did. Agreeing is not the bottom line. It never bothered me if people disagreed with me. What bothers me is not having the chance to explain--being bashed by 30 second commercials. That's my only fear in this business--my only sadness. I don't care if 100% disagree with ~~me~~ as long as people understand why I did it. I want my shot. If they throw me out after that, that's great--so long as they understand. I know that maybe only 5% will ever hear me. The rest have no chance. That's why I do so many town meetings. Town meetings are my job. When you grapple and struggle and agonize over an issue and never get to explain--that's the frustration of the job."
- He never has sent out newsletters. "Did you ever see how those things are put together? They are just advertisements for the incumbent." I asked him whether he couldn't use them to explain--which is what he wants to do. He said yes. "I sometimes wish I had the security blanket. But do you know we spend \$32 million on those things?"
- He calls Decatur Star-Herald and Southern Illinoisan (Cartersville) "the two major regional papers."
- When we got to Decatur, coming in off the prairie, it was a huge change. We crossed Lake Decatur on the way in and he noted that it was polluted with nitrates from manufacturing plants and agricultural runoff.
- "Decatur is a blue collar town. The town has gone through the mill, and it's a tinder box. It's had two tornados and a strike and people are stressed out. It's rife with gangs and crime." It's got a big union population and that's Glenn's base here.
- On the way to the parade, "It's a neat district because it forces you to shift gears on the different issues. But I hate parades. The round of parades and party meetings are hard. I'm tired and its the politics that are the drag, it's the politics that wear you out, not the issues. There's more partisanship in Congress today than I've ever seen. Democracy is the middle ground, bringing philosophical notions together, closing the door and sledge hammering an issue till you get it done. We spend hours and hours in Congress listening to the

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-23

extremes. And the people in the middle are down on the politicians."

- When we got to the prairie, he said, "Here is the bread basket of America--with the richest, blackest, most productive soil in the world. The first time I heard the farmers in Macon County complaining about 192 bushel corn, I couldn't believe it. I can remember trying to plant through red clay, trying to break up rough brick and drive fenceposts on our land to get 62 bushel corn. And here I was listening to farmers complaining about 192 bushel corn!" It was two worlds--in one district.
- He spoke early in the trip about the southern part of the district as "contended over" in the Civil War--brother vs. brother, family vs. family. "It was just like Kentucky and Tennessee." It was settled by people from the south. Lincoln was booed in that part of Illinois and called a traitor and "rotten egged!"
- He spoke early about his PAC decision. "Sometimes I'm not sure it was a good thing. It has put the family under a lot of pressure. We had to borrow \$100,000 to run in the new district. We don't have much money, and we have to borrow every election. It's hard. Terry Bruce had all that PAC money." Jo piped up and said that was why Bruce was the favorite, but GP proved (with 1/4 the amount of money) that you could win without all that money. The idea was that money buys media, but media can't buy an election--in this district anyway.
- When we talked about "citizen legislator" idea, I said to Glenn that the Republican freshmen were citizen legislators and how did he feel about that. Jo tapped him on the shoulder and said, "What do you say to that?" His reply was pretty lame. He said, "I wouldn't think of running for Congress without some experience in local politics, like state senator." The idea was you need training in politics. So, how about the ideal he propounds--leaving the plow or the business and going to Washington for a few years?
- I need to ask him more about this. My guess is that his citizen legislator decision has hurt him inside Congress--no incentive to get a better committee or become a leader. It's fitting that he have his influence via a couple of ad hoc caucuses. But that's not where real influence resides. So I think the idea has hurt him in terms of career accomplishments inside the House. What does he say?
- He spoke of the southern part of the district as "Little Egypt." Towns are named after Egyptian towns, symbols are Egyptian, etc. The origin is biblical. In Illinois early on,

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-24

they couldn't break up the prairie grass for farming and the place they began farming was the southern part. The south had to send grain to the north. And in the bible, Abraham (or who ever settled in Egypt) had to send grain back to other areas to feed them. (I'll have to get that story straight!!)

- The trip to his mother's took us through strip mining area "scarred earth" that reminded me of Roger Zion's territory. As Effingham County politics reminded me of DuBois County politics in Zion's district. Lots of similarities here--very different bases, but constituency remains paramount. Zion had small business base; GP has union base. (Like Phil Hayes) Both had parades; but can I make a comparison?
- "Two things I got from my father. One was a love of politics. The other was that he never complained. He took what he was given and made the best of it! His father had one arm shot off when he was a boy. Glenn described in great detail how his father rolled cigarettes with one hand. His father had a third grade education, trapped furry animals, and sold their hides for a living. And fished up and down the Wabash River with nets.
- His father loved Harry Truman. Glenn loved Jack Kennedy and we swapped Kennedy opinions and stories. (We both have Kennedy pictures in our offices. We both had similar early career ideas.)
- Riding through coal country: "Three mines closed down last year in Saline County. We've been devastated by the Clean Air Act. We could have had an act that would have helped us so much, but we blew it. The Act punished six states that produce high sulphur coal. If the other states would have given us one half of one percent increase in their electric bills, we could have pooled the money and put scrubbers to clean up the coal and that would have kept tens of thousands of mines working. But the guys in the rest of the county said, "hell no, we're not going to clean up coal." Our reply was that we helped you build the Hoover Dam and hundreds of other projects. There was no national approach to the issue. My district was devastated. The coal mines lost everything. Whole counties were wiped out and put on welfare." And he went on to say that some day they would find a way to clean the coal and the nation would have to come back to coal. Nuclear power plants are being shut down. Oil is a finite resource. Coal is abundant, etc.
- "The oil companies got out from under the Clean Air Act thanks to George Bush, and they produced more sulphur than coal. We couldn't get people to see the national problem. It was as if the county had no conscience for people like coal miners--who lie on their backs chopping low seam coal out of the earth

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-25

that shakes 600 feet down from the blasting. They do this for \$35,000 tops per year. And you can watch them come out of the mine and spit black, black goo. Fifty people were killed every year in the mines. People attacked unions. If it hadn't been for John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers, the coal companies would have gotten away with more. And now the Republicans want to eliminate the Mine Safety Administration. They want to cut back on ventilation at the coal face, right where the dangers of gas coming out of the seams is the greatest."

- A very strong sense of injustice here. Like his attitude toward non-union Wal Mart--paying people minimum wage and keeping them part-time so they don't pay benefits. He's got a lot of the old-time Democrat in him. He's very conservative on fiscal matters, but he is as true blue and deep-dyed a Democrat as you'll find. It's ironic that Paul Tsongas' guy should come to Decatur to tape the congratulations of the Concord Coalition for fiscal integrity when Glenn is no Paul Tsongas liberal. He doesn't have PT's high tech, pro-environment side to him. Yet he is well aware of everything Paul talks about. That is, he's not a New England liberal because of convictions, not because he doesn't understand. He has chosen a different path--because of who he is and where he comes from.
- On guns, he spoke of his research back to Charles the First-- "No one has been more supportive of second amendment rights than I have. I grew up with guns. I know how gun owners feel. I've voted t protect their rights a hundred times." But the crime bill had too many benefits. (And he is not one to duck, I've learned.)
- He said that gun owners resent being punished before they've done anything. Their guns are taken away before they have done anything wrong and that's contrary to the second amendment. Says Glenn, who sympathizes, "You don't have the right to yell fire in a crowded theater, but no one has a right to refuse to sell you a ticket to the movie because you might yell fire when you get in there."

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-26

Clips

- 9/94 13th best among 256 Dems. National Taxpayers Union better than average Dem and average House member and best among Illinois Dems.
- Rural Health Care is major issue. In July 94, he holds press conference in seven places to present legislation he has helped author for rural health care reform. Press release 7/27/94, "Poshard is one of 5 task force chairs to lead the 150 member Rural Health Care Coalition." He speaks in Mattoon, Marshall, Robinson, Lawrenceville, Mt. Carmel, Carmi, West Frankfort at hospitals or health centers.
- Respond 8/21/94 re crime bill, "I tried to do everything possible to remove the gun control provisions from the bill, including voting on the rule for a second time. But in the end, the rule passed, and on balance, the bill had too many provisions for fighting crime to vote vs. it, and I supported the bill."
- 2nd or 3rd largest east of Mississippi River.
- Press release: pro ethanol, coal worker retraining (2.5 million) loan to hospital
- Town meeting: 14 in March health care. Same in July rural health care
- He speaks of infrastructure--roads, sewers, water, bridges as important to district and central to Pwks and Transp.
- Makes highway system in several places whenever pieces of road are designated as part of National Highway system (NHS). He was active on developing a 91 Highway bill (Rt 1 a big one this year 1994).
- 3 town meetings on NAFTA: Effingham, Decatur & Martinville.
- Town meetings on "deficit reduction plan" August '93 - safe
- Flood disaster aid a huge problem .
- June 93 town meetings in 12 southern counties. General May 14 more northern part.
- The great bulk of his press releases are grant or Iran announcements.
- Anti BTU tax.
- In his press release, he is called "conservative democrat" and

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-27

he works with "other conservative democrats" so that definition is his own.

- Pro balanced budget amendment.
- February 4, 1993: announce from meetings in new part of district: Wayne, Wabash, Lawrence, Marion, Macon, Shelby, Colby, Clark, Crawford, Effingham, Jasper, Richland, Clay, Edward, Hamilton. In each of these counties (16 in all) one way to cultivate new district. He calls it "the new 19th district."
- 4/16/96 budget seminars in 10 places, Carmel, Mt. Carmel, Robinson, Marshall, Decatur, Mattoon, Effingham, Marion, Fairfield, Flora.
- 2/27/96 Press release "Poshard Leading Education Effort on Independent Oil Issues."

GLENN POSHARD IN ILLINOIS, MAY 9-12, 1996-28