

Ernest F. "Fritz" Hollings Collection
Campaign Files, 1950-2004
Boxes 608-667

[Finding aids for other parts of the Hollings Collection](#)
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Description of Materials

Campaigns Files are 59 linear feet of material (59 cartons), organized chronologically, and include Hollings' successful 1950 re-election to a SC House seat, successful campaigns for lieutenant governor and governor in 1954 and 1958, failed 1962 bid for U.S. Senate, subsequent successful senatorial campaigns (1966, 1968, 1974, 1980, 1986, 1992, and 1998), and his 1984 run at the presidency. Also included is material from the years when Hollings was not up for re-election but was aiding in the election of fellow Democrats, particularly during presidential campaign years. This includes 1960 when Hollings supported John F. Kennedy in his presidential bid (JFK carried South Carolina) and 1972 when Hollings was chair of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. Campaign Files *do not* include records from his first election bid in 1948, a successful run for a SC House Seat. Files start with his success in the 1950 re-election campaign.



Descriptions of all of Hollings' campaigns, as well as some of the off-year election cycles are on pages 2 to 18. A complete box list starts on [page 18](#).

Campaigns / Election Cycles	Description:	Box list:
1950 campaign for SC House	p. 2	Box 608
1954 campaign for SC Lt. Governor	p. 2	Box 608
1958 campaign for SC Governor	p. 3	Box 608
1960 election cycle	p. 3	Box 608
1962 campaign for U.S. Senate	p. 3	Boxes 608-612
1966 campaign for U.S. Senate	p. 4	Boxes 612-618
1968 campaign for U.S. Senate	p. 5	Boxes 618-620
1970, 1972 election cycles	p. 6	Boxes 620-621
1974 campaign for U.S. Senate	p. 6	Boxes 621-622
1976, 1978 election cycles	p. 6	Boxes 622-623
1980 campaign for U.S. Senate	p. 6	Boxes 623-626
1982 election cycle		Box 626
1984 campaign for presidency	p. 7	Boxes 626-637

1986 campaign for U.S. Senate	p. 11	Boxes 637-646
1988, 1990 election cycles		Boxes 646-648
1992 campaign for U.S. Senate	p. 13	Boxes 648-658
1994, 1996 election cycles		Boxes 658-659
1998 campaign for U.S. Senate	p. 15	Boxes 659-667
2000-2004 election cycles		Box 667

Campaign for SC House of Representatives, 1950 ([go to box list for 1950](#))

The earliest campaign records date from Hollings 1950 successful re-election bid for the South Carolina House where he represented Charleston County. During his freshman term, Hollings established himself as an influential legislator and in 1950 campaigned as the next likely Speaker Pro Tempore (and indeed was elected Pro Tem twice--in 1951 and 1953). The 1950 file consists mainly of speech material.

Campaign for Lieutenant Governor, 1954 ([go to box list for 1954](#))

In 1954, Hollings defeated State Senator J. Claytor Arrants with 2/3rd the vote in the Democratic Primary to become Lieutenant Governor. Below, Hollings (in profile on the left) talks with voters in 1954. Hollings writes of the campaign in his 2008 book, *Making Government Work*:

“My opponent...was a farmer, teacher, lawyer, and navy veteran. He had won his Senate seat in 1952 and, earlier in his career, had served a term in the House. Campaigning was easy during that period. You didn’t have to run around the state raising money because you had no staff. Candidates relied on volunteers. There was no need to spend on media—no TV or radio or direct mail or even yard signs. We went around the state making ‘stump’ speeches.Because I didn’t have to pay pollsters or consultants and had no focus groups, my race cost a grand total of \$11,000!”



Three folders from this campaign consist of organizational and financial records, including acknowledgements to campaign donors.



Campaign for Governor, 1958

[\(go to box list for 1958\)](#)

In 1958, Hollings ran for Governor against University of South Carolina president Donald Russell and Mayor William Johnston of Anderson, brother of Olin D. Johnston. Hollings announced his candidacy on January 29, 1958, citing his ten years of public service that included presiding over both the State House and Senate. Hollings ran on his record and emphasized the need to attract more industry to the state. He fought Russell's charge that he was connected to the Barnwell Ring, a group of powerful rural legislators that included Edgar Brown and House Speaker Solomon Blatt. In *Making Government Work*, Hollings says Russell was "highly intelligent but also somewhat remote and not a natural politician." In the first Democratic Primary, Johnston came in third, leading to a two-week run-off between Russell and Hollings. Though Russell won many major newspaper endorsements and had a lot of money and James Byrnes' backing, Hollings emerged from the second Democratic Primary victorious, something Hollings attributed to Russell's remote nature and his own hustle and willingness to talk to as many voters as possible. Little material remains from this campaign. Financial records comprise most of the seven folders. Four of these contain lists of contributors.

1960 [\(go to box list for 1960\)](#)

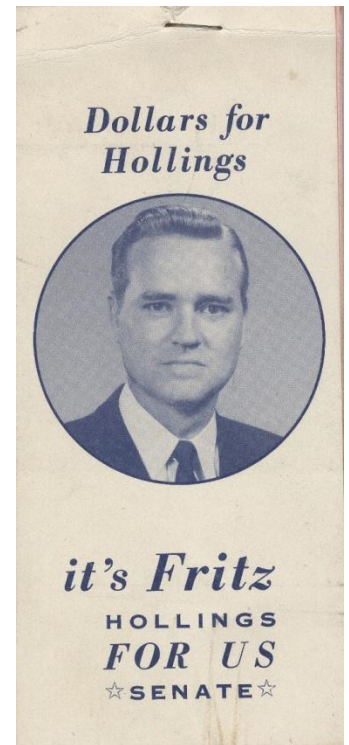
Although not a candidate himself, Hollings' played a major role in the 1960 presidential election which is reflected in the campaign materials for 1960. Despite his initial support for Texas Senator Lyndon Johnson prior to the national convention, Hollings became an enthusiastic supporter of John F. Kennedy in the fall campaign. The governor was given much of the credit by contemporaries for carrying the Palmetto State for the Democratic ticket. Included in the 1960 materials are two folders dealing with patronage appointments in the new Kennedy administration. The appointments files highlight disagreements between Hollings and U.S. Senator Olin D. Johnston over patronage in South Carolina, perhaps the first salvo in their 1962 Senate primary fight. Also included is information on the national Democratic Party, the Democratic National Convention, and party finances.

Campaign for U.S. Senate, 1962 [\(go to box list for 1962\)](#)

In 1962, fresh from his term as governor, Hollings challenged three-term U.S. Senator Olin D. Johnston in the Democratic primary. Hollings knew he would have to "out-hustle" Johnston to make his case to the voters, as he discusses in *Making Government Work*. Well before the election in December 1961, South Carolina journalist Charles Wickenberg noted, "Both Johnston and Hollings act like the election is tomorrow. Both are beating the bushes, talking at the drop of an invitation. South Carolina has never seen anything like this before." In the end, Hollings carried only Calhoun

County. Though he was unsuccessful in this effort, he ultimately would win the seat in 1966 following Johnston's untimely death in office.

Four feet of material document this campaign. Of particular interest in the General file is a document listing the two opponents' respective strengths and likely strategies, and a preliminary timetable for the Hollings campaign. Also included are letters from supporters suggesting political strategy and interoffice memos between the candidate and campaign manager (and state senator) James Waddell of Beaufort concerning scheduling and important contacts to be made. Campaign organization files contain extensive records of the operation of the Hollings Senate campaign. Included among the organization files are lists of and correspondence to county campaign leaders (managers, women, youth, and farm organization chairmen), and records of the headquarters office personnel. Correspondence includes good luck messages and condolences from the governor's supporters, and thank you and other brief notes from Hollings. At right, "Dollars for Hollings" was a fundraising effort for the campaign.



Files on Olin Johnston contain the campaign's opposition research and are a sizable portion of the 1962 election records. Much of the research was done by an assistant to Frank van der Linden, the Washington correspondent for the Greenville News. Included is material on the Impostato case (in which Johnston sponsored a bill to prevent the deportation of a reputed drug dealer), Johnston's ties to organized labor and his opposition to right-to-work legislation, the senator's chairmanship of the Post Office and Civil Service committee (particularly a case involving the reinstatement of a black mail carrier in Savannah), and ratings by various organizations of Johnston's voting record.

Publicity files mainly concern a two-hour question-and-answer telethon which aired in late May, 1962, and includes lists of anticipated questions and actual questions received on the night of the broadcast. Additional records concern the purchase of television time for political programs. Topical files primarily contain background research on various issues. Prominent among those issues are Hollings' record regarding industrial recruitment and economic development, labor and the governor's stand in favor of right-to-work laws, agricultural concerns, and Hollings' opposition to the Kennedy administration health insurance bill.

Campaign for U.S. Senate, 1966 ([go to box list for 1966](#))

In the 1966 Senate campaign, former governor Ernest Hollings challenged the incumbent, Donald Russell, in the June Democratic primary. Russell, who followed Hollings as governor in 1963, resigned the governor's office in 1965 following the death of Senator Olin D. Johnston, and was then appointed by the new governor, Robert McNair, to fill the vacant U.S. Senate seat. After winning the Democratic nomination, Hollings went on to narrowly defeat the Republican nominee, Marshall J. Parker, a state senator from Oconee, in the general election.

Six feet of material document this campaign. Hollings' early interest in the vacated Johnston seat, campaign strategy, and the political climate in South Carolina are discussed with a great deal of candor in correspondence in the General file. The file is comprised mainly of correspondence, 1964-1966. Most of the correspondence deals with the Democratic primary rather than the general election. Crawford Cook, a frequent correspondent, served as director of public relations for the Municipal Association of South Carolina. Cook became Hollings' campaign manager in 1966. Of particular interest is a letter, January 11, 1966, from Hollings to John E. Kraft, a New York pollster. Hollings offered a blunt appraisal of politics in South Carolina in the mid-1960s. Commenting upon the farm vote Hollings said--"The farm vote in the Pee Dee and Lowcountry can be looked upon as an indication by group. They recite the Declaration of Independence at sunrise and are prepared to assault the central government in Washington, but in Balinese fashion they have one hand out behind willingly accepting all subsidies. Their vote differs from their conservative speech in that they vote controls and subsidies. And what disturbs them should prove interesting."

The Correspondence files contain numerous responses to an inquiry Hollings mailed to supporters throughout the state early in 1966 which raised the possibility of his challenging Russell and asked their opinion of his chances. Responses come from virtually every county across the state and do not necessarily represent the established political leadership. The letters present a fascinating insight into the political climate of the time. Comments were not limited to the upcoming Senate race, but covered the whole spectrum of South Carolina politics in the mid-1960s. These letters are arranged by county and include correspondence with supporters in Washington, D.C.

An extensive file on the national Democratic Party chiefly contains information provided the candidate by the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee concerning Great Society legislation. Files on particular persons include newsletters from both the Russell and Thurmond offices, and files on Donald Russell and Marshall Parker. A file on New York Senator Robert F. Kennedy indicates the trouble Hollings faced in the general election explaining his past ties to the Kennedy family. Publicity files include records of Hollings' advertising spending, negotiations with newspapers, television and radio stations, copies of radio scripts, and drafts of television commercials. Topical files include information on labor, health care, and the state Republican Party.

Campaign for U.S. Senate, 1968 ([go to box list for 1968](#))

In 1968, Hollings defeated primary challenger John Bolt Culbertson, a labor lawyer from Greenville who had served one term in the S.C. House twenty years earlier. In the general election, Hollings again faced Republican Marshall Parker and won with approximately 61 percent of the vote. Though the election went smoothly for Hollings, news broke during the campaign that prior to his winning the Senate race in 1966, Hollings was approached by Republican Party members about his future with the Democratic Party. In a meeting requested by Mrs. Francis Dougherty, a Republican candidate for mayor in Charleston, Hollings was asked if he "would be interested" in joining the GOP. The transcript also states that Hollings was told by Arthur Ravenel, Jr. that "money is no object. We don't care if it costs a half million dollars...."

Only two feet of material document this campaign. Of particular interest are letters written by George Croffead, a leader in the Greek community in Charleston, and a letter written by A.G. Hollings, the Senator's brother. Each letter was written as a part of the letter writing campaign that

Hollings' used in the election. Finance files contain information on events, such as the Appreciation Dinner held in Hollings' honor in February, 1968, information on contributors, and thank-you notes to donors. Hollings utilized polling in his campaign. Two polls were conducted in January and July, 1968. Topical contains the transcript mentioned above detailing a meeting between Hollings and members of the Republican Party.

1970-1972 ([go to box list for 1970-72](#))

In the years between campaigns, Hollings remained active in the party. In the early 1970s he served on the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC). He kept records of the DSCC as well as the Democratic National Committee and South Carolina Democratic Party. Along with these, Hollings maintained files on the Republican Party and Strom Thurmond's 1972 campaign.

Campaign for U.S. Senate, 1974 ([go to box list for 1974](#))

Senator Hollings had little trouble with his opponent, Gwen Bush, in his 1974 re-election, which is reflected in the 1 ½ feet of campaign materials. This campaign saw endorsements from several elected officials, notable among them a letter from Governor Jimmy Carter who pledged his support to Hollings. Financial files include the usual contributor lists and acknowledgements and information on a series of fundraising events including the Appreciation Dinner held in the Senator's honor in February, 1974. In Publicity, of particular interest are transcripts of the debate between Hollings and Gwen Bush. Voter research files include polls conducted by Kraft and a state profile from the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Under Topical are two files of interest. A file on the environment reflects both the salience of the issue in the early 1970s and the senator's interest in protecting the coastal environment of South Carolina. A file on the 1974 gubernatorial race includes information on a possible amendment to the SC Constitution that would allow Charles "Pug" Ravenel to run after the state Supreme Court decided that he was not in compliance with the resident requirements for governors.

1976 ([go to box list for 1976](#))

Between campaigns, Hollings continued to serve with the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. He also began exploring the idea of running for president himself. After exploring the possibility in 1975, Hollings decided not to run in 1976. In 1976, however, he did keep files on all of the Democratic candidates for president. He also maintained a file on Gerald Ford.

Campaign for U.S. Senate, 1980 ([go to box list for 1980](#))

Senator Hollings ran nearly unopposed in the democratic primary for his Senate seat in 1980. His primary opposition was Bill Kreml, a University of South Carolina professor who was running against Hollings mainly as a protest against the Senator's policies. Hollings won easily and faced Republican Marshall Mays in the general election. The Hollings campaign worked diligently to

minimize Mays in the state, painting the former OPIC (Overseas Private Investment Corporation) chairman as a Republican politico from Washington who was not a true South Carolinian. The campaign made extensive advertising buys on radio and television stations across the state, created thorough background files on Mays, and established a loyal donor network. Hollings won with over 70% of the vote in a year when Democrats fared poorly nationwide with popular Republican Ronald Reagan heading the ticket.

The 2.5 feet of 1980 campaign material includes campaign overviews, correspondence, Democratic Party files, financial files, opposition research, post-election, publicity, schedules, and strategy. The financial files are broken down amongst contacts, donors, and fundraising receptions. The opposition research files cover OPIC, the corporation that Mays chaired prior to running for Senate, and strategy and print materials from Hollings' opponents. Publicity consists of print media information and stories, press releases by the campaign, radio ad buys, and television commercial transcripts and ad buys. Schedule information included is sparse and covers mostly October 1979 and 1980. Strategy breaks down the campaign's strategy county-by-county in each region of the state and also includes national issues and polling data.

Campaign for the Presidency, 1984 ([go to box list for 1984](#))

Fritz Hollings announced his candidacy for the Presidency of the United States on April 18, 1983. In so doing, he joined a number of hopefuls seeking the Democratic nomination for the 1984 race,



including front runner former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, and Ohio Senator John Glenn, Colorado Senator Gary Hart, former Florida governor Reuben Askew, Senator Alan Cranston of California, former South Dakota Senator (and 1972 Democratic presidential nominee) George McGovern, and the Reverend Jesse Jackson. These contenders sought to unseat the incumbent Republican president, Ronald Reagan. Although Reagan was extremely popular personally, his first term had seen unemployment, inflation, interest rates, and federal deficits reach post-World War II highs. Hollings' concern about these economic problems, particularly the federal budget deficit, was the primary motivation behind his run for the presidency.

Hollings began testing the water long before his formal announcement. During 1982, Hollings visited some thirty-six states exploring interest in a Hollings candidacy. A political action committee, Citizens for a Competitive America, was established to help fund the campaign. An undated prospectus states, "Those of us who have organized this committee have been closely associated with the political career of Senator Ernest F. "Fritz" Hollings and believe that he has something unique to offer the American political system.... Hollings wants to make America work again - - to make her more productive, more economically sound and more competitive." The prospectus went on to note Hollings "has become one of the nation's leading economic spokesmen." A financial report shows the PAC received over \$140,000 between January 1 and March 31 of 1982. By January, 1983, Hollings had formed an exploratory committee and was staffing management level positions.

His campaign focused on three major issues: reducing the deficit, improving economic competitiveness, and strengthening national defense. As a staunch advocate of balancing the federal budget, Hollings criticized fellow Democrats for their tendency to throw money at problems and for gaining a reputation as the party of big spenders, arguing that they would never regain the White House unless they demonstrated a commitment to fiscal restraint. At the same time, he lambasted President Reagan for creating unprecedented federal budget deficits by cutting taxes while drastically increasing defense spending. The solution to the deficit problem was the proposed Hollings Budget Plan. As president, Hollings would freeze entitlements, federal pay, defense spending, and discretionary expenditures. He would also reduce the 1981 tax cut and forego future ones. This plan was outlined as early as March 1982 and promised to balance the budget within four years.

Hollings believed these moves were essential to implementing his second campaign plank, industrial policy. If government and business were to have the available capital to invest in long-term economic growth, the government could not continue to run large deficits and thereby soak up available financial resources. Along with deficit reduction, Hollings called for a tough trade policy, a federal industrial investment program, and technical education initiatives. Hollings spoke out for a competitive America, arguing that increasing imports and the rise of Japanese economic might was endangering America's future. His industrial policy would be essential in making America more economically powerful.

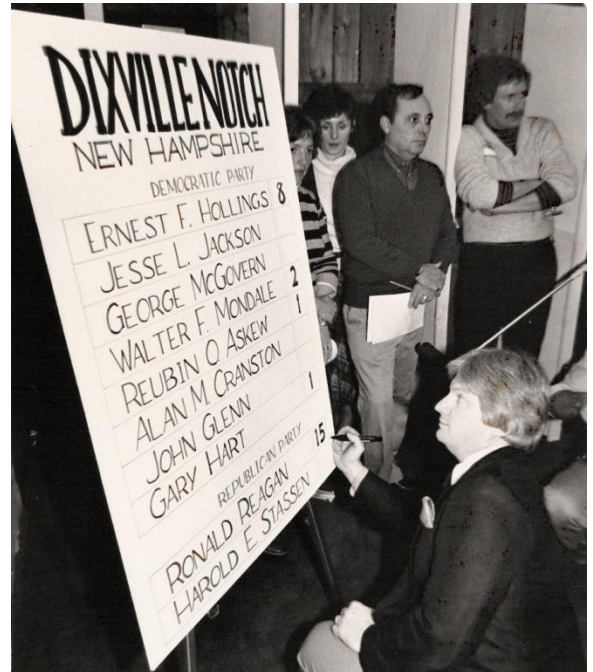
Senator Hollings was also determined that America remains militarily powerful. Thus, he forwarded what he called a "strong but sensible" policy, a fundamental (and quite controversial) component of which was the reinstatement of the military draft. Hollings contended that it was a "civil wrong" for minorities and the poor, who were disproportionately represented in the armed forces, to bear the majority of the burden of defending the United States. His plan for a stronger military also called for improving the readiness of conventional troops, increasing Rapid Deployment Forces, and enhancing benefits for veterans. Defense budgets would be "mission based" and procurement would be streamlined in order to reduce waste and fraud. This emphasis on cost savings and conventional forces also led Hollings to favor a nuclear freeze and to oppose the B-1 bomber and MX missile projects.

From January, 1983, through February, 1984, Fritz and Peatsy Hollings spent the majority of their time traversing the nation to promote Hollings' prescription for a strong, competitive, and prosperous America. Unfortunately, while his platform was credible and popular with the press (he was called "The Thinking Man's Dark Horse" by columnist Bill Grieder), the public did not embrace his message of tough choices and sacrifice. Mondale and Glenn, buoyed by good name recognition, emerged as the early front-runners. Hollings used his biting wit to try and cut into their leads. Referring to John Glenn's inconsistency on the issues, he quipped that the Ohio senator and former astronaut was "orbiting the issues faster than he orbited the earth."

Peatsy was recognized as an able campaigner and a strong presence. *Parade Magazine* [31 July 1983], in an article on the Democratic candidates' wives, notes she "by far, has the most dynamic style of the candidates' wives" and quoted her characterization of her role in the campaign, "the wife is an integral part of a Presidential campaign.... I consider myself a working partner, another set of

eyes and ears for Fritz. I understand where he's coming from, where he hopes to go, and I think I can articulate his positions as well as anybody else."

Hollings never lost his upbeat demeanor, even after finishing dead last in the Iowa Caucus. During a February 23, 1984, debate in New Hampshire, he remarked "People say...that they're for me, but I can't win. If you're for me, I can't lose!" Hollings placed sixth in the New Hampshire primary, garnering a mere 3.5% of the vote (though, the photo at right shows that he did well in Dixville, a village that holds midnight voting for the New Hampshire primary). On March 1, 1984, the day after the primary, Senator Hollings bowed out of the race with the classic line: "Well, nothing happened to me on the way to the White House..."



While Hollings failed to capture the nomination, the concepts he argued so persuasively during his campaign were clear winners. When Hollings announced his withdrawal from the race, he said "I didn't craft my message to win a campaign, I crafted my message to win a country." In some sense he did accomplish this goal. Fritz Hollings was instrumental in framing the agenda for the 1984 presidential campaign. All three of his major messages--balancing the budget, toughening trade policy, and beefing up conventional military forces--became central issues of the national debate. In particular, Hollings' emphasis on balancing the budget demonstrated his remarkable foresight: though few were decrying the federal deficit at the time, in less than a decade it came to be seen as perhaps the single most important political issue in the United States. Hollings even had an impact after withdrawing from the race, for it was widely acknowledged that his announcement of support for Gary Hart sparked the Colorado senator's dramatic but short-lived challenge to Mondale and Glenn. Hollings former Senate colleague, Birch Bayh, noted in a letter of consolation, "Your service in the Senate will be even more valuable as a result of your having the opportunity to view America and our problems from the perspective of a Presidential candidate."

Description of Materials for 1984 Presidential Campaign

The almost eleven feet of Presidential Campaign records consist of campaign organization files that include communication and strategy documents, correspondence, financial records, persons files, state files, and topical files. Most of the material is dated between January 1983 and March 1984.

General and campaign organization files offer a good deal of insight into the campaign. For example, although Hollings' announcement came in April of 1983, campaign strategy documents reveal that "target states" for the campaign had been chosen as early as January 1982, just over a year after Reagan had taken office. An undated, hand-written document with "top secret" scrawled across the top outlines what appears to be an early campaign plan, perhaps from 1982. Memos from mid-1983 discuss internal debate over themes and issues in the campaign, and a fall 1983 campaign manual delineates how to achieve the goals of increasing name recognition, broadening support, and

raising funds. Of considerable interest is a detailed but undated schematic diagram showing the organizational structure of the campaign. Weekly reports provide evaluations of the events and progress of the past week, sent by the campaign departments and field staff to the campaign coordinator.

Schedules and staff files are found with campaign organization files. The schedules provide rich and detailed information on the Senator's and Peatsy's travels and appearances. The schedules often provide hourly information on their locations, the meetings and functions attended, and background on the individuals, organizations, and issues involved. Staff files contain campaign and senate staff listings and background information about some staff members. Michael Copps, the Senate office Administrative Assistant, was not an official member of the campaign staff but he played a key role formulating campaign strategy and overseeing the development of campaign issue papers. His files include significant memorandum prepared by Copps that sought to crystallize the campaign's intellectual content and set Hollings apart from the pack seeking the Democratic nomination. Mark Epstein served as the campaign issues coordinator and his file relates to the development of issue statements.

Documents detailing the campaign's communications effort are rich and provide valuable insights on decision making and the theme, goals, slogans, and media approach of the campaign. These coalesced into a March 1983 packet that served as a campaign communications manifesto. Also of note is a confidential January 31, 1983, memo to the senator from John Patterson frankly evaluating Hollings' presentation style and clarity of message.

Finance files document all aspects of the fundraising effort so critical to the campaign. In a memo dated Sept. 27, 1982, goals and plans for one fundraising endeavor are outlined and prospective campaign finance committee members are suggested. Long-time Hollings friend and Charleston businessman Henry Tecklenburg was an unofficial but central figure in fundraising for the campaign. A political action committee, Citizens for a Competitive America, was established to help fund the campaign. An undated prospectus states, "Those of us who have organized this committee have been closely associated with the political career of Senator Ernest F. "Fritz" Hollings and believe that he has something unique to offer the American political system... Hollings wants to make America work again -- to make her more productive, more economically sound and more competitive", and noted Hollings "has become one of the nation's leading economic spokesmen." A financial report shows the PAC received over \$140,000 between January 1 and March 31 of 1982.

Two feet of documents, filed according to state, reflect the campaign's national reach. These files include state strategies, analyses of state campaign efforts, travel itineraries, guest lists for events, state campaign staff and volunteers, and important persons and issues in the state. Alabama, Hollings' target state in the South, boasts eight files and offers the most detailed insight into campaign activities at the state level. Activities in New Hampshire and New York are also well-represented, relative to work in other states. An illuminating letter and memo are found in the New York file. New York City Mayor Edward Koch asked about the senator's stands on welfare and the Middle East in an August 4, 1983, letter. Issues director Mark Epstein's illuminating memo, which suggested responses to Koch's inquiries, notes that the questions were formulated with "cogency, restraint, politesse, and discretion" and advises on a sensitive question about Israeli settlements: "duck it." Another revealing document is a confidential October 15, 1983, essay entitled "The Present Situation of the Hollings Campaign in Maryland." In the Massachusetts file are documents,

including a letter from Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, about the “sewergate” incident. On November 5, 1983, Hollings was to visit the Deer Island waste treatment plant in connection with concerns over the pollution of Boston Harbor. When the senator and his team reached the facility, police, under orders from District Commissioners, refused to let them in. This created a media firestorm and Hollings dubbed the incident "sewergate," implicating Dukakis in an apparent cover-up of the state's pollution problems.

Women's issues played a large role in the campaign, and it is no coincidence that a woman, New York Rep. Geraldine Ferraro, became the Democratic nominee for Vice President. Five folders under “Women” at the end of the Topical files document the role of women and women’s issues in the campaign. Two additional files cover former SC Lt. Governor (1979-83) Nancy Stevenson’s work with the campaign. She was a high-profile contributor to the campaign and informal advisor to the Senator who traveled as a surrogate speaker speaking to women’s groups and appearing at forums across the country.

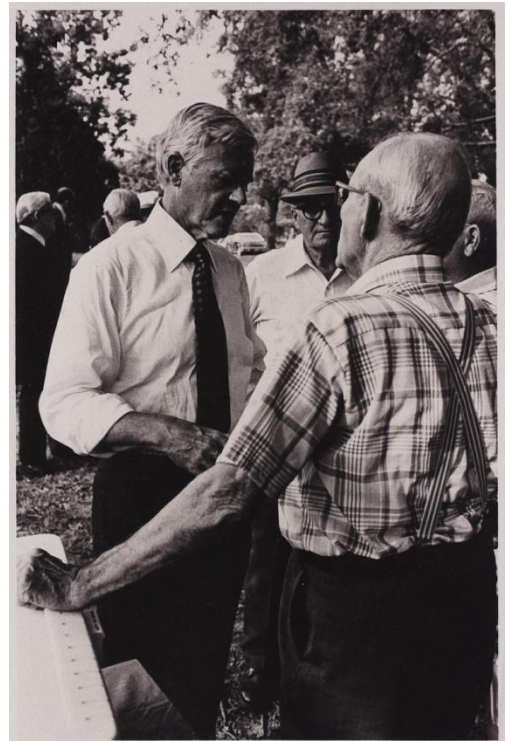
Campaign for U.S. Senate, 1986 ([go to box list for 1986](#))

In 1986, the national Republican Party targeted Hollings’ seat as winnable. In the Republican primary, Henry D. McMaster, Columbia attorney and former U.S. Attorney for the District of South Carolina (1981 to 1985), defeated Anderson surgeon Henry Jordan by a slim margin. A poll publicized during the primary indicated 45% of South Carolinians wanted to see Hollings ousted from Washington. McMaster’s campaign received very significant support from the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee.

At right, Hollings talks with potential voters at the 1986 Galivants Ferry Stump Meeting (for Democratic candidates).

McMaster attacked Hollings’ voting record while extolling his own accomplishments as District Attorney. In an ad that first ran on September 22, McMaster took advantage of the Senator’s forced absences while campaigning for president and criticized Hollings for having missed 309 floor votes between 1981 and 1985. At the same time, McMaster lauded the successes of his Operation Jackpot, “the most effective investigation and prosecution of drug smugglers in U.S. history.”

On the whole, the McMaster campaign was negative, going so far as to call the senator a “liar” and “political prostitute.” Two hand-delivered letters, dated October 16, contain a terse exchange between the outraged Hollings and McMaster, who was seeking the exposure a televised debate, would provide his sagging campaign. Hollings contended that McMaster’s strategy was “imported from Washington” and had been shipped along with a “check for \$211,000 from the National Republican Senatorial Committee to buy the South



Carolina senate seat.” He castigated the challenger for his “numerous distortions” and stated that he had “no idea of appearing with [McMaster] anywhere.” McMaster apologized, but reminded Hollings that the Senator had also called him a “charlatan” and “rascal”. Both sides reached a debate agreement the following day.

Seeking to capitalize on the popularity of the state’s senior senator, McMaster publicized the fact that Hollings and the Republican Strom Thurmond often cancelled out each other’s senate vote. When the Hollings campaign countered with a television ad showing the two senators working together on a textile bill, McMaster complained the ad implied an endorsement of Hollings by Thurmond. McMaster may have been venting his frustration for although Thurmond had endorsed him, he refused to stump for McMaster in South Carolina. In the general election, Hollings captured nearly 65% of the vote. Many Republicans felt that a stronger candidate might have succeeded in winning the seat for the party and looked to 1992 for another chance to overthrow the Senate’s most senior junior senator.

Description of Materials for 1986 Senatorial Campaign

The almost nine feet of 1986 campaign records consist of campaign organization files, correspondence, county files, Democratic Party information, financial records, persons files (including opposition research), publicity files, strategy files, topical files, and voter research activities (including polling).



The campaign organization records include a notebook on county coordinators, memos between the staff (which includes staff meeting minutes), and office policy/procedure. Of particular interest are meeting minutes from the Citizens Committee for Ernest Hollings.

The bulk of the 1986 files are county files. These files consist of information relating to people in the individual counties and background information on the county. This information may include polls taken in the county, information on news and events in the county, and correspondence from members of the community.

Financial records include campaign budget records and information on fundraising events held across the state. Of note are the records of “Home Parties” held in several counties and town meeting information.

This campaign also saw an increase in files kept on opponents. Hollings has a significant amount of information on Henry McMaster and Henry Jordan, who lost to McMaster in the Republican Primary. Particularly of interest in the Jordan files is a list of deeds and mortgages held in his name. The files on McMaster include information on his ad campaigns as well as his finances and his time as U.S. Attorney.

In the years 1986 and his re-election in 1992, Hollings was involved in Democratic Party affairs and other candidates’ election efforts. Files from 1987 and 1991 center on the Democratic Party. In 1988,

the bulk of the material relates to the Democratic National Convention and the democratic presidential candidates. By 1991, files on finances and Tommy Hartnett begin to reflect the build-up to what would be an intense 1992 re-election campaign.

Campaign for U.S. Senate, 1992 ([go to box list for 1992](#))

In 1992, Senator Hollings withstood a fierce challenge from Mt. Pleasant realtor and former Republican congressman Tommy Hartnett. A seasoned politician, Hartnett had served in the South Carolina House, 1965-1973, and Senate, 1973-1980, and the U.S. House of Representatives, 1980-1986. In 1986, Hartnett mounted an unsuccessful bid to become South Carolina's first Republican Lieutenant Governor since Reconstruction. Hartnett won the right to oppose Hollings in the general election by defeating Charlie Thompson, an instructor at Greenville's Trident Technical College, in the Republican primary.

An increasingly conservative South Carolina electorate and fervent anti-incumbency sentiment combined to make Hollings a prime target for GOP strategists in 1992. As early as June, 1991, political analysts at Cook and Company rated his seat a "toss-up." By May, 1992, the Rothenberg Report, citing the Senator's "weak poll numbers and...credible opponent," labeled him "highly vulnerable."

Three elements of a vigorous Hollings' campaign were instrumental in helping him meet Hartnett's challenge and win reelection while incumbents across the country were thrown out of office. First, he ran a strong advertising campaign which began very early in the race. Second, he was able define Hartnett as "Washington's candidate," and mute his opponent's vitriolic attacks. Third, he out raised and out spent Hartnett throughout the campaign.

After a rocky start to Hartnett's campaign, the Republican National Senatorial Committee (RNSC) dispatched several staff members to South Carolina to bolster Hartnett's faltering fundraising and organizational efforts and pledged the maximum \$340,000 of "coordinated expenses" for the campaign. Responding to his obvious vulnerability and attempting to head off serious difficulty later in the race, Hollings ran a series of positive ads very early in the campaign. In June, ads demonstrating his commitment to fiscal conservatism aired throughout the state. A June 16 draft statement indicated that Hollings intended to run a "clean, positive campaign...stressing South Carolina's achievements during his terms as governor and senator." Hartnett went negative early in the campaign, attacking Hollings' record on taxes, crime, the Gulf War, and the line-item veto as early as April 15. Hollings provided rapid and effective responses to the opposition's attacks. Hartnett's strategy was to denounce Hollings as a Washington insider who had amassed a war chest full of out-of-state funds. He brought nationally prominent Republicans such as Vice President Dan Quayle, Senators Phil Gramm and Bob Dole, and even President Bush to South Carolina. The Senator seized this opportunity to brand Hartnett as "Washington's candidate." Though this at first seemed an absurd tactic by a man who had spent the last twenty-five years in the Senate, it was extremely effective. Hollings' team presented an image of the opponent as a cardboard cutout propped up by the GOP establishment in the nation's capital. It was revealed that Hartnett's Congressional reform plan was exactly the same as that of Republican candidates in five other states, that Hartnett was being shadowed by a RNSC media specialist on trips across the state, that the

RNSC had provided him with free polling data which it did not offer his primary opponent, and that Hartnett's campaign received in excess of \$300,000 from national GOP coffers.

Hollings stayed well ahead of Hartnett in the crucial fundraising game. On March 31, 1992, Hollings had already banked nearly \$2 million while Hartnett had less than \$100,000 on hand.

Throughout the year, the Senator outpaced his challenger in both PAC and private contributions, and easily overcame the significant funding the Hartnett campaign secured from the RNSC. Ultimately, Hollings won a narrow victory, receiving just over 51% of the vote.



Description of Materials for 1992 Senatorial Campaign

The ten feet of 1992 campaign records consist of campaign organization files, correspondence, Democratic Party information, financial records, persons files (including opposition research), publicity files, strategy files, topical files, and voter research activities (including polling).

The campaign organization records include schedules, staff notebooks and memos, and the files of Andy Brack, campaign spokesman and press contact, and Tom Mullikin, campaign manager. Financial Records include standard campaign budget information, as well as contact lists, divided by group (mayors and county council chairs, for example) and by county, and an extensive run of folders detailing fundraising events and rallies going back to March, 1991.

The amount of opposition research collected exploded in this campaign. The persons files include over two feet of information on Hartnett, including extensive background research into Hartnett's personal finances and life in general and his stance on a number of issues like workfare, product liability, and health care. Hartnett's files also include information on Hartnett's research on Hollings. Of interest is a transcript of the testimony Hartnett gave in the Leach vs. Westvaco Development Corporation in 1992.

Publicity files provide an in-depth view of the strategies and tactics employed to mold the candidate's image and obtain favorable press coverage. Of note in the strategy files are the Coordinated Campaign files, which outline the South Carolina Democratic Party's strategy for 1992, and the weekly updates on the campaigns.

Topical consists of Hollings' stances on the issues of the campaign such as budget, Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, Hugo, textiles, and trade. The FEMA folder involved Hollings' response to the (as he saw) poor performance of the Federal Emergency Management Agency in responding to Hurricane Hugo. 1992's Hurricane Andrew, in Florida, rekindled this issue. Included also is a lengthy booklet, "Issues Guide," compiled by Hollings' staff with outlines of the Senator's positions on numerous issues.

This campaign saw a surge in voter research by the campaign. Several polls, surveys, and analyses are included in Voter Research, including 5 books of “South Carolina Precinct Analysis” and “A Survey of Attitudes Among Voters in South Carolina,” eight notebooks with results from surveys conducted from June, 1991, to October, 1992.

The files between the 1992 and 1998 elections consist mainly of Democratic Party files. Of interest are the files from the 1996 National Convention and information on “precinct targeting” in South Carolina. In preparation for the 1998 campaign, several surveys were completed in five districts.

Campaign for U.S. Senate, 1998 ([go to box list for 1998](#))

In 1998, Hollings overcame a challenge by Congressman Robert D. “Bob” Inglis. In 1992, Inglis shocked incumbent 4th District Congresswomen Liz Patterson by wresting the seat from her with a last minute campaign blitz and the support of the Christian right. A term limits proponent, Inglis honored his commitment not to seek a fourth term in the House, and instead sought to unseat Hollings. After a tough 1998 Republican Primary against Stephen Brown, the chairman of the Greenville County GOP, Inglis became Hollings’ opponent for the General Election.

As in the 1992 election, Hollings faced an increasingly Republican and conservative electorate whose main focus was on ideological issues. Realizing the potential difficulties in this type of political atmosphere, the Hollings campaign went into action fast and strong. According to the *Hollings for Senate Campaign Plan: March 1998*, the Hollings campaign had two main strategies: “one, ‘localize’ the race (which candidate is best for South Carolina) and two, blur the ideological differences between Senator Hollings and Representative Inglis.” These strategies were implemented in Hollings’ vast media campaign which began before the primary election determined his Republican challenger. Hollings’ TV ads focused on what Hollings had done for South Carolina during his tenure as Senator. In an attempt to gain more support among the more conservative populace, these ads portrayed Hollings as a fiscal conservative who had done great things for the state of South Carolina and its citizens. The campaign also produced ads contrasting Hollings and Inglis, such as one comparing Hollings’ and Inglis’ records on veterans’ benefits and pensions.

Finances and term limits were two of the main issues in the 1998 Senate race. Bob Inglis ran on the promise of never taking PAC money. In an article by Dan Hoover in the Greenville News (12/24/97), Inglis stated that his reasoning for his call for the elimination of PACs was because “PACs can focus significant money on a narrow cause and advance that cause disproportionate to their support level within the general population.” Inglis also pushed for the addition of term limits to both houses of Congress. Hollings fired back with accusations that Inglis’ acceptance of money from the Republican Party (which receives its money from PACs) was the equivalent of receiving PAC money and that Inglis’ running for the Senate breaks his own promise about keeping to only three terms in Congress.

Finances were also a logistical issue in the 1998 Senate race. Bolstered by funds from in-state and out-of-state supporters, the Democratic Party, and PACs, Hollings’ campaign budget was approximately \$5.3 million. Inglis, on the other hand, raised much less due to his refusal to accept PAC money. The Hollings campaign exploited this difference in funding by producing large amounts of different TV ads in varying markets, thereby forcing Inglis to spend his money in

responses to these ads. In fact, almost 80% of the budget for the Hollings campaign was set aside for paid media.

Even with all of the media advertisements, however, Hollings was still in a very tight race with Inglis. In the July 14, 1998 edition of the National Journal's CongressDaily/A.M., Charlie Cook wrote: "[P]olls show the race is very close. Hollings went on the air in May, but was unable to put any distance between himself and Inglis. Despite Inglis' early missteps, the strong Republican and conservative trend in the state has kept the 38-year-old challenger within striking distance."

Both candidates spent their campaigns traveling to every corner of the state. The Hollings' campaign's "localization" strategy was very effective on this level. Unlike the 1992 campaign, the field level operation was organized, efficient, and coordinated with the rest of the campaign. Reporter Lee Bandy from *The State* noted that "the Hollings Team compiled a list of the work that the Senator had done on behalf of every county and made sure residents were reminded of this information before they cast their votes" (11/4/98). Meanwhile, Inglis traveled with his family in a large red RV named the "Spirit of South Carolina" that doubled as a moving billboard for his campaign.

In late June, Inglis made public his *Contract for a Courteous Campaign*. Based on similar Republican proposals from around the country, the *Contract* required the candidate to be the main speaker in TV ads, to keep the opposing candidate informed about press conferences and press releases, and to "reaffirm the pledge of no race baiting." The Hollings' campaign refused to sign the contract stating that Inglis' conduct was not in keeping with the *Contract*. In a letter from campaign manager John Tecklenberg to Inglis, he states, "Frankly, this conduct is disappointing. I hope you are not using this important issue as an effort to gather media attention to your campaign rather than a genuine attempt for a meaningful dialogue."

Until the day of the election, the race was very close. Polls as late as October 31 had Hollings' lead over Inglis within the margin of error. As such, the tension level was quite high on both sides. In October, Hollings let fly some of his more colorful remarks of the campaign, comparing Inglis to a skunk. The public's outcry over this remark led to Hollings offering an apology, but not before political commentators predicted that it could lead to his downfall in November.

On Election Day, however, Hollings pulled out a win over Inglis with 51.1% of the vote. At right, Hollings greets campaign supporters. That night he stated, "Tonight, we have won a great victory, and tomorrow, we will continue to make life better for working families in South Carolina." The day after the election, reporter Lee Bandy of *The State* summarized how Hollings was able to be successful: "he focused his campaign message and turned back the 'out of touch' charges by building a solid field organization and an aggressive paid media strategy that emphasized the work he has done in South Carolina and why Bob Inglis should not be elected."



Description of Materials for 1998 Senatorial Campaign

The eight feet of 1998 campaign records consist of campaign organization files, correspondence, Democratic Party information, financial records, persons files (including opposition research), publicity files, strategy files, topical files, and voter research activities (including polling).

Campaign organization records take up less of the 1998 campaign records than in other election years. However, information on staff and volunteers as well as memos and county information are present. Correspondence records consist mainly of congratulatory mail which includes letters from supporters across the United States, both civilians and colleagues and government officials.

Financial records make up a significant amount of the 1998 campaign records. In this case, the lists of contributors have been broken down into categories based on the person's residence (county) and in some cases by career (SC Lawyers). The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee also provided the Senator with a list of their contributors in the form of a notebook.

As with the 1992 campaign, the campaign records here include significant opposition research. A 164-page report, *Campaign Research Report on Robert Durden Inglis*, dated Spring, 1992, lays out Inglis' life and stands on various issues. It notes, "the extreme conservatism that has guided him through six years in Washington remains both his greatest asset and his most damning liability. ...Extreme he is, but Inglis is also - by all appearances - principled, consistent and sincerely dedicated to these beliefs. ...Inglis has proven himself so ideologically rigid, so uncompromisingly conservative, that his election to the U.S. Senate would be a catastrophe for South Carolina's working families, seniors and children."

Publicity and strategy records consist of records related to the campaign's advertisements and tactics used in the campaign. Of particular interest in publicity are scripts for ads including "Cookie Jar" and "Gonzales Gardens." Also in publicity are speeches made by the Senator and information related to his website. Strategy includes not only strategy for just the Hollings campaign, but also for the "coordinated campaign" of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

One foot of voter research files includes surveys of voter attitudes in South Carolina from June, 1996, through September, 1998, and extensive tracking polling from October, 1998. Voting record documents Hollings' record in the Senate and his accomplishments as well as a comparison of Hollings' and Thurmond's votes to show that their votes did not necessarily cancel each other out.

Though Hollings did not seek reelection in 2004, files were maintained to tie loose ends of his campaign. Hollings also continued to keep files on other campaigns as well. In 2000, for example, Hollings had a file relating to the Democratic National Convention and in 2001 he has a file on the Presidential Inauguration. In 2003 he began files on those who would be running in state campaigns in 2004, including Jim DeMint the Republican who succeeded Hollings in the Senate. He also maintained files on John Kerry and John Edwards who ran for president and vice president, respectively, in 2004.

Box List

- 1950-1952 ([go to description of materials for 1950](#)) Box 608
1954: ([go to description of materials for 1954](#))
 General
 Finance:
 General
 Contribution Acknowledgements
1956
1958 (Gubernatorial Campaign--Hollings defeated Donald Russell in the Democratic Primary):
 General ([go to description of materials for 1958](#))
 Finance:
 General (2 folders)
 Contributor Lists (4 folders)
1960: ([go to description of materials for 1960](#))
 General:
 Feb. - Sept.
 Oct. - Nov. 14
 Nov. 15 – Dec.
 c. 1960
 Appointments (Kennedy Administration):
 Dec. 1960 – Jan. 1961
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 Charleston County
 Correspondence, post-election congratulatory
 Democratic Party:
 General
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1962 (First Senate Campaign-- lost to Olin D. Johnston in the Democratic Primary):
 General (2 folders) ([go to description of materials for 1962](#))
 Campaign organization:
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 County Managers

 Farmers Box 609
 Personnel
 Schedules
 Sunday Meeting (Feb. 25)
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 Winds Effort
 Women
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 Contact Lists:
 County (7 folders)
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 Abbeville – Calhoun (10 folders)

 Charleston – Saluda (33 folders) Box 610

 Spartanburg – York (7 folders) Box 611
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 Finance:

- General
- Bills (2 folders)
- Checkbook
- Contributor Lists (3 folders)
- Persons:
 - Johnston, Olin D.:
 - General
 - Housing
 - Impostato case (bill sponsored by Johnston to prevent the deportation of a reputed drug dealer)
 - Labor
 - Pay raises
 - Payroll
 - Post office:
 - General
 - Savannah Case
 - Spending, federal Box 612
 - Van Der Linden, Frank (Washington correspondent for *Greenville News*)
 - Vote ratings by various groups
 - Minor Candidates
 - Steen, John
 - Workman, William D.
- Publicity:
 - General
 - Products, TV Program
 - Telethon questions
 - TV program draft statements
- Topical:
 - Agriculture
 - Foreign Policy
 - Health care
 - Industry
 - Labor
 - Liquor
 - Urban affairs
- 1966 (defeated Donald Russell in the Democratic primary and Marshall Parker in the General Election):
 - General: ([go to description of materials for 1966](#))
 - 1964-1965
 - 1966
 - Campaign organization:
 - General
 - Airplane
 - Schedule
 - Staff and Volunteers
 - Strategy
 - Contact Lists:
 - General
 - Abbeville Co. – Pickens Co. (5 folders)
 - Richland Co. – York Co. Box 613
 - Correspondence:
 - Gen. (2 folders)
 - Congratulations:
 - General (3 folders)
 - Charleston (2 folders)
 - Out-of-State (2 folders)
 - County:

Abbeville – Charleston (15 folders)	
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Lee - York (27 folders)	Box 615
Invitations	
Luncheon for Russell supporters	
Outgoing campaign letters	
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Washington, D.C. (2 folders)	
Democratic Party:	
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National:	
General	
Great Society (2 folders) (See also: Topical, Poverty)	
Various programs (2 folders)	
South Carolina	
Election Results	
Finance:	
General	
Bills (2 folders)	
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Contribution Thank You Letters (1-8 of 17 folders)	
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Contributor Lists (3 folders)	
Persons:	
General	
Kennedy, Robert	
Miliken, Roger	
Morton, Thruston B. (U.S. Senator from Kentucky)	
Parker, Marshall	
Russell, Donald:	
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Newsletters	
Thurmond, Strom:	
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General	
Nov. 1965	
Feb. 1966	Box 618
May 1966	
Aug. 1966	
Publicity:	
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Speeches	
Television	
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- Education (2 folders)
- Foreign policy
- Industry
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- Labor
- Medical profession
- Poverty (See also: Democratic Party, National, Great Society)
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- 1968 (defeated Marshall Parker in the General Election): ([go to description of materials for 1968](#))
 - General
 - Correspondence:
 - General (3 folders)
 - Congratulations (2 folders)
 - Letter Campaign:
 - General
 - Greek Letter (Campaign letter written by George Croffead to the Greek community)
 - From Hollings, A.G. (Hollings' brother)
 - Democratic Party:
 - General
 - Charleston County
 - Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee
 - National Convention
 - South Carolina
 - Finance:
 - General
 - Contributors (6 folders)
 - Correspondence (2 folders)
 - Events:
 - Dinner, Marion, SC 29 Mar. 1967
 - Sapp Party, Columbia 5 May 1967
 - Luncheon, Colony House, 13 Nov. 1967
 - Appreciation Dinner, Feb. 1968
 - Fundraiser, 12 May 1968
 - Reception, Hibernian Hall, 23 May 1968
 - Lunch, Francis Marion Hotel, 30 Aug. 1968
 - Coffee, Sept. 1968
 - Dinner, 1969
 - Persons:
 - Culbertson, John Bolt
 - Parker, Marshall
 - Polls:
 - General
 - Jan. 1968
 - July 1968
 - Publicity:
 - General
 - Statements
 - Television Appearances
 - Reflections on Election
- Results (2 folders)
- Schedules
- Statements
- Topical:
 - General
 - Race

Box 619

Box 620

- Republican Party (attempt to persuade Hollings to change parties)
 - Volunteers:
 - General (2 folders)
 - Charleston (2 folders)
 - Hollings Lieutenants (2 folders)
 - 1970: ([go to description of materials for 1970-72](#))
 - Democratic Party:
 - Democratic National Committee
 - Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee
 - South Carolina:
 - General (2 folders)
 - Polls, Governor
 - Republican Party:
 - General
 - Nixon Administration
 - 1971:
 - Democratic Party:
 - Democratic National Committee
 - Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee
 - South Carolina
 - Persons, Strom Thurmond
 - 1972:
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 - Congressional Black Caucus
 - Democratic Party:
 - Democratic National Convention
 - Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (2 folders)
 - South Carolina
 - Persons, Ted Kennedy
 - Presidential Race:
 - General
 - McGovern, George and Sargent Shriver
 - Republican Party
 - Schedules
 - Steel Luncheon
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- 1973:
 - General
 - Democratic Party, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee
 - Travel, California
 - 1974 (defeated Gwen Bush in the General Election): ([go to description of materials for 1974](#))
 - General
 - Contact Lists (2 folders)
 - Correspondence:
 - General (2 folders)
 - Congratulations
 - Letter campaign
 - “Offers of help from elected officials” (includes Gov. Jimmy Carter)
 - Democratic Party:
 - General
 - Charleston County
 - Democratic National Committee
 - Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) (See also: Voter Research and Polls, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Profile of SC)
 - South Carolina
 - Finance:
 - General

- Contributor Lists
- Correspondence:
 - General
 - Acknowledgements (2 folders)
- Events:
 - General
 - Breakfast Meetings
 - Columbia Luncheon, Mar. 1972
 - Greenville Luncheon, Mar. 1972
 - Reception at International club, 2 Feb. 1974

 - Appreciation Dinner, 28 Feb. 1974 (2 folders)
 - Breakfast at Capital Cabana, 15 May 1974
- Persons:
 - General
 - Bush, Gwen
 - Dorn, Bryan
 - Harvey, Brantley
 - Morris, Earle
 - Perry, Matthew
 - Ravenel, Charles 'Pug'
 - West, John
 - Westmoreland, William C.
- Publicity:
 - General
 - Campaign Materials
 - Published Materials
 - Radio and Television:
 - General
 - Guggenheim productions
- Schedules
- Strategy
- Topical:
 - General
 - Coastal Environment Coalition
 - Education
 - Governor's Race (Possible SC Constitutional Amendment dealing with residency requirements for governors)
- Volunteers/Staff
- Voter Research and Polls:
 - General
 - Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Profile of SC (See also: Democratic Party, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee)
 - Kraft Polls:
 - Correspondence
 - Hollings, Ernest F.:
 - July 1972
 - Sept. 1973
 - Possible Questions
 - Ziegler, Nicholas, July 1972
- 1975:
 - General
 - Democratic Party, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee
 - Hollings' Possible 1976 Presidential Campaign
- 1976: ([go to description of materials for 1976](#))
 - General
 - Correspondence, Congratulations
 - Democratic Party:

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- General (2 folders)
- Democratic National Convention (3 folders) (See also: Presidential Race, Jimmy Carter) Box 623
 - Derrick, Butler
- Presidential Race:
 - General
 - Bayh, Birch
 - Bentson, Lloyd
 - Brown, Edmund
 - Carter, Jimmy (2 folders) (See also: Democratic Party, Democratic National Convention)
 - Ford, Gerald
 - Shriver, Sargent
 - Udall, Morris
- Ravenel Dinner Committee
- South Dakota Appearance
- 1977:
 - General
 - Polls
- 1978-79:
 - General
 - County Information:
 - Beaufort
 - Pickens
 - Events, H.M. Thompson Reception, Feb. 1, 1979
 - Persons:
 - Ravenel, Charles 'Pug'
 - Riley, Dick
 - Thurmond, Strom
- 1980 (defeated Marshall Mays in the General Election): ([go to description of materials for 1980](#))
 - General
 - Campaign overview (1-2 of 3 folders)
 - Campaign overview (3 of 3 folders) Box 624
 - Correspondence
 - Democratic Party (4 folders)
 - Federal Election Commission (FEC)
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 - Opposition Research:
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 - Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) (2 folders)
 - Opposition's Information and Plans
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 - Persons:
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 - Carter, Jimmy
 - Dent, Doug
 - Reagan, Ronald
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 - Press Releases
 - Print Media Box 625

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- Charleston
- Charlotte
- Columbia
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- Commercial Transcripts
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- Charleston
- Charlotte
- Columbia
- Florence
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Strategy:

- General (2 folders)
- County Data:
 - Lowcountry (3 folders)
 - Midlands (1-2 of 4 folders)

 - Midlands (3-4 of 4 folders)
 - Pee Dee (3 folders)
 - Upstate (2 folders)
- Polling (3 folders)
- Questionnaires

Voting Record

1981-1983:

- General
- Democratic Party:
 - General (3 folders)
 - Democratic National Committee, Midterm Conference, June 25-26, 1982
- Finances:
 - 1981
 - 1982 (2 folders)
- Kennedy, Ted, 1981

Box 626

Presidential Campaign:

- General:
 - 1981
 - 1982 (2 folders)
 - 1983 (3 folders)
- Issues, 1983
- Publicity, 1983

Box 627

1984, Presidential Campaign: ([go to description of materials for 1984](#))

- General (3 folders)
- Campaign Organization:
 - General
 - Benson, William, Harvard U. paper "An Analysis of the Presidential Campaign of Senator Ernest F. Hollings, c. Jan. 1985
 - Campaign Manual, fall 1983 [designed for campaign volunteers]

- Delegates (2 folders)
- Questionnaires from political interest groups with Hollings' responses attached in many cases (4 folders)
- Schedules:
 - General [chiefly memoranda etc. re scheduling and advance work]
 - Hollings, Fritz:
 - 1982
 - 1983:
 - Jan.-Mar.
 - Apr. Box 628
 - May
 - June
 - July
 - Aug.-Oct.
 - Nov.-Dec.
 - 1984 (2 folders)
 - Hollings, Peatsy
- Staff:
 - General
 - Copps, Michael, Administrative Assistant (2 folders)
 - Epstein, Mark, Issues Coordinator
- Strategy:
 - General (3 folders)
 - News Summaries (staff-produced digests of relevant articles in major newspapers, Jan.-Dec., 1983)
- Weekly Reports to DC
- Communications Effort:
 - General (2 folders)
 - Ad purchases
 - Announcement (3 folders)
 - Brochures and Mailings
- Debates:
 - General
 - Iowa
 - New Hampshire
 - Harris Poll, remarks by Lou Harris before the Democratic Senate Policy Committee, July 1983
 - "Hollings Network," forms providing information on possible campaign volunteers
- Media Appearance Transcripts Box 629
- Newspaper and magazine articles by EFH
- Press Releases:
 - 1983, Jan.-Aug.
 - Sept. 1983 - Mar. 1984
- Radio
- Statements
- Correspondence:
 - Consolation, mostly received after Mar. 1, 1984 (3 folders)
 - Invitations for speaking engagements (2 folders)
 - Mailgram Confirmation copies (mailgram responses to invitations)
 - News Media
 - Post-Election
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 - Supporters (6 of 6 folders) Box 630
 - Third Party Letters, correspondence to specific interest or occupational groups by people such as former SC Governor Dick Riley and then-Lieutenant Governor Mike Daniel (3 folders)
 - Winter Hill Community School (Queries received from 8th graders in Somerville, MA, in October, 1983)

Finance:

General:

Sept. 1982-July 1983

1983, Oct.-Dec.

1984:

Jan.

Feb.

Mar.

Apr.-July

No date

Audit Reconciliation, 1984-1985

Call Lists (people to contact for contributions)

Citizens for a Competitive America (Hollings' PAC)

Contributors (printout dated May 31, 1984):

Alabama-Connecticut

D.C.-Idaho

Illinois-Montana

North Carolina-New York

Ohio-South Carolina (B)

South Carolina:

C-G

H-M

N-V

South Carolina, W - Wyoming

"Ernest Money," fundraising drive headed by former SC governor Dick Riley begun in the summer of 1983

Federal Election Commission

Fundraisers

Incorporation of the Hollings for President Committee

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Reports, Receipts and Disbursements:

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1983, cont.:

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July-Sept.

Oct.-Dec.

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Settling Accounts

Persons:

General

Cranston, Alan

Glenn, John

Hart, Gary

Jackson, Jesse

Mondale, Walter

Reagan, Ronald (2 folders)

State Files:

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Alabama (8 folders)

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Arkansas

California

Colorado

Connecticut

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District of Columbia

Florida

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Georgia
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South Carolina:
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 Dillon
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 Fairfield
 Florence
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 Laurens
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Chairmanship

National Convention:

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Nomination (3 folders)

House Democratic Caucus Economic Plan

Economy:

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Growth Policy Board (proposed name for a Hollings initiative to establish a combination of federal programs to modernize U.S. industry, promote exports, and improve human and capital infrastructure)

Taxation:

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Withholding Repeal

Trade Policy (2 folders)

Education (2 folders)

Energy (2 folders)

Environment:

General (2 folders)

Briefing Book

Foreign Affairs:

General

Ireland (2 folders)

Japan (2 folders)

Latin America (3 folders)

Middle East (2 folders)

Box 636

South Africa

Gay Rights

Health Care (8 folders) [See also: Human Infrastructure]

Hispanics

Housing

Human Infrastructure (regarding hunger, health care, and education)

Hunger (2 folders) [See also: Human Infrastructure]

Infrastructure (mostly regarding public works including highways, bridges, water distribution, etc.)

Issues:

General (4 folders)

Briefing Book, July 19, 1983 (1-3 of 4 folders)

Briefing Book, July 19, 1983 (4 of 4 folders)

Box 637

Michael Copps' Briefing Book (3 folders)

Jewish Groups

Labor

Native Americans

PACs

Rural Electrification

Senior Citizens/Social Security

- Space Program
- Transportation
- Urban Renewal
- Voting Record
- Women:
 - General (5 folders)
 - Campaign brochure
 - Stevenson, Nancy (former SC Lt. Governor):
 - General
 - Speeches

1985:

- General
- Correspondence
- County Files:
 - Kershaw
 - McCormick
 - Oconee
 - Richland
 - Sumter
 - Williamsburg
- Finances

Persons:

- Jordan, Henry
- Newman, I.D.
- Republican Eagles
- Staff, Sullivan, Chuck

Box 638

1986 (defeated Henry McMaster in the General Election): ([go to description of materials for 1986](#))

- General
- Campaign Organization:
 - General
 - Citizens Committee for Ernest Hollings, Meeting Minutes
 - Core Group
 - County Coordinators:
 - General (3 folders)
 - Notebook
 - Structure
 - Hollings, Peatsy
 - Jameson, John
 - Mailings
 - Memos:
 - General
 - Hollings Neighborhood Rallies
 - Staff Meeting Minutes
 - Town Meeting
 - National Voter Contact:
 - General
 - Contract
 - Contributions
 - Phone Bank
 - Proposal
 - Policy/Procedure
 - Post-Election Report
 - Schedules:
 - Hollings, Fritz (1 of 3 folders)

 - Hollings, Fritz (2-3 of 3 folders)

Box 639

Hollings, Peatsy
Planning
Senate Filing Materials
Staff Lists
Steering Committee:
 General
 Charleston
Volunteers (2 folders)
Correspondence:
 General (3 folders)
 Form Letters
 Thank Yous:
 General
 Events
County Files:
 Aiken (2 folders)
 Allendale
 Barnwell
 Beaufort
 Charleston
 Cherokee
 Chester
 Chesterfield (2 folders)
 Clarendon
 Colleton

 Darlington
 Dillon
 Dorchester
 Edgefield
 Florence (2 folders)
 Georgetown
 Greenville
 Greenwood (2 folders)
 Hampton
 Horry (2 folders)
 Jasper
 Kershaw
 Lancaster
 Laurens
 Lee
 Lexington
 Marion
 Marlboro
 McCormick
 Newberry
 Oconee
 Pickens
 Richland
 Saluda
 Spartanburg
 Williamsburg
Democratic Party: (See also: Voter Research, Democratic National Committee Survey)
 General
 Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee:
 General (2 folders)
 Federal Election Commission (FEC)

Box 640

"Political Media Buying" Handbook	Box 641
Seminars and Conferences	
South Carolina:	
General	
"Get out the Vote"	
Finances:	
General (2 folders)	
Budget:	
General	
Bills and Disbursements	
Payroll	
Reports (2 folders)	
Citizens for a Competitive America	
Contacts	
Contributors	
Disclosures	
Events:	
General (3 folders)	
Charleston	Box 642
Greenville (2 folders)	
Home Parties:	
General	
Aiken	
Charleston	
Georgetown	
Greenville and Greenwood	
Kershaw	
Orangeburg	
Richland	
York	
Neighborhood Rallies	
Richland County	
Town Meetings	
Persons:	
General	
Atwater, Lee	
Burdick, Quentin, "Burdick Book"	
Hartnett, Tommy	
Patterson, Liz	
Jordan, Henry:	
General (2 folders)	
Deeds/Mortgages	
McMaster, Henry D.:	
General	
Ad Campaign	
Attacks:	
By Hollings	
On Hollings	
Finance	
"Lies and Myths" of McMaster (2 folders)	Box 643
National Republican Senatorial Committee	
Opposition Research	
Speeches/Statements	
US Attorney	

Thurmond, Strom
Publicity:
 General
 Debate:
 General
 Briefing Book: Senator Ernest F. Hollings, 23 Oct. 1986 (2 folders)
 Possible Questions (2 folders)
 Direct Mail:
 General
 Letters (2 folders)
 Mailings
 Endorsements:
 General (3 folders)
 Assistant US Attorneys
 Elected Officials
 Law Enforcement
 Textiles
 Young Professionals

Media:
 General
 Budget
 Campaign Materials
 Companies
 Radio:
 General (2 folders)
 Advertising, Budget

Box 644

Press:
 Conferences
 Newspapers:
 Ads
 Costs
 Invoices
 Releases

Telephone Bank

Television:
 General (2 folders)
 Budget:
 General
 Invoices
 Contracts:
 Augusta Stations
 Charleston:
 WCIV
 WCBD
 WCSC
 Columbia:
 WIS
 WLTX
 WOLO
 Florence:
 WBTW
 WPDE
 Greenville:
 WLOS
 WYFF
 Spartanburg, WSPA

Schedules (3 folders)
Shoots

Scripts (3 folders)

Box 645

Speeches
Statements

Results

Strategy:

General
"Campaigns and Computers"
Cook, Crawford
John Jameson File
Memos
Plan and Budget
SC Strategy Seminar, Dec. 16
Sullivan, Chuck

Topical:

General
African Americans
Bob Jones University
Briefing Book
Budget
Economy
Foreign Affairs
Foreign Travel Reports
Gay Rights
Issue Briefs
Military and Veterans
National Taxpayer's Union
Questionnaires

Racial Issues
Religion
Republican Party
Savannah River Plant
Social Security
Textiles

Box 646

Voter Research:

General
Correspondence
Democratic National Committee Survey (See also: Democratic Party)
Memos

Polls:

General
May 1985 (3 folders)
May 1986
July 1986 (2 folders)
Oct. 1986 (2 folders)

Questionnaires
Science and Public Policy Seminars

Voting/Attendance Record (2 folders)

1987:

General
Correspondence
Democratic Party:
General
Business Council

- Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee
- Finances Box 647
Persons:
 General
 Dukakis, Michael
 Metzenbaum, Howard M.
 Simon, Paul M.
Town Meeting
- 1988:
 General
 Democratic Party:
 National Convention:
 General (2 folders)
 Hollings Brunch
 South Carolina:
 General
 “Get Out the Vote” Notebook, David Rudd’s
- Finances
Hollings, Consideration of Candidacy
Persons:
 General
 Bentson, Lloyd
 Davies, Delores
 Dukakis, Michael
 Jackson, Jesse [See also: Topical, Hollings’ Files, Jackson, Box 576]
 Leventis, Jim
- 1989:
 General
 Democratic Party:
 General
 Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, “Role of the Candidate’s Spouse in the 1990 Senate Campaign”
 South Carolina
 Events, California
 Finances
 Persons, Henry Jordan, Service Record
 Presidential Inauguration (2 folders)
 Topical, Race
- 1990:
 County Files:
 Georgetown
 Newberry
 Democratic Party
 Events:
 General
 California

 “May Swing,” California, Colorado, Chicago and New York [Hollings’ File] Box 648
 New York
- Finances
Persons:
 General
 Campbell, Carol, Contributors to his campaign
- 1991:
 General
 Contacts
 Finances:

- General
- Contributors
- Events:
 - General
 - New York, Mar.
 - Texas, Apr.-Mar.
 - Washington, D.C., May
 - Memphis, May
 - Greenville, SC, Nov. 11, 1991
- Persons, Tommy Hartnett
- Southern Political Report
- Steering Committee
- 1992 (defeated Tommy Hartnett in the General Election): ([go to description of materials for 1992](#))
 - General (2 folders)
 - Campaign Organization:
 - General
 - Brack, Andy
 - Contracts
 - District Organization:
 - First
 - Third
 - Fourth
 - Fifth
 - Sixth
 - Hollings Retreat, Feb. 1992
 - Issues and Organization Seminar, May 1992
 - Lieutenants
 - Mullikin, Tom (See also: Strategy, Mullikin Notebook)
 - Organization Reports
 - Schedules:
 - Fritz Hollings
 - Peatsy Hollings
 - Steering Committee (3 folders)
 - Volunteers
- Correspondence: Box 649
 - General (7 folders)
 - Draft Letters
 - Memos:
 - General
 - Notebook
 - Thank Yous
 - VIP Correspondence
- Democratic Party:
 - General
 - National Convention (2 folders)
 - Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Majority Trust Weekend, Aug. 10-12, 1990 (See also: Finances, Fundraising, Contributions, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Tally Sheets)
- Election Results (2 folders)
- Finances:
 - General (2 folders)
- Announcement Costs Box 650
- Bank Statements
- Brack, Andy, Expenses
- Budget
- Contact Lists:

- General
- 1000 Club
- Counties:
 - Abbeville – Calhoun
 - Charleston – Chester
 - Chesterfield – Greenwood
 - Hampton – Marlboro
 - McCormick – Richland
 - Saluda – York
- “County List,” Notebook (2 folders)
- Mayors and County Council Chairmen
- Palmetto Society
- Textile Executives
- Disclosure Reports
- Disbursement Reports
- Federal Election Commission, Reports (7 folders)
- Fundraising:
 - Contributions:
 - General
 - Master List by County Box 651
 - PAC Notebook (4 folders)
 - Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Tally Sheets (See also: Democratic Party, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, Majority Trust Weekend)
- Events [in chronological order]:
 - General (6 folders)
 - Sumter/Bishopville/Lancaster-3/4/91
 - Aiken Sunrise Rotary Club-4/4/91
 - Columbia Fundraiser-4/8/91
 - Cheraw Rotary Club/Pee Dee Community Health Services-4/15/1991
 - Motorola Breakfast-4/16/91
 - Greenville Fundraiser-4/21/91
 - Milliken Tour-5/20/91
 - National Democratic Club-5/22/91
 - Barbecue-6/3/91
 - Anderson Fundraiser-6/22/91
 - Minneapolis-7/1/91
 - Nashville Reception-7/19/91
 - Lake and Lawn Gala-8/23/91
 - Piedmont Technical College-8/29/91
 - Spartanburg Democratic Breakfast-8/31/91
 - Palmetto Business Forum-9/9/91
 - University Club Fundraiser-9/18/91
 - Richmond Fundraiser-9/23/91
 - East Cooper Democrats Fish Fry-10/19/91
 - American Trucking Association-10/21/91
 - Miami Fundraiser-11/9/91
 - Upstate Salute-11/11/91
 - Vandiver Hall/Atlanta-11/15-17/91
 - Greenville and Union Christmas Parades-12/7/91
 - BIPEC Luncheon-12/12/91
 - Tourism Press Conference/263rd Guard Unit Briefing-2/3/92
 - Camden Fundraiser-2/17/92
 - Roller Bearing Corp. of SC-3/2/92 (site of Hollings’ atomic bomb comment)
 - Greenville County Sheriff’s Office 11th Annual Awards Banquet-3/6/92
 - B&M Aquaculture Farm-3/9/92
 - GLEAMS Recognition Banquet-3/27/92

Hayne Hipp Fundraiser-Apr. 1992
Beacon Manufacturing Co.-4/6/92
Forest Acres Elementary School-4/6/92
Cape Romain National Wildlife Refuge- 4/21/92
USC Barbecue and Class Talk-4/23/92
20th Anniversary-4/24/92
Marlboro Coop-4/25/92
5th Annual Mt. Pleasant Blessing of the Fleet and Seafood Festival-4/26/92
Opening Ceremony for the Center for Cancer Treatment and Research at Richland Memorial Hospital-4/27/92
Fuji Film/Newberry/Georgia-Pacific/Blue Ridge Electric Coop. - 5/11/92
Cox Farm Barbeque-5/25/92
Official Announcement of Canidacy-5/26/92
Richardson Reception- 5/28/92
General Dynamics- 6/1/92
Growth Factors, Peptides and Receptors '92- 6/1-5/92
Piedmont Club Reception-5/28/92
Dr.'s Fundraiser-6/6/92
EFH State Run-6/6/92
Union County Fundraiser-6/8/92
Greenwood Fundraiser-6/19/92
Commercial Realtors-6/22/92
Aiken Fundraiser-6/26/92
Greenville Symphony-7/4/92
Patriot Hall Reception-7/16/92
Pamplico Reception- 7/18/92
Tobacco Growers-7/20/92
Hilton Head Island Fundraiser-7/24/92
Horry County Democratic Stump Speaking-7/27/92
Barney Smith Fundraiser-8/2/92
Community Health Centers- 8/5/92
Ashlands Reception-8/8/92
Seibels House Reception-8/13/92
Textile Executives- 8/13/92

Trial Lawyers-8/14/92 Event #505 Box 652
Saltz Fundraiser-8/18/92
Columbia Restaurant Association/Lexington County Democratic Rally- 8/19/92
Arthurtown/Carolina Alumni Club Barbecue- 8/20/92
Spartanburg Tech- 8/23/92
National Weather Service- 8/25/92
American Association of Advertising Agencies Fundraiser-8/26/92 Greenville (Commerce Club)
Event #503
Southern Showcase- 8/29/92
Bob Thompson Fundraiser 8/31/92 Greenville Event #440
Charleston Judicial Center- 8/31/92
Thornblade Reception-9/2/92
Precinct Meetings- 9/10/92
Friends for Fritz-9/12/92
Ace Basin- 10/3/92
Women's Alliance Rally-10/4/92
"A Celebration Honoring Fritz Hollings," 10/15/1992
Statewide Fundraiser-10/15/92
LECC Violent Crime Seminar/Charleston Weed and Seed Project and Boys and Girls Club, 10/16/92
"Barbecue and Bushwhacking"-10/18/92
Advanced Manufacturing Technologies Inc.-10/19/92
W56CC-TV/State Justice Institute/Edgefield Barbeque-10/20/92

Vince Perone's ATME Welcome Party-10/21/92
WSPA Radio/Insignia Financial Group-10/22/92
Textile Research Consortium-10/23/92
EFH Rally-10/26/92
Greer/Spartanburg/Union/Gaffney/Clover-10/27/92
Folly Beach-10/29/92
Victory Party, 11/92

Garin-Hart

Legal

Stuble-Totten (Press agency hired by the campaign)

Persons:

General

Bush, George/Quayle, Dan

Carroll A. Campbell, Jr.:

General

Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee Research Notebook (2 folders)

Clinton, Bill and Al Gore (2 folders)

Hartnett, Tommy: (See also: Strategy, Opposition Research Ideas)

General (2 folders)

"Campaign Research on Thomas F. Hartnett..." Notebook (2 folders)

Deeds

Endorsements

Finances:

General

Disclosure Forms

Hartnett Co-sponsorships, Notebook (3 folders, 3rd folder is in the next box)

Hartnett Research Notebooks:

Book One (2 folders)

Book Two (2 folders)

Book Three (2 folders)

Book Four (3 folders)

Book Five (2 folders)

Book Six

Book Seven (2 folders)

Book Eight (2 folders)

Book Ten (2 folders)

Hartnett Research on Hollings

Box 653

Hartnett Testimony in Leach/Leach vs. Westvaco Development Corp.-8/5/92

Hartnett Weaknesses

Hollings' Rebuttals (2 folders)

Issues:

General (2 folders -- 1 is an Issues Notebook)

Appropriations

Arts and Humanities

Attendance

B-1 Bomber

Budget

Campaign Finance

Civil Rights

Drug Testing

Economic Plan

Education

Energy

Environment

Flip-Flops

Box 654

- Foreign Affairs
- Gay Rights
- Gramm-Rudman-Hollings
- Health Care
- Housing
- Israel
- Labor
- Law Enforcement
- Legislative Branch
- Legislation Introduced
- Lies and Distortions
- MacAlloy (insurance)
- Military
- On EFH War Vote
- PACs
- Pay and Honoraria
- Product Liability
- Role at Republican Convention
- Taxes
- Technology
- Trade and Textiles
- Washington Candidate
- Women's Issues
- Workfare
- Publicity:
 - General
 - Direct Mail (2 folders)

- Media Scripts Box 655
- Press Releases
- Speeches for Hartnett
- Realty (Hartnett Realty Company)
- Perot, Ross
- Thompson, Charles (Hartnett's primary opponent)
- Publicity:
 - General (2 folders)
 - Announcement
 - Debates (2 folders)
 - Direct Mail:
 - General
 - DABCO Proposal (Company interested in managing the Direct Mail Campaign for Hollings' campaign)
 - Printing
 - Samples
 - Endorsements:
 - General
 - Mayors
 - Media:
 - General
 - Scripts
 - Struble-Totten (3 folders) (agency hired by campaign) (See also: Strategy, Struble-Totten Media Strategy)
 - TV Shoots
 - Prepared Response/Statements
 - Press:
 - General

 - Press Releases (5 folders) Box 656
 - Speeches

Strategy:

General

Black Notebook (2 folders)

Campaign Information Folder

Coordinated Campaign:

General

Victory '92: South Carolina Democratic Coordinated Campaign Plan (Notebook)

Constituency Plan

Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee: "Your Campaign and the Law" (Notebook)

"The Foundation of Message: Positioning the Election Day Choice for Persuadable Voters" (Notebook)

Mullikin Notebook (2) (See also: Campaign Organization, Tom Mullikin)

Opposition Research Ideas (See also: Persons, Tommy Hartnett)

Sample Fundraising Campaign for Carl Levin

Struble-Totten Media Strategy (See also: Publicity, Media, Struble-Totten)

Weekly Campaign Updates

Topical:

General (2 folders)

Budget and Economy

Business

Children

Civil Rights

Congressional Pay and Expenses

Crime, Law, and Drugs

Defense

Environment

Ethics

Gay Rights

Gramm-Rudman-Hollings

Health

"The Hollings Record" (Notebook) (See also: Voting Record)

Hugo

Issues Guide:

General

Hollings Green Book (Notebook) (3 folders)

Korean Suit

Labor

Line-Item Veto

Office Budget

Reapportionment

Stories (testimonials from supporters) (2 folders)

Taxes

Telecommunications

Textiles

Tourism

Trade

Women

Workfare

Voter Research:

Key Findings from South Carolina Focus Groups, Mar. 11, 1992

National Survey Results for Democratic Study Center

A Survey of Attitudes Among Voters in South Carolina:

June 1991 (Notebook)

May 1992 (Notebook)

Aug. 1992 (Notebook)

Sept. 1992 (Notebook)

Oct. 7-8, 1992 (Notebook)

Box 657

- Oct. 14-15, 1992 (Notebook)
- Oct. 23-25, 1992 (Notebook)
- Oct. 26-28, 1992 (Notebook)
- A Survey of Attitudes Among Voters in South Carolina on the Senate Race: June 1991 (2 folders)
- Polls:
 - General Planning
 - Garin-Hart Strategic Research Group Questionnaires
 - Polls 1991-1992
- South Carolina Precinct Analysis Vol. 2, Abbeville-Laurens (1 Book)

- South Carolina Precinct Analysis Vols. 2 and 3, Abbeville-Laurens (4 Books) Box 658
- “South Carolina Senate Presentation” June 13-20, 1991
- “Voting In the Passive Voice” by Christopher Hitchens
- Voting Record (3 folders) (See also: Topical, “The Hollings Record”)
- 1993:
 - General
 - Democratic Party:
 - Senate Democratic Conference
 - Senate Campaign Committee Notebook
 - Presidential Inauguration
- 1994:
 - General (2 folders)
 - Democratic Party, Fundraising, Al Gore Event
- 1995

- 1996: Box 659
 - General
 - Democratic Party:
 - General
 - National Committee, South Carolina Precinct Targeting (3 folders)
 - National Convention (2 folders)
- 1997:
 - General
 - Presidential Inauguration
- 1998 (defeated Bob Inglis in the General Election): ([go to description of materials for 1998](#))
 - General
 - Campaign Organization:
 - General
 - Charleston County
 - County Information (Notebook)
 - Hollings for Senate: Charleston Field Manuel (Notebook) (2 folders)
 - Internal Correspondence
 - Red Notebook of Counties (3 folders)
 - Staff
 - Volunteers
 - Correspondence:
 - General
 - Congratulatory Mail:
 - General
 - Colleagues
 - Government
 - Out of State
 - South Carolina (3 folders)
 - Thank Yous (Handwritten)

 - VIP Correspondence Box 660
 - Democratic Party:

- General
 - Democratic Leadership Council
 - Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) Notebook, "Who Controls the GOP House and Senate: A Guide to Right Wing Third Party Groups" (2 folders): [See also: Finances, Fundraising, DSCC; and Strategy, Coordinated Campaign, 1997 DSCC Campaign Planning Workbook]
 - South Carolina, "South Carolina Targeting Book" (3 folders)
 - Election Results for Hollings and other candidates
 - Finances:
 - General
 - Banking
 - Contact Lists:
 - General (3 folders)
 - Labor Unions
 - Finance Plan
 - Fundraising:
 - General
 - Contributions:
 - General
 - By County
 - By SC Lawyers
 - DSCC Contributors Notebook
 - FEC Compliance
 - Outstanding Pledges by Event
 - DSCC: [See also: Democratic Party, DSCC; and Strategy, Coordinated Campaign, 1997 DSCC Campaign Planning Workbook]
 - Nantucket Weekend Notebook (1 of 2 folders)

 - Nantucket Weekend Notebook (2 of 2 folders) Box 661
 - Tally Sheets
 - Events:
 - General
 - 1994-1996
 - 1997:
 - Feb.
 - June
 - Aug.
 - Sept.
 - Nov.
 - 1998:
 - Feb.-Apr.:
 - General
 - Feb. 16-20 Notebook (2 folders)
 - Coopersmith Dinner (Clinton as Speaker), Mar. 12
 - May:
 - General
 - Jefferson-Jackson Dinner, May 1
 - Bullwinkel Reception, May 8
 - Anderson Country Club, May 26
 - June
 - July-Aug.
 - Sept.
 - Oct.-Nov.
 - FEC Reports
- Persons:
 - General
 - Beasley, David
 - Bush, George

Clinton, William J.

Inglis, Bob (Robert): [See also: Strategy, Inglis' Contract for a Courteous Campaign]

General

Campaign Research Report on Robert Durden Inglis...,” spring 1998, Notebook (3 folders)

Fundraising

Interest Group Ratings (3 folders)

Issues:

Box 662

General

Abortion

Affirmative Action

Americans for Limited Terms

Arts

Bankruptcy and Federal District Courts

Budget and Economy

Business

Campaign Reform

Congressional Perks

Crime/Law/Drugs

Deception

Defense

Education

Environment

Finances

Foreign Affairs

Haynesworth Federal Courthouse

Healthcare

Immigration

Inglis' Background

Leatherwood, Walker, Todd, and Mann

Legislation and Voting Record

Medicare

PACs

Previous Campaigns

Probate Court

Property Records

Racism

Republican Party: [See also: Topical, Republican Party]

Republican Primary

National Republican Senatorial Committee (2 folders, 2nd folder is in the next box)

SC GOP

Box 663

Secretary of State

Sen. Mitch McConnell

Social Security

Superior Court

Taxes

Tax Foundation

Term Limits

Textiles

Tobacco

Transportation

TRIAD

Video Poker

Volunteers

Voter Registration

Welfare

Publicity:

- General
- Advertisements
- Direct Mail
- Endorsements
- Press Coverage
- Press Releases
- Speeches

Sample Research Books:

- “The Book on Bingaman: How the West Was Taxed” (2 folders)
- “Learning to Reid: A Lesson in Liberalism” (2 folders)
- Luntz, Dr. Frank, “The Language of the 21st Century” (2 folders)

- Perot, Ross
- Sanford, Mark (2 folders)
- Thurmond, Strom (1 of 2 folders)

Thurmond, Strom (2 of 2 folders)

Box 664

Publicity:

- Debate
- Direct Mail
- Endorsements
- Media (See also: Strategy, Media):

- General
- Advertisements:
 - “Breast Cancer”
 - “Budget Battle”
 - “Classroom”
 - “Cookie Jar”
 - “Fiscal Conservative”
 - “Gonzales Gardens”
 - “Helping”
 - “Purple Heart”
 - “Questions-Children”
 - “TV Violence”

- Fact Sheets for Ads

- Scripts

- Press
- Signage
- Speeches
- Website

Strategy:

- General
- “1998: A Precinct Preview”
- African-Americans
- Coordinated Campaign:
 - General
 - 1997 DSCC Campaign Planning Workbook (2 folders) [See also: Democratic Party, DSCC; and Finances, Fundraising, Contributions, DSCC]
 - “A New Vision for a New Party: The Action Plan for the South Carolina Democratic Party 1997-1998,” Notebook
 - “Hollings ’98: an Overview”
 - Hollings for Senate Campaign Plan: Mar. 1998
 - Inglis’ Contract for a Courteous Campaign [See also: Persons, Bob Inglis]
 - Media [See also: Publicity, Media]
 - Nu Wexler Notebook
 - Reflections on Previous Elections

Topical:

- General (2 folders)
- African-Americans
- Budget and Economy [See also: Taxes and Spending]
- Campaign Finance
- Crime/Law/Drugs
- DataStream Systems
- Education:
 - General (1 of 2 folders)
 - General (2 of 2 folders) Box 665
 - Technical Schools
- Energy
- Environment
- Gay Rights
- Health
- Labor
- Liberalism
- Military
- Rebuttals
- Republicans: [See also, Persons, Bob Inglis, Topical, Republican Party]
 - General
 - Republican Revolution
- Seniors and Social Security
- Taxes and Spending (3 folders) [See also: Budget and Economy]
- Trade and Textiles
- Transportation
- Welfare
- Women/Infants/Children
- Voter Research:
 - Polling:
 - General
 - Clippings
 - Garin-Hart
 - Mason-Dixon
 - South Carolina Counties by Precinct, Notebook (3 folders)
 - South Carolina Malls (poll conducted in malls): Aug. 28-31, 1998
 - South Carolina Senate (poll of voter attitudes toward the SC Senate):
 - Dec. 1997
 - June 12-14, 1998 (2 folders)
 - South Carolina Statewide (Hollings): Sept. 26-27, 1998
 - South Carolina Statewide Tracking:
 - I: Oct. 3-4, 1998
 - II: Oct. 10-11, 1998 Box 666
 - III: Oct. 18-19, 1998
 - IV: Oct. 24-25, 1998
 - V: Oct. 27-28, 1998
 - VI: Oct. 29, 1998
 - South Carolina Survey: Sept. 10-11, 1998
 - A Survey of Attitudes Among Voters in South Carolina:
 - June 1996, Notebook (2 folders)
 - May 1997, Notebook (3 folders)
 - Dec. 1997, Notebook (2 folders)
 - “A Survey of Voter Attitudes in South Carolina’s...:
 - ... 84th House District,” Sept. 1997 (2 folders)
 - ... 86th House District,” Sept. 1997 (2 folders)
 - ...12th House District,” Oct. 1997 (2 folders)

...108th House District," Oct. 1997 (2 folders)

...124th House District," Oct. 1997 (2 folders)

Voting Record:

General (3 folders)

Accomplishments

"Trip Notebook"

Hollings Record: Voting Analysis Notebook

Box 667

1999

2000:

General

Democratic Party, National Convention

Finances, Contributions from PACs

2001:

General

Presidential Inauguration

2002

2003:

General

Persons:

Clark, Wesley

Coble, Bob

Condon, Charlie

DeMint, Jim

Edwards, John

Kerry, John

Tennenbaum, Inez

2004

No date (4 folders)

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