I'm Doctor Mel Steely, with the Georgia Political Heritage Program, with the University of West Georgia. Today is October 4, 2005. We're interviewing Governor Roy Barnes at his office in Marietta, Georgia.

Governor, this is the second tape that we've done with you. Last time, we got down as far as your service in the House and Senate. You gave a judgment on what you thought about the administrations of Governors Busbee and Harris. You were elected to the Georgia General Assembly in ’74, way back. You were about, what, 26 years old?

I was a very young man.

In 1990, you made an unsuccessful run for governor, came back two years later and were elected to the Georgia House. Then, in ’98, ran for governor again, and was elected to the governorship.

That's correct.

So, you served with Governors Busbee, Harris, and Miller before taking the office yourself.

Yes.

You've talked about Busbee and Harris a little bit, crediting Governor Harris with being almost a mentor to you. Tell us a little bit about your relationship with Zell Miller, as governor. You've already talked a little about him as lieutenant governor, but as governor, how would you assess Governor Miller?

Well, I had a long relationship with Governor Miller. I was elected to the State Senate, as you pointed out, in 1974. He was elected lieutenant governor in 1974. I served 16 years in the Senate, and he was the only presiding officer of the Senate, during those 16 years, that presided over the Senate.

During that time, Governor Miller was generally considered to be progressive to liberal, during that period of time, and ran against Herman Talmadge in 1980. Something we can talk about
later. But when he was elected governor in '90, I did run against him. Then, in '92, as you pointed out, I came to the House.

Roy Barnes: 00:02:25 I thought that Zell Miller is going to go down in Georgia as one of Georgia's best governors. I disagreed with him on several issues, and still do. But at the same time, he had a broad vision. He had the political tools that were necessary to accomplish what he needed to do. He had the sufficient skills.

Roy Barnes: 00:02:56 Though I don't like lotteries. I think that gambling of any sort is one of the, what I call modern day addictions that we see in the nation. I think it's very destructive, and I was opposed to the lottery. I voted against it in the General Assembly.

Roy Barnes: 00:03:15 He saw how popular that issue was with the public, particularly when it was connected to education. Even though I was opposed to the lottery, what he did with the money was one of the best, far-reaching, visionary things that we've ever seen. That is HOPE Scholarships.

Roy Barnes: 00:03:33 During the '90, and probably is equally important, maybe greater importance long term was not only HOPE Scholarships for university student, but on pre-K program for early childhood. Georgia has an early childhood program, pre-K program, universal four year old pre-K. It's really envied in the nation, and that's funded with lottery proceeds, also. Now, having said that, I agreed completely with what he did with the money. I think it secures his place in the history of the state, because of that one program alone.

Roy Barnes: 00:04:17 In 1994, he had a very close election, which was a combination of several things. One of which was the change in demographics of the state. Secondly, something that I'm sure we'll talk about later; he had touched that third rail of southern politics, and that was race. In saying that the Confederate battle emblem ought to come off the Georgia flag.

Roy Barnes: 00:04:49 He did that in '93, and it caused a very close race. That second term, as governor's second terms often are, was not as productive as his first. But his first term will go down in history as one of the most productive terms of any governor in Georgia's history.

Mel Steely: 00:05:11 According to one of your old teachers [inaudible 00:05:15] your brother says you told her way back that you were going to be governor. Is that true?
Roy Barnes: 00:05:21 I've had that story told to me before.

Mel Steely: 00:05:24 It's part of legend, anyway.

Roy Barnes: 00:05:27 There's a great line out of a movie that I'm very fond of, called The Liberty Valance, with Jimmy Stewart and John Wayne. In it, at the end, there's the conductor is going through. The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance, and Jimmy Stewart was the man who shot Liberty Valance, but it was really John Wayne.

Roy Barnes: 00:05:50 Anyway, the conductor says, when the legend becomes truth, tell the legend. I guess it is. I don't remember that, but I don't know. I said it, but I just don't recall.

Mel Steely: 00:06:02 It could have happened?

Roy Barnes: 00:06:03 It could have happened.

Mel Steely: 00:06:04 You certainly were thinking politically as a child, weren't you?

Roy Barnes: 00:06:09 I grew up in a family general merchandise business, grocery store general merchandise business. It was in the parking lot was the JP Courthouse, where everybody came to vote. As country stores and places of business always were gathering places. I enjoyed hearing all the politics, and the folks came by to see my Daddy and my Uncle, and to campaign. I like politics. I always did. It's just one of those things that you like.

Roy Barnes: 00:06:39 So, yeah, I was always talking politics. In fact, something I've never told, Marie's told it very quietly a couple of times. She's still got the letter, she says. I haven't seen it. When Marie and I were going to get married; I'd forgotten about this. She said I wrote her a letter in which I told her, I said, "I want to tell you one thing. I like politics, and if you don't think you can take it, you better tell me right now because I might run."

Mel Steely: 00:07:11 Yeah?

Roy Barnes: 00:07:12 But I liked politics.

Mel Steely: 00:07:13 Well, you clearly have a love for it. In fact, in our first interview we did, while you were still in the Governor's Office. At one point, you're telling the story of how you got involved in campaigning, and you just stopped for a minute, looked right at the camera, and said, "God, I love retail politics."

Roy Barnes: 00:07:29 I do. I love retail.
Mel Steely: 00:07:31 it's quite clear to anybody that talks with you that you enjoy it.

Roy Barnes: 00:07:33 I love retail politics. In fact, yesterday I gave two speeches, one to the Dekalb Chamber. You might not ...

Roy Barnes: 00:07:44 I've taken the cure in politics. Not that it was a bad experience; it was a wonderful experience. I would encourage any young person to do it. It's just that I've run 14 times. I think I've done my duty and what I was supposed to do, and there are other parts of life. I think politicians miss that. There are other parts in life rather than serving in an elected office.

Roy Barnes: 00:08:09 I spoke again last night. Last night was down at the South [inaudible 00:08:12] Lion's Club. There was a big crowd, for them. There was a lot of folks I hadn't seen in years. I really enjoyed it. I enjoyed the touch and everything.

Roy Barnes: 00:08:25 One of the things that hurt me so bad when we got into the flag controversy, and I knew that it was controversial. I knew the consequences. I don't blame anyone. I knew it, and I accepted them fully, even realizing that it could very well lead to my defeat. Was that for a while, it cut me off from retail politics.

Roy Barnes: 00:08:50 There were concerns about my safety, which I thought was stupid. I asked myself, "Who wants to kill a governor?" One of the security guys says, "Well, there's plenty. You don't hear the tapes." It was so hostile for a while. It was very difficult.

Roy Barnes: 00:09:09 Memories have an interesting way of fading. I knew it would, and I've enjoyed watching it, over the last two years that I've been out. People coming back by, "I got mad at you. I shouldn't have." Things like that.

Roy Barnes: 00:09:30 In fact, I told someone recently. I said, you know, in a few years, when grandchildren of some of those that were my greatest opponents talk to their grandfather, "What was this controversy about?" That grandfather will deny he was even opposed to it. He'll say, "I was for that all along." When history changes, there's a little revisionist history.

Mel Steely: 00:09:50 Oh, yeah.

Mel Steely: 00:09:53 In 1990, you decided to give up Senate and run for governor. You'd done eight terms already. You clearly had the bug, felt you were capable. You ran against a pretty broad field with three other ... I would consider you a major heavyweight, but
you also had Andy Young, and you had Bubba McDonald, and Zell-

Roy Barnes: 00:10:14 And Lester ran against me.

Mel Steely: 00:10:15 And Lester. At that point, Lester wasn't really a heavyweight, but he was in the race and so forth.

Mel Steely: 00:10:24 Tell us a little bit about that race, and why you think you lost it. You lost in the primary.

Roy Barnes: 00:10:29 I did.

Roy Barnes: 00:10:32 The reason I ran was, being the governor's floor leader. As I've stated earlier, Joe Frank Harris taught me. I learned about government from the service, and because I was interested in it, and just the process that you go through. But I really honed on what the governor can do when I was Joe Frank's floor leader.

Roy Barnes: 00:10:58 I saw that it was really the governor who set the agenda, and I saw I could do that job. In fact, Joe Frank told me. I remember, in the mid 80's, he was, one day ... Joe Frank is a very unassuming, quiet guy. I was in his office, and we were taking up ... something. I've forgotten what it was. It was a push to get it passed.

Roy Barnes: 00:11:23 We were just talking. He told me, he made a statement, he says, "You know, you can do this job." You always think, if you're in politics, that yeah, I could. But he was really the first governor to ever tell me that I could do it.

Roy Barnes: 00:11:39 I began to think more and more about it. I made an ... In '85, I played with the fact about running for the United States Senate. I never announced. It was just, I was thinking about it. I did go down the road far enough to explore what it was. It was the year that Wyche Fowler was elected and defeated Mack Mattingly.

Roy Barnes: 00:12:07 In the latter part of '85, September or October of '85, I decided not to run for the Senate, and to run for governor. That's when I decided. I said, "I have small children." My children were all small at the time. I didn't want to go to Washington. What my Daddy said, I talked to my Daddy. I guess he's on my mind because he just died recently.

Roy Barnes: 00:12:33 I talked to Daddy about running for the Senate. He said, "Well, now, you do what you want to." He always told me that. He
said, "But let me tell you something." He said, "You've got that son. He's old enough; he'll probably be okay. He'll stay here. He's connecting them." He said, "But you've got a daughter. She's about ten years old. You've got another daughter who's about six." He says, "If you move up there to Washington," he says, "They're never coming back to Georgia. They'll find husbands up there." He says.

Roy Barnes: 00:13:09 It meant a lot to him. Our family is a fairly close-knit, close to home family. We've been here for a long time. We all live close to each other. That bothered me. In fact, his exact words were, "Those girls will find Yankee husbands." He says, "And when they have grandkids, they'll be up North somewhere." And he says, "That will be more important to you as time goes on."

Roy Barnes: 00:13:37 He was right, because I have grandchildren now. He's exactly right. I practice law with one of my daughters, and another one teaches school here in Cobb County. My son ... We all live close together, and he's a computer engineer.

Roy Barnes: 00:13:52 So, I made the decision in '85 to run in '90, and never looked back on it. Zell, I felt pretty sure ... It was uncertain where Zell was going to run. He'd been defeated in 1980 by Herman Talmadge.

Mel Steely: 00:14:10 For a Senate race?

Roy Barnes: 00:14:11 For a Senate race.

Roy Barnes: 00:14:12 There was a real question about-

Mel Steely: 00:14:16 There's a lot of hostility toward Zell.

Roy Barnes: 00:14:18 There was.

Mel Steely: 00:14:19 He was blamed for beating Herman, Zell was.

Roy Barnes: 00:14:21 He was. There was a lot of hostility, a lot of statements going around. This seems ironic in the current context, that Zell Miller was too liberal to be elected in Georgia. In fact, that was a common statement that was stated.

Roy Barnes: 00:14:37 I thought I could beat him. I thought I was in the mix. What happened in the race were two or three things. Bubba. I would have made the run off if Bubba ... I knew if I could get in the run off, I had a fair shot at this thing.
Roy Barnes: 00:14:57 Bubba peeled off some votes that I would have gotten.

Mel Steely: 00:15:00 It's Lauren McDonald.

Roy Barnes: 00:15:01 Lauren McDonald.

Roy Barnes: 00:15:03 I went to see the Speaker about it. I never will forget. Of course, I'm very fond of Tom Murphy, but not that we agreed on everything. I went to see him. He had pushed me hard about running for the Senate. But when I went to see him, I told him, I said, "Bubba doesn't need to run."

Roy Barnes: 00:15:23 I never will forget. I went to his office about two months before the election because I could see how it was coming. I was going to miss the run off closely, which I did. But I was going to miss the run off because of Bubba, and that little vote that Lester took away. The folks that were going to vote for Zell Miller were going to vote for him. The folks who were trying to vote against him, generally not rightfully or wrongfully, were not going to vote for Andy Young. They would skip the race. But they would vote for me, or Bubba, or Lester. It was that division. You recall it; there was this hostility to him.

Roy Barnes: 00:16:04 I went to the Speaker and I said, "Listen." He, and Miller, and Murphy had fought for years. I said, "You say that you don't want this guy to be governor, but you're about to elect him." I never will forget it, what he said. He says, "No." He says, "Bubba's going to make the run off." He says, "You're not going to make it." And he said, "You're going to run fourth." He said, "Andy's going to run third."

Roy Barnes: 00:16:32 I told him. I never will forget what I said. We were standing on the back of his old office. I said, "Mister Speaker," I said, "I will beat Bubba McDonald where we stand, right here." And I did.

Roy Barnes: 00:16:42 Now, Zell beat us both in Haralson County, but I beat Bubba.

Roy Barnes: 00:16:50 It was. It was very bitter for him.

Roy Barnes: 00:16:55 Anyway, I ran, but the dynamics ... When Bubba got into the race, dynamics were pretty well set, and then I made some mistakes. I didn't understand the full use of media, and the effective use of media; something that I came to understand later, if you can understand it. I didn't fully realize the force that money has, to buy media and to get a message out.
Then, Zell Miller had something that all of us didn't know about at the time. He had a fellow named James Carville, and Carville was ruthless. He gave me a baptism in fire, and I lost the race. I missed the run off; I don't know how much it was. Andy was clearly second ... Well, if I changed 50,000 votes it would have, but it was not close enough to do any kind of recount. I clearly lost and didn't make it.

I think losing that race made me a much better governor. That race was a turning point, and it taught me several things. One is, it's the first time I'd been defeated and I was out for two years. I had been elected so young that I didn't have time to have a little life seasoning. I was afraid of controversy, as a lot of politicians who get elected. They believe they can satisfy everybody.

Because I'd been re-elected fairly easily. I'd have opposition, but I got elected fairly easy, even in the Republican county. I didn't have to confront the fact that politics is really made up of controversy, if you're going to do anything, or you're going to lead. Secondly, that you cannot satisfy everyone, that you have to strike a decision on what you think is right, whether it's popular or not. That doesn't mean you put your head into a fire, but on something that absolutely needs to be done, you just have to do it.

That race, after I saw that there was life after defeat, number one. Also, it showed me that you can come through it, and come back. That race made me a much better governor when I was elected in '98. In '98, after I was elected governor, I knew exactly what I wanted to do. I knew that I shouldn't hesitate, and that I should push. I knew that I could do it.

So, that race was very important to how the term that I had as governor.

During that two year interval, after you lost, but before you went back to the House, I'm assuming you began planning to get back into politics immediately? There was never a thought that you would just stay out completely, was there?

No.

There were a few folks ... Denmark Groover, who's now dead.
Roy Barnes: 00:20:14  Great man, legend.

Roy Barnes: 00:20:18  Groover came to see me after I'd been, about a year, I guess. He said, "You need to run again." I said, "Well, I'm thinking about it." I said, "That's kind of been in the back of my mind." He said, "You need to run for General Assembly again. You need to run for governor." He said, "I'm telling you; you can be elected now." He said, "You got bloodied, but you did it with some grace." He said, "You can do this." And encouraged me and pushed me.

Roy Barnes: 00:20:55  Now, Murphy was not one of the encouragers, because there was a lot of thought at the time that I was running. Steve Thompson had taken my position in the Senate, and Steve and I had been childhood friends from Mableton. There's no way I'd run against Steve. Steve offered to step aside and let me go back to the Senate. I said, "Nah, I don't want to do that."

Roy Barnes: 00:21:19  I never had been in the House. I was elected directly to the Senate. Murphy was a little cautious when I said I was going to run for the House. They created, a reapportionment came along. There was a new district. I went down there to see if I could draw me a district; to make sure that I was in it and all those other things. They were a little reluctant, so I was not welcomed with open arms by the Speaker.

Roy Barnes: 00:21:50  So finally I said, "Well, y'all draw it how you want to." I said, "You've got to put me someplace. Wherever you put me into, I'm going to run." Well, that changed the dynamic, because the ones that were already there didn't want me running against them. So, they created a new district and I ran. I had opposition, but I ran and was elected.

Roy Barnes: 00:22:10  The reason Murphy was a little standoffish about it was, there was ... Of course, as the press will often do, they kind of put the ideas that I was running for the House, and that I was going to make a run at Murphy; that I was going to try to be Speaker. I didn't ever quell that. You let them talk about what they wanted to. I did tell Groover. I said, "I don't want to do that." He said, "I know that."

Roy Barnes: 00:22:36  But it still was out there floating. And so, when I went back to the House, Murphy had opposition the first year, for Speaker, and I stuck with it. Mike Murphy and I were in law school together, and are best friends. There was no way I was going to vote against Murphy. I was open. It's no secret about it. I told everybody. I said, "I'm for Murphy."
Roy Barnes: 00:23:00 After that, I never had another bit of trouble. There was never any question. I enjoyed the six years I served. I really enjoyed the six years I was in the House. Several reasons. I was a little more mature, and I was a little more seasoned. As Matt Reed said, it was new ears for old stories. So, I enjoyed the time.

Mel Steely: 00:23:26 Well, there is something to that, I'm sure.

Mel Steely: 00:23:30 You had worked for years in the Senate, and then later in the House, in building alliances, building debts that people would owe you. When I was working for the American Association of University Professors, you saved us one night at the stroke of midnight. We didn't know the budget had been changed at the last minute, and you pulled our package out and saved it. We didn't find out about it until the next day, and there was no reason, necessarily, for you to have done it, but you did it. Which immediately brought an allegiance, as you can imagine. Did you think through all of that stuff?

Roy Barnes: 00:24:09 Well, there were a lot of things I was interested in. Education, of course, has always been one of them. But also, I won't tell you that there weren't some political, at times.

Roy Barnes: 00:24:21 I've always had a pretty good memory. I keep up with things pretty well. I may not write them all down, though I do that, too, and have done that. But I can generally keep up with who needs to be touched and all.

Roy Barnes: 00:24:41 I began. I done it over the years, but I did, while I was in the House. I'd started in the Senate, but while I was in the House, I started making sure that there were folks I could call on, because I knew what I was about to do. Sure, I thought some of that through. Some of it was just from interest.

Roy Barnes: 00:25:04 University Professors, I remember that. I did that. I knew it would be okay politically, but I did that because I thought they were crazy on what they were trying to do. I love the General Assembly, but it does have a herd mentality. I've seen it. A little something gets started, and it just sweeps like wildfire, and they make irrational moves and decisions.

Mel Steely: 00:25:34 As you began to plan to go back into the House, which didn't take all that much planning, you won a quick race on that. You began immediately planning for the next governor's race.
Roy Barnes: 00:25:46 Yes, I began planning to run for governor. I did not think Zell was as weak as he was in '94. I didn't see that; I did not foresee that. I'm not sure anybody does.

Roy Barnes: 00:26:00 One of the things, and we'll talk about this later. This happened in modern day Georgia is, who shows up at any one particular election. I got as many votes in 2002, a few more in fact, than I did in 1998. I won by 150,000 votes in '98. I lost by 83 in 2002.

Roy Barnes: 00:26:19 It's just who shows up. It's a different electorate that comes up. I think that's what happened to Zell in '94. That was the begging to show that, of who showed up. But during those six years, yes. I started planning. In fact, after the second term ... It was in ...

Roy Barnes: 00:26:42 The second term I was elected to was in '96. After that election in '96, it was almost full-time, running for governor. In the year 1997, I looked back the other day, I only tried one or two cases, which means I was only in the office a little bit. Because I generally ... Back in those years, I was trying ten jury trials a year, 10-12. So that means I was only in the office a little bit.

Roy Barnes: 00:27:20 I remember. We set up. After I came out of the session in '97, I started raising money. In fact, we formed a committee in '97 and started racing.

Mel Steely: 00:27:34 Did Joe Frank agree, at that point, to come on as your honorary?

Roy Barnes: 00:27:37 I don't-

Mel Steely: 00:27:37 Or full-time chairman, or what? What was his role?

Roy Barnes: 00:27:42 He agreed to be our chair. I went and talked to him about it. I told him I was going to run for governor again, and he encouraged me. This was early; '94, '95. I said, "I want you to be my chair." And he said, "I would."

Roy Barnes: 00:27:58 He would. He was more of an honorary chair. We'd talk all the time. He'd help me do some calls and some introductions. I pretty well knew his network. I'd been his floor leader. I was real close to his folks.

Mel Steely: 00:28:11 And you had Joe Young and Bobby Kahn. They were working with you [crosstalk 00:28:16].

Roy Barnes: 00:28:15 They were. They were. I had all of that crowd of Joe Frank's. Glen Taylor, you name it. Clarence Brown. They all had come
with me. I’d known them over all these years, through Joe Frank.

Roy Barnes: 00:28:35 So, one of the things I learned from ’90's race was, Zell raised the most money that had ever been raised in the governor's race, in ’90. I saw that the way the state had grown, it is impossible for retail politics to deliver. I tried a mixture of media and retail politics in ’90, and it had failed miserably, because I didn't have enough media.

Mel Steely: 00:29:09 Yeah.

Roy Barnes: 00:29:09 I also learned ... Zell also taught me something else about media in that race, he and Carville. Early media for an unknown candidate is very effective. It’s gambling, because if you put all the money up, and can't stay up, you get killed at the end. So, I knew I had to raise enough money to go up early. So, I did. I concentrated on that. I hate raising money. I raised a lot in 2002. People think I love it. It’s the worst thing on the face of the earth.

Roy Barnes: 00:29:46 But I found out that if you don't do it, the candidate ... Nobody can raise the money for a candidate. The candidate must do it himself. He has to call and go see folks, and ask them eyeball to eyeball, or ask them on the phone, "I need you to give X dollars." You have to get them committed.

Roy Barnes: 00:30:02 It works. After they invest with you, invest in you, they'll stay with you. They'll come back and give, time and time again. So, I concentrated on that early, and in controlling cost. Another mistake that you make in politics is, particularly if you add the first time, it's easy to add staff, and be deep in staff, but you have to pay for them.

Roy Barnes: 00:30:27 We ran on an absolute shoestring. I cleared out a little office in the office building I have next door. We had two rooms.

Mel Steely: 00:30:38 This was in ’98?

Roy Barnes: 00:30:40 ’98. We had two rooms. Started in, really, ’97. I had a fundraiser that I hired. She was raising money for the party, [Christine Oblander 00:30:50]. I hired her. She sat with me in the room, to make sure that I stayed there and called every day. If I was not there by the time, they would come get me.
Roy Barnes: 00:31:02 I sat in that room. We'd have a list and what we thought we ought to ask them for. I did it for eight hours a day, for literally months on end.

Mel Steely: 00:31:15 We did it, with some success, with Gingrich. They did it, with less success, with Joe Frank.

Roy Barnes: 00:31:20 Yes. Because Joe Frank wouldn't call. He just could not make himself ask them for the money. He just could not do it.

Mel Steely: 00:31:28 And it was true humility?

Roy Barnes: 00:31:29 It was true humility. He just couldn't do it.

Roy Barnes: 00:31:33 It is. You just imagine calling somebody up and saying, "Listen, I need you to give me $5,000." I ran into somebody the other night at a reception, the Consul General from Japan has been reassigned to Tokyo. George [inaudible 00:31:49]. He's a great guy. I got to know him very well when I was governor. He asked me to come say a few words.

Roy Barnes: 00:31:54 At the reception they had for him, it was a lawyer who came up to me. He said, "I've got to tell you a funny story." He said, "When you were governor, you said you were calling for money." He said, "I practice law with my Daddy." And said, "You called me and asked me for $5,000." And said, "I committed to you." I hung up the phone and I said, "I can't believe a governor called me and asked me for money." I said, "Yeah."

Roy Barnes: 00:32:18 He says, "And then my Daddy hollered down the hall and said, 'I've got Roy Barnes on the phone.'" He said, "You called him next." I said, "Well-"

Mel Steely: 00:32:28 Did you get five from him, too?

Roy Barnes: 00:32:29 I got five from him. I said, "I was probably going down the list." He said, "I still remember that." So, we laughed about it.

Mel Steely: 00:32:37 That is the way it worked, though.

Roy Barnes: 00:32:38 But it is. You have to. I found out, and I learned that in '90. Zell stayed on that phone religiously. Carville taught that discipline to him.

Mel Steely: 00:32:51 Fundraising, many people credit Pierre Howard and his lieutenant governor's race that first time, with waking people up to the power of television.
Roy Barnes: 00:33:00 Yes, and it was very powerful. One spot that [crosstalk 00:33:05] inspired, yeah. Standing in the river stream.

Roy Barnes: 00:33:07 That can happen. I had one in '98 that did that. It was the healthcare spot that woke them up, and brought them on in. In fact, whenever we would get into ... When all the negatives started against us, we'd go back to it. We'd go back to that spot.

Mel Steely: 00:33:26 Well, you had a lot of support then. A lot of traditional groups; the teachers, traditional Democratic groups, environmentalists, the unions, African Americans. Most of them were backing you in '98, weren't they?

Roy Barnes: 00:33:42 It was a slow process with them. One is, I generally had all the environmental groups with me, right at the beginning. Teachers were reluctant warriors. They were ... Of course, if you remember, Lewis Massey was running, and David Poythress. Well known folks that had been around a long time. Massey was kind of the rising star, the young Carl Sanders, that was going to come out. Of course, there were a couple of others, but those were the main players.

Roy Barnes: 00:34:17 They didn't endorse, till the General Election, Teacher's Day. Where I did make inroads early was with African American voters. I had a big thing to overcome. I had voted in an act of political cowardice. I voted different ways against Martin Luther King's birthday as a state holiday.

Roy Barnes: 00:34:38 The first time it came up, I voted for it, on a procedural vote. I came back, and I just ... Everybody else in the Cobb delegation voted against it. I caught all kind of flak. The second time, when it came back [inaudible 00:34:59], I voted no. Then when it came back to agree or disagree, I didn't vote.

Roy Barnes: 00:35:04 It was one of the worst acts of political cowardice I had, and I regretted it almost immediately. In fact, I went to Martin King, Martin's son, and talked to him and his mother about it, within two or three months after it had happened.

Roy Barnes: 00:35:23 Both of them were very understanding. In fact, Martin became one of my big supporters early, because I'd come to him and told him about it, and talked about it. When I ran in '96, when I ran for the House, Martin King sent out post cards for me every time I ran.

Roy Barnes: 00:35:46 So, I knew that. I confronted it openly. I just said, "Listen, I made a mistake here before I knew that I was hard and sometimes
you have to do tough things." I've always said African Americans are the most forgiving people on the face of the Earth. I have never seen anything like it. If what had happened to me through history ... If what had happened to me, that happened to African Americans through history, I would be the biggest radical on the face of the Earth.

Roy Barnes: 00:36:26 But they're a very, very forgiving people. I think a lot of it is tied up into the idea that religion plays such a strong part, particularly in Southern African Americans. It was almost as if I were accepted because I confessed. I didn't plan it that way.

Roy Barnes: 00:36:46 But I remember Gerald Durley, who's turned out to be one of my best friends on the face of the Earth. He's a pastor at Providence Missionary Baptist Church, out on Cascade Road. In fact, I was just over at his church last month, and we had dinner together and all that stuff, he and his wife. We've become very close.

Roy Barnes: 00:37:07 I went to see him. We went to The Beautiful Restaurant, which is right across from his church out on Cascade Road. It's a great country food place to eat.

Mel Steely: 00:37:16 Good name, too.

Roy Barnes: 00:37:17 Yeah, it is. Beautiful Restaurant is the name of it. So we went there, and I sat down, and I told him. I said, "I want you to help me, but I want to tell you up front." [inaudible 00:37:29].

Roy Barnes: 00:37:28 He says, "You don't have to worry about that with me." He said, "I understand that." He said, "Why do you think you have to tell me that?" He said, "You think I didn't know that?" I said, "No, but I wanted to make sure." I said, "Because it troubled me." He said, "That's all right. I know your heart's in the right place."

Roy Barnes: 00:37:50 What happened was that, I became very connected, very quickly, with the African American community, and it helped. I visited a lot. I liked all ... I was familiar with the culture, and everything else. That's what helped me more than anything else, in the primary.

Roy Barnes: 00:38:17 And then the unions, yes, they were. But union's not a great force in the state, as you well know. But generally, the organized working folks, they came. Teachers came along later. They endorsed in the general election. They didn't endorse in the primary.
Then, I had ... What really changed that race was-

This was the race against Massey in the primary?

Massey in the primary. Was that I had done my homework enough in raising money. In April, I think it was April 13 or April 26, I've forgotten. It was one of the two dates.

Raymond Strother, who was my media consultant in '90, and I hired him again in '98. He told me it was one of the few times he'd ever been hired when he had a candidate defeated. I said, "It was not your fault that I was defeated. It was my fault, for not being disciplined enough, and not being crisp enough on a message." I said, "That's my fault."

He came to me, and he says, "All right, I'm going to tell you. You've got a decision to make right here that will either elect you or defeat you." He said, "I think that you ought to go up on television right now." And the primary was over three months away, three and a half months away.

He says, "Now, one of two things is going to happen. You go up on television, you've got to stay. Because if you go up a month and go down, people forget you. You've got to stay. It's like branding a commercial product." He said, "You've got to stay."

He said, "If you catch on, then you will be able to stay. But if you don't catch on, when everybody else goes up a month out of the election, six weeks out of the election, you'll be dark and you'll be defeated."

I said, "Well, this is a fine decision to have to make right now." I said, "What's your recommendation?" He said, "I'm going to let you come up with what your decision is, and then I'll tell you where I think you made the right decision."

I did think about it for a day or two. I came back and I said, "I'm going to gamble." He says, "You made the right decision." We went up, and we stayed up. We were up seven and a half weeks.

Now, Lewis had the money to go up. We were about even on money that had been raised. He'd been very good about it, but he didn't go up. By the time he went up, I had that race locked up. It worked. It kept me up.
Then Raymond and his son, Dane ... Raymond Strother and his son, Dane. Raymond is kind of the wise old guy. He and Bill Hamilton really created, in the 60's, poll driven messages. Raymond was doing ... I hired Hamilton to do my poll. He's since died. He and Raymond were a great combination. They did Bill Clinton when he was governor all those times. They did John Stennis. They did Ray Mabus in Mississippi. Raymond was originally ... Carville had worked for Raymond. That's where he'd come from, was out of Raymond's shop.

But Dane was young, and not as seasoned as Raymond, but he had great ideas. He'd won a Pulitzer Prize when he was 25 years old, writing for a newspaper. So, we decided to do testing, do some spots. You do the introduction spots. Here I am. I'm the great American story. I've got this nice looking wife, and children, and all these other things that you do, introducing stuff.

Quickly, Raymond says, "That's enough of that." He says, "The best way to introduce yourself is to say something that people agree." They'll connect up family and all that stuff. He said, "This is a mistake that candidates make is, they spend all this money." Media is very expensive in this market.

He says, "They don't say anything. It's just all fluff." And he said, "That's fine if you only have fluff running against you," but he says, "You're not going to have fluff running against you. You're going to get to that general election, and they better know some of your say-so."

So, we were out filming spots. We'd written spots and everything else. Dane came up. We filmed several things, and then Dane came up with this thing, with this spot, and we filmed it. We piled a bunch of telephone books, thick telephone books, on a desk, and I stood behind it. I started off talking about how you didn't have choices in healthcare. These books are full of people. Insurance companies tell you where to go, to go to a doctor. Then I ended with this line. "If you can choose who changes the oil in your car, you should be able to choose who delivers your baby."

When it came out of my mouth, I knew it was going to work. We filmed it. I always pride myself in that, I can film one. Raymond would never let you use a teleprompter. It was one of the things. None of his candidates, he would let them use a teleprompter. He said it looked too artificial.
Roy Barnes: 00:43:42 He would make them deliver, and try to deliver a 30 second spot in 28 and a half seconds, because you had to have the disclaimers and all that other stuff. And get the words just right with inflection. It took a time, but I'd learned. I conquered it pretty easily.

Roy Barnes: 00:44:00 By the time I got to that spot, we filmed it the first time we filmed anything. It clicked. We only filmed it five or six times. Within two weeks, we put that spot up. It popped, just like that. I've never seen anything like it. It really convinced me on that.

Roy Barnes: 00:44:18 As I said, all during the race, even when I got down to the general election, when I'd get hit on something, we'd put that spot back up and it would bring you back. Because it would reacquaint people on what they knew about you.

Roy Barnes: 00:44:34 When Lewis went up, he has a beautiful family. He's a very handsome guy himself. It's almost a story book look. I'm not that way, but it's almost a storybook look. When he went up, he went up about his family and everything else. He never could catch up, because I was out there saying something. Raymond was right. I was out there saying something. I was introduced to them saying something. He was introduced to them with fluff, and it worked.

Roy Barnes: 00:45:07 So, of course you know that I almost won without a run off. It was over 49%, 48%, 49%. But I missed knocking them all out without a run off, in a very close race. And then within a week, he withdrew, so that I didn't have to have a run off.

Mel Steely: 00:45:26 Did you have to meet with him and talk him into doing that? How did that work? Did his Daddy talk to him?

Roy Barnes: 00:45:32 I'd always, and still am ... I know this is hard to believe, that you can have folks that are adversaries and competitors, for the public to believe. But I liked Lewis, and I always got along. His father, and his mother particularly, Kay Anne, had been and still is, one of my very good friends.

Roy Barnes: 00:45:54 So, what happened was, the conversation was carried on between representatives of both campaigns. Then Zell put it together. We met at Zell's, the governor's office. We sat and talked, and we knew we were going to do it right then. We called a news conference, and did it right then.

Roy Barnes: 00:46:18 But Lewis was primarily the-
Mel Steely: 00:46:21 You, and Lewis, and Zell met?

Roy Barnes: 00:46:21 Mm-hmm (affirmative). Lewis was primarily the mover. He was 20 points behind. It's hard to make up 20 points. Now, if he'd been with ten, he would have fought, slug it out. I was worried because I was out of money. I was completely out of money. I'd gone up early. I'd stayed up, and I was completely out of money.

Mel Steely: 00:46:42 And you were looking at the general election?

Roy Barnes: 00:46:43 With a fellow that had ... He had a great fundraiser, every time he wrote a check.

Mel Steely: 00:46:50 I remember somebody made the comment, "He's a bigger millionaire than Roy is." Way ahead.

Roy Barnes: 00:46:57 There's no even league. This is a guy that deals in hundreds of millions, and things. Like I said, he had a successful fundraiser every time he wrote a check. I knew that was coming, and I knew I had to do something, and I was glad for it. Listen, I was eternally in his debt for it. I hope he gets back into public life sometime. I think he'd be a good candidate.

Mel Steely: 00:47:22 I know you're going to have to leave in a minute. Let's have one last question for this one.

Mel Steely: 00:47:27 After the primary, and Lewis Massey had withdrawn, you then faced Guy Millner, who was the Republican nominee, and as I just commented, a very large millionaire, who didn't mind putting huge amounts of his own money into the race. How did you go about structuring the general campaign different from the primary? I know you had to raise money, had to use TV. But did you change anything around?

Roy Barnes: 00:47:55 Well, yes and no. We did stay with the same ... We were out of money. I put some money in, myself. I forgot how that came in. We borrowed some money to stay up on television, during that time, at a lighter basis. But we thought it was important not to go dark.

Roy Barnes: 00:48:19 Then, before I could catch my breath, he came after me negative. "Roy Barnes, soft on crime, and too liberal for Georgia." One right after the other. "Roy Barnes, soft on welfare, too liberal for Georgia."
Roy Barnes: 00:48:35 They pounded me. It ran my numbers down. Of course, it ran his down, too. Negatives have a double edged sword. They hurt the fellow, but they also hurt the one that's doing the negative.

Roy Barnes: 00:48:47 I knew I was going to have to take it for a while, because I didn't have the money to fight back. I had to stay up. I stayed positive. I stayed positive until about three or four weeks out from the election. So, August and September were taking, really taking ... my nose bloodied. I was every poll, I was behind, a pretty good margin behind. Never double digits, but high singles. I knew I was just going to have to take it until I could get down. That was probably the toughest time I had during the election.

Roy Barnes: 00:49:27 So, the structure was changed, of course, because I didn't have that long period just to spend in the general election. The message, the positive message stayed the same. Luckily, we had spent some money on research, opposition research against Millner. We got the guy that had done the opposition research on me, for Zell, Howard Mead. Howard was with me in '98. He was doing the opposition research for Carville and Millner ... I mean for Miller in '90. So I got him, and he helped us do opposition research on Millner.

Roy Barnes: 00:50:18 Then something happened one day. I don't know how big a turning point this is, but if you recall, Guy Millner had bought, had made the money in the temporary labor services building. He bought a company called Norelco, I believe was the name of the company. It was owned by the Norel family.

Roy Barnes: 00:50:44 Well, Mrs. Norel called one day, and she said, "If my husband had known what Guy Millner had done with that company, he'd never have sold it to him." So, we sent somebody to go talk to her. She went on camera. She talked for an hour and a half. We did spots out of that.

Roy Barnes: 00:51:06 It hit Millner at his strongest part. Folks began to question, "Is he really as good a business man as he says he is, or is he just lucky and he made a bunch of money?" That third party credibility began. Third party credibility of it's not the candidate saying it. It's the widow of the fellow that built this company.

Roy Barnes: 00:51:38 Then, the other thing that we did was, we turned some of the negatives on him. He was sloppy in some of the negatives they did. On votes, for example. They didn't understand completely how to read the journal. They'd said I'd voted one thing, and it would have been on an adoption of an amendment, rather, adoption of a bill. You had to turn the page to do it, and we
crammed that down their throat, and made one or two of those.

Roy Barnes: 00:52:09 Then, the other thing is, we turned the negative ... We tried to make the negatives funny. I remember, we filmed one spot that basically said this, "I went home the other night and my dog bit me. It'd been looking at those Guy Millner spots on television." I said, "Even my dog didn't believe."

Roy Barnes: 00:52:34 It turned on him. Everybody kind of laughed. I had the dog with me in the spot. The dog barking, a little beagle dog. It got funny. Then Millner, in the debates ... I'm not sure how much debates play in modern politics, except in the free media. It came down to a question of competence. That is, who was best trained, here.

Roy Barnes: 00:53:06 As it got closer to the election, it began to turn. But even the last poll that I had, which was Wednesday or Thursday before the election on the Tuesday, it still showed me behind. It's still closer, but behind.

Mel Steely: 00:53:25 That's remarkable. Did you get any help from the party, the DNC, Democratic National Committee, or Georgia Democratic Party?

Roy Barnes: 00:53:33 Never. First place, DNC, never. They played congressionally, they never do. The Georgia Democratic Party is whatever the governor makes it; the gubernatorial nominee, they don't raise enough money, hardly, to support themselves. They'll do some research for legislative candidates, and things like that.

Roy Barnes: 00:53:51 The DGA, Democratic Governor's Association, which is made up of Democratic governors. Now, they came in about a month, six weeks out, and they saw that I was within striking distance. We got $300,000 or $400,000 from them, maybe even half a million. I remember we got $350,000 and I don't remember if they contributed again.

Roy Barnes: 00:54:14 The other thing that helped me is, Jim Hunt, who's Democratic governor up in North Carolina, and some others who were veterans, they guided me through that tour. Helped me raise some money, and also helped me how to react and package things a lot better.

Roy Barnes: 00:54:39 Then I won. I never expected to win by that margin, but it turned over the weekend. I was not doing tracking because I couldn't afford it, but from all the folks that told me, it really
turned over the weekend before the election. Which by the way, is exactly the way it turned in 2002, against me.

Roy Barnes: 00:55:02 The last public poll that was taken in 2002 showed I was 8, 10, 12 points up. Our internal was showing it was very closer, but on Thursday. I'd seen it about a month out, begun to be a little shaky. Then I had enough money to do tracking. Then on Thursday night, I got popped. Friday night, I came back a little bit. Saturday night, I got popped. Sunday night, I got popped. Monday, I didn't poll, because it was too late to do anything anyway, and got beat on Tuesday.

Roy Barnes: 00:55:32 So, one of the things I've learned out of all this is the electorate here does not make up their mind until very late, and it depends on who shows up. In 2002, which we'll talk about another time, I ran better than any Democrat had run in modern times, in the metro area of Atlanta. Because you have Republican strong arms, like Gwinnett and Cobb, and all that.

Roy Barnes: 00:55:58 I did better. I came out about five points ahead when you put them all together. I got killed in southeast Georgia. It was primarily a large, white, heavy, heavy turnout. Even 90% and above turnout. I got beat and it was driven by the flag.

Mel Steely: 00:56:17 Turnout is so critical.

Roy Barnes: 00:56:18 Turnout is it. Because it depends on who shows up.

Mel Steely: 00:56:23 I remember Kerry got more votes than Gore had before he even entered. And yet, both of them lost.

Roy Barnes: 00:56:26 Both of them lost. What it is, is, you have episodic voters. They come in on intervals, and you never know when they're coming. You never know which group is going to show up at what election.

Mel Steely: 00:56:41 My memory of the first race in '98 is, it never occurred to me you were not going to win that general election. I know it did. You just told us it did, but I knew Millner. A lot of people that knew Millner didn't like Millner. They knew you, and even though they might be Republicans, they liked you. That was a big factor.

Roy Barnes: 00:57:04 One of the things ... This is an ironic thing. I run among moderate, what I call suburban Republicans better than I do in almost any group. It's one of the reason I've been able to stay
elected here in the legislature, in a Republican county. Because generally, we have fairly moderate Republicans here.

Roy Barnes: 00:57:31 The Isaksons, I know you hate to say that, but I'll be long dead before he'll read this. He doesn't like to be called a moderate, but he is. I told somebody one time, if all Republicans were like Johnny Isakson, I'd be one.

Roy Barnes: 00:57:46 So, what happens is that, among moderate voters, Republican voters, I knew I was going to be okay. But I also saw something that has come to fruition, and that is that Democrats were losing that older white base. The white males were gone. Last time white males voted majority for Democrat was 1960.

Roy Barnes: 00:58:13 They've been going in greater and greater numbers. Democrats always held well with the older white men, but that was beginning to change, too. The flag business in 2002 really alienated them.

Mel Steely: 00:58:28 We spent a lot of time getting into that one.

Mel Steely: 00:58:30 In '98, Mr. Murphy, a good friend of both of us, told me. He said, "The basic problem we've got is, there are four parties in Georgia." He said, "There's the Republican Party, and it's split into two parts; traditional Republicans, and the religious right, the nuts." He called them.

Mel Steely: 00:58:46 And in the Democratic party, it's your traditional Democrats, and some new Democrats, who are fairly liberal, and Black Democrats. So, you have black/white split, and then you have a religious split in the Republican Party.

Roy Barnes: 00:59:00 I think he's pretty well right. I think that's right, nationwide, to be quite frank with you [crosstalk 00:59:05].

Mel Steely: 00:59:04 And we started seeing that in the last half of the '90s, come to fruition. It was very open, at that point.

Roy Barnes: 00:59:11 It was. It was. What happened was, to a large part. I tip my hat to the Republicans for using this. They used religion as the glue to do that, and to take away some, what I call, white Democratic votes, that would vote generally Democratic because of economic interest, and pull them to the Republicans, glued there by religion and faith.

Roy Barnes: 00:59:46 Now, Democrats, I hear all these Democrat things. They sit around and bemoan them. I blame Democrats for that. They're
the ones that allowed that to happen. They didn't articulate a sufficient message. They didn't make sure the candidates were moderate enough.

Roy Barnes: 01:00:06 I'm a Democrat, but I also consider myself a very great person of faith. I feel very strongly about it. I talk about it, in church groups, a lot. I talk about it publicly. They sat around and didn't recognize that they're Democrats, these persons.

Mel Steely: 01:00:27 They haven't changed, Governor.

Mel Steely: 01:00:30 Yesterday, the President came out with this Miss Miers. I have no clue about her.

Roy Barnes: 01:00:35 I don't, either.

Mel Steely: 01:00:37 She may be great. She could. But immediately, when it was found out that she was a practicing Christian, the Democrats were criticizing her.

Roy Barnes: 01:00:44 See, I don't-

Mel Steely: 01:00:44 You think, what in the world?

Roy Barnes: 01:00:44 I don't understand that. Here's the ironic part about it is, a lot of the policies of the Democratic party, that is, a lot of the things that believe in helping those that live in the shadows of life; the elderly, children, people down on ... They're Christian values. As I talk to people, I talked to a group recently-

Mel Steely: 01:01:06 Not just Christians.

Roy Barnes: 01:01:08 Almost all faith, yeah, religious values, but particularly in ... I was brought up in the Christian faith, and I've had this preached to me since I was a child. I told a group recently, I said, "I don't believe that when Christ spoke and said when you do it to the least of these, you do it unto me, that he was talking about those sipping cocktails at the country club, and in the top 1% of the tax bracket."

Roy Barnes: 01:01:34 Well, if that's true, why don't Democrats talk about that? I don't understand that. It's beyond me, and I have told them. I said, "It's offensive to me as a Christian." I said, "Should we tolerate other faiths? Sure." I said, "We tolerate other faiths. That does not mean that we abandon our own."
Roy Barnes: 01:01:55 I speak a lot at synagogues, because as I told Marie, I said, "I'm the favorite gentile for all the Jews, because I understand, I'm tolerant of it, and I understand the values." They're basics, the values that we're taught in the Old Testament, the Jewish faith. I said, "I don't understand why Democrats can't talk about those common values really, of the Jewish faith, of the Christian faith." Which are predominant in this nation, and why they have to jump on somebody.

Roy Barnes: 01:02:27 Now, there's a difference. I'm a big believer of separation of church and state. That does not mean that you're not a person of that faith. I've told folks before, "Yes, I believe in prayer, and I think I want my children to be taught a Methodist prayer, the one I want to." But it doesn't mean that I'm opposed to all prayer in every public place. I think they're making a terrible mistake with it.

Mel Steely: 01:02:53 Well, it's almost resulted in the secularization of the Democratic Party.

Roy Barnes: 01:02:58 And on the other extreme-

Mel Steely: 01:03:02 Almost like a cult in itself.

Roy Barnes: 01:03:03 It's the secularization of the Democratic Party, and to the other extreme is that the Republican Party has almost become a religious party. Let me tell you something. That's bad for both.

Mel Steely: 01:03:13 Oh, absolutely.

Roy Barnes: 01:03:14 That's bad for both parties.

Mel Steely: 01:03:16 I grew up a Baptist. My granddaddy was an old-fashioned Baptist, and he didn't want any part of prayers in school, none of that stuff.

Roy Barnes: 01:03:23 What people forget is that the letter that Thomas Jefferson wrote saying there should be a wall of separation, was written to the Baptists in Rhode Island. In fact, they're the ones that elected him President. Because they were so concerned that the Quaker and the Episcopal Church, or Anglican church was going to be established as the official state church. The Baptists were very much in favor of separation of church and state.

Roy Barnes: 01:03:51 The letter he wrote was written to a Baptist. It's been mentioned so prominently.
Mel Steely: 01:03:58 And now the Baptists have moved the other direction. That's why I'm a Methodist, with you, now. I left the Baptists and came over to the Methodists because they were more Baptists than the Baptists were.

Roy Barnes: 01:04:09 The political fallout of this has become an almost avoidance of faith, and talking about faith in the Democratic Party. Everything in the Republican Party starts off with, "This is a Christian value."

Roy Barnes: 01:04:30 That's not good. It's one of the polarizations that I see in the country, that I think bodes ill unless it's changed.

Mel Steely: 01:04:40 I think you're right. Race and religion.

Roy Barnes: 01:04:41 Race and religion. The polarization on race, and the polarization on religion are things that bode very ill.

Roy Barnes: 01:04:50 What I'm still optimistic on this nation, in particular optimistic on this state. However, one of the things we're lacking is, good leaders that talk about these things, that say, "Listen, we need to have a dialogue about these things. We need to say where we are, and that there are different ways that we tolerate, but that we don't condemn anyone." We don't seem to have leaders that want to talk about that. They only want to use it for political purposes.

Mel Steely: 01:05:23 Have you thought about doing in that arena, what Sam Nunn did for nuclear stuff? You ought to think about that, because you and two or three other governors, bipartisan, could do forums and things of this nature, to help pull this thing back.

Roy Barnes: 01:05:41 Governors, one of the things I learned after I was elected governor is, the National Governor's Association, for example, is a very non-partisan group. We may all be different, Democratic and Republicans, folks wanting to be President on both sides, and governors. But they're all governors. They all had common problems.

Roy Barnes: 01:05:59 So, I'm still very close to a lot of the governors I served with. I talked yesterday ... Paris Glendening, he was governor of Maryland, called me yesterday. We're doing a program at Georgia State in February on problems of growth and sprawl. Jim Geringer, who is a Republican governor of Wyoming, we spoke to the National School Boards Association last year, together.
Roy Barnes: Several of us ... Of course, Hunt and I are connected at the hip. We're as ... Talking about the Bible. It's said after David and Absalom. They said their hearts were in it. Well, that's true with Hunt. We have such a common spirit.

Roy Barnes: But several of us have talked, on both sides, about how we see these things as harming the nation. We've talked about doing some forums. We never have, because it's so controversial that you can't hardly get anybody that wants to talk about it, and wants to come up.

Mel Steely: You can't get anybody that's running to do it?

Roy Barnes: Absolutely.

Mel Steely: But if you get somebody like yourself, at least for the time being, you're not running.

Roy Barnes: I'm not running. I can tell you that.

Mel Steely: That'll be the day.

Roy Barnes: Well, no.

Mel Steely: You're not going to give us a Sherman-esque statement, are you?

Roy Barnes: I never, as they said, George Wallace, on his deathbed, said he'd never rule anything. I don't know about running again. It's not, as I said, that I dislike or have a bad taste. It's just that life is made up of many varieties, and many stages. I think it's time to let some new and fresh ideas come up.

Mel Steely: Of course, it helps to have your name out there. Gingrich is doing very well selling books right now, on this.

Roy Barnes: I see he is. I haven't got into the book writing business yet, though I've been tempted.

Mel Steely: It would be a good one.

Mel Steely: Thank you, Governor.

Roy Barnes: Thank you.
Mel Steely: 01:07:51 We'll set up another time, and do a third tape, and get into the actual years as governor. That will be a full ... We may have to do two or three of them on that.

Roy Barnes: 01:07:59 That's fine. We'll do that.

Mel Steely: 01:08:01 Thank you, sir.

Roy Barnes: 01:08:01 Thank you.