The GOP mastadons may have a new lease on life. That lease may be one of the most dramatic byproducts of the current dispute over the Panama Canal. Certainly for the three leading Republican conservatives who will be up for reelection in 1974, the Panama Canal controversy is the best thing to happen to their political futures since Richard Nixon left office.

Strom Thurmond, Jesse Helms, and John Tower will be able to mount their elephants and rush to the defense of America's indefensible military asset. Their patriotism will be fervent, their emotion will be spirited, and their logic will be garbled. But it will be good politics. And it may well save the political hides of three men who late last year seemed headed for whatever is done with used Republican leather. (All five southern Republican seats in the Senate will be up in 1978, However, Sen. Howard Baker, Jr. is considered safe and Sen. William Scott is thankfully retiring.)

Outside the South's aging conservative trio, the GOP's hopes for 1978 are far less bright than Kevin Phillips would have predicted in the aftermath of Richard Nixon's 1968 victory. In no state outside of Tennessee is the GOP likely to elect a Republican governor in 1978. And they will lose one in South Carolina. In no state will they be likely to win an additional Senate seat, though spirited campaigns could obviously cost them one or more of the Panama troika. And outside Texas where a string of Democratic retirements presents some Republican opportunities, there are few GOP openings for gains in the House of Representatives: maybe one each in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

The GOP in the South is in sad shape. Its right turn in the 1960s and early 1970s has alienated it from its potential "new majority" of moderate voters. As Jack Bass and Walter DeVries observe in The Transformation of Southern Politics:Sen. Barry "Goldwater's strategy killed the chance for the Republican Party to assume a role of reform in the one-party South, and the GOP increasingly attracted the most reactionary elements of the region to the party." Reflecting on the stupidity of the Nixon Administration political policies, the authors note: "...maturing Republican conservatives in the South have begun to question the validity of the 'southern strategy' in a region that includes 3.5 million registered black voters. They have lost too many elections to Democrats who won because of black votes alienated from Republicans because of that strategy."

There are two truly hopeful and positive developments in the southern GOP. One is the realization that the party must work from the bottom up in states like Arkansas, Georgia and Alabama to develop electable candidates who can draw adherents into the party organization. The big elephant strategy has failed too often, leaving party workers with nothing to show for their money and efforts. The new password to electoral success is quality local candidates. In broadening the party's pool of candidates, the GOP will also broaden its base.

Thankfully, the only-whites-welcome strategy of the Nixon Administration era has also been abandoned. Republican National Chairman Bill Brock has taken the lead in efforts to recruit electable black candidates and attract black voters to white candidates. GOP office seekers like U.S. Reps. Robert Trible (R-Va.) and Bob Livingston (R-La.) have practiced the Brock doctrine. So is Virginia attorney general candidate Marshall Coleman. The new day is the southern GOP is perhaps best epitomized
by newspaper photo of Sen. Strom Thurmond escorting his six-year-old daughter to her first day of classes at a fully integrated Columbia, S.C., school. Nobody ever said Thurmond couldn't adapt.

The message that the GOP needs more than ideological purity to win elections is a hard one to accept. The idea that the Panama Canal is a GOP-lifesaver is a tempting one, but one that some of the South's more perceptive leaders don't buy. "It's one of those things that's here today and gone tomorrow. You're not going to get people into the Republican Party by talking about the Panama Canal," says one Deep South party official. "You have to talk about people issues."

The GOP's problems in the South run much deeper after all than a ditch across the isthmus of Panama. Jimmy Carter wrecked a good deal of what remained of the Southern GOP from Nixon's Southern Strategy and Watergate. Carter's support in the South has remained fairly solid. As Scripps-Howard's Ted Naylor wrote this summer:

"A Republican National Committee official conceded that there is no evidence of Carter support in the South crumbling or eroding. The GOP has not given up below the Mason-Dixon line, but the high hopes born in the 1964 Goldwater campaign and expanded in the 1972 Nixon re-election have flickered and dimmed."

RNC political director Charles Black professes optimism about Carter Country: "Jimmy Carter is a passing phenomenon. The Democrats won't always have a southerner to run for the White House. We have a natural constituency down there in the South, and we're going to capitalize on it sooner or later." And indeed, the GOP has been remarkably successful this year in winning special elections, where the RNC's expertise and aid has been put to good use.

Black's own elevation to the RNC post is a symbol of Republican trouble, however. Black's former organization, the National Conservative Political Action Committee, has been notable for the discord it has sown in northern Virginia GOP circles. Black's former mentor, North Carolina Sen. Jesse Helms, is notable for his expositions on ideological purity and practice of the same. A right wing takeover of the Tarheel GOP has driven moderates from the party. The intolerance of Republicans like Helms is a symptom of the GOP's problems, not its potential.

The Reagan wing of the party seems as hell-bent on the destruction of the party as Brock is hell-bent on its reconstruction. As respected southern political analyst Jack Bass wrote this summer in the Washington Post: "The internal disputes over party policy not only drain energy away, but the recent Republican record of defeat leaves little to attract bright and able younger southerners interested in political careers."

Helms may well win reelection next year. His victory will be the ultimate goal of the archconservatives who now control his state's party. But the party's efforts to win other offices will be impoverished. A Helms reelection will get press headlines, but the really good news for the southern GOP will come in other states where more farsighted state leaders have seen the need to recruit quality candidates for local offices. Helms has a holding strategy---for holding onto the canal and holding onto his office. Elsewhere in the South, political retardation is not so prevalent.

ALABAMA Back in 1964, the state GOP elected three congressmen, all of whom have kept tenacious hold of their seats ever since. Their election has constituted the high water mark for Alabama Republicans, who have had to struggle to elect a single legislator. Party Chairman Bill Harris intends to concentrate on legislative and local races next year in an effort to improve the GOP's recent dismal performance in all but the congressional races. It is a task made harder by the necessity for Harris to smooth out the rough edges left by a Ford-Reagan split in party leadership in 1976.

And it is a task made even more difficult by the inclination of many would-be officeholders to take their chances in a crowded Democratic primary rather than make a futile run on the GOP label. One member of the GOP state committee was even elected to the legislature this year as a Democrat. And even a longshot gubernatorial hopeful like former Auburn pigskin star Bob James would rather switch to the Democrats than compete for a dubious designation by the GOP.

Former Cullman County Probate Judge Guy Hunt is seeking the Republican nomination for governor---and even hopes that Ronald Reagan will return
the support Hunt gave him in 1976---
but no one seriously expects that a
Republican will replace George Wallace.
Gov. Wallace is, of course, running for
the seat now held by Sen. John Sparkman,
but lack of courtesy in preempting a
retirement announcement has angered
Sparkman supporters. Still, although
Wallace has had his troubles with the
legislature and with his wife, he would
have to be the odds-on favorite to win
the seat. Two Democratic state sena­
tors have declared their interest, but
no Republicans have emerged to challenge
Wallace.

The real attention is on the Demo­
cratic gubernatorial primary where a
big field is shaping up. It includes
Lt. Gov. Jere Beasley (currently hated
by Wallace); former Gov. Albert Brewer
(previously hated and probably still
disliked by Wallace); Attorney General
Bill Baxley (hated by a number of good
ole boys for sending them to jail); and
State Sen. Sid McDonald. Baxley has
managed to break up a number of
Alabama traditions---like rural speed
traps---while avoiding Wallace's anger.
Unless voters hold a Penthouse magazine
article against him, he may be the
state's next governor.

Republicans will be concentrating
on enlarging their one-member dele­
gation in the legislature. When the
state shifted from multiple to single-
member districts in 1974, Republicans
expected GOP faces to blossom like mag­
nolias. Watergate proved to be a kill­
ing frost and Jimmy Carter proved to
have an equally chilling effect. Har­
riss would like to see 20-25 Republicans
in the lower house and 3-5 in the State
Senate in 1978. It would be a consid­
erable improvement over the two-man
debate earlier in this decade.

The congressional delegation---
Jack Edwards, Bill Dickinson, and John
Buchanan---should remain unchanged, un­
less conservative purists decide to ex­
orcise the relative moderate Buchanan.

ARKANSAS

When Winthrop Rock­
efeller was alive and governor, this
state was perhaps the South's best ex­
ample of a top-down strategy. With the
passing of the late governor, the GOP's
percentages in statewide races frequent­
lly bordered on the pathetic. The GOP
came closest to success when Republican
Judy Petty nearly upset U.S. Rep. Wil­

The state GOP has now reversed its
strategy and along with Alabama, is pro­
bably the model of the bottom-up stra­
 tegy for the Dixie GOP. Both senatori­
al and gubernatorial offices will un­
doubtedly be vacated by incumbents in
1978, but the GOP's energies will be ex­
pected at the local and legislative
level where the GOP has targeted cer­
tain counties for short-term gains. It
has sought candidates more noteworthy
for their civic-mindedness than for
their ideological purity. The GOP al­
ready managed to pick up one legisla­
tive seat in a special election this
year---in addition to the two gained
in 1976.

The top of the ticket spots will
not be ignored, but the GOP's goals
will not be unrealistic. The state's
most popular Democratic politicians---
and there are a number---will be vying
for those spots. Gov. David Pryor(D)
is expected to step down in order to
seek Sen. John L. McClellan's seat.
McClellan's health has been poor and
he is not expected to seek reelection.
Pryor will not be his favored candi­
date, however, since the then-congress­
man nearly defeated him in a 1972 pri­
mary runoff.

McClellan is thought to favor U.S.
Ray Thornton(D), a moderate who would
have extensive financial backing.
Thornton's successors as attorney gen­
eral, now-U.S.Rep. Jim Guy Tucker(D)
and present Attorney General Bill Clin­
ton(D) are also considering a Senate
Clinton ran unsuccessfully against
the state's fourth congressman, U.S.
Rep. John Paul Hammerschmidt(R), in
1974. Hammerschmidt would have been
a serious GOP contender for the spot
had he not decided against the race.
Instead, the GOP's leading choice is
"Bo" Holleman, who ran a disappoint­
ing race against Alexander in 1976.

Pryor would probably be given
the edge in the Senate primary were
it not for his recent quarrels with
the Arkansas Education Association
and the state AFL-CIO. The liberal
vote to which he was heir in the 1972
primary against McClellan will undoubt­
edly be split in 1978 among several
candidates.

There is also a multi-candidate
field for the Democratic nomination
for governor---headed by Attorney Gen­
eral Clinton and Lieutenant Gov. Joe
Purcell(D), a representative of the
Democratic old guard. The GOP's can­
didate is likely to be State Republi­
can Chairman Lynn Lowe, who would
probably resign his post to make the race.

Under Lowe's leadership, the GOP has once again begun to cultivate the black voters that Rockefeller once drew to the Republican standard. There is some hope too that Rockefeller's son, Win Paul, will some day pick up his father's political legacy and become a candidate himself.

**FLORIDA**

In Florida, the Democrats gave a party and everybody came. It's called the gubernatorial game. The big names in the party are virtually all included: Attorney General Robert Shevin, who combines liberal Dade County support with backing from law and order conservatives; Lt. Gov. Jim Williams, a moderate conservative who needs some help from outgoing Gov. Reubin Askew; State Sen. Bob Graham, a Dade County liberal who's gained fame by his work-a-job-a-day campaign; State Treasurer Bill Gunter, whose frequent campaigns have made his name a bit too familiar; Secretary of State Bruce A. Smathers, who has built his political career on his father's name identification; and St. Petersburg businessman Raleigh Greene, Jr.

Geographical and ideological splits make the outcome difficult to predict but Shevin is considered the Democratic primary leader. Graham's unusual campaign---spending a day as a bellhop, he ended up carrying Shevin's bags---make him an unpredictable threat.

The Republicans have a narrower field although a bitter primary might give the party a chance to regain the position that Claude Kirk held for four controversial years in the 1960s. Former General Services Administrator Jack Eckerd(R) challenged Kirk for the GOP nomination when Kirk sought a second term in 1970. He lost the primary but went on to win a Senate primary in 1974. Without the presence of an American Independent party candidate in the general election race, he might well have defeated Sen. Richard Stone (D).

Eckerd's polls now show him a 2-1 leader over U.S.Rep. Louis Frey for next year's gubernatorial nomination. Frey's political reputation suffered some abuse last year over his handling of the Ford primary campaign in the state. He has been campaigning hard for the GOP nomination, but Eckerd has substantial advantages in money and name recognition as a consequence of his direction of the Eckerd drug store chain. Frey, however, maintains that Eckerd is breaking an earlier promise to back him for the gubernatorial nomination. If the GOP race does not degenerate into name-calling, there is a possibility that Frey might accept the nomination for lieutenant governor, according to St. Petersburg Times political editor Howell Raines. Says Raines:"Already fading is speculation that Eckerd and the GOP might be bold enough to pick the party's only proven statewide winner, Public Service Commissioner Paula F. Hawkins, to run for lieutenant governor. Right now, Republican leaders don't seem to want to win badly enough to break the sex barrier in Florida's gubernatorial politics."(A third potential candidate for the GOP nomination backed out early. Millionaire banker and environmentalist Nat Reed threw his support to Eckerd.)

With potentially strong primary challenges to GOP U.S.Reps. J.Herbert Burke(R-12) and Richard Kelly(R-5) along with the retirement of Frey, there is some potential for reduction in the GOP ranks in Congress. Former Frey law partner Edward Gurney has been mentioned as a possible candidate for the 9th C.D. seat he held primary to his election to the Senate. Now dealing in Winter Park real estate after acquittal in two extortion trials, he has been urged by GOP leaders to return to politics.

Republican ranks in the state legislature have been reduced by defections as well as electoral losses. Although the GOP hopes to regain some of its previous strength in the legislature in 1978, real gains may have to await the elimination of multiple-member districts.

**GEORGIA**

When Jimmy Carter was governor of Georgia, state law prevented him from succeeding himself. For Gov. Carter, it was a good thing because he might well have had a harder time running for reelection than for President. Carter's national popularity tended to resurrect his home-state image. This era of Goober Feeling, however, was the jolt that GOP congressional candidate Newt Gingrich (D) didn't need last year.

Gingrich deserved to win as much as any Republican in 1976. He was a young, articulate candidate who was making his second race against U.S.
Rep. John Flynt, an old, undistinguished beneficiary of the congressional seniority system. In 1974, Gingrich was washed away by Watergate. In 1976, he was caught by Carter. But in 1978 John Flynt may well be turned out of office because of his conduct of the job he never wanted: chairman of the House Committee on Standards of Conduct. History may have finally given Gingrich a favorable turn of the cards.

The election of Gingrich in the 3rd C.D. may well be the highest office to which Georgia Republicans can reasonably aspire in 1978. Sen. Sam Nunn and Gov. George Busbee are considered too entrenched to challenge. There's talk that Bert Lance could win election on a wave of public sympathy, but emotion will eventually be replaced by reason—the sort of reason that gave Lance only 17 percent of the gubernatorial primary vote in 1974.

Lance has also been talked about as a possible candidate against U.S. Rep. Larry McDonald, the laetrile-lobbying member of the conservative shadow cabinet. McDonald has served two terms because the Republican candidate in 1974 and 1976 presented little ideological alternative for moderate Democrats. A more moderate conservative like State Rep. Ken Nix might do McDonald in if the Democrats don't do it first in their primary.

Serious GOP challenges are probable in several other districts, but their chances of success are problematical. The GOP stands a much better shot at dramatically improving its representation in the state legislature. This has been the focus of new GOP State Chairman Rodney Cook(R), who has emphasized the recruitment of quality rather than quantity candidates. Combined with the party's new outreach to black voters, the GOP has begun the groundwork for some happy returns come November 1978.

The type of candidate the GOP must nominate and elect is typified by State Rep. John Savage, the former candidate for lieutenant governor who was elected this year to fill the spot vacated by now-Associate Attorney General Michael Egan. Savage will not be making any statewide moves in 1978, but he would be a prime candidate in 1980 against Sen. Herman Talmadge(D), the venerable Georgia politician whose divorce—and accompanying allegations of heavy drinking—may have cracked the foundations of his rural support.

Louisiana

This may be the only state in the South where the Republican Party can truly be said to have been a growth industry in recent years. U.S.Rep. David Treen(R-lst) became the first Republican to represent the state in this century when he was elected in 1972. In the 1st C.D. W.Henson Moore became the second when he won a special election in the 6th C.D. in 1975. And Robert Livingston became the third when he won another special election in the 1st C.D. in 1977.

It is an impressive record, but it must be remembered that each won under special circumstances. Treen had waged an effective campaign for governor earlier in 1972 and had run for Congress three times in the 1960s. Furthermore, he was seeking an open seat—as was Moore in 1974 when incumbent archconservative John Rarick(D) was defeated in his party's primary. In Moore's case, a disputed general election led to a court-ordered special election in which Rarick's old supporters helped defeat a liberal Democrat. In Livingston's case, he also was the beneficiary of a special election after running a close race against now-jailed Richard A. Tonry(D) last November.

Livingston's victory is a tribute to hard work by both the candidate and the Republican National Committee, but it is also a function of some other special circumstances. Had the election been held two or more weeks earlier,
Democrat Ron Faucheux would have been the victor. Instead, Faucheux succeeded in alienating the core of his support—black and labor voters—by voting against a new corporate tax which the state legislature had proposed to finance an increase in teacher salaries. The AFL-CIO disendorsed the state representative and black leaders held discussions with Livingston.

The GOP candidate was ready for his new converts. His media portrayed him as a former welder from a poverty background who had gained solid middle class stability with wife and kids. Faucheux, by contrast, was portrayed as an immaculately groomed bachelor with rather plastic movie star good looks that betrayed few of the ravages of life. The difference in the two men's ages was accentuated by the fact that Faucheux still lived at home.

Livingston aggressively courted the black as well as the blue collar vote. He won over one fifth of the black vote, an incredible showing for a Louisianan Republican. In this instance, he ironically benefited from Faucheux's support from the district's biggest segregationist organization in Orleans Parish.

Livingston's superior media and superior financing were crucial to his victory. Both John Connally and George Bush, Jr. headlined fundraisers during the campaign. And several thousand Democrats switched to the GOP before the August primary. One Democratic legislator even made the cross-party hop.

The GOP may have one more district in which they can capitalize on special circumstances to elect a Republican. Otto Passman's 30-year hold on the rural 5th C.D. ended in 1976. U.S. Rep. Jerry Huckaby barely kept it in the Democratic column, and the GOP will make a major effort to cut short his career in 1978.

Otherwise, the GOP will concentrate on holding what it's got—which may be particularly difficult in the case of Livingston's 1st C.D.—and set its sights on the 1979 gubernatorial race when controversial Gov. Edwin Edwards (D) promises to retire. Lt. Gov. James E. Fitzmorris, Jr., will be waiting to step up to the governorship, but there has even been speculation that Sens. Russell Long and Bennett Johnston might be interested. Johnston nearly beat Edwards in the 1971 Democratic primary and Long, of course, has the Kingfish tradition of his father to emulate. Less politically, fanciful, perhaps, is the suggestion that U.S. Rep. Gillis Long (D-8) might want to continue the Long gubernatorial tradition.

MISSISSIPPI In recent years, Mississippi has epitomized the rise in southern influence within the GOP. Clarke Reed was the avenging angel of southern conservatives who warned the GOP of the evils of progressive policies. Under Reed's leadership, the GOP elected two Republican congressmen and came close to electing Gil Carmichael to both the Senate and the State House. The party was a model of what could potentially be achieved by a unified party in a state where the Democrats were chronically split.

The 1976 presidential race turned the political tables in Mississippi. The GOP emerged from Kansas City badly split and the Democrats have repaired their most grievous differences. Moreover, the opportunity for one of the state's three top Republicans to succeed Sen. James Eastland (D) in 1978 may never materialize. Eastland shows no signs of relinquishing the power he has accumulated in his 36 years in Congress. If Eastland is reelected in 1978 and serves out his term, he will establish a Senate record for longevity—probably the most positive accomplishment to which he can aspire.

Had Eastland retired in 1978, a long line of Democratic hopefuls might have formed to succeed him: Gov. Cliff Finch, U.S. Reps. G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery and David Bowen, and former Gov. Bill Waller. Finch is unpopular with many Democratic officials, but he is unlikely to test his grassroots strength by opposing Eastland. Waller may be more tempted, but he has a weaker base. Only former Lt. Gov. Charles Sullivan is considered a likely Democratic opponent. As columnist Paul Pittman wrote recently:

What it boils down to is that no potential candidate who perceives himself as having a future in public affairs is willing to take the calculated risk of opposing the state's senior senator in the Democratic primary...

What Eastland strategists fear most is that one credible candidate in the race could trigger a deluge of relative
unknowns who might make the campaign for the exercise, and in the process force a bruising runoff where the odds would be uncertain.

Gil Carmichael has not announced whether he will seek the Senate again or wait for the gubernatorial mansion to post a vacancy in 1979. Should Eastland seek reelection, it is unlikely that U.S. Reps. Thad Cochran and Trent Lott will abandon their safe seats to tilt at the Senate's president pro tempore. All three will have to weigh the odds with the deep splits within the state GOP in mind.

Wounds from the bitter battle between Reagan and Ford supporters within the state delegation were reopened recently by the publication of Jules Witcover's The Pursuit of the Presidency. Publication of some of the book's conclusions in the Jackson Sunday newspaper brought an outraged response from W.D. "Billy" Mounger, the state Reagan leader and premier money raiser. Mounger was a prime backer of Carmichael in previous elective outings, but Carmichael alienated Mounger last year through his fervent support of Gerald Ford. Mounger has said that he "would not be doing much for Mr. Carmichael in the future."

Mounger reserves his harshest words however, for former chairman Reed whom, he says, was guilty of "quadriplicity" in his switch from Ronald Reagan to Ford. Says Mounger "...no one contends that we would have lost the delegation without the blatantly crass sellout techniques of Reed et al for their own vain-glory, egocentric benefits." State Chairman Charles Pickering is struggling to heal these festering wounds with some success. It is, however, no easy task.

NORTH CAROLINA It is hard to understand what Sen. Jesse Helms (R) has against Panama President Omar Torrijos. Helms may owe his reelection to Torrijos. Otherwise rational voters are rallying to the Helms banner as a result of his outspoken opposition to the Panama Canal Treaty. Without that treaty, Helms would be highly vulnerable. It allows the former news broadcaster to make political inroads outside his East North Carolina stronghold.

Democrats now feel that their best chance of defeating Helms is an appeal to party loyalty and a campaign to minimize ticket splitting. Helms projects a nonpolitical image in the state despite his deep involvement in right wing politics. It is that image that Democrats hope to destroy.

The leading Democratic contender to do just that is Luther Hodges, Jr., son of the former governor and until he retired to campaign, chairman of the North Carolina National Bank. He became the leading "name" candidate when Superior Court Judge Sam J. Ervin III, son of Senator Sam, decided against making the race. Ervin's former Watergate counsel, now Attorney General Rufus Edmisten, has yet to make up his political mind. Though he has about as many principles as smarts, Edmisten could attract considerable organization support for a Senate race. State Senators McNeill Smith and Lawrence Davis are not expected to have top spots in the primary, but State Insurance Commissioner John R. Ingrams could use his maverick image to build electoral strength.

although the next gubernatorial election is not until 1980, there are preliminary maneuvers as Gov. James Hunt (D) attempts to win approval for a proposal that he be allowed to succeed himself. As in Alabama the governor and lieutenant governor are not on particularly good terms. That phenomenon is not particularly unusual in the South where lieutenant governors see themselves as future governors and present governors see lieutenant governors as obstacles to their legislative goals. Lt. Gov. James Green (D) understandably considers Hunt's succession proposal to be unacceptably greedy. So do GOP leaders, who are seeking to block the proposal.

It's not that the GOP has any obvious candidates for governor in 1980. The Helmsification of the GOP has left room for few interests that compete with the reelection of Jesse. "Everything's geared to Jesse's basket," says one disenchanted Republican. Even U.S. Rep. James Martin (R-9th) could be sucked down by the Helms organization. The new GOP leadership in Charlotte is particularly narrow-minded. It has already pushed State Sen. Carolyn Mathis into the Democratic Party by threatening her elimination. Both moderates and women are finding the Tarheel GOP to be increasingly intolerable. After losing 40 state legislators in 1974, the GOP can ill afford such exclusionary tactics. As the Durham Morning Herald's Bill Gilkeson observes, "Republican have so little strength in the legislature this session that they don't constitute a real opposition party. The main resistance to Hunt seems to come from Green and less obviously, from House
Speaker Carl Stewart." It is not obvious that Helms cares. He has to worry about General Torrijos.

**SOUTH CAROLINA** The state GOP already had its share of troubles when South Carolina Gov. James B. Edwards (R) took a summer trip to South Africa. His criticism of American policy toward Africa and his defense of the South African government made fellow Republicans cringe. "The whole trip was poor judgment and the remarks just added to it," concluded former state chairman and Nixon aide Harry Dent. 

"...the governor's remarks are not going to enhance our position among blacks," added GOP National Committeeman Ray Harris.

Edwards plans to resume the practice of dentistry, but Republicans wish he'd kept his own mouth shut. The South Carolina GOP had been working to get black voters into the GOP column and had been holding meetings toward to capture a portion of South Carolina's 26 percent black vote. GOP State Chairman Dan Ross has argued that "blacks in South Carolina can develop leverage by not being in the Democratic bag." Edwards' comment that "black influence in American politics" distorted the South African government's positions in the United States didn't help.

The Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress has been pushing Edwards to challenge U.S. Rep. Mendel J. Davis in a district that is over one third black. There had been earlier suggestions that Sen. Strom Thurmond (R) ought to retire in favor of an Edwards' candidacy in 1978. Oddly enough, Edwards' fumbling came after a year in which he was comparatively successful in his chief executive role. In his relations with the overwhelmingly Democratic legislature, noted the Charleston News and Courier's Hugh Gibson, "He did prevail where most of the big issues were concerned, and where he lost he appeared to retain a considerable amount of respect and liking among the legislators. But where Edwards really scored this year was with the public, for whom he went to bat with his vetoes of the cigarette and gasoline tax increases." Edwards, unfortunately has a tendency to disappear abroad for long periods. He did so late last year in a trip to Nationalist China and Israel that Gibson described as illustrative of Edwards' "lemming-like march to self-destruction." Having recovered the prestige he lost 1976, Edwards squandered it again.

Edwards was elected in 1974 as a result of independent voters' reactions to machinations in the Democratic party. The winner of the Democratic gubernatorial race was Charles "Pug" Ravenel, but a Democratic court challenge of Ravenel's residency credentials kicked him off the ballot. Former U.S. Rep. William Jennings Bryan Dorn (D) was then upset by Edwards. Actually, the GOP's nominee for lieutenant governor, Carroll Campbell, was given a better shot at election. Campbell, who was popular in urban areas, disassociated himself from Edwards in search of ticket splitters. The strategy backfired when Edwards won and Campbell didn't.

Campbell is now intent on running for the 4th C.D. spot in Congress. Incumbent U.S. Rep. James Mann (D) is considered a prime candidate for retirement after the embarrassment of disclosures regarding use of his staff and prestige to further his financial interest in a bicentennial coin enterprise. State Rep. Nick Theodore (D) would also like to succeed Mann.

Meanwhile, the GOP is without a truly viable gubernatorial candidate. Edwards' victory in 1974 is widely considered a fluke, the repetition of which would require a genuine miracle. Indeed GOP candidates for any constitutional office are in short supply. The party realizes that its future lies nearer the grassroots. The Democrats are unlikely to repeat the fratricidal conduct that permitted Edwards' victory. Still, there will be a spirited three-way race for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. Former State Sen. Richard Riley, the man Campbell succeeded in 1976 in the legislature, is the Democratic heir to Ravenel's liberal supporters. Lt. Gov. W. Brantley Harvey, Jr., is the heir to old line Democratic support. And the wild card is State Sen. Tom Turnipspeed, a former archconservative Republican turned reform populist Democrat. Riley's poor campaign start and President Carter's snub of Harvey earlier this year may open some room for Turnipspeed, who has a talent for generating front-page ink. One Republican was recently quoted as calling Turnipspeed "crazy as a damn bedbug, but crazy in a smart way."

This year, Ravenel has announced his intention to contest Sen. Strom Thurmond. A poll taken by Campbell indicated a Thurmond-Ravenel contest would be a hot one. Thurmond is expected to wage an independent campaign and his popularity will likely have little impact on the gubernatorial race. The strategy backfired when Edwards won and Campbell didn't. The state GOP already had its share of troubles when South Carolina Gov. James B. Edwards (R) took a summer trip to South Africa. His criticism of American policy toward Africa and his defense of the South African government made fellow Republicans cringe. "The whole trip was poor judgment and the remarks just added to it," concluded former state chairman and Nixon aide Harry Dent. 

"...the governor's remarks are not going to enhance our position among blacks," added GOP National Committeeman Ray Harris.

Edwards plans to resume the practice of dentistry, but Republicans wish he'd kept his own mouth shut. The South Carolina GOP had been working to get black voters into the GOP column and had been holding meetings toward to capture a portion of South Carolina's 26 percent black vote. GOP State Chairman Dan Ross has argued that "blacks in South Carolina can develop leverage by not being in the Democratic bag." Edwards' comment that "black influence in American politics" distorted the South African government's positions in the United States didn't help.

The Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress has been pushing Edwards to challenge U.S. Rep. Mendel J. Davis in a district that is over one third black. There had been earlier suggestions that Sen. Strom Thurmond (R) ought to retire in favor of an Edwards' candidacy in 1978. Oddly enough, Edwards' fumbling came after a year in which he was comparatively successful in his chief executive role. In his relations with the overwhelmingly Democratic legislature, noted the Charleston News and Courier's Hugh Gibson, "He did prevail where most of the big issues were concerned, and where he lost he appeared to retain a considerable amount of respect and liking among the legislators. But where Edwards really scored this year was with the public, for whom he went to bat with his vetoes of the cigarette and gasoline tax increases." Edwards, unfortunately has a tendency to disappear abroad for long periods. He did so late last year in a trip to Nationalist China and Israel that Gibson described as illustrative of Edwards' "lemming-like march to self-destruction." Having recovered the prestige he lost 1976, Edwards squandered it again.

Edwards was elected in 1974 as a result of independent voters' reactions to machinations in the Democratic party. The winner of the Democratic gubernatorial race was Charles "Pug" Ravenel, but a Democratic court challenge of Ravenel's residency credentials kicked him off the ballot. Former U.S. Rep. William Jennings Bryan Dorn (D) was then upset by Edwards. Actually, the GOP's nominee for lieutenant governor, Carroll Campbell, was given a better shot at election. Campbell, who was popular in urban areas, disassociated himself from Edwards in search of ticket splitters. The strategy backfired when Edwards won and Campbell didn't.

Campbell is now intent on running for the 4th C.D. spot in Congress. Incumbent U.S. Rep. James Mann (D) is considered a prime candidate for retirement after the embarrassment of disclosures regarding use of his staff and prestige to further his financial interest in a bicentennial coin enterprise. State Rep. Nick Theodore (D) would also like to succeed Mann.

Meanwhile, the GOP is without a truly viable gubernatorial candidate. Edwards' victory in 1974 is widely considered a fluke, the repetition of which would require a genuine miracle. Indeed GOP candidates for any constitutional office are in short supply. The party realizes that its future lies nearer the grassroots. The Democrats are unlikely to repeat the fratricidal conduct that permitted Edwards' victory. Still, there will be a spirited three-way race for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. Former State Sen. Richard Riley, the man Campbell succeeded in 1976 in the legislature, is the Democratic heir to Ravenel's liberal supporters. Lt. Gov. W. Brantley Harvey, Jr., is the heir to old line Democratic support. And the wild card is State Sen. Tom Turnipspeed, a former archconservative Republican turned reform populist Democrat. Riley's poor campaign start and President Carter's snub of Harvey earlier this year may open some room for Turnipspeed, who has a talent for generating front-page ink. One Republican was recently quoted as calling Turnipspeed "crazy as a damn bedbug, but crazy in a smart way."

This year, Ravenel has announced his intention to contest Sen. Strom Thurmond. A poll taken by Campbell indicated a Thurmond-Ravenel contest would be a hot one. Thurmond is expected to wage an independent campaign and his popularity will likely have little impact on the gubernatorial race.
natorial race. Only once, in 1970, did Thurmond put his prestige on the line behind the GOP gubernatorial candidate, Albert Watson. He lost. Ravenel has solicited and been promised presidential support in this contest. A straw poll by a Columbia newspaper showed Thurmond ahead of Ravenel by a 50-32 percent margin. Ravenel will have to rely on urban and black support as well as his image as a "new politics" politician. And he will, in addition, have to overcome the splits in the Democratic party that Thurmond will be eager to exacerbate.

TENNESSEE  While the national media has focused on Sen. Howard Baker's relationship to the Panama Canal, the Tennessee press has been headlining Gov. Ray Blanton's relationship to a convicted murderer. The murder in question became the center of controversy when it was revealed that he was both the son of a Blanton patronage aide and the beneficiary of a state work-release program whereby he was given a job as a state photographer after serving less than two months of his 20-40 year prison term. Blanton has a habit of turning mud into quick sand and he quickly availed himself of the opportunity in this case. Labeling the young murderer "an outstanding, a fine young man," Blanton promised to fully pardon him before leaving office.

The media quickly dispelled any notion that the state's photographer was the emotional victim of marital jealousy. The murderer sat down and had breakfast and a drink with his former wife and best friend before shooting them 18 times—an act that required him to reload his derringer eight times. As the appellate judge concluded,... the evidence supports, at the very least, a conviction for second-degree murder in each of these homicides." Despite the overwhelming evidence that the murders had been premeditated, Blanton has proclaimed his belief in the efficacy of Tennessee's penal rehabilitation process: "Don't you realize that 30 days can be time enough for rehabilitation?"

Blanton's ability to make the wrong grand gesture would make Richard Nixon blush with embarrassment. His pardon announcement was made on a special TV interview in which he also called U.S. Rep. Robin Beard a "joke," suggested his critics were "stupid and you haven't done your homework" and that the license of the TV station on which he was appearing should be revoked. In lines that Nixon's chief aides probably would have wished to hear, Blanton said: "I am the chief executive and I am invested with the power of pardon and parole, and I intend to use that power." Blanton later extended his assault on the press when he told a hometown press conference: "What have I done wrong except to question your integrity, and believe me, it needs questioning."

In his brief term as governor, Blanton has quarreled with just about everybody worth quarrelling with. As the Memphis Commercial Appeal's William Bennett observed recently, "The Blanton administration and some of its members and friends have been accused of so much political hanky-panky and wrongdoing since 1975 that it takes an awful lot to generate strong public outrage these days." But the pardon case has so succeeded—it led the Commercial Appeal to editorially label Blanton "Our Hillbilly Nixon." It may well be that Blanton, not Howard Baker, is the GOP's biggest asset.

Tennessee Republicans would not be particularly disturbed if the state constitution were changed to allow Blanton to seek a second term. He would, however, create problems for GOP record-keepers since he would undoubtedly have to be listed as campaign donation in lieu of services rendered. As usual, there are a long list of Tennessee Democrats who want Blanton's job: House Speaker Ned McWherter, State Rep. James Lanier, State Rep. Roger Murray, Nashville Mayor Richard Fulton, Oak Ridge banker Jake Butcher, State Sen. Anna Clement O'Brien, Public Service Commissioner Robert Clement, and Franklin Haney.

The long list alone might be enough to warm GOP hearts had not Sen. James Sasser(D) and Blanton himself emerged from such crowded primaries to defeat strong GOP candidates in 1974 and 1976. Tennessee Democrats have learned how to regroup and repel Republican challenges. The GOP undoubtedly will have a strong ticket in 1978, however. Lamar Alexander, a former aide to Gov. Winfield Dunn and Sen. Baker and 1974 GOP gubernatorial candidate, has long been considered the party's most logical candidate. However, the discussion of a constitutional extension of the governor's permissible term in office has led Winfield to express renewed interest in the office. Though Dunn would be a strong candidate in the general election, he would have problems in the GOP primary where considerable animosity will be exhib-
John Tower (R) appears to have strengthened his hold on the Republican Senate nomination, but U.S. Rep. Robert Krueger (D-21) appears to have been equally successful in his efforts to lock up the Democratic Senate nomination. The race between the two men is shaping up as a battle of gas deregulation proponents—-in other words, who can do more for the gas lobby. Krueger has led the fight for natural gas deregulation in the House and opinions differ on whether smart oil money is shifting to the former Duke University dean.

The recently remarried incumbent seems to have sewn up a good deal of establishment money at a June fundraiser although archconservative Hank Grover was still making noises this spring about opposing Tower, saying, "My chances of beating Tower are the strongest because everybody's mad at Tower...There's been no growth in the party since he was first elected." Grover still believes he could have beaten Gov. Dolph Briscoe in 1972 had he received more Tower support.

On the Democratic side, the only opposition to Krueger to surface so far consists of Texas Insurance Board Chairman Joe Christie; Barefoot Sanders, Tower's 1972 opponent; and former Sen. Ralph Yarbrough. Yarbrough's trouble is that name confusion helped elect Don Yarbrough to the state Supreme Court last year. Yarbrough has since been indicted for perjury and forgery. The name similarity may hurt the 74-year-old liberal.

The situation in the gubernatorial race is more complicated. Briscoe appears to be the odds-on favorite to win a third term although he probably will have to defeat Attorney General John Hill (D) in a primary. Though Briscoe's ability to hold the state budget in check has won him a large measure of voter approval, there is some sentiment against his decision to seek a third term. In any event, the GOP has had trouble attracting a viable candidate. Both George Bush and Anne Armstrong appear happy in other pursuits.

State GOP Chairman Ray Hutchinson announced in September that he would resign his post to seek the gubernatorial nomination. Twice named the outstanding legislator in the state by the Texas Monthly, Hutchinson defeated Reagan state chairman Ray Barnhart for the party leadership in 1976, but he has since grown bored and is looking for a new challenge. A man equally at home with good ole boy legislators from East Texas or urbane Houstonians, Hutchinson has accomplished the formidable task of filling nearly all the vacant GOP county and precinct chairmanships in Texas' far-flung counties. With a rare talent for diplomacy, Hutchinson has been known to work well persons of diametrically opposite points of view.

Hutchinson will undoubtedly benefit from a tough primary campaign between Briscoe and Hill. The Democratic incumbent is a dull and colorless figure who surpasses in that regard his dull and colorless predecessor, Gov. Preston Smith (D), a feat many would have thought impossible before the accession of Briscoe. A rancher with vast acreage in the area west of San Antonio, Briscoe has been criticized for his failure to communicate with the press and his long absences from Austin spent at his Uvalde ranch.

Meanwhile, Sen. Baker seems immune from a serious reelection challenge though Sen. Sasser insists his colleague is beatable. He will help the party if he can help shore up its increasingly weak bastion in East Tennessee. U.S. Rep. James H. Quillen (R-1) received 58 percent of the vote in 1976 and may face a stiffer contest next year from State Sen. Carl Moore. It may be the only district where a changeover is possible. State GOP Chairman Tom Beselectly, however, will be concentrating on state legislative races, hoping to reverse the GOP's steady decline in that area. For the Democrats, their future may be summed up in the letters "ABBB:" Anybody But Blanton and Baker.

TENNESSEE

John Tower (R) appears to have strengthened his hold on the Republican Senate nomination, but U.S. Rep. Robert Krueger (D-21) appears to have been equally successful in his efforts to lock up the Democratic Senate nomination. The race between the two men is shaping up as a battle of gas deregulation proponents—in other words, who can do more for the gas lobby. Krueger has led the fight for natural gas deregulation in the House and opinions differ on whether smart oil money is shifting to the former Duke University dean.

The recently remarried incumbent seems to have sewn up a good deal of establishment money at a June fundraiser although archconservative Hank Grover was still making noises this spring about opposing Tower, saying, "My chances of beating Tower are the strongest because everybody's mad at Tower...There's been no growth in the party since he was first elected." Grover still believes he could have beaten Gov. Dolph Briscoe in 1972 had he received more Tower support. On the Democratic side, the only opposition to Krueger to surface so far consists of Texas Insurance Board Chairman Joe Christie; Barefoot Sanders, Tower's 1972 opponent; and former Sen. Ralph Yarbrough. Yarbrough's trouble is that name confusion helped elect Don Yarbrough to the state Supreme Court last year. Yarbrough has since been indicted for perjury and forgery. The name similarity may hurt the 74-year-old liberal.

The situation in the gubernatorial race is more complicated. Briscoe appears to be the odds-on favorite to win a third term although he probably will have to defeat Attorney General John Hill (D) in a primary. Though Briscoe's ability to hold the state budget in check has won him a large measure of voter approval, there is some sentiment against his decision to seek a third term. In any event, the GOP has had trouble attracting a viable candidate. Both George Bush and Anne Armstrong appear happy in other pursuits.

State GOP Chairman Ray Hutchinson announced in September that he would resign his post to seek the gubernatorial nomination. Twice named the outstanding legislator in the state by the Texas Monthly, Hutchinson defeated Reagan state chairman Ray Barnhart for the party leadership in 1976, but he has since grown bored and is looking for a new challenge. A man equally at home with good ole boy legislators from East Texas or urbane Houstonians, Hutchinson has accomplished the formidable task of filling nearly all the vacant GOP county and precinct chairmanships in Texas' far-flung counties. With a rare talent for diplomacy, Hutchinson has been known to work well persons of diametrically opposite points of view.

Hutchinson will undoubtedly benefit from a tough primary campaign between Briscoe and Hill. The Democratic incumbent is a dull and colorless figure who surpasses in that regard his dull and colorless predecessor, Gov. Preston Smith (D), a feat many would have thought impossible before the accession of Briscoe. A rancher with vast acreage in the area west of San Antonio, Briscoe has been criticized for his failure to communicate with the press and his long absences from Austin spent at his Uvalde ranch.
Hill, who ran unsuccessfully for governor in 1968, stresses Briscoe's lack of leadership, which he asserts, leaves the state vulnerable to more federal intrusion. Many observers believe that Texans don't want active leadership and thus are not likely to be any happier with activist state government than with activist federal policies. But Hill's argument may help capture liberal and moderate voters who want activist government at both levels. Hill's most potent weapon, however, may be the public distrust of extended gubernatorial power. If reelected, Briscoe will have the opportunity to serve longer as governor than anyone in Texas history.

Hutchison's ticket will be enhanced by the candidacy of former national Ford campaign director James Baker for state attorney general. He will face the winner of a Democratic primary between Secretary of State Mark White and former House Speaker Price Daniel, Jr. (the son of a former speaker-attorney general-senator-governor who is now an associate justice of the Texas Supreme Court).

The GOP's fate in 1978 may in part reflect the state's reaction to President Carter, under whom the state has not fared well. Since his inauguration, Carter has broken his promise to back gas deregulation, vetoed the sale of 100 jet planes to Pakistan (resulting in the loss of 6,000 Texas jobs), broken a campaign pledge of $3-per-bushel wheat support payments, and with his support of anti-boycott legislation, threatened Texas- booming trade with Arab nations. His failure to appoint Barbara Jordan as attorney general and his appointment of fewer Hispanics than were made by Presidents Ford and Nixon have weakened Democratic influence among minority groups. Texas voter groups are generally unhappy with Bourbon Democratic rule.

Texas politics is a complicated business and Jimmy Carter has made it more so. Both Briscoe and Krueger have been embarrassed by Carter's opposition to gas deregulation. Carter's secretary, Susan Clough, has not been embarrassed by her boss's stand, however, and flew to Texas to help friend Krueger announce his candidacy in early July. On the other side of the political fence, National Transportation Safety Board member Kay Bailey has expressed an interest in running for office, possibly against State Treasurer Jesse James. However, she dates GOP Chairman Hutchinson and a dual candidacy may tempt public disfavor.

Republicans now hold only two of the state's 24 congressional seats but a large projected turnover in House seats may boost the GOP's possible pickups. In addition to Krueger's seat, there will be vacancies in the seats now held by U.S. Reps. George Mahon (D), Bob Poage (D), and Omar Burleson (D). U.S. Rep. Olin Teague's retirement is also expected.

The GOP expects primary races for the nomination to succeed Mahon between George Bush, Jr.; State Rep. Tom Cradick and former Odessa Mayor Jim Reese with Reese given the edge. To succeed Krueger, a primary race is expected between Doug Harlan the 1972-74 Republican nominee, and Tommy Loeffler, a former Ford legislative lobbyist and Tower staff member. No early favorite has been identified and the field may not yet be filled. The GOP nominee for Poage's seat will be Jack Burgess, who ran a surprisingly strong race in 1976. Party pros considered Burgess' effort one of the best organized since former U.S. Rep. Alan Steelman's 1972 campaign in Dallas. There is no recognized GOP candidate for Burleson's and Teague's seats although Republicans are optimistic.

A hard race is expected by former U.S. Rep. Ron Paul against his successful challenger in 1976, Bob C magma (D). In the 24th C.D., which includes much of the area between Dallas and Fort Worth known as the Metropole, Republican Leo Berman will challenge Dale Milford (D), who is remarkably more conservative than his constituency. And strong races may also be run against U.S. Rep. Richard White, a lackluster El Paso congressman, and U.S. Rep. John Young, limelight of a sex scandal in 1976 and possible Koreanet casualty in 1978.

VIRGINIA

Former Lt. Gov. Henry Howell (D) has managed to narrow the gap separating him from present Lt. Gov. John Dalton (R). He has accomplished that feat through tough campaign statements that have been so scurrilous that they've boiled away Howell's lead over his Republican opponent.

Howell began his rough stuff in his primary campaign against former Attorney General Andrew Miller (D). Apparently convinced that nastiness wins votes, Howell's lowest blow came perhaps when he said of a Dalton brochure, "This statement will equal what
Goebbels did, in my opinion, who was a master propagandist during the days of Hitler." Miller once noted that "attacks on the motives and integrity of others for reasons of political expediency have been a foundation of Mr. Howell's career." As Henry has gotten more vitriolic, press reaction to his third run for governor has gotten more critical. Dalton himself was led to withdraw from all joint campaign appearances with Howell.

The withdrawal may turn out to be a mistake, however, since joint appearances could highlight the contrast between Dalton's restraint and Howell's unseemly and unVirginian rancor. Running his own campaign may turn out to be Howell's biggest mistake—without or without the appearance of good ole buddy Jimmy Carter. The President may have seemed on shaky ground in his joint appearances when he attacked Dalton's failure to reveal his personal finances...particularly when Bert Lance had hardly left town.

The Democrats have fielded a "rainbow ticket" this year consisting of the liberal Howell, the moderate Charles Robb for lieutenant governor, and the conservative Edward E. Lane for attorney general. Robb is facing conservative A. D. Jimmy Carter. The President may have seemed on shaky ground in his joint appearances when he attacked Dalton's failure to reveal his personal finances...particularly when Bert Lance had hardly left town.

The Democrates have fielded a "rainbow ticket" this year consisting of the liberal Howell, the moderate Charles Robb for lieutenant governor, and the conservative Edward E. Lane for attorney general. Robb is facing conservative A. D. Jimmy Carter. The President may have seemed on shaky ground in his joint appearances when he attacked Dalton's failure to reveal his personal finances...particularly when Bert Lance had hardly left town.

The withdrawal may turn out to be a mistake, however, since joint appearances could highlight the contrast between Dalton's restraint and Howell's unseemly and unVirginian rancor. Running his own campaign may turn out to be Howell's biggest mistake—without or without the appearance of good ole buddy Jimmy Carter. The President may have seemed on shaky ground in his joint appearances when he attacked Dalton's failure to reveal his personal finances...particularly when Bert Lance had hardly left town.

The Democrats have fielded a "rainbow ticket" this year consisting of the liberal Howell, the moderate Charles Robb for lieutenant governor, and the conservative Edward E. Lane for attorney general. Robb is facing conservative A. D. Jimmy Carter. The President may have seemed on shaky ground in his joint appearances when he attacked Dalton's failure to reveal his personal finances...particularly when Bert Lance had hardly left town.

The withdrawal may turn out to be a mistake, however, since joint appearances could highlight the contrast between Dalton's restraint and Howell's unseemly and unVirginian rancor. Running his own campaign may turn out to be Howell's biggest mistake—without or without the appearance of good ole buddy Jimmy Carter. The President may have seemed on shaky ground in his joint appearances when he attacked Dalton's failure to reveal his personal finances...particularly when Bert Lance had hardly left town.

The Democrats have fielded a "rainbow ticket" this year consisting of the liberal Howell, the moderate Charles Robb for lieutenant governor, and the conservative Edward E. Lane for attorney general. Robb is facing conservative A. D. Jimmy Carter. The President may have seemed on shaky ground in his joint appearances when he attacked Dalton's failure to reveal his personal finances...particularly when Bert Lance had hardly left town.

The withdrawal may turn out to be a mistake, however, since joint appearances could highlight the contrast between Dalton's restraint and Howell's unseemly and unVirginian rancor. Running his own campaign may turn out to be Howell's biggest mistake—without or without the appearance of good ole buddy Jimmy Carter. The President may have seemed on shaky ground in his joint appearances when he attacked Dalton's failure to reveal his personal finances...particularly when Bert Lance had hardly left town.