

This is an interview with Norman Bishop, member of the Republican Congressional Committee, conducted in Atlanta on May 2, 1974 by Jack Bass and Walter De Vries. Transcribed by Sarah Geer.

W.D.V.: Can you describe for us how the new operation works in terms of gubernatorial, congressional, senate and national committee.

Bishop: Yeah. All the field work is coordinated out of the Political Division of the RNC. I filed my report that put in a recorder, *[a tape]* recorder, in the Congressional Campaign Committee headquarters, Ed 's office. He is in charge of the direct supervision of all field men. I file my reports every other night, including my schedule. And they type them, process them, send them to the appropriate committee or individual if there's someone besides the congressional direct field operation is involved. And then send me copies down here. This is where I keep them for a continual record...

W.D.V.: But you report on gubernatorial, senate and congressional?

J.B.: For how many states?

Bishop: Seven.

J.B.: What are they?

Bishop: South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas. And, of course, this is where we probably will make our biggest gains this year, maybe the only gains. But we'll end up with a net gain of two governors, six congressmen.

W.D.V.: Could you kind of give us a state by state run-down?

Where do you think you're going to end up...

Bishop: Yeah. Okay. Start out with South Carolina, where two incumbents that we will retain... should retain easily. Ed Young will have the stiffest competition. He's in the Sixth District.

Jenrette who ran against him last time in the primary against McMillan will be his opponent. Unless ~~Jenrette~~ ^{Jenrette} could get all of McMillan's old time people with him, there's no chance of him making a pretty serious challenge to Young. I don't... see what happens. I think both Floyd Spence and Ed Young will be re-elected with relative ease.

In the Third District, there's Marshall Parker, who ran... who was a former state senator and ran twice for the U. S. Senate against Fritz Hollings. He's running in the Third District, which has been vacated by ~~Brian Doherty~~ ^{Bryan Down}, who's running for governor as a Democrat.

Doherty's district... the bottom of it is Aiken County, which is the most Republican county in the state of South Carolina. And Parker's from ^[the other end, in Oconee] ~~in Clinton~~, so he will be able to get a good

backing of support up there. He has carried that district in both his statewide elections, even though he lost the overall election, so

we ought to win that one. Also, the Democrats don't have a real strong candidate in that race. The other race is the... Tom ~~Gettys~~ ^{Gettys} Gettys' district, Fifth District. ~~Gettys~~ ^{Gettys} is retiring. We hope to get

Bobby Richardson to run, former baseball player, in which case we've got better... a good... two to one ahead of everybody. Richardson has decided not to run, and Lyn Phillips, who has already run twice for Congress in that district, is running. He's an attractive broad-

casting executive. He got almost forty per cent of the vote last time, but right at the last Strom Thurmond and the president ended up publicly backing ^{Gettys}~~Gettys~~, cut the ground out from under him.

Polls show him to be a little bit better than fifty per cent, has a little bit better than fifty per cent chance of winning now.

The Democrats have to go to a primary with six competitors. It'll be dirty, probably. In addition, there's an independent candidate who started to run as a Democrat and who'll also be in the general election. So I think Phillips, if we can get good strong management in there, should be able to pull that one off. I'm counting that one as a winner. In Georgia, the top...

J.B.: What about in the gubernatorial election?

Bishop: Oh, excuse me, gubernatorial race, okay. There's a primary between Dr. Jim Edwards in Charleston, who is a state senator and a long time leader of the ultra-conservative group in South Carolina, especially in the First District low country. Then, of course, General Westmoreland is the other candidate in the primary. Westmoreland's biggest problem, probably, will come in the primary, although most of the Republican officials don't think so. My concern is that there's no way to get a real handle on the primary, because they've never had a Republican... statewide Republican primary in South Carolina. And you've got all sorts of problems, where the people understand that they don't have to vote for the Democratic... vote in the Democratic primary. Question of whether they'll vote in the Republican primary, and cast off the chance of voting for local options in some areas where we won't have local officials running. What could happen is a

very low Republican turnout. Edwards will come out of the low country with as many as four or five thousand votes just about assured. There'll be some anti-Westmoreland votes among the Republican activists because he's not been a Republican, he vacillated early about whether he was going to run as a Republican, and lots of other mistakes. I think Westmoreland's main problem is going to be the primary. If he gets the bid I think he will... and most of the Democrats I've talked to over there have just about conceded that, especially with the problems the Democrats have, that Westmoreland probably will really take them big. Do^hrn was the early favorite of the Democrat's primary. He really expected to get the nomination without any battle of any significance. That's the way it's worked since '62. But Morris, the lieutenant governor, decided he was going to run. In the meantime, Do^hrn's campaign has just come tumbling down in disarray. He looks like an old flake^{ll}-mouth politician, which is pretty well what he is. But he's got the big money and a lot of the leadership behind him. The only real enthusiasm that I detect thus far in the Democratic primary is from a fellow from Charleston, *Pug Ravenel*, whose residency requirements may keep him from being a real candidate. And they've got... the Democrats have got several suits out now, challenging that residency requirement. He's... I think he voted in New York in '72.

J.B.: I think that's been resolved in *Ravenel's* favor.

Bishop: It has been resolved?

J.B.: I understand that.

Bishop: I haven't been there in about two weeks, so that... and it

wasn't resolved then. But Ravenel, I gather, is sort of a Jimmy Carter, Dale Bumpers, liberal type Democrat, and from our standpoint that's good. Because he'll be blocked off to a minority segment of the population. The Democratic party probably will move in that direction anyhow, as it has in Virginia and some of the other areas. I think that'll... I'd really like to see him get the nomination. I think it would . But I think... I think in the end Westmoreland will probably win the nomination, and win the election. To the Senate race, our candidate there is a joke. I'm really wishing we could get... still find a way to get her out of the race and a stronger candidate in, because given Westmoreland's likely surge this year, given some inbred weaknesses I think Fritz Hollins has, if it were exploited, we could at least so severely damage him it'd knock him out of the vice-presidential consideration for '76. Let's see. Oh, we've got a candidate against Jim Mann, and... Fourth District, Greenville-Spartanburg area. But I don't think he'll... you've got to maybe get thirty-five, forty per cent of the vote, and I don't think he can beat Jim Mann. In the First District, we've got a ghost candidate who's just filling the seat under the possibility we might be able to find another candidate against Mendel Davis. We hoped to get Mendel Rivers, Jr. to switch, but the local Republicans there sort of pretty much reached into that. He didn't switch. We don't have a strong candidate there to run for that office. It's one I think, with the right candidate, we could win. my candidates ran in '72, and got, I believe, fifty-four per cent of the vote...

excuse me, forty-four per cent of the vote, forty-five, so, you know, that... with a campaign that did not have personal management and, beside that, it's not the best candidate we could run in the area. But I think Mendel Davis might be ~~beaten~~ if you could find the right person. I don't think it's the right person right now, though. Okay, in Georgia we've got Quincey Collins, who is going to run in the Seventh District against John Davis. Collins is a former POW who ~~announced~~ day before yesterday. He is a great speaker. He has the advantage of not having been involved in some of the district Republican politics in the past. So he should be able to bypass the factionalism that seems to be the big problem in the district. Davis, I understand, is in trouble. His staff has problems. I understand ninety days ago his administrative assistant was trying to find a new job. I understand his drinking problem has recurred. And he's probably going to have a primary challenge from Larry McDonald, who ran a very close race in '72. Now, I don't think McDonald can win because McDonald has some problems with a nasty divorce suit or alimony suit or something during the last six months. And also the fact, I think, that he has a national office in the Birch Society.

W.D.V.: He announced two days ago.

Bishop: He did? Okay. I don't think... I don't think he'll beat Davis in the primary, but I think he can help continue to stir it up some. And it's going to be awfully hard for someone to run against a POW whose got his... well, the Bob Hope Show did three and a half minutes on him in December. He has a... he'd make a good

up-front candidate. I'm sure that we'll have a problem with his lack of detailed knowledge of some of the issues, and I think this will probably be overcome. He will have primary opposition. A boy named Ernie Galsworthy, who is a former HUD official here, is running. Nice fellow. Not a kook candidate, but he's got no chance. Well, first of all, you've got a district that's liberal as... conservative as... it's not a district to give much support to a former HUD official, sort of axed out of it before he ever got started. He's not even jumped in. There'll be a primary, but I think Collins will take that easily. Fact, it's probably going to be an advantage. Give him a chance to get some early coverage and publicity and so forth, before the general election. Sixth District, ~~Neut~~ ^{Gingrich} Gainbridge, who is a professor of history from Georgia State, is running against Jack Flint. That will probably be the biggest surprise of all, because I think Gainbridge is going to win, for a number of reasons. One of them is that Flint has been caught trying to avoid a paving assessment by selling off one foot of his property to a staff member in Washington who cannot be found, and thereby avoiding something like a \$1200 tax bill, which is stupid politics. It also looks like Davis may be involved in another problem involving a very controversial Corps of Engineers project...

J.B.: Flint.

Bishop: Jack Flint.

J.B.: You said Davis.

Bishop: Excuse me, I meant Flint. ^{Gingrich}~~Gainbridge~~ is a good political pro.

Usually I figure they make the worst candidates of all. You can

get them to hash out... also, the name ~~Gainbridge~~^{Gingrich} is not exactly a household word. But his campaign is going extremely well.

Mechanically, it's probably the best in the area that I cover.

I think if the , probably get some biggies.

I think he will, that he'll capture the district. Also, re-apportionment has made it... made the district a lot more likely to be Republican than almost any others we've got outside the metropolitan areas.

When they re-apportioned last time, they slashed off South Fulton.

And that area has been represented by a Republican congressman for the last six years, Fletcher Thompson. And Fletcher is very popular out there, good. I think it'll get

~~Gainbridge~~^{Gingrich} a big advantage in starting out there. We've got a candidate in the Ninth that's not a serious deal at all. He's got no business running. The governor's race...

W.D.V.: And so you.... s during the interview you said keeping the one you had and picking up two more.

Bishop: Yeah. Yeah. Right. Blackburn's going to have the roughest race he's had in a long time. Elliot ~~Leavitt~~^{Levittas} is probably going to be the candidate. Elliot's the better person. A smart fellow. He's...

I think philosophically he's not going to match the district that well. It'll be a... it'll be Blackburn's first real race in several [years] .

The only statewide Republican candidate this year that can create any real enthusiasm is John Savage running for the lieutenant governor's race. And that race, consequently, among Georgia Republicans, is going to get a whale of a lot more attention and consideration than it

normally would. But that's because he's by far a much... I think he's got more... he's got excitement going. The three...

J.B.: Why doesn't he run for governor?

Bishop: Well, a number of reasons. First of all, he couldn't raise the money. Secondly, a decision along those lines came far too late. In fact, a decision on the part of all the candidates came far too late. They were still hoping that a Phil Campbell or a ^B~~Ben~~ Callaway would be the candidate into February, which was later than they should have still been arguing that point. By the time it was apparent that no really well known heavyweight candidates would be in there, it was too late for John Savage to re-gear and try to put it together. There were no professional campaign managers left. No one in the state that I know of that could pick up the campaign at that point and start to put it together. In Georgia, you've got to have... a Republican candidate statewide has got to have some form of field organization, and it's... you know, I'd hate to try and put one together this late. Because Georgia's a big state. Don't know where you'd start finding personnel, and it wouldn't work. I've discussed it with John several times, done all I could to discourage him. Because I think he's got the right idea, and building on a four year plan to run for governor, I think it would work in the long run. I think it would give him a far better chance of success. If he lost this year, it would be bad. I think the Georgia primary... as I have mentioned over a couple of years, Maddox, I don't think, is going to win the primary. If he does, it's going to be a very narrow thing, and he's going to enter the

general election wounded. And it's really a shame we don't have a strong candidate, because he's just... this could have been the year to pull it off. During... I thought a year and a half ago that Maddox was unbeatable, too popular to overcome, and so forth. But... Phil Campbell was the only person I thought that had any other idea at all. And Georgia governors, just traditionally, don't get re-elected. They create too many problems. In the primary, I think the outcome will be between George Rankin and Harry Geisinger. Geisinger's doing a much better job of putting a campaign together mechanically, as far as I can tell. I haven't done any real close looking, because I didn't want to get involved in the Georgia primary any sooner than I had to. Since I've been connected with Georgia politics, that sort of puts me in a little more critical position than in some of these other states, where I don't have any inbred situation. Moving into Florida, I don't see any problem with any of the candidates, any of the incumbents we have, other than the Senate race. I think we're going to lose the Senate seat.

J.B.: Who is the Democrat running in that race?

Bishop: Well, there're... the probable... there're several that...

Horne, I think, is the most... more likely winner. Now, someone like ~~Petty~~ ^{Pettigrew}, who... we would get the liberal-conservative collision down there, perhaps, with a candidate, and re-take the Senate race. But I think we're going to have...

W.D.V.: What's the situation on Gurney now?

Bishop: He's just been indicted on this matter of reporting the...

W.D.V.: But, I mean, in terms of the primary.

Bishop: Well, nothing is public. It's been speculated the two state senators might run in the primary. They're not the problem. The problem will be Paula Hawkins, and I understand that she's already moving people back in the state planning to oppose him. If she does, it'll be a bitter primary, and it could cost us more than the Senate race if it gets that bad. Because Florida Republicans just don't survive a primary, a bitter primary. Neither do the Democrats. That's what elected Claude ^{Kirk}~~Kirby~~. One of the reasons, of course, is the primary there comes so late. It comes middle of September. And, well, it ends up being, by the time... they usually have a run-off, which the Democrats probably will have in the Senate race. You're down to within four or five weeks of the general election. Just doesn't have enough time to heal all the wounds. We ought to re-capture the Fifth... take the Fifth Congressional District. We've got a primary there. Richard Kelly is a judge over in Tarpon Springs, and Lou Earl, who is a dentist and representative of the Orlando area, Winter Park, actually. I think... my guess right now is Earl will probably be the stronger of the two overall, but Kelly comes from the most Republican end of the district. Could have the advantage in the primary. The Democrats don't seem to have a real strong candidate there. I'm trying to find somebody to run in the Fourth, which is Chappell's district. I understand... it's been rumored that Chappell might be indicted. If he is, then that would be a distinct possibility. But, the two candidates we've had potentially there, both of them have, for one reason or another, pulled out. The governor's race... I said Jerry Thomas, former speaker of the

state senate down there, is our candidate, a strong candidate. Askew, I think, is vulnerable in a number of things, his busing stand, for one. The race will be won or lost in the panhandle area of the state. And people up there knew Askew about like people in Georgia knew Jimmy Carter. He ran as a conservative and turned to be a liberal, and now he's running for... has been running for vice-president hard as he can go. I don't believe at this time that he can even carry his home county, . So I'm... he's offered to take the primary against his lieutenant governor, who knows where the skeletons are buried. And I understand he's going to... Adams is going to cut him up one side and down the other. I don't think Adams can win, though he can leave Askew thoroughly carved up and the Democrats in the same sort of divisive primary situation that we're facing right now in the Senate race. We'll have candidates, a candidate, in the Fifteenth against . I don't give that a good shot right now. We've got a fellow running in the... against Hailey in the Eighth, but he's not a very substantial candidate at all. And, unless Hailey steps down and gets someone there, I don't think we have any other chance of doing anything in Florida. Alabama, this year, we're having to concentrate strictly on legislative races. We've got more candidates than we ever had before, about twenty-nine, I think, twenty-eight, something like that. They are not opposing Wallace, not opposing Allen. So their chance might be that the Democrats won't take the general election seriously. Their primary, of course, is right upon us now. I'm not sure when it is. It's May 6, okay. So their real battle is

going on right now. So we could sneak up and capture some legislative seats in November. The only... I don't mean that our incumbents there will have any *[trouble]*. We're counting on being opposed in the Birmingham area by a woman who's a city commissioner. But he'll get most of his vote out of the very conservative suburb area anyway, so I don't think it's a problem. Mississippi, *Trent Lott* ~~Locke~~ and Thad Cochran will be retained without any serious problem. And we've got an excellent candidate against Bowen in the Second District. We probably would have won the Second District in '72 except the candidate we ran was the... must have been the only liberal Republican in the entire state of Mississippi. And Bowen is liberal. Bowen, like Askew, reacts to criticism, and I imagine he'll be mumbling to himself by the time we get through criticizing... The poll... we just ran a poll and I had a copy of it here. For example, the seventh question said, "Have you heard that your... that Congressman Bowen is a frequent participant in the cocktail circuit in Washington?" And then, "Do you approve of this kind of activity... this kind of reputation for your congressman?" And I asked ~~Clarke~~ *Reed* ~~Kiechel~~, "Why don't you just go ahead and ask them if the fellow had a drinking problem?" And he said, "After we finish this survey, he will have!" So we're going to take Bowen apart.

J.B.: Who's running?

Bishop: His name is Ben Hillbert. He was the youngest state senator ever elected. He was a Democrat, and of course he switched over. His father for years was the president of Mississippi State University, which is the largest school on account of numbers. And of course

is in the district. He's now a lawyer, tree farmer, cattleman, and about forty years old, I think. But I understand he has the backing of John Bell Williams and two or three other former Democratic congressmen down there. Mississippi could well be the next state to just suddenly overnight surprise everybody and become Republican. Like Georgia, it's re-electing an awful lot of Republicans on the local level. It's the kind you don't notice until all of a sudden you walk out and you don't believe it. I mean, you've got something like fourteen or fifteen mayors in Mississippi last year. And in Georgia, we've got... we find them all the time. We don't even know they exist. I imagine the number of county commissioner chairmen and mayors in Georgia probably exceeds twenty now. And, it's... they have... it's there that needs the service. Philosophically it's our party. And sooner or later I think both states will just wake up and go Republican. Louisiana's a problem for Republicans. Registration there is about two or three per cent. It's probably the most corrupt state anywhere down here, and I thought vote theft in Georgia is bad. I mean, in the general election maybe twenty per cent of the vote in Georgia is crooked, is absolutely fictitious. In New Orleans, it'll be even worse. We just got through this campaign Tuesday. We got the highest vote Republicans have ever gotten in New Orleans, but it's still only forty-two per cent.

J.B.: For mayor?

Bishop: No, for state senate. I think *David Trean* 'll be re-elected, running a fairly tough race. I think any Republican down there is going

to have a tough race. We've got another candidate, Hinson Moore, running against John Rarick. That's in the Sixth, I believe it is. And Hinson... I think he'll be a better than average candidate. Whether he can beat Rarick or not is another matter entirely. I think it'll be worth watching, but I don't expect to win that one right now. I do expect to in Mississippi. Then, the last state is Arkansas, which is a disaster. They haven't gotten over Rockefeller's effect in the party out there. They're running a gubernatorial candidate, who's the executive director of the party, to keep the name in place, but he won't win. He's a former state Jaycee president, and he's probably as... about as good as they could put together for an executive director out there. But no chance of winning the governor's race at all. They got a gal running against Wilbur Mills. If Mills gets indicted, the milk fraud thing, which has been at the same time has physical problems like a nervous breakdown or something, that we've got a good candidate, if Mills was not running, who would jump in there and run. Me and Henry could try and figure some way to get the gal out of the race, let him fit... he'd put in there as a replacement candidate. That's the only real shot I see there. Of course, the big race out there this year is the Bumpers and Fulbright deal. Everybody right now gives Bumpers a heavy lead, but, again, people I've talked to, and I have to modify their views by the fact that I'm not that impressed with the people we have out there to work with. Generally the party is not that strong. They predict that as it gets closer to the primary, May 28th... no, May 8th, excuse me... no, that's right. May 28th. Registration day...

But it'll be a close one the 28th. Fulbright will pull ahead and probably just squeeze out a victory. If... if he does, we've got a candidate, John Harris Jones, who'll be running against him. On paper he looks real fine, but in person he's not a very forceful candidate, and I don't think he can finance a... if Bumpers will win, I don't think there'll be any chance and we'll just scratch him. But if Fulbright wins, it'll be worth trying to cut off Fulbright a little bit. But I don't think we'll win. I think John ~~Hammer~~^{Hammerschmidt} will be re-elected. I don't think we'll have any gain in Arkansas. But, you know, overall I'd say of the southern state I have, I'd say Arkansas has... is the least likely to show any real progress in the foreseeable future. And that includes Alabama.

J.B.: Does that include Louisiana?

Bishop: Yeah. Yeah. Arkansas is just... is everything... I see no real strong leadership. Not that I see that much in Louisiana, but it can be... the chance of putting it together down there, outside of the New Orleans area, I think will remain much better than in Arkansas.

W.D.V.: So you see Georgia... in this kind of rank order. Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida...

Bishop: No, you mean this year? The best state this year, to me, is South Carolina. In South Carolina and in Florida. Then Georgia, then Mississippi.

J.B.: So you reckon you're going to pick up two governorships, lose one Senate seat, and pick up six congressional seats?

Bishop: And six... we could pick up... we could pick up seven. We could do something like win a Hinson Moore seat if things go as I think they might. There's a big backlash to the Watergate thing down here. People here don't like the press. They're still upset because of the coverage of the civil rights things back in the early sixties. They're basically anti-press. See, you get all sorts of reactions around here that you don't... that are not typical of the rest of the country. And it could be the type of thing where everybody says, "Well, let's throw out everybody that's in office." That's the way we ended up taking over city government in Columbus, the second largest city in the state. It was a "throw the rascals out" thing, and they swept in the Republicans and the Republicans have held it now for, oh, say six years now. If the election becomes a real issue down here, people become suspicious of government and entrenched power. The entrenched power's all Democrat.

J.B.: In Florida, who would be the people we should talk to so we can understand Florida politics, Republican politics in Florida?

Bishop: Well, you've got to separate the state into sections. Gray Boylston, down in the West Palm Beach area, is one of the best, I think, probably. Of course, I think Tommy Thomas has pretty good feel.

J.B.: Where is he from?

Bishop: Panama City. Herb Harmon has been working with the legislature a great deal. He's from the state headquarters. He might have a better feel overall. Certainly he and Bill David

would be good.

J.B.: Who in the legislature?

Bishop: I would talk to Harmon and let him spot you around.

J.B.: What's his name? Herman...?

Bishop: Herb Harmon.

J.B.: Is he in the legislature?

Bishop: No. He's a staff man at the state Republican headquarters.

J.B.: In where? In Tallahassee?

Bishop: Yeah. Tallahassee. Bill David is the executive director.

I'm trying to think of anyone else...

J.B.: What's Cramer doing these days?

Bishop: He stays in Washington, mostly. I think his interest really is in national politics.

J.B.: How about Paula Hawkins?

Bishop: Well, *She's on the Public* Service Commission, and she's very active and she's making a big splash, getting good treatment from the press. Generally doing a good job, which is one reason...

J.B.: Is she in Tallahassee?

Bishop: She's out of Orlando. Maitland, actually. One of the suburbs of Orlando. And she travels all the time. She's hard to run down. The problem is that her views, like Gurney's, are going to be sharply affected by primary considerations. You can get emotions involved, there, and she's mad as hell at Gurney. Gurney's mad as hell at Paula, so you're left... their views on statewide politics is going to be vastly affected by that.

W.D.V.: You kept mentioning professional management as the key to many of these races. Why?

Bishop: Well, a number of reasons. First of all, we're fighting a system down here as entrenched as the Democratic party, that, in effect, provides them professional management. Now, they got Agricultural Department employees and Highway Department employees and these others that... they know where to pull the strings in county courthouses and so forth. We don't have that. Most of our people came along from '64 forward, and they got in because they were idealistic amateurs, or philosophically inclined, but very little professional... in the way of professional politicians. We don't have many people who ever held office, ever been in that many campaigns. You know, we got the Jaycee president and others who decide the world needs some improving. And they jump on a white horse and go charging off. Of course, I'm also prejudiced, having been in that business now quite a while. And I think a campaign manager is pretty close to being as important to winning the campaign as the candidate. We can't make mistakes down here, and still win. Now, we made our mistakes in the Callaway campaign and won it - in fact, I think we did win it. But still, there were a lot of mistakes that a professional, experienced campaign manager would not have made.

W.D.V.: Where do you see the Republican party in those seven southern states now, as compared to two years ago and four years ago? The period we're looking at is 1948 through 1974.

Bishop: Well, it's depending on whether you're talking about the party as an organization, or the party in terms of electing people.

W.D.V.: The party as an organization and any of the performances of

this function like nominating candidates or finding candidates, elections and all that.

Bishop: Well, is there... in the South there hasn't really been so much a one party system as a no party system. And it's... and people here do not fully relate to the party as such and its activities. That's one of the problems I think we have in this area. South Carolina has a pretty good party. Mississippi has a pretty good party organization. Florida has a pretty good party organization. Beyond that, it's shadowy, very, as far as a real cohesive state organization is concerned. If you had to put together a campaign in Georgia and depend on the Republican county chairman to do the work, you may as well wrap it up before you ever start. But, in terms of electing people, Georgia's doing tremendously well. In fact, I think we're probably succeeding in spite of the party organization.

W.D.V.: Would you say the people, basically, in the party are ideologues?

Bishop: Yeah. I think that's pretty consistent.

W.D.V.: Pretty conservative?

Bishop: Very. Except when you get to Arkansas, and there you have a strange breed.

W.D.V.: *[Is that because of]* Rockefeller's influence?

Bishop: Yeah. In South Carolina, there you've got the conservative and moderate wings. The moderate wing is headed by Strom Thurmond.

W.D.V.: Where do you see it going in the future, in terms of...

Bishop: Philosophy?

W.D.V.: Yeah.

Bishop: Well, I think, frankly, I think Virginia pretty well the case. I see the Democratic party coming closer and closer to the philosophy of the national Democratic party. I think people like Jimmy Carter, Dale Bumpers, Fritz Hollings, Reuben Askew, meaning the leaders of the Democratic party per se. Which is fine, because the masses of the people will not be at that level, outside of Atlanta and Dade County and a few areas like that.

W.D.V.: When you say liberal, are you speaking in terms of race or economics or what?

Bishop: No, I'm speaking in terms of... well, race will always be there as a sort of issue somewhere. Economics in terms of hawk versus dove type thing. South Carolina, for example, probably is one of the most militarily inclined states in the country. One reason is that it's so heavily armed, and Georgia's not far behind. Again, for the same reason. You lose the defense industry, and you're knocking out the largest industry in the state. But I think, look, the South became a viable Republican area with Barry Goldwater in '64. And I think those issues, real or imagined... he was certainly identified with, and came to be, the dominant thing. And race is not as important as a lot of people elsewhere, probably, *[think it is]*. It's an issue, but probably not altogether for the same reasons. A lot of it... a lot of the race issue relates not so much specifically to white versus black as local versus big government. In other words, a lot of progress could have been made in solving the core problem had it not been the case of someone coming in and saying, "This is what you're going to do." There's a natural, inbred nature in the people of this

area. And you can convince them, you can persuade them, you can trip' them, or anything else. And that's fine. But the first time you come in and try to force them to do something, even though it's something they may want to do, well, they'll sit all day on you. It's just a character of the people. I'm the same way myself. I would have probably made a career of the Air Force until they started trying to force me to stay in. Then I wouldn't have stayed in under any circumstances. I think they saw that they were a hate target in the form of the federal court system and the press. And day in day after, they/ ^{were} berated, and it was a resentment of that, as much as anything.

W.D.V.: So you see it'll keep moving in that direction?

Bishop: Yeah, and I think you're going to find it a lot... course, let me continue what I was saying...

W.D.V.: So what you're doing is / ^{moving} disaffected Democrats, who are basically conservative on social and economic matters, into the Republican party?

Bishop: Yeah. Which will mean...

W.D.V.: Which will mean movements of white, middle-class whites, rather than any blacks or...

Bishop: Yeah. And rural voters. You... look at the returns...

W.D.V.: Then are you saying that Kevin Phillips ought to

Bishop: Yeah, . And I think it's irreversible. No matter what happens with Watergate. If you look at the McGovern... the reason McGovern - I mean, Nixon - got such a heavy percentage of the vote down

here had nothing to do with Nixon's popularity. He would get pretty much the same vote today, if the same race was held. They weren't voting for Nixon. They were voting against McGovern. You know, McGovern and the McGovern philosophy, as they saw it, was the worst thing in the world. It was unthinkable. It was beyond wanting a Barry Goldwater. It was...

W.D.V.: Are you also saying that in states like North Carolina, or maybe South Carolina, where you have a conservative/moderate fight within the party, the conservatives are going to win it?

Bishop: Yeah. [In states] like that, yeah. Or the same thing in Virginia. You know, Holton's not going to... did not control the party,

W.D.V.: So in the case of Holshouser, that's a transient sort of thing? It'll go back to be conservative again?

Bishop: Well, here... I'm not that familiar with North Carolina. North Carolina... but I think North Carolina may be a great deal farther to the left in the overall spectrum than Virginia or South Carolina, on either side. I get that impression for some reason. As I say, I haven't worked that much in North Carolina, but I get the idea that philoso... they're not as philosophically concerned within the party or within...

W.D.V.: Where do you see the relative strength of the two parties in the eleven states of the old Confederacy, say, ten years from now?

Bishop: Okay, say ten years from now I think South Carolina will be, I'll say it'll be dominated. The party will be dominant there. I think Florida will always be sort of swing, however, as northern

Florida - which is redneck about like south Georgia and south Alabama - as that change occurs, then that'll be the balance of power in the states of the Republican party. Georgia, I think, will be Republican. Mississippi, I think, will be Republican. Arkansas, I say, is farther down the line. Louisiana is... there's going to be a question mark. But I think that the northern part of the state, the rural area, probably will be heading in that direction. Alabama - what gains and so forth are made there depends on what happens to George Wallace. As long as George Wallace is on the scene, unless something happens he's going to dominate Alabama politics, and have a certain effect on the whole... this whole area you're talking about. He's... Wallace is probably the biggest single problem of the Republicans right now.

W.D.V.: Do you see a reversal, then, of the role. The Democratic South becomes the so-called hard-core straight Republican South.

Bishop: Yeah, I think so. I think you're going to find...

W.D.V.: What does that mean, then, in terms of national politics?

Bishop: Well, I don't know, but that... there, I don't have that much of an insight. Don't feel I have much insight on individual states, what may be happening there. But, certainly, as far as the party is concerned, for the next several years the South is going to be the most important single area, I would think, in terms of... certainly this year it is... in terms of area we're going to take up.

J.B.: Where do you see the Republicans moving insofar as blacks are concerned in the South?

Bishop: Okay, we're... in Georgia, we're picking up some blacks, for the first time. We had a black Republican elected mayor of a rural town back in December. You know, unthinkable. We've got a...

J.B.: This was where?

Bishop: Richmond... Richmond Hill is his name. It's in Greenville, Meriwether County. Town about 3,500 to 4,000, I guess, something like that. And he wasn't... the vote, I understand, was not a racial line. In Columbus, we get the black... the majority of the black vote there, because the local government has been a very progressive local government, has done things the entrenched Democratic administration had never got done. Turned the entire city around. The only consolidated government in the state. Tax rate of increase is less than before, and the mayor did all that, but was killed in a plane crash and the Republicans elected a replacement. I never thought they could do it. I'm . But we've got a city... a black city councilman down there. I ran his campaign in 1970. Got tricked into it, otherwise I wouldn't have touched it with a ten foot pole. And... but he won. Last time he wasn't even opposed. He's now vice-chairman of the party, and expects to go to a black consulting firm, and they're going to win some elections for us somewhere down the line. In Georgia, we don't have to have a majority of them. If we can get fifteen per cent of the black vote, confuse another twenty per cent, then we've chopped in heavily to the solid Democratic block. What we really need in Georgia is to win a statewide... to elect a governor. If another 120,000 liberals move into the state.

J.B.: What would that do?

Bishop: Well, it'd give the Democratic nomination to a liberal candidate. An Ellis Arnold in '66, for example. David Gambrell from the senate in '72. When we get... that'll be just a cinch. Just like Virginia, see? You know, Richard Russell was far more likely to have been a Republican, starting again from scratch, than he is to be a national Democrat. Jim Allen in Alabama is far closer to the Republicans, and say, in Montgomery, and you meet them all over the South. If they ever got down to re-designing the parties, well, heck, we'd come out ahead down here. If we could... if there was some way of not having to bite the bullet on... if we were able to change everybody's title across the board, we would take over control of a lot of the state governments down here overnight. It's having to make that physical shift that's creating most of our problems now.

J.B.: You mean... by physical shift you mean from Democrat to Republican?

Bishop: Yeah. See, it's... right now, it's all right for somebody to be in the legislature and be listed as a Democrat, because the folks back home know he really isn't. That's just the way he's listed. For him to become a Republican means standing up and saying, "Yes, I am a member of a political party." And that's hard for him to do. Puts him under... he runs a certain risk, and then consequently, I mean, he wouldn't do it.

J.B.: What were the effects in Georgia of the party fights in 1970 in the governor's race?

Bishop: Insignificant. Jimmy Bentley had the backing of most of the

real... of the party activists. The people that elected Hal Suit primarily were people out of the Atlanta metropolitan area who voted in the Republican primary... well, they just never voted... never really had one before. They were voting for Hal Suit. They saw him on television. And ~~McCabe~~ ^{DeKalb} County is solidly Republican. They were going... trooping to the polls to take care of the local races. When they got there, they voted for Suit. It was not a real party organization thing. As a result, we didn't come out of that race... (Interruption to change side of tape.)... all were active Bentley supporters until 1970. And there were some Suit people there too. It was just... it wasn't a problem. But actually the Georgia Republican party is much more pivoted around ~~Beau~~ ^{Bo} Callaway and ~~Annie~~ ^{anti} Callaway people.

J.B.: Well, wasn't that to some extent reflected in the Bentley situation?

Bishop: It was a minor thing. Because the break there was between Callaway with a Columbus base - Third District, Second District, that area - and a Macon-Savannah coalition. And, you know, that's not where Suit won the election. You had Bateman and Wally , who was then state chairman, and Paul Jones on the Suit deal. You had Callaway and the other members of the party on the other. So it really had no.... it had no effect as far as the voting in the primary was concerned. And there's still some problems, factional problems, in the party on that basis. But it's not as... since Callaway became secretary...

J.B.: How about, though, insofar as actually recruiting Suit to run?

Bishop: Well, it didn't create a long-lasting problem with the party, and I think... I think Bentley would have had a better chance to win, a far better chance to win... mainly, of beating Jimmy Carter. I don't know. I left the state that year before the primary to run a campaign in Virginia. So I wasn't actually here when the race was going on in the state. But...

J.B.: Were you involved in the Virginia governor's race last year?

Bishop: Yeah.

J.B.: In Godwin's race? How do you assess that one? What was the turning point?

Bishop: Well, I think the program we brought in from the RNC is what won the campaign. We brought in a telephone program. Brought in a set of field men from all over the country. Began hammering away at Howell and the busing thing. The way... at the rate they were going I don't think they would ever have hung the busing tag on Howell. They had no way... there was no identity or communication between the different units up there in terms of keeping the campaign run with any sort of momentum. There was a lot of resentment, especially over in the Ninth District and in the Sixth District, the lower part of the valley area, because Godwin was not a Republican. And you got a lot of Republicans that either didn't vote, or... I think a lot of them voted for Howell. And...

J.B.: There is a certain amount of conventional political wisdom in Virginia that Howell's release of his poll in September mobilized the Godwin people, and that that was a big factor in generating... getting them off the stick and really moving. Is that true, or coincidental?

Bishop: Well, not entirely. A lot of things happened about that time. I think Howell made a very bad tactical mistake at that time when he found he was thirteen points ahead. Because he began backing off to play safe. At the same time, coincidental to that, I think the poll did hike up some Republicans. But the problem within the Republican party was there was no real central thrust. There was no way you could mobilize the party, really, at that time. You had no... without field staff, there was no way of making sure that...

J.B.: You and your staff, you say, came in/^{at}that time?

Bishop: Yes. Right.

J.B.: What caused you to come in? How did it happen?

Bishop: We went in there the last week in September, with Kenny and Dick ~~Overch~~^{Obershain}, and, you know...

J.B.: I mean, how did you happen to get in there? Did the Republican National Committee ask you to come up?

Bishop: Yeah. They were... the Committee was ready to throw up it's hands. They said, "I don't think we can do anything with Virginia." And I says, "Do that and we're going to lose the South. There's no reason my going back where I've been coming from." Besides that, they ^{either} were going to send me into Virginia or New Jersey, and I sure as hell didn't want to go to New Jersey. So I made myself a volunteer as much as anything. I knew Virginia, and I had a good relationship with ^{Cling}. The timing was right, also. The day I got there, Cling had just realized it was going down the tube. So, he and I devised a plan that called for bringing in field men, knowing it was too late to train anyone. We'd have to bring in

people that already had experience. I was going to use whoever I could pull out of Georgia that worked with me on the Thompson race. There are a couple of people in Virginia that had fairly good credentials. And I put out a call through the Committee for anybody else we could get. We got the go-ahead from ~~Overchain~~ ^{Oberchain} and the Committee and Edna Bolt, who was, of course, running the George thing there, the next morning. And spent the weekend designing a program which... part of which was a telephone canvass using a professional telephone firm, N.T.A. And at the same time putting together a surrogate program to begin attacking Howell. Because the Godwin people weren't effectively doing that. They were putting out press releases that were six pages long. You know, that's too much crap. Also, they didn't mention busing. One day you'd get back to them about really pressing Howell on the busing thing and they'd go, "Oh, well, we did that last week." You know, it just wasn't really getting the job done. So from Kenneth Robinson's staff we borrowed Betty Berkholder to schedule the surrogates. We got... marshalled as many of the congressmen we could. We set up an overall P.R. attack on Howell attacking, basically, as I remember, on... I think it was three issues we were going to try to hit: busing, the infusion of labor professionals in the... ^{COPE} ~~Colt~~ had, we understood, had five... excuse me, had twelve field men in the northern Virginia area alone. They were going to try to run against ^{COPE} ~~Colt~~ in the 14-B thing. And then against Howell's large expenditures of money. Virginia is not for sale. And using those three things, Robinson

made a... was the best congressman in terms of carrying the attack. But we had the Congressional Committee film, news releases from the congressmen - those who would attack him. We coordinated that with radio actualities that we sent out, and of course written releases in their area. And wanted to make it not look like a giant conspiracy against Henry Howell, so we kept the congressmen fairly localized. Then we got a lot of state senators, some of whom were Democrats, that were backing Godwin, to do things like... you know on these telephone-in interview shows on a lot of the small radio stations. ^{Olenshaw} ~~Overchain~~ became a hatchet man, and he really started hitting Howell with anything we could find. When Howell came up in one of our polls, for example, we had to try to create a major controversy about who stole the poll. And we had cartoons and so forth. We began putting together a series of throw-aways, pamphlets, on busing and everything else. Openly, blatantly prejudicial material. We referred to them as voter information documents. I think they're called smear sheets in some places. Then we re-printed newspaper articles... I don't mean... I'm not talking about Segretti type stuff. I'm talking about factual material, but driving the point home. Do one on gun control, which we had to use in the Ninth District area, but didn't want to use in northern Virginia. Busing we used, especially in Norfolk and so forth. Norfolk and Alexandria and Arlington and the Richmond suburbs where they had the marriage (?) thing. So that this was, of course, part of the field men's operations also. Meantime, we put in the telephone deal together, based on trying

to canvass and turn out the vote by telephone, in seven central population centers in the state. Which is where we put the field men. We didn't try to get all the counties, obviously. We just tried to concentrate on these seven key areas. The Committee had done a deal, sort of a program, for the Virginia party, and we used that to pull off the top one million households... one million voters, excuse me, in the state. That's what we tried to canvass. We canvassed that one million about as effectively as we could. About 236,000 telephone calls, I believe, per canvasser. Then, we had... of course, it was also up to Cling and me to find some way to finance it. That's where the real problems arose, because we put the thing together totally separate from the Godwin campaign. And the thing was, we can't get them to make a decision, so we're running our own show. If they don't like it, too damn bad. We were going to take it and go with it. And I don't think Godwin ever knew I was in there. He may have seen me around the headquarters some day, but I spent as little time in Godwin headquarters as possible. And, we ran the whole thing out of state headquarters upstairs. They did finally give us... the Godwin campaign did finally pay off the remaining amount of whatever the budget was. I think we spent about \$58,000 on the program entirely. We had trouble raising money, and N.T.A., the professional telephoners, pulled out after about a week and a half of calling. And we had to send the field men back in there then to try and put our own paying telephone program together, which we did.

J.B.: Did the Howell... release of the Howell poll open up money

for Godwin?

Bishop: It may have downstairs. It didn't where we were.

J.B.: Did you get any money from Republican National Headquarters for the campaign?

Bishop: Nothing significant. I think we got a \$3,000 contribution, and my reason for being reluctant... I'm not sure... I was never quite clear. It was argued for some time whether it came into our operation or went downstairs directly to the Godwin things. I heard both, and I got... I was mad as hell when I first heard about it because I thought it had gone down there. But it may have ended up in our telephone operation. I'm not sure how that... Kenny Cling or Dick ^{Obershain}~~Overshain~~ would have a far better... They just finished an analysis, precinct by precinct, up there, and of those precincts in which we made telephone calls and those we didn't within the same jurisdiction... and consistently, the turnout was fifteen to twenty per cent higher in our precincts than they were in the others. So we earned about 15,000 votes. But I think without the other stuff, without attacking Howell, without laying the busing deal on him, I don't believe that would've worked. It took more than just telephoning, obviously. The other thing we did, also, I think was key: was Pat Eckles' campaign was foundering and he was not that good a candidate. He was running for attorney general. Eckles had formented the busing... the anti-busing bill. He and Al together. So I sat down with his campaign manager, who was pretty good, pretty sharp boy. He's with the... 's office now. Steve Bell. And we decided the only emotion that Eckles could create would be

Henry Howell. So he took off after Howell. Steve wrote some damn strong radio spots that affected Howell on busing. They were really... they were gutsy. And WNAL... and one of the stations there refused to run them because they got some complaints from Howell people. But once they did that we entered an FCC complaint, went to court, held news conferences, and we had a very emotional meeting in Richmond when ^{Obenshain}~~Overchain~~ or someone got up in front of all these people from all over the state and said, "You print the vilest rumors about Spiro Agnew, but won't even print the truth about Henry Howell. Take these tapes back to Stanley Virginia and use your egg and butter money, and make sure the truth about Henry Howell gets on your radio station." It worked great. People were most... that was the first time, I think, that I conceived any real emotion getting in the campaign. Cause they had something to shout about. The damned Washington news media is being unfair. And they grabbed up the tapes and went scurrying back home and they began popping up over the state. And on Wednesday Spiro Agnew resigned and they started jumping all over the state. But I think Eckles... we continued to use Eckles as a club against Howell, and that worked well, because his opponent, Andrew Miller, was about like Ted Bowen and Reuben Askew are. And we could charge him with the most ridiculous thing at 10:30 in the morning at a news conference, and he'd be back answering it that afternoon. He was climbing the walls. And he... had Eckles been a really heavy-weight candidate, Miller could have been in serious trouble. I think that the input that Eckles gave in attacking Howell was a

distinct benefit.

W.D.V.: Do the people in the senatorial and congressional committees get association or the national committee, see the South somewhat in the same terms that you do in terms of opportunity for the next candidate?

Bishop: Well, I've never discussed it that term. I would think they would.

W.D.V.: Well, do they apportion their resources that way? I mean, does this region get more field men and more resources than the other regions?

Bishop: Well, we're spread too thin as it is. We don't have but about six field men, period. And, of course, this has been a strange year, also, for lots of reasons. We went through a lot in this special election. I can remember in June after the Virginia convention, and that little job about two weeks worth threw me in the Maryland special election, the First District. The Bob Diamond race. And that... I went to that in first part of July, and I was gone on that until August. I got in August 21, and before I spent more than a couple of weeks I was back in Virginia, so I was gone. Same thing happened to Bill Royal, for example, in Tennessee and Kentucky and Virginia and North Carolina. I mean, in his area. He also has West Virginia and Maryland... I guess some way. Anyway, Bill hasn't been in his state since before the Godwin race. And he got out of the Godwin race and they sent him into Michigan or Pennsylvania or both, and Cincinnati. And he just got out of this

last Michigan race just a couple weeks ago. So he hasn't been in his area at all. Of course, Tennessee apparently has an excellent program started, from top to bottom. I mean, *Ron Reid* ~~Don~~ ^{Don} generally is considered to be the best executive director in the country. He's head of the executive director's association, whatever informal group they've got. And, you know, he seems to be way above average.

that the governor's a lot more cooperative in terms of helping the party than some of the people we have. And, I think... I get the... I get the impression that Tennessee's strength is strong from any standpoint, insofar...

W.D.V.: Is there any effort now to coordinate, say, the strengthening of resources other than field men. I mean, does it... is the Republican Governor's Association really talking at all about it to the campaign committees and on the hill, about who's going to get money and how much.

Bishop: I don't know. You have to up with a source up there.

W.D.V.: They have their own set-up, their own distinct programs?

Bishop: Yeah. Yeah. The forces are combined in what we do out in the field. Now, when I go in, I file a report on the Florida governor's race, it goes to Jim Steiner or Jim Gorley. It looks like... at this point, it looks like right now we're having to spend a lot of time helping to run the Florida governor's race. But at the same time, we'll also be spending a lot of time and set up district congressional races in Georgia.

W.D.V.: But you're an employee of the Committee?

Bishop: National Committee.

W.D.V.: National.

J.B.: In that Virginia race, do you know how they got that... how Frank McGee got that thing on election day morning?

Bishop: No, but that's one of the few things I ever enjoyed on Frank McGee. He made up a story about... he'd been announcing he'd won, two days later. No I don't.

J.B.: I think probably Howell's people thought that was devastating to them.

Bishop: I'm sure it was. But I think that was probably...

J.B.: That was when McGee said "Howell... Henry Howell is an advocate of busing." That was about it.

Bishop: Well, that's what we'd been saying for four or five weeks. I think really...

J.B.: But when y'all say it and Frank McGee says it...

Bishop: But I think... I think... I think what led N.B.C. to have that impression was the fact that we sold that idea. You know, it was an infinitely saleable situation. We had it on tape. There was no doubt that Howell was pro-busing. There was no arguing that point. The fact were there in any reasonable judgment. And I don't think Frank McGee certainly went out to help *[Mills Godwin]*. I would have expected the help to have been the other way around.

J.B.: Who's running Westmoreland's campaign?

Bishop: The new campaign manager - it was announced two weeks ago - is Dick Edwards, former news director for WIS-TV.

W.D.V.: How many professional campaign management firms are in the South right now working? Do you know? Do you have any idea?

Bishop: Working? Yeah. George Young and Associates. Work with Ted Gold and Reuben Donnelly, is to some degree doing it. Lou Kitchen out of Atlanta is working the Edmonds campaign in South Carolina and helping the George campaign, the Georgia governor's race.

Let's see, who else? George Young talked to John Harris Jones. I'm not sure whether Jones has hired anybody or not. But Brad Hayes is operating in North Carolina. He was with Roy .

That's about it, I think. Could be .

I think Jim Mack has been contacted on some campaigns. I don't know which.

J.B.: Does Brad Hayes actually... does he have a firm in North Carolina, or is he just there for the Stevens campaign?

Bishop: No, I think he's operating a firm out of there. If I hadn't seen Brad in a year or so, but that was his intention. He did the mixed drink referendum last year also. I think he's operating as a firm. I'm trying to think... it seems to me I may be overlooking a campaign. I can't... can't think right now. The problem is that all those firms mentioned, except for Hayes and Lou Kitchen out of Atlanta, all of them are someplace else. And the South needs its own operation. And there's not enough nice warm bodies. Three of those top races don't have anybody in there to run the thing on a day in, day out basis that has any real political training. Of course, the Committee tried to overcome that this year. They had a contract with D.M.I. and George Young and Paul Newman and... oh, and Habush T.V.

Productions. And they had a one week campaign management college in Los Angeles. And I sent everybody I could find out there, but they carried ten people in a session, trained them... trained, I think, one hundred and fifty campaign management types that'll be involved in campaigns this year. And that'll help us, but it's a start. It's not the total answer, but it's a start.

J.B.: Are there any... do most of the states have a single large con... I'm sure they don't, but how frequently is there sort of one or two really large financial contributors to the party?

Bishop: You mean like Studs Col^Sman?
Milliken

J.B.: Yeah, or Roger in South Carolina.

Bishop: Well, there's not a single large one in Georgia, and I haven't been involved with having to raise money enough in the other areas to really know. It's not something people generally admit, even to themselves, on that. I think it's probably far more broadly based in Georgia. Of course, geographically centralized. Almost all of it comes out of Atlanta. Of course, that's where most of the money in Georgia is. Well, there're a few very hidden contributors in Georgia, and... but as far as a Studs Colman or Roger Milliken person you can go to when you really have your back against the wall and you need \$100,000, \$200,000, I don't know anybody like that available in the other states. May be, but I just don't know.

J.B.: Where do you see...

W.D.V.: Anything we've missed?

J.B.: I want to ask him one thing, and that is, what do you project insofar as state legislative gains in the state? Gains or losses,

from your perspective.

Bishop: It's hard to say. I think any entries likely this year... here again, I think legislative races probably reflect things that could happen late in the campaign more than things like congressional and gubernatorial races. I don't... I'm not aware of any situation where I think we're going to have any net losses next election. I think re-apportionment generally is tending to help us. In South Carolina, of course, they're still trying to decide... I know one candidate over there, an excellent candidate, re-apportioned out of a job. They may have gotten some more. I've got a feel that the overall political climate in South Carolina is such that the Republicans have got to gain, unless they just don't run any candidates. And this year they've done very good in the candidate recruitment that I've seen. They had... certainly numbers has not been... but in Georgia, you know, we've got a long way to go, so I would guess chances are just statistically likely that we'll increase here. But, you know, a real bad governor's race and that could always hurt us, I suppose. You know, if Lester Maddox suddenly caught on, like Lester Maddox thought he would four years ago, it could be... it could really be damaging, I guess.

J.B.: But overall you expect to be gaining, picking up strength in the state legislatures in all these states this year? All the states, at least, that have elections?

Bishop: Yeah. Yeah. Even in Alabama. Now, Louisiana... Louisiana bothers me. I'm not sure what... what we'll end up with down there. I think we've got two... two Republicans down there now...

J.B.: North Carolina's not in your area.

Bishop: If we're going to lose anything, we might lose Charley Lancaster and a fellow from Baton Rouge, Louisiana. That's always a possibility.

J.B.: What effect did Watergate have down here?

Bishop: Well, I think the biggest effect has been... well, been two, primarily. Not just Watergate per se, but all that surrounded it.

J.B.: Watergate in the broad sense.

Bishop: It has... it hurt candidate recruitment. It also hurt in terms of the big contributors. People are going to be a lot less... well, you can probably doubled it in some of these states, where they give it to both sides. If it's going to be reported, they got no advantage in giving... trouble is, here's an excuse not to give at all. In Virginia there was massive voter apathy... I mean, volunteer apathy up there. But not in just ours. Theirs as well. And I think there'll be a lot of people who won't take part because they're... Watergate has bothered them, more than we have reason to know. Of course, see, the nature of politics down here is such that the moral implications, whatever they may be in terms of Watergate, are lessened. You know, they joked about it last spring. Most of the folks down here I know in south Georgia were sitting around waiting for scandals to break. One of the few men interviewed by U.S. News and World Report said, "We've been living under Herman Talmadge for twenty-five years. We haven't seen anything yet." He broke into the state capitol and took power as governor, you've read that story. The people who are totally honest in any other way would

steal your eyeteeth out at election time. Callaway campaign against Lester Maddox, who's supposed to appear as a non-sophisticated clean type candidate, found two bugs that year, supposedly. I'm convinced we were infiltrated by... the state Democratic chairman as much as admitted they put spyers in our campaign in the Senate race in 1972. Probably did. I feel sure they did. They just play a little rougher down here in that regard than... in Virginia. I was constantly apalled in Virginia. You have to be very careful up there because they're such gentlemen they don't even like to call the other side names. Down here, you're supposed to call the other side names.

J.B.: Who is... do you know Texas at all?

Bishop: No, I can't help you there. Don't know what they've got going.

J.B.: How about Tennessee, just as far as people who are really knowledgeable?

Bishop: I'd start with Ron Rieturf, and go with him.

J.B.: How do you spell that?

Bishop: R-I-E-T-U-R-F, I think. I've got it...

J.B.: He's where? In Nashville?

Bishop: Umm hmm. Somewhere around here...

(Interruption in recording.)

J.B.: One more thing, and that is this. The development of the Republican party in terms of genuine political party organization in the southern states. What effect is that having in the Democratic party?

Bishop: Well, I think ultimately you'll get... be organized more in a party... well, I'm sure they are now, more so than they were ten years ago when the Republican thing really began. Competition does that. I understand they brought a new executive director in to the Georgia Democratic party. They read some of the back clippings here and said, "My God, we're being... we're about to be swamped. The Republicans have got us out-organized at every turn." Well, on paper we probably have. But I... I think probably someone coming in from a state that has a basic, real party organization came in to take over one of the Democratic parties, as a hired staff, would probably be appalled. It just doesn't operate like the real party organization does in terms of formal staffing.

(End of interview.)