

This is an interview with William C. Carter, Jr., Vice-Chairman of the House Republican Caucus in Tennessee. The interview was conducted on August 13, 1974, by Jack Bass. Susan Hathaway transcribed the interview.

JACK BASS: I want to read a little bit about your background into this. You are the past President of the Tennessee Young Republican Federation, District Campaign Manager for the Eisenhower - Nixon campaign, Campaign Manager for Bill Brock, Special Field Assistant for Congressman Brock, Director of the State Republican Party, Republican Member of the Legislature, Secretary of the Tennessee Fiscal Review Committee, Vice-Chairman of the Republican caucus, and East Tennessee GOP House Representative. You were telling me something about . . . when did you become active in the Republican party?

WILLIAM C. CARTER, Jr.: The second Eisenhower campaign in '56.

J.B.: And what was it like in Chattanooga in those days being a Republican.

W.C.: Real lonely. I don't know what figures we had at that time, but I would say that compared to our present situation in Hamilton County we had County Officials and various City Officials. We had 91 elected officials, and none identified themselves as Republican

of the city and county office holders, and it was even more lonely back in '56 because we did not have a Congressman, did not have a Senator, and did not have a Governor. You know the first and second district had a Congressman from the year '1. There is a lot of thinking that the real leadership in those areas did not want a Republican Congressman because then they lost the contact they had with Mr. ~~Carol Lease~~ <sup>Carroll Reese</sup> to and be recognized as the Republican leadership in this area. We did have the Sherriff's office, and had had it for some time.

J.B.: Was it pretty much a Post Office Republican Patronage organization at that time?

W.C.: Definitely.

J.B.: You were telling me about you and three other guys walking down the street being the Republican party or something.

W.C.: Umh, hum.

J.B.: What was that?

W.C.: Well, that was about it. There was some older people, Fred Todd Meachum, Walter Higgins and Mr. Tyndall who had really fallen off in the 30's and the 40's and were just about ready to fall off and they picked up a few of those guys who . . . we were all in business for ourselves, and pretty much self-employed, and we had some time on our hands. They told us what was going to happen, and got us interested, and that was about the time that Nixon and Eisenhower were making their youth movement . . . about that time,

and we would walk down the street and have any way we wanted to and pretty well represented. Mickey Spence who was the congressional candidate at that time, later was Postmaster, and Oliver Scroggins who is now Administrative Assistant to Howard Baker here in the Federal Building, and myself who are about the same age, and we were the party at that time. If we wanted to have a meeting in any phone booth at any time, we could have it. Then Bill Brock came back from the Navy. I was handling a watchers school, we were looking for watchers. Our biggest concern at that time was to get some similar sort of a clean honest election. We thought if we could do that, we could do more in one direction than help this boy in any other way. So the first job that Bill did was to come back in the system and conduct in the poll watchers school, and he did one hell of a job, not only in the school, showing signs of leadership, getting the guys from the mountain, and from the Dale Carnegie Courses, which he and his brother were examining at that time, and I told them come on up guys, we have got something going. This was Bill's first activity in the Republican party in '56. From there, Bill got active in the Young Republican Federation, which at that time had been pretty much dominated by a coalition of Carol Reese and his in the first division in Memphis which had the bulk of the vote at the convention based on the population and what have you

and between Memphis and the first district, they just absolutely dominated all young Republican activities. So a few of us decided to go into that. I was elected President in '56, and two years later Bill decided to run for the Young Republican National Committee, and to me this was the very key step that we had to make at this time. Bill beat Bill Looth, an Attorney from Memphis who had been strongly aligned with the **Reese** people up in the first district. He moved on to win the Young Republican National Committee. Had he not won that election, the course of Tennessee politics would have very definitely been a different course. He gave a lot of thought, and a lot of soul searching, we talked about it strategically and politically and economically and every way in the world, and he finally decided to make the race, and did defeat Bill Looth and then became the leader of the Young Republican Federation in the State.

J.B.: Why was that election so important?

W.C.: Because if he hadn't of won it, he wouldn't have had his **[political base]** See that was his **[start]** . Bill had run for . . .

J.B.: Did the Reese people actively oppose him?

W.D.: Well let's say the Reese people supported the other side. No, they didn't know Bill Brock, they couldn't care less at that time, but they were supporting the other man very strongly; Jerry Kent, a girl who is Reese's Secretary was the committeewoman at that time she was very strongly in favor of me. And then there



we are in '58, and Bill . . . I don't know when Bill decided to make his race, probably '60 or something like that, he became showed the winning attitude here in Hamilton County and we threw all our eggs in one basket to elect a real popular College Professor to the county council. Timmons came down to Chattanooga at that time to encourage all of us to go to the young leadership training school and what have you in Washington that were very popular at the time.

J.B.: Who was this?

W.C.: Bill Timmons. You know Bill.

J.B.: I know who he is, right.

W.C.: And we began, all of us, to try a fun and games approach to learn how to do it. We began to go to every school that they had, the regional schools, the leadership training schools in Washington. About a dozen of us were going to all of them. So we were learning new politics from the book as it was written.

J.B.: Was this when Ray Bliss was chairman?

W.C.: Probably. I am talking about '60. From that we came out real dubious of Bill Brock's age, at the time the economic situation was so we could participate, and he just became our leader. The hearing came up for 1962 with the full understanding from the old guard that don't expect this guy to win, but he has enough money, he will make a real good race this time and in '64 we'll come back and get him. Well, Pat, Bill's brother, Bill said Hell we aren't going to go through anything

like that, if we are going to run in '62 we are going to have to win. We defeated a 14 year incumbent, we defeated him in the primary. defeated Frazier, and you know, that race was extremely close but bill did win probably by about 2%. Then he went from there . . . people just thought he was a fluke and they came back with an outstanding candidate in '64. We had the same problems with Goldwater that everyone else had, but we geared up in this district in such a way that we carried every single Republican candidate, particularly including Goldwater, Public Service Commissioner, Baker ran against Bass at that time and defeated him, and ran against Goldwater and was defeated all those candidates so Bill won by an overwhelming majority at that time.

J.B.: What has gone on between '62 and '64 to build an organization? Is that where the emphasis has gone?

W.C.: Yes. Everything that we could possibly think of because we then had a champion, we then knew we could convince the people in the other areas that we could win. Hamilton County had at least 50% of the district vote, and for year after year, we've told these outlying counties to come on in, we're going to carry Hamilton County. You do well up there but we misled them so much, that they started making their local swaps and trades up there in their counties and we just couldn't do a thing. But once we did break the ice and win, then Hamilton County could exhibit enthusiasm and leadership and convince these other counties that it can be done.

And when we got more organized, we went to the young county chairman that would assist the way any way the county convention wanted us to assist, furnish Parliamentarians or anything they wanted. We were just gearing up to a real solid race. We knew we had something good in '62, we knew it wasn't a fluke. We knew we had to win in '64 big, and we did.

J.B.: And you became state executive director when?

W.C.: Yes, Bill asked me to resign my job, I guess somewhere like January of '65, I did, and I went to work as the director of organizations for the State of Tennessee, and that is we were going across the state basically trying to pitch in where we could and raise money to sustain the one man operation and smooth things out. Later we got a vehicle by which we could get some funds and we set up a state headquarters for the first time in Nashville, and that was probably in '65, and I was named Executive Director of the Republican party, the position that Ron ~~Reder~~ <sup>Rietdorf</sup> now has, and about a year later, we had three full time field men, plus a three man staff in Nashville, and began to work towards a real two party system in the state. We got a real good break about that time we had the Baker versus ~~Pharr~~ <sup>Cart</sup> decision, when we had to reapportion our state house, and we moved in one year from 25 to 41 in the state house . . . 41 of the 99. So we not only have a <sup>[Solid position]</sup> in the state house, but we also ran real strong races in the seventh

district, that is where Blanton first came from, and I think that is the year Kuykendall won . . . '66, the year he won. So then we began to prove that we could do things, we began to prove that we did have a real strong two party system that was adequately financed, we ran better races, and we won more of them. Often times Bill would come into Nashville during that period and on the weekends he and I would go to various parts of the state to speak at a fund raising dinner or meetings, or what have you. Certainly we were making friends for future times when we ran, but Bill at that time simply just making his race for the Senatorial campaign certainly an important thing, but it was definitely a secondary thing to Bill Brock, and that was the reason we were so successful, he was going out helping other people promote the Republican party in the state.

J.B.: Did he consider running for Senate in '66?

W.C.: Did he consider making a race for the Senate?

J.B.: Right?

W.C.: No. But he was thinking about running for the Senate at that time, yes.

J.B.: Not that year.

W.C.: He studied the gubernatorial race, and he studied the Senate race, but he was probably leaning closer to the Governors race at that time, but I think when he found out that Beaufort Ellington was coming back, he decided running was not the thing to do. Had there been a less formidable opponent, he might have

made the race for Governor. But, Ellington was tough.

J.B.: So the . . . in effect, were you at that time trying to build up an organization in each county?

W.C.: Yes. Well really, one man couldn't hardly do it, they were trying to do it in each Congressional district, and then let the thing filter out. We had 95 counties and at that time.

J.B.: Is there a county structure in each county now?

W.C.: There is definitely a paper structure in every county, and I would say we were active in 75 out of 95. We can fill up a phone booth and draw a pretty good crowd, but as far as being able to get on the telephone and start a chain in command for I'd say 75 counties. There are just some counties in middle Tennessee that are 75% to 80% Democrat. You just can't find capable people willing to identify [publicly] with the Republican party.

W.D.: Has there been growth all along or has it reached its peak at some point?

W.C.: I don't think we have peaked because we have continued to win house seats that we have not won before. We now have 49 out of 99, we are within one vote of the majority, and we've been losing seats and winning seats in other areas. If we are at a peak, it is probably right now. I say that because it is the end of the first Governor's term, and I think the people have been giving us every opportunity to show something, and still they are going along with what we have been

doing . . . the election of <sup>Robin</sup>~~Robert~~ Beard two years ago was a tremendous win for us in that district where Republicans have never served before. We are close to a peak right now because we have had a working minority in both houses, <sup>[we have five congressmen]</sup> we have two Senators, and a Governor. If the Republican party hasn't proved themselves by now, I don't know what else we can expect the people in Tennessee to do.

W.D.: Why were you successful in Tennessee when some of the other southern states weren't able to do this?

W.C.: Of course, if we have to attribute it to a whom it was Brock who was the candidate at the time. Now whether it was Bill who brought it about, or whether it was Ray Bloom, he happened to be the man who came along at the time. Of course, we will never know that, but I think the political philosophy of the Tennesseean has made it more receptive to the Republican party . . . Republican philosophy down there. Some of your other southeastern states . . . Florida, I don't we've enjoyed any more success than they have, have we?

J.B.:

W.C.: Well, I'll say our timing was great. I would also say that we had some people who knew they didn't know politics and they began to study and really make an academic investigation into it and see how to do it, and we had very good teamwork, and then again we had a leader that we all liked and he's tough.

J.B.: Is it an over-simplification to say that when Baker ran a second time, his winning race, that he happened to just sort of come along . . . the right man from the right place that just happened to come along at the right time, did he in effect structure state wide Brock had set up in effect had served Baker in his Senate race and was the difference in that race.

W.C.: Well he won by over a 100,000, but he did not win four years previously. So something happened in the man. He didn't become that much better a candidate. I think Bass went down, but I think . . . I don't think we can give the Brock organization, or any Republican organization credit for a 100,000 win. I think the time has to be right. But much of the success and much of the ease to campaign will go to Brock, and a well organized state wide Republican party. And a well organized state wide Republican party does go back to Brock, there is just no other way out.

J.B.: Do you expect the Republicans to win a majority in the legislature this year?

W.C.: No, I am afraid we have been ~~gerrymandered~~ <sup>gerrymandered</sup> out. Had we been in control and could have drawn our own lines in this last session, I think we might have picked up four or five, and might have gone in. They drew lines and they drew them very artistically. They picked up probably four or five.

J.B.: Was your district's boundaries changed?

W.C.: I've moved. I picked up and moved nine miles up the road. They put me and the

[Other two Republicans]

in the same district. This was the epitome of it here, you know. Three Republican incumbents were drawn into the same district in ~~Abraham~~ <sup>Hamilton</sup> County.

J.B.: Had each of you represented single member districts before?

W.C.: Yeah. The other ~~two~~ <sup>two</sup> ~~Bill Blight~~ and myself, and we were all drawn into one district. Ray moved into another district during the primary, I had moved North to become eligible in my district, and the other Bill Carter stayed where he was.

J.B.: Did the Governor veto that?

W.C.: Yes.

J.B.: And they overrode his veto?

W.C.: They overrode his veto.

J.B.: Does it take a simple majority to override a veto?

W.C.: In Tennessee a simple majority overrides a veto. That was the first veto of the 88th general assembly and I think it ended up with a total of 23, which is more vetoes than in the history of the state.

J.B.: Was the vote strictly a party line vote?

W.C.: On the legislative . . .

J.B.: On the override?

W.C.: Yes. They did a beautiful job. They had every single member in the chamber, as hard as we tried to get them out. All we had to do was knock out two. At the time it was 48 to 51, but they did a good whip job and had them all in there and overrode



the veto the next day. So I would say, and I hope not, that they will probably pick up four or five seats. They have a good war chest, they want it badly, they have good leadership, and they have drawn their own **districts**. If they don't do that, it will be their own fault.

J.B.: Who do you consider their strongest leaders?

W.C.: Who is their strongest leader? Legislative or man on the street or what?

J.B.: Legislative for the Democrats.

W.C.: One of their outstanding people certainly **Wilder** has to be Lieutenant John ~~Wilder~~, a real outstanding person who can work with both parties beautifully. But he does not have the charisma to be a dynamic leader nor an outstanding candidate, but he is one hell of a public servant. Very well could a farmer or an attorney Democrat part of the country, naturally anyone who can be elected Speaker of the House, ought to be given a certain amount of leadership and that is Ned **McWhorter** ~~McGurder~~. Ned is a man's man, and he is a beautiful man behind closed doors when he is working on a compromise. He gets a whole lot done, but again, he loses charisma . . . he doesn't have the charisma it takes to be an outstanding leader. I personally thought Tommy Wiseman was the outstanding Democrat that is running for Governor, don't think a hell of a lot of Ray Blanton, I'll tell you that, neither as a former state representative or a congressman, but he has never lost a race except the one when he ran

against Howard Baker, and that was probably just an exercise. He got beat by 260 odd thousand. It just wore him out.

J.B.: Do you think Blanton would have won, if they had had a run off in the Democratic primary? Say between Blanton and Butcher?

W.C.: Between Blanton and Butcher, yeah. Blanton, I think is the man people would have . . . it appears to me that only a certain amount of people who make the decision on non-recognition and television and all like that, it's spontaneous and in my opinion, all those have been captured that would have been captured so you put your Haney's and your Butcher's together and that is about all you have left. The Snodgrass and the Wiseman would have gone for Blanton. People don't like the idea . . . didn't like the idea of "people trying to buy this November election." People began to move away . . .

J.B.: By buying you mean, through excessive media spending?

W.C.: Yeah. A ~~hundred~~ million on media is an unbelievable amount in Tennessee, and this is what Butcher and Haney were supposed to have spent. Name recognition will only go so far and then it stops. I believe Blanton would have beaten Butcher.

W.D.: How effective is the Republican caucus in the state house and the senate?

W.C.: Well, this was an extremely partisan session that was just completed . . . extremely partisan. Every

time it came to a showdown, they defeated us strictly on party lines. We did not insist on blind loyalty any time on a caucus position. I just don't know if anything will compare with it. I've never seen any others operate, we get along pretty well, we get along well with the Governor but when they have you outnumbered and they call all theirs in, they have got you beat. I just don't know how to answer that.

J.B.: You have been in the legislature since when?

W.C.: Since '67. I resigned my position as Executive Director, and I was elected.

J.B.: Were you among the first group from Hamilton County . . . Republicans in the legislature?

W.C.: We . . . in 1964, the year I told you we did so well . . . We ran one Republican and elected one Republican . . . the first Republican in history from Hamilton County. The next year we elected four out of seven. I was one of them, as was Congressman Baker. We had four out of seven, and now we have five out of seven. We now have five out of seven in the house, and two out of two Senators. So we have seven out of nine in Hamilton County as compared to ten years previously, we did not have one in the history of the County. I think that further epitomizes what has happened . . .

J.B.: How about local officials? City and County?

W.C.: We are not doing much better.

J.B.: Why is that?

W.C.: I think it is because the elections are held

in August when they hold the state wide primaries, I don't know, we are still trying to figure it out. We are running outstanding candidates with outstanding campaigns. We did elect some terms in We had a real fine Sheriff candidate who lost by 1200. We had a County Councilman that lost by a thousand. We just can't seem to do anything in August, and we still blame it on confusion saying basically this is a Democratic County, and people going into the Democratic primary to vote state wide we think are sticking close . . . that's one of the few things . . .

J.B.: I am correct now that the state wide legislative primary race are held on the same day as the general election for local races?

W.C.: Yes, but we hardly have a contest because we can't find enough Republican candidates who want to run for that office. We had one primary contest in the state legislature and that was because . Now usually if a Republican wants to run in this area right in here, he gets to run without any opposition.

J.B.: But in these local races, the general election is held the same day as the primary?

W.C.: Yes. Must identify the first step, Republican or Democrat. We are thinking because of the lack of our success, people say, I want to vote in the Democratic primary, they voted about five to one more Democrats.

Democratic primary ticket, we think there might be some psychology appearing to prove our ignorance for that matter to vote Democrat. Something has

happened, we can't touch it, and we have studied the hell out of it the last six or eight years.

J.B.: But if you vote in the Republican primary, that day, when you go in the voting booth, is the general election ticket for local offices set up at the same place?

W.C.: Yeah. The machine is written with three letters. If he pulls number one which releases the general election; and then one of the other two releases which primary he wants. The general election is white, the Republican primary is blue, and the Democratic primary is yellow. So you have two elections to vote for.

J.B.: That is interesting. On that machine you vote . . . you pick your primary.

W.D.: What you do then to the machine, you are acting as the clerk.

W.C.: Oh yeah. Because he has to know which one to release.

W.D.: He releases it.

W.C.: I'm sorry. The judge releases it and you register one of the votes.

W.D.: You call your party first in terms of where you want to vote?

W.C.: As far as we are concerned, it is not a very satisfactory thing. As I was riding in, I heard a man on the news just describing this same situation to the Georgians. They are going to have them tomorrow. I listened to him very carefully, he had a beautiful explanation, but you had to listen to every damn word or

you would have lost him, and you know how many voters do that. They are going to go in there and say I am a Democrat and vote Democratic in the primary.

W.D.: Is that true in the other counties too?

W.C.: Oh yeah.

J.B.: Are voting machines used in all counties, or only in the metropolitan areas.

W.C.: We passed a law in '70, I think, that all counties had to have voting machines, and the state fixed a real easy lending arrangement . . .

J.B.: Did the state pay for the cost of it, or did the county?

W.C.: We loaned them the money at 2% I think, or something like that. I think we gave them a . . . three years to do it and I think . . . so I'd say probably that every state in Tennessee has voting machines.

J.B.: In your opinion, has that resulted in a more honest election?

W.C.: Oh hell yes. No question. I would say overall that Tennessee has better than average honest elections. Now it hasn't been easy, because we have had watchers schools around here and we used to get [people] to go down to these polls, we'd tell them that before the damn day was over, you are going to have to , and during these years, starting right about 1960 we had to do a whole lot of hard work, and now we have good elections all over this area.

J.B.: Who appoints managers? Does the local election commission?



one depending who the Governor is.

J.B.: So if there is a Republican Governor, there are two Republicans.

W.C.: Right, and they are elected in the Republican caucus and the Democratic caucus.

J.B.: And the way the system actually works, although it is not required by law, the way the system works is that the local legislative delegation provides the input?

W.C.: That's right. Since we elect them, they are courteous or smart enough to take our recommendations and name these people.

J.B.: Does that include both parties? In other words, do the Democrats from Hamilton County in the legislature pick the Democrats for the local election commission?

W.C.: Right.

J.B.: But the . . . if the county has gone Democratic in the Governors race, that would be a majority of Democrats regardless of the local legislative make up.

W.C.: Yeah.

J.B.: And that is by law.

W.C.: Yeah. That is where I say state wide we are probably 55 . . . I think Dunn carried 55 out of 95, but the election of the Governor determines whether the make up of the legislature.

J.B.: Does the state pay the cost of the primary?

W.C.: Does the state pay the cost of the primary? The county pays the cost of the primary. . . this year for the first time. It used to be that the party had to pay it. But here again it was the legislative act



which was contested, and carried to the Supreme Court last year, and the County has to defray the expenses of the primary rather than the party.

J.B.: How about filing fees?

W.C.: There were, but there are none now.

J.B.: So you don't have to pay any filing fees?

W.C.: No.

J.B.: What? Just a petition?

W.C.: 25 registered voters.

J.B.: That's all that is required?

W.C.: In any one county. If you wanted to run for Governor, you would need 25 eligible Hamilton County voters and send copies of those 25 signatures to every other county.

J.B.: To run for Governor you only need 25?

W.C.: If you qualify in one county and then send certified copies of that qualifying petition to every other election . . .

J.B.: Is this part of the explanation why there is so many candidates in the Democratic primary?

W.C.: It's not so easy. There were guys, I represent a county immediately up the road . . . Ray County, which they have got to bring in in order to get my 40,000. We have got a severe highway problem. So we were writing all the 12 counties trying to get a commitment. We came up with three names that we had never heard of, and they turned the paper on the back with a handwritten reply to the committee, a real responsive committee with people like , people like that that we had

never heard of, but I guess that is the way to get down there.

J.B.: So you can literally run for Governor in Tennessee without spending a penny.

W.C.: That's right.

J.B.: I mean you can get your name on the ballot.

W.D.: registered voters.

J.B.: Ten cents per stamp . . .

W.D.: Of course you have to certify it.

J.B.: Well you have to certify it. It would cost you about ten dollars.

W.C.: I'd really like to talk to some of those guys who made the race. There was one guy who turned the thing over and on the back said I would appreciate your prayers.

J.B.: Did you vote in favor of the run off provision when the legislature passed it?

W.C.: It didn't get that far.

J.B.: I thought they passed the run off provision and the Governor vetoed it?

W.C.: Oh yeah. That was two years ago. I don't know, but I probably did. I certainly would now. At one time we had a

I think that Governor at one time got 32%. I think Ellington went in one time with a pretty small majority. These people who have a real base would run and I think it would encourage a number of other people to get in and square the vote. They could come in with

their following like Maddox is getting ready to do down there. No matter how many people were in the race Maddox would probably win his 30%, if there were 100 in the race. So this makes it real damaging see, here comes a man with a vote like that, and now with the two party system you have a run off to some degree.

J.B.: Why did Dunn veto it?

W.C.: I don't know unless he thought it would be prohibitively expensive for a man to run a race, come back about a month later and run another one, and it . . . he might have been thinking about our part in it. I really don't know. I don't remember his veto message. I imagine that a possibility of expenses had a whole lot to do with it.

J.B.: Do you expect a run off provision again to be passed by the legislature?

W.C.: Yes, I think it would, and I think whoever is Governor will have to sign it in view of what is happening in the Democratic primaries the last times.

J.B.: Regardless of whether the Governor is Republican or Democratic?

W.C.: Oh yeah. I think the Democrats are for it and I don't see any reason for the Republicans to oppose it.

J.B.: Has there ever been a Governors race like this one before? This many candidates, split up this badly?

W.C.: Well no. I'd say . . . the one I was talking

when Ellington won by about 38%. They had probably had as many formidable candidates as , but they didn't have those five or six others. I guess they had about eight good guys running last time. We had some pretty strong voices in this one, and some of them were so amazingly well financed. I don't know whether it was a sign of the times when everybody had money . . .

J.B.: Except for Public Service Commissioner, am I correct that there are no other state wide offices?

W.C.: That's right.

J.B.: Do the Public Services Commissioners run state wide or are they district?

W.C.: They run . . . they supposedly are from the grain division . . . the east, middle, and west. They are supposed to live in their district, but they are not state wide. Nowadays, what the hell difference does it make where you live.

J.B.: Does the Governor then appoint the other state officials that in many states would be elected, like Attorney General, Treasurer, Secretary of State, Auditor?

W.C.: Let's go over them one at a time, there are about 50 yes and no.

J.B.: How are the other state wide officials selected?

W.C.: We have the constitutional offices, we have the state Treasurer who is elected by a joint session of the general assembly.

J.B.: That is the state treasurer?

W.C.: That is the state treasurer. The same is true of the Comptroller. They are both elected for two years. The Secretary of State is elected the same way for a four year term. Now of course, the Auditor, or Director of Finance Administration, all the cabinet appointments are made by the Governor.

J.B.: How about Attorney General?

W.C.: The Attorney General is named by the Supreme Court.

J.B.: The Supreme Court is elected, is that right?

W.C.: The Supreme Court is elected. We tried the Missouri plan, but the Governor vetoed that and the Democrats overrode the veto.

W.D.: Why is Tennessee the only state that elects its state wide officers?

W.C.: The constitution, I think.

J.B.: Does the legislature elect or appoint any of the state wide officials or boards or commissions? Do you have a Highway Department or Transportation Department?

W.C.: We have a Transportation, but that is a cabinet appointment. I am pretty sure that those are the only constitutional offices . . .

J.B.: How about education?

W.C.: That is cabinet appointment, Commissioner of Education. When are you all going to leave?

J.B.: Well we are going to Nashville next.

W.C.: I have a blue book . . . get you a blue book, it's got everything in it. Ver condensed, very

factual. I have some and I wished I had brought them. They will answer all of this. We have a very short constitution. You can read the constitution in 30 minutes.

W.D.: How does the system work when the legislature elects those people? Do they actually campaign?

W.C.: Oh hell yes. it's party line. There is a lot of maneuvering and very often the night before the Republicans might come and trade or do something and end up with one of the offices named, but it never happens.

J.B.: It is strictly a party line vote?

W.C.: Alright, they've got 'em back in line.

J.B.: It is pretty much done in caucus?

W.C.: Well, we have had them bolt the caucus, but it still ends up party line.

J.B.: It requires the majority, though, I presume?

W.C.: Well, we really don't know about that either. We've wondered lots of times if we couldn't pull it out, we thought if we ever got less than a majority, then we would pull the string on that and ask for a contest but we have never even done that. It is pretty frustrating to have 49 out of 50 votes. They have all eight blacks . . . the blacks are often coming around "gee, I'm mad at them, they are not going to do anything, what can you guys do for us and so forth. It's pretty frustrating.

J.B.: So the black caucus in Tennessee really has a lot of power simply because of the balance.

W.C.: The black caucus could run it anytime they wanted to for a couple of weeks. I say after they saw

what was going on there would be about a dozen West Tennessee representatives that would come our way because they would be much more acceptable back home to calling the Republicans for a while, than they would be letting the blacks dictating their party. That is the real segregation part of our state between Nashville and Memphis, the flat-land and cotton area is still very very segregational. Most all of them are Democrats in the legislature until you get . They are still *[Basically]* segregationists.

W.D.: Is the power still very much split up in the legislature? by geography and the three regions?

W.C.: Well, it's like everything else. It is not nearly as much as it used to be and is getting less all the time, but yes, there is still . . . the middle kind of hangs in there so to speak, but there is a lot of scraping all the time between the East and West.

W.D.: The middle is kind of a balance?

W.C.: They just don't get into it. It's your mountain conservative . . . ultra-conservative Republicans coming from the mountains in the first district and so forth, and then the Shelby folks who have one-sixth of our population. They have 16 representatives from Shelby County. They have different needs, a completely different philosophy.

J.B.: The division though is strictly along party lines. There is no . . . is there any ever urban versus rural split in voting on issues?

W.C.: Oh yeah, quite often, on partisan matters, we . . .

I would say that conservative versus liberal had a lot more arguments and scraps than urban and rural because rural population representatives were dwindling so fast . . . we just don't have . . . But then a year before the reapportionment of 1964, [the rural areas] dominated the legislature.

J.B.: What would be an example of a conservative versus liberal issue in which there would be a split along those lines?

W.C.: Our Commissioner of Welfare set up something where the people whose welfare recipients had to come in and pick up their checks a couple times. We had a bloody battle on that one.

J.B.: You mean as opposed to being mailed?

W.C.: Yeah. They just wanted them to come in part of what Reagan very successfully did over in Chicago. We fought that one for three or four days. The liberalization of abortion.

J.B.: How did the Welfare thing . . .

W.C.: We were successful in backing the information, or they tried to censor or condemn . . .

J.B.: Did that split along party lines?

W.C.: Well, I would say we had all the Republicans and about a dozen Democrats, and the Democrats came from Western Tennessee basically.

J.B.: Was there any split though on ideology that some Republicans vote for some Democrats and some Democrats vote for some Republicans.

W.C.: The only splits that we had . . . the main split



we had . . . (Tape flipped.)

J.B.: I do know a little bit about it.

W.C.: Well, they got real real tough. The Governor didn't want it, they said we are not properly funded for the medical school we have now in Memphis, these folks up here said we have got to have it. They got real real tough. On some matters this block of representatives up there went with some Democrats on some things strictly to get support for the medical school. They were successful in overriding the veto with the entire Democratic party plus about 10 East Tennessee Republicans.

J.B.: So the Democrats were basically supporting the med school?

W.C.: Yes.

J.B.: The second med school. . . you mean in East Tennessee they had the Democratic support rather than Republican support.

W.C.: That is correct.

J.B.: The Republicans opposing it . . .

W.C.: It was in extreme East Tennessee. The Republicans opposing it were supporting the Governor and his position.

J.B.: Right.

W.C.: And that was let's properly fund Memphis first then we'll go up there.

J.B.: So the Republicans supporting it were those East Tennessee . . . extreme East Tennessee . . .

W.C.: Extreme East Tennessee

J.B.: Tri-city area.

W.C.: Right, because it will be located in Johnson City, and that brought on a few little peculiar alignments . . . this group of East Tennesseans did go with the Republicans on the repeal of the Missouri plan on the Supreme Court which we felt cost us three members of the Supreme Court. The Governor could have appointed those people. You see, we had three men retire, and he could have appointed them and all they would have run for was a yes or no and that always turns out yes just about. But the Democrats over rode his veto with the support of these same East Tennessee Republicans.

J.B.: I see, so that was when . . .

W.C.: That was when it hit the fan.

J.B.: So that was the , it was an exchange for the Democratic votes on the medical school, that small number of Republicans voted to override the Governor's veto.

W.C.: I wasn't included in that because there was a very peculiar lineup which was a matter of record that strongly indicates that. The other Bill Carter and I were sponsors of the medical school bill. When this other arrangement came about the repeal of the Missouri Plan we stood up on the floor and withdrew our names as sponsor of that bill as did three other men trying to get some sort of jumping off a sinking ship. That was probably the . . . I know it was the biggest break through the Republican party ever had and that . . .

J.B.: The Missouri Plan basically allows the Governor to appoint Judges upon recommendation to fill a vacancy, but upon recommendation of a bar association . . .

W.C.: A judicial commission . . .

J.B.: A judicial commission.

W.C.: Yeah.

J.B.: And they run yes or no for reelection.

W.C.: Which would have put us in three members of the Supreme Court who in turn three of the five could have named the Attorney General. So we felt this was a real key time, not just to talk about elephants in the Republican party, but to do something to make your Republican philosophy go across. . . get three members of the Supreme Court and the Attorney General and you've got just about as much of a Republican Party as you could ever hope for. We maintain that the swap that came about that was indicated in the roll call cost us that and we got mad as hell. That was about the last week of the session too and we left . . .

W.D.: Other than that, how do you access Governor Dunn?

W.C.: Well, here again he is hard to compare with any Republican Governor to.

W.D.: Well about in the framework of just your expectations?

W.C.: I thought the Governor did not have a negative bone in his body. I think that it has shown through in four years without any hint of any scandal of any shape, form or faction. No eyebrows have been raised or nothing

has happened. I think he had unbelievable charm, charisma, personality, he's a mans man, but he didn't use that talent on the hill. I think he was ill advised very often. I think it's his own fault that he didn't have a closer relationship with the legislature. Had he used his talents he could have gotten just about anything he wanted from the legislature.

J.B.: You mean he just lacked political skills?

W.D.: His lack of skills or interests?

W.C.: No it wasn't interest and it wasn't skill. I just don't think he knew how to use them. Well his skills are I don't know what. I think he was ill advised very often, almost daily.

J.B.: Who were his advisors? I mean, staff people?

W.C.: Yeah, his staff people, his council, his press people, his liaison people.

J.B.: Were they mostly people without prior experience?

W.C.: No, no.

J.B.: I mean was this a Nixon type situation? I don't mean from scandal, I mean insofar as getting along with coordinate branches of the government.

W.C.: I know what you meant, I heard a real classic statement last night that I thought could very well be carried to Nashville as President Ford was leaving . . . talking to a bunch of his congressmen. . . they say now here is a congress who has been denied access to the White House, they are starved for White House recognition and they think they are never

going to get any. We were too. I think he could have had much better term as Governor, and when I say we I mean both parties because as the leaders of the house and the senate, Democrats are dog gone good men, as I mentioned in my first few minutes talking about them. And the Governor could have gotten them in there and he could have just leveled with them and come up with some real fine compromises.

J.B.: How did he work with them?

W.C.: He pouted if he didn't get what he wanted. If he didn't get what he wanted, he often got mad.

J.B.: What should he have done. What do you think he should have done that would have been effective.

W.C.: Called them into his inner-chambers and out the the mansion more, and just discussed it with them, and talked to the Democrat leadership about what was good for the State of Tennessee. *[Considering]* the caliber of the people who have this Democrat leadership, I think they would have gone for him . . .

J.B.: You mean part of it was a refusal on his part to compromise?

W.C.: Yes. There is no question. Do you know him, have you seen him up there?

J.B.: Only about one time.

W.C.: He's a man's man, and if you looked at him you knew he was talking straight. I mean he has no trouble if he is one on one, he can go.

J.B.: But he didn't do it often enough?

W.C.: No, he did it very rarely.

J.B.: And you attribute that not so much to him, but to his advisors?

W.C.: Yes, but then we go back to the Nixon comparison too. He chose those people, and he heard pretty regularly that these people are not relating to us. We need to see you, we need to talk to you about this thing.

J.B.: So he got the message . . . he got plenty of feedback from the legislature?

W.C.: Oh yeah.

J.B.: Including Republicans in the legislature?

W.C.: Well much more so than the Democrats. The Democrats didn't care. Hell, they could go in and override his veto or do whatever they wanted to, they had the votes, we had to spar and depend on his help to bring some of them over and we never got that kind of help. He'll be a much wiser Governor the next time because his political experience was limited. He was a very successful and very cooperative Shelby County chairman during these embryo periods that we have talked about. When I was Director of the Party, I know he took off two days from his practice and we toured in Shelby County in a Volkswagon going to see these people, and he would use that charm back then to get people to work for us and make contributions and so forth. He was not a new comer into politics, but he was a newcomer in realizing that there was a second floor, that is the second floor in the State Capital. The Governor's office is on the first floor and you hear

it very commonly referred to as the first floor and the second floor. He now knows damn well that there is a second floor, and if he were to run for Governor again he'd be a much much better Governor.

J.B.: Do you think he would appoint a different type people to his staff?

W.C.: Oh yes.

J.B.: Well was it a question of his just feeling that . . . an unwillingness to fire anybody or was it . . . was that part of it, or was that . . .

W.C.: I don't think that he ever realized that what these people were telling him was true, that he could do a lot better job with the legislature. He apparently didn't realize that and didn't think of it, because he didn't change his MO from the time he went in until the last week or so, and then it was too late. When they started overriding his veto, he then got the message, but then it was all over, see? He made . . . I personally think, I am an accountant by profession, I was a member of the fiscal youth committee, which was the top budget group up there, and . . .

J.B.: Who . . . how were you selected for that?

W.C.: That was the only committee that is elected by the general assembly. The others are appointed by the Speaker. But this is a bipartisan group that is selected by the legislature and one of the highest compliments you can get in my opinion. We constantly told his people that you were way off on the budget. We said that we had pencils just like you had, and we had

the backing of the Treasurer and the Comptroller, but they were members of the opposite party see, so someone suspected that we were being propagandized, but he had the finance administration director telling him what . . . and the revenue commission, but the non-partisan legislative group was saying "Governor, you're way down on your estimates. We know you'll have this money to spend on this, and this, and this, and this . . ."

J.B.: So that's why you ended up with that big surplus?

W.C.: Yes. He vetoed \$23 million dollars for good legislation and we overrode him on every dog gone bit of it, and we still have got \$55 million dollars surplus. So somebody wasn't treating him too well.

J.B.: Will that record hurt Alexander?

W.C.: With that record no because we . . . will the Governor's veto record hurt Alexander?

J.B.: His total record?

W.C.: No, I think the Governor has a pretty good dog gone record. I think he could have had a whole lot better one because things were rolling, and he could have . . . the economy just shot up so fast there, you know, and you can do so much for so many people, but the educational people will tell you that he probably has had the best session in the history. I know health people will tell you that, Highway people will tell you that, law enforcement people will tell you that, just about everybody will say that this is about the best session we have ever had.



J.B.: What caused the economy to take off like that in Tennessee?

W.C.: I don't know, but I know the unemployment rate of the district I represent is 2.8, and that is just about going. I know over the last few years we have had a real fine influx of eastern and northern industry that has just raised our standard of pay. I guess everybody was working and had some money in their pockets . . .

J.B.: These various Applacha programs and others that provided a lot of funds for just building water and sewer facilities and highways and so forth, how significant . . .

W.C.: I think it certainly raised our standard of living and put some money into it, but I think the real economy boost came from the increase of good jobs.

J.B.: Right, but I am saying . . . my question is these jobs resulted from new industry moving in?

W.C.: Yes.

J.B.: And did that industry . . . one of the reasons that Tennessee was able to attract industry in the last ten years that it hadn't gotten previously, was the fact that internal transportation system, water and sewer facilities in the areas where they weren't previously available became available with those factors.

W.C.: You would have to convince me of that, but right off I wouldn't say that . . . no, because there a lot of the industrial growth has come in the western

part of the state between Nashville and Memphis, where the Applacha Fund didn't come in, nor did they use . . . nor did they have sewage problems over there. I mean, the geological make up of the area has a whole lot to do with the sewage needs, this has all helped. Now I think that the favorable labor market had a whole lot to do with it, and also our leadership, we have had some good Governors lately. Clement and Ellington were good Governors in my opinion, and they *rotated* a couple of times so they were in power about 14 years, I think, and they had a good labor and industrial climate down here. I think the work they have done over here has finally caught up. Anybody who wanted to work was working with pretty dog gone good wages and they believed in the economy so they just what they had. We've had tremendous growth.

W.D.: That high record of 23 vetoes in one year going to hurt the Republicans? Could the Democrats . . .

W.C.: I think it hurt Governor Dunn, but I voted to override 14 of those vetoes, and I'm . . .

J.B.: How many of them were overridden?

W.C.: Twenty-three.

J.B.: All of them . . .

W.C.: Oh no, no. We overrode 23 vetoes. I don't know how many he vetoed because . . .

W.D.: That has got to be one of the highest veto records of anybody.

W.C.: Oh in the country. It is more than the state of Tennessee had has at this point.

W.D.: I mean doesn't that indicate an inability  
of Republicans in the legislature.

put a Democrat back in because a  
Republican Governor couldn't work with a Democratic  
legislature?

W.C.: Well his veto messages simply said in essence  
. . . I mean, I'd say of those 23 . . . 17 or 18 of them  
said I'm all for this but the funds are strictly not  
available.

J.B.: But in view of the fact that you are teaming  
up with . . .

W.C.: That's my point. It was not his inability  
to work with the legislature, he just got a misreading  
about how much money was in the bank.

J.B.: I mean it could be argued that if somebody  
wanted to make the point, they he had an inability to  
govern.

W.D.: No, he got the wrong revenue estimates.

W.C.: He got the wrong information. We gave him  
information . . .

J.B.: That's a function of his though to see that  
he gets the right information.

W.C.: Yeah. He picked the wrong Director of Finance  
Administration, the wrong Commissioner of Revenue as far  
as his ability to project goes, there is no question about  
that.

J.B.: Let me ask you this question, and it's been  
. . .

W.C.: Excuse me just a minute . . . the record will

actually show that the vetoes were overridden by a substantial number of Republicans.

W.D.: So that is more criticism of the Governor than it is . . .

W.C.; Ask the teachers what they think about it. He started a kindergarten program, he has been real fine on the vocational programs, but he has vetoed their salary increases. So we overrode his veto, we're heroes, he's a bad guy. He wanted to give it to them he said, but the funds are not there. Instead of 700 we're going to give you 400, they ended up with 800. I heard it so damn much, the objections of the Executive notwithstanding.

J.B.: There has been some press speculation that Alexander's victory in the Republican primary represents a defeat for Brock, how do you react to that?

W.C.: Well it is a real short statement, but I would say that it is not in error. I was a Winston man. I met Ned through Bill, and I think a whole lot of other people did in this area, and this is a question you might want to dodge, but I think it is a fact of life that Winston's basic support originally the old Brock support. I think Alexander did an outstanding job of getting those others. I did not say the Kuykendall people or the Baker people or the Dunn people because I really don't know. But I know that in this area I was able to persuade a lot of people to support Nat Winston, who had been with us for a long time in the Brock organization. It certainly wasn't a bloody thing that we had because I think another thing that the Brock people appreciated a good campaign.

Alexander showed us a good campaign. He showed us the Brock type of campaign that we had run before, and I felt that Winston went to the people like myself . . . the Bill Carter's and some of us who were real active and real hungry ten or twelve years ago and a little fat and lazy nowadays whereas Alexander got new blood into this campaign and brought on the same type of people that Brock brought on ten years ago. Winston went through the routines and all the motions of a campaign. They did everything that you're supposed to do and he would have won nine out of ten, but it was completely a lackbuster campaign, and they were just plotting along doing chapter and verse and so forth and so on. Alexander came along with a dynamic campaign and really did something and really motivated people and got some lean and hungry people and consequently people passed on the vote, and I, as a Winston supporter would probably say that I am glad that Alexander won because the type of campaign that the Winston people were conducting would not have carried him through to win in November. I think the Alexander type campaign will carry him to victory.

J.B.: You were saying you pulled out of the Winston campaign?

W.C.: No.

J.B.: I thought you told me that yesterday when I talked to you . . . maybe it was someone else, somebody told me that.

W.C.: I never had a key position in it. I was

available as was my wife. She is the Charter Women's Club President and all of that kind of stuff. We've got a pretty good list of credentials, and we were Winston people and went to all of his rallies, but were never really called on for any specific or general duties for that matter. I think they missed a whole lot of chances on picking up experiences some people had, but the real problems were not getting lean, hungry, excited, dynamic, young people or new people, not necessarily young, but new people. They came closer to getting stale guys like myself . . .

J.B.: You said they really didn't get you either.

W.C.: No, they got a lot of people like me who had been 16, 18, 20 campaigns, and unless you get really motivated in it nothing is going to happen, and I think that certainly typifies the Winston campaign in the third district. I have also gotten that report from up in the first. I don't know how true it is.

J.B.: How would you characterize the Republican effort to bring blacks into the party in Tennessee?

W.C.: Well here again . . . I know most about this area. We tried about three times and then decided that the time and energies that we spent on getting a few in . . . a few blacks to come to our party, that time could be much better spent in the inner-land getting others to come in and be a lot more fruitful reward for the same time and energy spent.

J.B.: So at the moment, there is not a whole lot of effort.

W.C.: In this area I would consider it almost hopeless.

J.B.: Why?

W.C.: Well, we have just tried in the past and they haven't come our way. They indicate that they might be thinking our way, and we cater to them and appeal to them and nothing happens and we tried it real hard for three times and we just decided that it is just too much time and energy being spent on getting in a very few people to repeat to them; spend that same time and energy and money someplace else and be a lot more productive, unless your voters yield some people like that.

J.B.: Now Howard Baker got fairly good black support last time.

W.C.: Like what, ten or twelve percent.

J.B.: I thought it was more like twenty or thirty, I am not sure.

W.C.: No, I doubt that. I really do. But ten or twelve is something. We go along here and get two and three.

J.B.: You were going to say something about Alexander?

W.C.: I think Alexander *against* Blanton will have a good *bit* of black support. Research will show that on Blanton . . . he's been anything . . . well let me say this. He took the seventh district when he was elected to congress, he said "I assure you people that if I am elected to Congress, I'll give you the same representation that you have enjoyed in the past, and this was Congressman Murray who had been over there years and years and years. We thought at the time that he was just making campaign talk, but after he was elected, it was shown that he was that type of Congressman, and his

record will show in Congress that he is not too popular with the blacks, and I think you'll find blacks knocking on Alexander's door saying I want to become part of your campaign. I know their leadership . . . I know a lot of the leadership will . . . the black leadership, whether or not they will be able to bring the masses along, I don't know.

J.B.: Would the same have been true with Winston?

W.C.: Yes. I think it's more of an anti-Blanton thing that I am talking about. I think the same would have been true with Winston, maybe a tad more.

J.B.: What would be the effect on the Republican party in Tennessee if Deron were to run for Senate against Brock?

W.C.: I think you would see a campaign that wouldn't compare with anything you have ever seen anyplace in the United States. He would really get the people, these same stale people that I talked about a few moments ago would become rejuvenated and we would really go all over this state and you would see a humdinger.

J.B.: Would it likely produce a great deal of bitterness?

W.C.: Well when Howard Baker ran the second time, he was opposed in the primary by a fine young former State Chairman by the name of Ken Roberts. A lot of us . . . I was State Director at the time and a lot of us felt that we could not afford a primary at that time because it would cost a whole lot of money and there would be bitterness to come of it, and I can remember . . . Senator Baker shutting off the conversation at the home of Georgette Wilson who was national committeeman in Rockford Tennessee. We all made our



pitches to the Senator, he was not Senator at the time of course . . . he said "gentlemen, a lot of what you say is true, but this primary is a sign of maturity what this party has been working for for many years." The meeting was over, there was nothing to be said. If Governor Dunn or anyone else sees fit to run against Bill Brock in the primary for the Senatorial race, we've got to say this is a sign of maturity. Whether we like it or not, we Republicans in Tennessee have got to grow up and overcome the bitterness caused by primaries. I have never been in a real knock down, drag out primary so I don't know how . I wish there wouldn't be one, but it would cause quite a split because we think that if Brock or anyone is doing a pretty good job or an outstanding job at their office, why should someone take them over and try to knock them out of it.

J.B.: Would the potential be there for something like the Cramer - Carswell fight in Florida?

W.C.:

J.B.: When . . . in terms of . . .

W.C.: I know Cramer, and I know his background describe the race.

J.B.: Well it being very devide<sup>s</sup>ive to the Republican party in Florida.

W.C.: I think he would. Now whether or not we'd get over it . . . if he's here, I don't know that, but it would be a very tough time.

W.D.: Are there three distinctive organizations, Brock, Baker, Dunn?

W.C.: No, I wouldn't say that. I don't know what a Dunn organization is.

J.B.: Isn't it usually referred to though as the Baker - Dunn wing of the party?

W.C.: Dunn leans in that direction, there is no question about that.

J.B.: And, of course, Alexander is associated because he ran Dunn and Baker's campaign didn't he?

W.C.: Yeah.

W.D.: So there are two sets of people identified with those two men.

W.C.: You almost have to say that. I mean people don't overlap very much. No they don't overlap very much because there's a natural for position . . . Baker is the senior Senator, and the most articulate and the most renowned. The Brock people feel like we have built the base and did all the work in the job. We just want the Senator to take his top position, but we want to know real close behind the Brock people who did a lot of pushing right on up there, and when we don't get recognized we have to

J.B.: Do you really expect the Brock organization to really open up in terms of support of Alexander this fall?

W.C.: Sure, oh yeah, hell yes, there is no question about that. I think it epitomizes the Brock organization when we talk about . . .

J.B.: Would you suspect that Alexander would then support Brock in '76 in return?

W.C.: Well just like I had said, we would expect . . . I would hope that any key Republican would support the

incumbent unless there is some good reason not to.

J.B.: So what Dunn decides to do would be a real key to a future of the Republican party?

W.C.: Oh yeah, yeah.

J.B.: Do you have any idea what he is going to do?

W.C.: I would hope he would find a real good job for four years and run for Governor again. I don't have any idea what he wants to do . . . with his position with Tennessee, Tom Bigsby, Waterway and Chairman of the Republican Governors conference, he could very well become a . . . I wouldn't be at all surprised. He would be a real tough candidate because I managed Bill Jenkins campaign and primary when Bill was Speaker of the House, the only one in history that we had, when he ran for Governor against Dunn and Maxie Joinman (?), and I managed Bill's campaign for 16 counties, and we would go in and work our fingers off getting up a hard core organization, somebody to support Bill Jenkins and go in there and just pick up 20% of the voters, or something like that, you know. And we had it set, and then here comes Dunn, he'd walk around the dog gone county court house about twice and kiss a couple of babies and he'd take it all away from us. He is just an absolute fabulous campaigner.

J.B.: You think then that he is one of these people who is a natural political campaigners?

W.C.: Oh yes. There is no question about it.

J.B.: Wasn't that his first race for office?

W.C.: Well, so to speak. We brought some stuff up that showed that he had run for State legislator and also for State Constitutional Convention and gotten his pants beat off, but that was the old one party crump in Shelby County, so it really wasn't a true thing. He was putting his name on the ballot, for all practical purposes . . .

J.B.: His career almost paralleled with Bill Bumper's in that extent then, a guy that just came from nowhere, except that Dunn had been more active within the party.

W.D.: So did Claude Kirk.

J.B.: Yeah.

W.C.: Is Kirk a new one?

J.B.: But Dunn you said was Shelby County Chairman?

W.C.: Yeah, and probably a member of the State Executive Committee. I don't remember, but I know that at every state convention people were waiting for Winfield to get up and give an address. He had such physical attractiveness is still a real fine thing, I think very pleasant, and very articulate in my opinion, and his father is a former Democratic congressman. Did you know that? From Mississippi. So he could go back and have a whole lot of things to talk about if he wanted to; very very tough candidate, he could go on the national level.

J.B.: Is there any thought that he may end up taking some position in the Ford administration, or something like that?

W.C.: I think if we had not had a Watergate, that he very definitely would have gone to Washington as a Nixon

appointee at some point, stayed very much in the lime light and come back in four years and ran for Governor, but that is a big if really; we have a different ball game now, of course, and I think he would like . . . he likes being Governor, his family likes being Governor. He could be a much better Governor than before.

J.B.: He is not likely to become a practicing dentist?

W.C.: I doubt that very much. We Republicans in Tennessee have had three real fine I think. On the National level, you know, all three of them were in the first list of 14 Vice-Presidential considerations. Three out of 14, that's . . .

J.B.: Do you have anything else you want to add.

W.C.: No, I just hope that I told you the things you wanted to know about those embryo days because they were extremely exciting.

W.D.: When you look around at the other southern states, why was it able to take off here and not there?

W.C.: Well . . .

W.D.: Like you've got it here.

W.C.: Well, yeah, well now we are working real close with Alabama at that time. Mangum Milliken when Martin was coming along, you know, and . . . well, it's got to be a chicken or an egg thing first. I know the first year and a half that we had the state party, we were able to get \$115,000, and netted about \$80,000 from that and with that you could . . . our field man

could go out and get more money, and so forth. Congressmen from the first two districts certainly didn't oppose . . .

J.B.: You had that . . .

W.C.: We had teamwork, we had a new Champion, Brock, and we had broken through the third district for the first time.

J.B.: Then you also had a base in the east.

W.C.: Oh yeah. Well, yeah.

J.B.: In that most of the other southern states . . . North Carolina had it to a lesser extent, Virginia to a lesser extent.

W.C.: We had a base in the east and we had a bug in Memphis. I mean it just took a little bit more for them to come on through over there. I'd hate to have to explain how it did happen.

J.B.: of function of tradition in history of the east plus geography from the standpoint of urbanization in the rest of the state . . . Memphis, Chattanooga, Knoxville and Nashville?

W.C.: Yes, I think that would be it, that would be some of it. Well, I think we responded to the trends, we intentionally did that. Like I say, Eisenhower - Nixon were making the youth bid, we jumped in there and we went there to learn the new action in politics and followed it to the letter. We had our champion in Brock. We got monies first, and I guess the constituency of Tennessee is just a little different from Alabama, Georgia, Florida and what have you.

J.B.: Is the reason that Goldwater did so poorly

in Tennessee is his TVA position.

W.C.: No.

J.B.: What was it?

W.C.: Well I mean that hurt him, you see it was just too much. We carried him in this district through hard work and reorganization, but he was tough to carry, real tough.

J.B.: Did anything hurt him more than TVA here?

W.C.: TVA is not all that tough here. We recognize TVA . . . TVA is here, it's not a discussion as to whether it is good or bad, it's here and everybody benefitted from it. The President couldn't have solved that, I don't think his TV statement was as bad as somebody thought it was . . . Chattanooga and Knoxville are the core of the TVA. We've got a big lake down here and any number of employees, but at that stage I don't think it should have

J.B.: What did?

W.C.: Well, if you had to say one thing the fear of being trigger happy probably hurt more than social security or TVA in this area. They had some very damaging adds on television that came through here, but just generally why change. Johnson's in there, a little afraid of Goldwater, and he was pretty damn outspoken sometimes, you know. This area went for Eisenhower by a few votes in 1952 . . . Tennessee, real big in '56, and then we went for Nixon both times too. Harry Truman was the last Democrat that Tennessee has voted for, I think, up to Johnson. So maybe our constituency was such that they were just sitting there waiting for him to come along

and get beat, but to vote for Nixon twice more gives you some idea, and we didn't have all that much going, you know, you get a real fine organization.

J.B.: You mean Nixon twice and Eisenhower twice.

W.C.: Yeah, Eisenhower twice and what did I say?

J.B.: Goldwater.

W.C.: New grass roots, new rolling can do so much in one thing but just 2% maybe. I'd like to think I could run in an election and through hard nosed grass root workers change the 2%, because you can win a hell of a lot of elections by 52%. We are well organized here now, we can give you a computer print out on just about every precinct, date of birth, general classification of the occupation, how they registered, I don't mean how they registered, how they voted in the last three elections, which primary they chose. This came from . . . when Brock first went up there, there was a real sophisticated machine that you had to rent, that he and Cramer and Calloway went in and purchased it and started us on some stuff. We became programized and sold on the ideas, and now we have local banks and other institutions that will give us the data processing we need to throw one out, and we can . . . We can give you a campaign here that really is second to none.

J.B.: Is that only in Hamilton County, or is that state-wide?

W.C.: Hamilton County. Well, I'd say we have got it 75% in Memphis, that's about all.



W.D.: Is that the thing that Win Martin was working with? From Atlanta?

W.C.: I don't know.

J.B.: But the computerized voting list are those that you have put together . . . the Republicans have put together, the state does not have computerized registration?

W.C.: No, and you can get computerized voting lists, but I am talking about computerized information sheet . . . all this stuff where you actually go through and manually put this information down before you put it on a punched card, and that is a hell of a lot of work.

J.B.: What's on the list?

W.C.: Well . . .

J.B.: You get the voter registration list and what does that provide? Just the name and the address?

W.C.: Yeah, that's all.

J.B.: Does it provide race?

W.C.: No.

J.B.: It doesn't provide race or occupation?

W.C.: No, nor date of birth. Seeing date of birth make a pitch to the young and the people like senior citizens.

J.B.: But you had to go get that separately?

W.C.: Oh yeah. We had to actually flip through there and write it down.

J.B.: How do you get the date of birth, from vital statistics?

W.C.: No. it's on the registration car.

J.B.: Oh, it's on the registration card.

W.C.: We have 110,000 registered voters in Hamilton County, that takes a hell of a lot of work.

J.B.: How much of the information is on the card?

W.C.: The only information that we have on there is what is on the registration card.

J.B.: Oh, I see. Okay, so the registration card includes occupation, date of birth, is race on there?

W.C.: I'd say it was on there up until the last two years. It also shows on the back which elections you voted in.

J.B.: Right.

W.C.: It's stamped if you voted in the Republican primary and we can . We classify them if they voted in as many as two out of three in one race we make that classification. We classify and consequently we send our mailing out with that tone. You know, you don't talk to everybody the same way.

W.D.: Do you have a full time staff?

W.C.: Oh yeah. I guess we have had a full time staff and a full time office since, I guess since '64.

J.B.: When you really began to get into it, . . .

W.D.: Is that the only full time county staff in the state?

W.C.: I'd say there is four, probably. I'd be sure that Memphis has one, Nashville probably and probably Knoxville. We've come a long way. I think in 1962 there were 25 . . . no, 16 house members, this was strictly a one party state. The legislature was just a rubber stamp.

The Governor would say here is the program boys, and I know what you all want and we'll work something out, and that was it. Two Congressmen, no Senators, no Governor, or nothing. We've gone from 16 to 49, we have five out of eight Congressmen, both Senators and a Governor. So we've got a lot to sell in Tennessee, and up until recently it wasn't too hard to get money, because we were constantly proceeding succeeding and you know, showing them. "You guys, here is what is to be done." Yet when we defeated Ross Bass, Ross Bass was labor man. Tennessee is still a right to work state, and he was giving a lot of consideration to feelings at that time. Small industry and large industry got real upset, what can they do, a lot of people, and they saw fit to help us at that time. I don't know whether it was because of campaigns or whether it was because of the time. We elected people, and we went back to them and said see, we told you what we could do, but it does take money to run these type operations, and here again like Watergate, this money is going to come harder, I guess we'll have to curtail our activities to some degree. I don't think they'll close up because as long as we can pay rent, we'll have enough volunteer people in there to do it. We have  $2\frac{1}{2}$  people right now . . .

J.B.: In the early days in getting it started, how much of his personal money did Brock throw in into the organization and structure and just getting things going?

W.C.: I don't know. I'd say in the early years, the Brocks, not Bill, he has an outstanding family here,

you know. I'd say in the early years, the Brock family probably carried about one-third of the load down here, and we have always done a real fine job money raising.

J.B.: Has that share decreased?

W.C.: No, it's gung ho. No, as it grew along, they are like a lot of wealthy people . . .

J.B.: Has their share decreased?

W.C.: Oh decreased, I thought you said increased. Oh, I'd just say that they are now just solid supporters, no, they are not financially picking up the tab by any means. Good solid supporters and that's it, like one of another hundred, maybe.

J.B.: Well is there anything else?

W.C.: That's about all I can do.

(End interview with Bill Carter.)