

Interview with John Paul Hammerschmidt, Republican Representative from Arkansas, January 29, 1974, [Washington, D.C.?], conducted by Jack Bass and Walter de Vries, transcribed by Linda Killen.

Jack Bass: What we're especially interested in asking you is just really. . . both the development of the Republican party in Arkansas, the how and the why, and your role in it. Where you see it going.

Hammerschmidt: Well, I guess you would have to recognize. . . and I think the facts would bear this out. . . that Arkansas is the toughest of the old southern Democrat states. It's the only one that never went Republican at the national level until this last Nixon landslide. And of course when it did, it went 69.3%. He carried all 75 counties. Which was a sort of amazing phenomenon in that the other reactive years in the South, of Eisenhower or Goldwater. . . . You know, some or all of the other states, at one time or another, went Republican. But Arkansas never did. Even in Reconstruction days, they elected a slate of electors, the only time they ever did that, and they came to Washington and voted Democrat. So that was the first time that they'd ever cast votes for a Republican president in the electoral college was in the last presidential. . . . So Arkansas, I guess, was more entrenched with the old hang ups that are semantical in a large degree. You know, I'm a Democrat. Damn it, I'm Democratic. Because. . . of course, two main reasons. The Civil War and the Great Depression. And varying degrees of both.

Walter de Vries: You don't think Winthrop Rockefeller changed any of that?

Hammerschmidt: Oh, yes. Well, Arkansas was one of those southern

states where the Republican party consisted mainly of a fairly closed clique, what you call post office Republicans that existed for possible patronage in Republican presidential years. I think you know that syndrome better than I do. Before Winthrop came along, though, there were signs of breaking through that barrier. In fact, during the Taft-Eisenhower struggle, there were some meaningful moves made in the rules, which really laid the groundwork to overcome that tight knit organization the Republicans had and to really begin to have some democratic processes at work within the Republican party. And that was not foreseeing that Win was coming along, but it was fortunate that it happened before he came along because that's something that had to happen before he could become effective. But it still remained a very minor force.

J.B.: What was the basic change that was made to allow that opening up?

Hammerschmidt: If I remember right, and you could look this up, I think, but if I remember right, the rules were such that the executive committee was comprised of 15 at large people. I don't know the figures for sure any more. It's been a long time. And certain party elected people, like the national committeemen and state chairmen. There was a device in there whereby it was controlled by the state chairmen and the national committeemen, through a 15 at large selection process. And then besides that it had the old. . . the gubernatorial candidates of the Republican party who were, had run for the office of governor, were automatically on there. I've forgotten just how that was put together. Just merely go back and research that. I could give you the name of a man that could tell you specifically how it was because he was very instrumental in doing it. A man named Ben Henley. His brother's a federal

judge.

J.B.: Where is he located?

Hammerschmidt: He's in Harrison, Arkansas. He's an attorney there. He was chairman of the rules committee that year and they began to make this move. Later he became state chairman. And I was sort of a protege of his. I mean I followed him around the state conventions. And even though I was without portfolio, I had a lot of voice in things because he just allowed me to consult with him a lot. But anyway, then later, of course the great break through was made because of Win Rockefeller.

J.B.: Before we get in to that, how did you get involved in the Republican party?

Hammerschmidt: Mainly through. . . . I come really from Democrat heritage. My father, I suppose, raised me independent. My mother is from a very strong Democratic party. But I became disillusioned with the philosophical direction that the party was going in on the national level. That's one aspect of it. And then the Democrats also had a very closed society in Arkansas at the state level, in state politics. You really couldn't participate unless you were part of a clique and you went along with things. And I guess just because I opted for competition in government, the way I viewed it at least, I became involved. And more specifically I became involved because of my friendship with this man I mentioned, Ben Henley.

J.B.: And this was when?

Hammerschmidt: '47-8. After the war.

J.B.: You'd been a veteran at that time?

Hammerschmidt: Uhuh.

J.B.: I'm curious about that because why. . . how did you react to

the McMath movement that was going on then that I understand was sort of a veteran's movement?

Hammerschmidt: Well, I wasn't necessarily all that enchanted with that particular activity. For one thing, McMath was a very liberal man. He's almost a populist in philosophy and I didn't agree with that. I came up in the world of small business and free enterprise and all those principles that I happen to believe in. I just sort of grew up that way.

J.B.: philosophical and desirable competitive?

Hammerschmidt: Yeah, I would say so.

J.B.: I just wanted to understand that.

Hammerschmidt: And I always felt that the total one party system we had was really a fraud on the people. They had no selective process. The Democrat primary was tantamount to election. And it was fairly well controlled. And you have many candidates perpetuating themselves in office simply because within their own party structure they had enough power to get rid of any meaningful opposition. That's happened time after time. Take the case of Sen Fulbright. He also perpetuates a myth, an invincible myth, along with that.

W.D.V.: What's the myth?

Hammerschmidt: Well, that he's invincible. [laughter.]

W.D.V.: Self fulfilling.

Hammerschmidt: Well, you know, I'm not saying that from the standpoint of sour grapes or dislike him. I'm saying that as an objective, political observer if you study exactly what he's done. He's done a very good job of it.

J.B.: You were getting ready to talk about Rockefeller.

W.D.V.: You said Win made the break through.



Hammerschmidt: Oh yes. You know, you needed. . . . When Win decided to become identified with the Republican party. . . . Not that he didn't necessarily want to be identified with them. . . but he was already doing quite a bit of grass roots work under the name of two party movement or something like that. I've forgotten now what it was called. But it was essentially to make people realize that they did need a choice and competition in government. And then at the time that Win, I guess decided to become involved because he had time or he put aside some other activities, the Republican party actively enlisted his help. And we talked about two ways to go. You know, to build at the grass roots level and all that theory and build on that and that was pretty unrealistic in a southern state. Its a hard way to do it. So we discussed that we needed a man on a white horse leading the charge. And he might get shot down once, but if he did, he had to get back up and charge again. Which is really what happened to Win. You know, he got defeated the first time he ran. Of course Faubus didn't run the second time and that might not have been the same story. But anyway, he did win the second time. And so the Republican party was put, was enlarged. . . or at least a group of Rockefeller followers was enlarged. I'm not sure how. . . . That's an unusual coalition they put together there in the state of Arkansas and it was a very tenuous, thin one. You know, the size of his victories were fairly slim. And it was a sort of unusual one in that you had a man who was moderate and built nearly all of his platform and his effort on wanting to serve the people, I think in a humanitarian way, which is in keeping with all of his family's approach. But those people, the moderates, who also were very tired of, for one thing, of 12 years of one party rule by a governor. . . even though

I think he was a pretty good administrative governor, Faubus. But you had those people plus those who called themselves Republicans, which was a pretty narrow group in Arkansas. But you know, it added up to 51 or 52%. It's not the standard philosophical Republican group that I might be able to put together if I was trying to put together a state wide group. I would opt for the normal philosophy of the Republican party as we think of the Republican party. Not necessarily the Ripon branch of it, but the. . . .

W.D.V.: Well, was it Rockefeller's personality that held it together?

Hammerschmidt: Yes, his personality. . . many things. . . all the things that go with a Rockefeller, yes.

W.D.V.: But it was his administration that held that coalition together?

Hammerschmidt: Yes, it was, yes. And I think that Win was a catalyst for people that wanted to do something in a political way. I think he was a catalyst for people who wanted to fulfill some dreams that they had.

J.B.: In political action?

Hammerschmidt: Uhuh. Through politics, through participation and that sort of thing.

J.B.: How much of a key to his success was the state of the Democratic party at that time?

Hammerschmidt: Oh, I would say that it was bound to be a part of it. Because after 12 years, I guess, Faubus was in there, it had become pretty encrusted with machine politics, if that's a good word for it. And you know, it's hard for a governor. . . he loses control of all of his apparatus after a while. This was happening to him. I don't think

there was any out and out corruption. I'm talking about monetary corruption. There was plenty of political corruption in the state of Arkansas at that time. So I guess it played quite a role in Win's success in becoming governor.

W.D.V.: When he was defeated, what happened to the Republican party? Did you go back to where you were before that time? Is about the only tangible result your election, your election as a Congressman?

Hammerschmidt: Yes it is, except this other aspect. Win made a breakthrough and laid the ground work for something else . . . and this is sort of inconsistent, paradoxical or something. In that, you see, they did vote for Nixon. It was an anti-McGovern vote, but they did vote for Nixon. They allowed themselves to be called Republicans on the ballot for the first time. And a big majority. So I had great hopes that we might begin to build on that base at the national level, in a state wide way and eventually perhaps become another Tennessee and go the way Virginia is going and South Carolina. But along comes Watergate now. So that may remove that. I don't know. I think it's too early to say. Whether Watergate's going to have the same problems--  
[Interruption.]

W.D.V.: But no other state wide officers have been elected as Republicans and the legislature hasn't. . . nothing's really changed there, either, has it? So the only tangible result then in a sense is your election and re-election.

Hammerschmidt: Yeah, I've had three re-elections since then. I've been elected four times.

W.D.V.: Your plurality's increased, haven't they?

Hammerschmidt: Yeah. I was elected two to one twice and then three to one. Or about 79%.

W.D.V.: And you were hoping that the almost 70% that Nixon got would be a way to build a party based on that? [Unclear.]

Hammerschmidt: Well, you know what's happened in Tennessee. Twelve years ago, if I remember right, they had one house seat, maybe two, over in east Tennessee, over in Republican districts. Now of course they have a majority of the House, both Senators and a governor from the old stronghold of Memphis. And a sizeable portion of their general assembly. Well, you can build in that direction, too. Once you can get people to perhaps allow themselves to say "I support a Republican." The name, the name. They support the philosophy pretty well. And then, too, the Republicans maybe in Arkansas will not have lost this coalition entirely because. . . . Well, I have a reputation of being a very conservative Congressman, my voting record will point that out. I guess this disclaimer comes from all sorts of politicians but I feel that I am more moderate. My principles and my concerns are certainly. But our party is that way, too. We're not really a redneck agin everything sort of party. We don't have those people.

[Interruption.]

There are a lot of people still in place in our party who have the same dreams and aspirations that Win Rockefeller had and I like to think that I'm one of them. So it's more of a centralist position.

J.B.: How would you summarize Rockefeller's dreams and aspirations?

Hammerschmidt: Well, I guess if you're going to summarize it, that you would want the government to be responsible toward helping people where they needed help. And in overcoming some of the obvious pitfalls of society such as the black man's position in the South. I think that government can harm people badly if it becomes involved in their lives to

a grave degree. And that's a delicate balance to find in the operation of government. I think that they do have to do certain things to help people. You merely have to go down a shopping list to see what those are. But. . . .

W.D.V.: Do you feel the Republican party now is any stronger than it was four years ago or six years ago? In terms of voting for Republican candidates?

Hammerschmidt: In Arkansas?

W.D.V.: Yeah.

Hammerschmidt: No.

W.D.V.: Has it stayed about the same? Has it decreased?

Hammerschmidt: When you speak of the Republican party in Arkansas now, you nearly have to speak of the Democrat party and what's happened to them. Because we have a lot of disenchanted Democrats that have gone back now because they did break that. . . . Win Rockefeller was the best thing that ever happened to the Democratic party in Arkansas. Because they realized that they had to speak to the needs of all the people as far as participating in politics. And they elected a moderate, very articulate type governor, very attractive. And people are naturally inclined to be Democrats unless you give them a good reason not to be. The Democrats have pretty well done all right within the state. I think nationally, as it pertains to the South, they still have a problem. In my opinion. I think that if Strauss can't get it all back together he's going to continue to have problems in the South. And we will continue to try to build on that very thing. Talking about what they represent at the national level.

W.D.V.: But as you look ahead, do you think the Republicans have a

chance to win the state wide office in the near future?

Hammerschmidt: Oh, I think it's possible. No one quite knows what Watergate means. If it truly means 10% off the top, as Sen Goldwater said in a press conference last week and I think he's probably wrong but who knows. . . . And you're dealing with a very narrow break through. For instance like my break through in the Congressional district, which was 53.6%. Well, then 10% becomes meaningful as heck. You know, that's meaningful in just about any election. I don't know whether the people will treat that. . . . And the Democrats will be able to capitalize on it as another major position to our people who tend to, because of their heritage, you know, they tend. . . just like they do nationally and the Democrats are good at pointing out. . . . You know, the Republican party is the party of the fat cats and the Democratic party is the party of the little man. If they can continue to exploit that in Watergate and make it another Great Depression watershed in politics, another Civil War type thing. . . . You know, no one knows yet.

W.D.V.: Anybody on the horizon in 1974 that can challenge Bumpers?

Hammerschmidt: Not at the moment. If he runs for governor, which he hasn't announced yet. He may run for the Senate. He's still trying to decide that, publicly at least. No, I doubt if we could challenge him effectively at this time.

J.B.: Doesn't Watergate almost create more of a problem for people like yourself, for Republicans in Congress, than for Democrats? From the standpoint of wanting to be loyal to the top of the party and at the same time ~~not~~ wanting to be convinced that you should be loyal and the effect of what it's going to have on the party?

Hammerschmidt: Well, I suppose that in my particular case, the composition of my district over there, which is really probably about 85% Democratic, that there will be some party line defection from those people who voted for me in the past. Because I've had nearly 80% of the vote. I can't help but see how there can't help but be a little bit of a rub off there. I don't know to what degree. But the worst thing it does, it inspires young politicians to think that it's going to be worse than it probably will be. You know, it gets them all excited. And these young political science students and lawyers all say "Good grief, this is a Democrat year." And they all get out and start running. [Laughter.] That's the worst thing it does. It creates a lot of opposition.

W.D.V.: They start running against incumbents because they figure it's the anti-incumbent.

Hammerschmidt: Yeah, but, you know, down there they would rather run against a Republican.

J.B.: In most of South except perhaps Tennessee where the Republican party is really now the predominant party, or certainly very close to it--I'd say probably is. Except for Tennessee, in most of the South this situation will make it difficult in recruiting candidates, or not?

Hammerschmidt: I'm afraid that it will. I'm afraid that they just won't think this is a good year. I'm talking about this year. I think in time we're going to. . . . I'm still optimistic about us building that party in Arkansas. We just don't. . . you know, these are long swings and we've got a very attractive governor. He's smart politically. And we just have to wait for a little better time. We have to wait for them to make some mistakes.

J.B.: Where do you see the Republicans in Arkansas developing more



or less a cadre of candidates for the future?

Hammerschmidt: Well, they're awfully hard to come by. Gosh darn, it's one of the toughest problems. If you think about candidates coming out of the law schools, why, you know, they're all Democrats. It's just natural because they have to practice in Democrat courts and the whole structure's just geared up to be a Democrat. And since about 40 to 60% of candidates come from that particular academic training, why that, you know, precludes a lot of your market. It's tough. It's one of the toughest things in the South, I think, to find candidates.

W.D.V.: You say you view yourself as a moderate but you have a conservative voting record. How would you view yourself in relationship to your other colleagues from the South who are Republicans? Where would you stand in that group in the House?

Hammerschmidt: Well, I am. . . in my opinion. . . of course you're writing about the South. I started to pick some from other parts of the country. I'm not John Birch-y. I don't dismiss something out of hand just because, you know. . . to be against it. You'll find me voting on all the appropriation bills. I just vote for the more moderate figure. And you all know, because it's your business. But you know, an ACA grading or an <sup>D</sup>ABA grading or all those other type ratings. Those are usually vehicles for political purposes more than a real evaluation of anything. You know, they make that come out about any way they want to on the way they rig the votes. But of course I have a high ACA and a zero <sup>D</sup>ABA. But, to answer your question, I think that we have some that are just very hard line conservatives that just. . . . On the other hand, we got some moderate people from the South, too. Of course you asked about the South. I think of some. . . some of our reactionary

hard line conservatives coming from the west coast and some other areas than the South. Although there are a few in the South.

W.D.V.: The reason I asked that is, you know, Kevin Phillips' hypothesis in the book on the emerging Republican majority is that essentially the Republican party has to be conservative and a very right wing party in the South in order to succeed. And I wanted to get your attitude on that.

Hammerschmidt: Well, I'm not sure that that's totally true in Arkansas for the reason I mentioned earlier, in that our Republican base was put together a little different and our state didn't overreact, say in the Goldwater election, if that's what that was, like Mississippi or some of those states. So I'm not entirely sure. . . .

W.D.V.: You're not sure that the way to win in Arkansas is to have conservative candidates clearly identified as such.

Hammerschmidt: Not necessarily, no.

W.D.V.: Because Rockefeller demonstrated, in a sense, that a moderate--

Hammerschmidt: That's right.

W.D.V.: --candidate, maybe based on personality, had a chance to win. That would be a little bit different than some of the other Southern states.

Hammerschmidt: I think it would. Of course there's always a race connotation with that. Whether it's there or not, it's there. And I don't think that that's at all necessary in Arkansas.

W.D.V.: V. O. Key said in his book that if you understood the politics of race in any southern state, you understood that state's politics. Do you think that's changed at all in the last 25 years since he wrote that?

Hammerschmidt: Oh yeah, oh sure.

W.D.V.: It has. How has it changed in your state?

Hammerschmidt: Well, that was the favorite demogogic item, you know, for the Democrats. Faubus years.

W.D.V.: Could somebody do that in 1974? Push that button and get elected on that basis?

Hammerschmidt: I wouldn't think so and I would hope not. I just don't think it's there anymore.

W.D.V.: So that's a major change that has occurred in the last 25 years?

Hammerschmidt: I think so. Yeah. I do.

W.D.V.: As you think back to 1948, when you first got involved, are there any other major changes that have occurred in the state? Political changes?

Hammerschmidt: Political changes? [Long pause.] Well, Arkansas is a more affluent and sophisticated state than you might think unless you're familiar with it. If you're not familiar with it you go in and will probably be surprised. That has probably moderated the old hard line New Deal Democrat feeling that existed from the depression days, I think. That's pretty vague and pretty hard to put your finger on, but I believe that it opened up the way for independent thinking. And I believe that if you could put your finger on what the true philosophy is in Arkansas, not using the terms Republican and Democrat, that there is that big broad segment of independence that keeps broadening. And it's that group that any state wide candidate or any party would be after all the time. And I think that that middle segment is one of moderation and centrist position, rather than one of extreme conserva-

tive or liberal. And I think you can follow through, as you all probably will in your research, some of the racist candidates that have been elected and maybe see that that's so.

W.D.V.: But you're saying the Faubus days are over, when a candidate like Faubus can get elected--

Hammerschmidt: Based on Central High School in Little Rock, yeah. I think so.

J.B.: What was the effect of Central High School in Little Rock? Eisenhower's sending in the troops. What was the effect of that on the Republican party in Arkansas?

Hammerschmidt: Well, the Republican party, by and large, took the other side of that issue, I think.

J.B.: Did it set back the development of the party at that time?

Hammerschmidt: Yes.

J.B.: Substantially.

Hammerschmidt: Yes.

J.B.: Just like in the rest of the South.

Hammerschmidt: Sure.

J.B.: I just wondered. . . . My real question was whether or not it was perceived differently from within Arkansas than without in the rest of the South.

Hammerschmidt: No, I doubt it. Except I think that Central High . . . . Many people around the world and in this country think that a lot more happened at Central High than really happened there. You know, I mean they sent the troops in but of course there was no one injured, no one shot. You can find people. . . I've talked with who think a dozen people were killed or something. It was all a symbolic thing. Of course it was action, too, in that they sent the troops down, but. . . .

J.B.: When you first got active in the party, was there an active black Republican group in Arkansas at that time as in many of the southern states?

Hammerschmidt: No. No there wasn't. And of course that's one thing that Win Rockefeller did. He brought in quite a few black people. He appointed the first black major head. . . head of a major agency with in state government for the first time that any governor had ever appointed. [A boy?] named <sup>Sonny</sup>~~Sang~~ Walker. Incidentally, Win disagreed with Sonny's philosophy. Saying this off the record to you. Sonny's kind of black around Little Rock. Pretty good, though. A real leader. That part I want to say off the record. But Win could appreciate his leadership and thought that he could change him around and turn him into a constructive man and he really did. Sonny's quite an executive now. He's the regional director of OEO in Atlanta. Quite a fellow. He attracted a lot of black people. No, the black party was the party of the Democrats. I mean they were predominantly all Democrat.

J.B.: Even back then?

Hammerschmidt: Yeah, oh yeah. And largely then led by the church leaders that normally do lead in the South. At least they did, through the development of the blacks in the South.

J.B.: Were you surprised to get Congressman Mills' endorsement last time?

Hammerschmidt: Well, I really got it my second re-election. Oh, not especially. We've had a very good, close working relationship. You know, when I came up here as the only Republican ever really in Congress from Arkansas, I sort of had to be the one, I guess, that established rapport within the delegation. What it was going to be. And it's been

a very good relationship. They don't treat me partisanly or any other way. We all. . . as far as serving the people, you know, we all, naturally, we divide on partisan issues. But I've had a very good relationship with all of my colleagues.

J.B.: Does the delegation work closely together on matters affecting Arkansas?

Hammerschmidt: They sure do.

W.D.V.: More so than most states?

Hammerschmidt: I wouldn't be surprised. I wouldn't be surprised. together.

J.B.: How about say the projects back in Arkansas and so forth. Do you sort of do a lot of that because of being a Republican in a Republican administration?

Hammerschmidt: Yeah. You know, that's normal. I don't announce projects in other Congressional districts, however.

J.B.: How about state wide?

Hammerschmidt: State wide. . . if they involve the entire state, I do many times. And also I'm. . . we're very actively involved in all these things. You know, many people might get the impression that that's just a pro forma announcement. But some of those things, we have been deeply involved in. Talk about substantively. So therefore we think we really have the right to announce them. I know a lot of the people might not understand that.

J.B.: How do you assess Wilbur Mills' role both in Congress and in Arkansas?

Hammerschmidt: Well. . . he, I think, is one of the great Congressmen, probably of all times. Because of his long tenure in office, of

course, he's developed power by being chairman of the committee that handles almost all legislation. It touches just about everything, that Ways and Means Committee. Of course originates all the tax legislation. But underneath that, of course, he's developed power in another way that much of the public is not aware of, either in Arkansas or across the nation. Now those who deal with government are. And that's the way that the Democrat party appoints it's members to committees and selects their chairmen, through the seniority system. In that you know the Ways and Means Committee is also the committee on committees. Whereas the Republicans do it in a different sort of a weighted. . . by state democratic procedure. Theirs is just arbitrarily the Ways and Means committee. As such, serving also as chairman of that committee, he's just about appointed everybody to a committee that has that position, see. And you can see the tremendous power that gives you in the infrastructure of the Democratic party. But he's used that, I think, wisely and fairly or it would have been taken away from him. And I think he probably will be the last chairman ever to wield that power in that party. Not because of other personalities, but because of Congressional reform. They're just not ever going to let this happen again within that party. But Wilbur has, of course, I think, been good for the state because anybody that has that power can use it. And I don't think he uses it in a pork barrel sense any more than anyone else tries to get something for their own state or district. But of course all the South has powerful men because. . . just, you know, it's a solid Democrat South and they are used to perpetuating their people in office and that automatically makes them chairmen at some time or another. And once they become chairman then they have the power that goes with that, whether it's Eastland or McClellan or. . . . They all serve. . . within the line. That's one thing the



solid Democrat South did. You know when you look at the South and its position in economic affluence at least, I don't know that that's particularly served the South all that well. Look to see where Mississippi is on the scale or where Arkansas is and how long they've had affluence. Maybe that's just a good sign that we do have a good democratic system up here and less pork barreling than the public print sometimes says.

[Interruption?]

--of the poverty program. You know, they pointed out this. It was when the government was, in my opinion, somewhat overreacting, as they do to most subjects. And they were going to save everybody from poverty. Stone county was one of those counties that showed up the best, statistically, as having the have nots, you know. And of course it was in Mr Mills' district at that time, which I'm sure didn't hurt anything. But it just fit all the criteria for these programs, you know. Pilot project. Culturally deprived folks. So they built a cultural center there. But there's something else though. It was blessed with one of the great gifts of nature in this Blanchard Springs Cavern. And that's where a big part of the expenditure has occurred. About \$3 or 4 million of it. And it's a cavern that's larger than Carlsbad and the US Forest Service owns it. And it just happened to be in Stone County, too. So it's about half of whatever they spent down there, which I think is maybe \$5 or 6 million.

W.D.V.: Are you familiar with the Institute of Politics in Arkansas?

[Static.]

J.B.: Is that because of just not having the financial resources that Rockefeller provided, that you don't do as much now?

Hammerschmidt: Well, Win was one that never. . . . It's a Rocke-

feller trait. Not just Win's, but Lawrence and David's and all of them. It's a philanthropic policy to make people do something for themselves before they ever give any money. And Win always made the party do that, too. As far as the party itself goes. Now he has his own campaign structure, which was funded lavishly. But it wasn't necessarily party. The party got some fall out from his activities, but still, he did a lot of subsidizing on the side. Just social events and things, the benefit of which accrued to the Republican party. But you know, Win has this very attractive son, Win Paul. He's spent a great part of his life out of the country. But he's been back over here I think since he was about 21 and I guess Win is about 26 now. Married, has a little child. And he loves that farm. And Win was able to inspire in him the love of that cattle ranch up there, which Win really did love, and the business. So Win Paul has gone out and gotten . . . sort of educated himself to know more about that operation. He's going to a special school for this business. . . designing cattle raising or something. But at some point, I would hope and expect that Win Paul would begin to play an active role in Republican politics. Of course that would be a great thing because it would bring him, as an attractive personality, but all the power and prestige that a Rockefeller brings to an operation like that. My feeling is that Win Paul wants to do this. He thinks it would be somewhat presumptuous to force himself on. . . you know, to begin to play too high level a role right now in the Republican party. He has some humility about the whole thing. But I think that he wants to get his personal life in order and see where he wants to go. Win's death was a tragic thing to him. You know, see where he's going. And then I think he'll remain in Arkansas, which he says he's going to do. There's great help to the Republican party.

W.D.V.: As the only real live Republican office holder, in the state, isn't there any pressure on you to run for the US Senate or to run for governor?

Hammerschmidt: Uhhuh.

W.D.V.: How do you respond to that?

Hammerschmidt: Well, I just said "No comment." to those inquiries that have been made. I of course think on it. People have asked me.

W.D.V.: But you don't intend to run?

Hammerschmidt: Well, if there was a good chance of winning, or a pretty sure chance, shown by polling, it's possible that I might.

W.D.V.: Because the people in Arkansas aren't all that different outside your district, are they? And somebody making the argument that if you get 80-85% of the vote with this constituency, why can't you transfer?

Hammerschmidt: [Garbled.]

J.B.: Is there anything we haven't discussed that you wanted to mention to us that would give us any better understanding into Arkansas or Republican politics or Republican politics in Arkansas or in the South?

Hammerschmidt: No.

J.B.: Where do you think the future of the Republican party in the South lies?

Hammerschmidt: Well, I think in Arkansas it's going to depend a great deal on what happens to the Democratic [Party] at the national level. It may be a funny thing to say, but I think, to be candid with you, if the crazies keep hold of the party and they go that direction, we have great opportunities. If they're able to put together

at the national level a coalition that is acceptable to Arkansas voters, they're just going to be inclined to go with the Democratic party.

W.D.V.: Is it fair to say that if you look back over the last 25 years that three major political events. . . . One is Win Rockefeller breaking through. One was your own break through. And perhaps the last in the 1972 election where you have a break through at the presidential level. That in terms of the established party patterns--  
[End of side of tape. End of interview.]