

**JAMES HOLSHOUSER**  
... Governor-Elect  
And GOP Leader ...



**JESSE HELMS**  
... New Senator's  
Effect Uncertain ...



**HARGROVE BOWLES**  
... Will He Seek  
Governorship Again? ...



**JAMES T. BROYHILL**  
... Possible GOP  
Senate Candidate ...



**ROBERT MORGAN**  
... Likely Choice  
To Run For Senate ...



**GOV. BOB SCOTT**  
... Democratic  
Senate Possibility ...

Key To Gains Lies In Hands Of Holshouser

# UNC Political Scientists Eye Future Of GOP In State

By GARY FREEZE

CHAPEL HILL — Imagine a rough outline of the geographical shape of North Carolina scratched in the dirt. Clustered near the center are marbles of many shapes and sizes — sparkling flints; white, black, and red solids; and multi-tinted cateyes.

Two marble players poise at the outline with steel shooters wedged between thumb and index finger. One has a large, heavy, well-used steel. The other has one that is smaller but smoother and shinier.

Both thump simultaneously. After a loud smack the marbles in the center scatter throughout the shape of the Old North State. Hastily, each player reaches to retrieve his shooter, grabbing his initial wins as he does. Both prepare to continue shooting, each aiming for the majority of the marbles.

In a symbolic sense, several University of North Carolina political scientists see state politics in a similar vision following the November general election — political marbles scattered and ready to be picked off by either the Democratic or Republican Party.

Just like the cluster of marbles, Dr. Thad L. Beyle, Dr. Merle P. Black, and Dr. Deil S. Wright, all members of the UNC political science faculty, said in recent interviews that they see 1972 as a year when traditional voting patterns were broken apart.

Looking back, these political analysts point to the extensive ticket splitting, Republican victories in high level elections, and the pronounced change in party identification by many voters as signs that N.C. politics is in a state of transition that can lead to the ultimate benefit of either or both parties.

It depends largely upon which side takes the sharpest aim at the scattered marbles. Right now, it appears to these professors that the Republicans are the sharper shooters.

Beyle, who teaches state politics and public policy, considers the gathering of Republican strength in this year's election as "an unusual confluence of circumstances that pushed the trend toward Republican gains over the top." The first factor, according to Beyle, was the combined effect of "the absence of George Wallace who would have probably sapped strength from the GOP ticket, the Democratic disaster at the top of the ticket in George McGovern, and the incumbency of President Nixon."

This, together with a second one seen by Beyle to be the defeat of Jim Gardner in the Republican gubernatorial primary, spurred "the massive ticket splitting all over the state" that carried victories to Nixon, Jesse Helms, and James Holshouser.

Black, who teaches Southern politics, agrees that 1972 seemed to be "the campaign for voters to go to the other party," but pointed out how struck he was with the new habit of N.C. voters to go Republican at high office levels while still "overwhelmingly putting Democrats in control of legislative and county offices."

Black emphasized that the real success of GOP candidates came from their genuine appeal to voters. He maintained, however, that he could not see that the party as a whole made "that many permanent inroads" during 1972.

He cautioned, "Maybe in four years people will feel that the Republicans don't look so much different than

Democrats and will vote the GOP out again."

Wright, who teaches intergovernmental relations and public administration, backed up the analysis that Republicans are at a point of success where they can either make the best or the worst of their new positions of power.

While Wright said that "this year's election didn't turn the corner for Republicans," he agrees with Beyle's view that in 1972 "Republicanism became a vehicle to election" in North Carolina.

Wright believes that the rise in Republican fortunes, particularly in the victories of Senator-elect Jesse Helms and Governor-elect James Holshouser, is the result of "a trend that has been building for some time."

Wright ties this trend into the growth of voter disenchantment with the Democratic Party because of its political inertia and its long stay in power.

Both Wright and Beyle referred to the same trend, one that political scientists often use to explain the growth of Republican support in the South.

The idea, in brief, proposes that Republican gains started to perk up in the 1950's with the presidential elections of Dwight D. Eisenhower, followed by advances into the gubernatorial races in the 1960's.

Apparently, the GOP is attaining elective progress in the South in a downward pattern on the political ladder.

Beyle explained that North Carolina followed the trend through the mid-Sixties down to successes on the Congressional level. "Then about 1968 a backoff occurred. I'm not sure why, possibly the influence of George Wallace. It's hard to tell," Beyle said.

Then came the spurt to the top this year. For the GOP the next question becomes where to go from here.

## Holshouser

All three professors emphasize that the key to further Republican gains lies in the hands of Holshouser. His very election as the first Republican governor in this state in this century was a powerful stimulus to GOP hopes, the professors believe, and how he handles himself in office should have larger implications.

Wright sees the Holshouser victory as a boost in the quality of future Republican candidates. The encouragement offered by the latest victories will help the GOP put up candidates with sounder backing, Wright believes.

Beyle spoke similarly. "Holshouser will be strong in Washington with the Nixon administration. He will be able to open doors that Bob Scott had to go through Linwood Holton in Virginia to get to. He will also stand in good stead with other governors."

Beyle and Black both warned that Holshouser must avoid the party discord that has stunted GOP gains in other Southern states.

Black emphasized this point. "Internal cohesion in a party tends to dissipate when the party tastes victory," he said. He warned that N.C. Republicans can fall prey to the bitter struggles that undercut GOP gains in Florida and Virginia during the 1960's.

"The same scenario can be played out right here," he said.

Beyle stressed that it will be important for Holshouser "to groom a candidate" for the 1976 election. He predicted that some Republican active

on the state level, probably in the General Assembly, will rise to prominence in the next couple years with the help of the new governor.

According to Beyle, the best training grounds for this rising successor could be the state Attorney General's office if Democrat Robert Morgan should resign in 1974 to run for Sam Ervin's seat in the U. S. Senate, an event that Holshouser's victory made very unlikely in Beyle's view.

"Morgan was practically programmed for the Senate race, but Holshouser's election caught him in a snare," he said.

The professor now sees the '74 race as a decisive battle by both parties to maintain strength. A GOP win would greatly sustain that party's new influence in the state.

To Beyle, Rep. James Broyhill of Lenoir appears to be the probable Republican candidate "if he can be talked into giving up his seniority in the House."

On the Democratic side, should Sen. Ervin not seek re-election, Beyle rules out Morgan and mentions Rep. Richardson Preyer of Greensboro along with current Gov. Bob Scott as possible candidates.

"With Holshouser's and Helms' elections the complexion of that race has changed considerably," he said.

Beyle sees Lt. Governor-elect Jim Hunt as the key Democrat in the coming four years. He foresees Hunt seeking the governorship in 1976, although he does not rule out the possibility of the defeated Skipper Bowles trying again.

Should this occur, Democratic unity may be harshly battered, Beyle believes. He finds the party in a present situation of disarray, split up into far too many factions. He cited the apparent incompatibility of the followers of outgoing Lt. Gov. Pat Taylor, Bowles, Senatorial candidate Nick Galifianakis, and Presidential contender Terry Sanford.

"All of these factions will have to contend with Hunt. After all he's the only fellow who won," Beyle said.

Black and Beyle both agreed that the lack of a strong party chairman hindered Democrats during the election and will hurt the chances of unity in the future.

Until a firm leader is established, N. C. Democrats appear to be remaining a party where "each candidate is on his own hook," as Wright commented.

All three professors referred to the attitudes of both parties toward minorities, blacks in particular. How each party responds to the cases of minorities will be important to their future development, the three believe.

Wright finds one of the strong points in Holshouser's campaign the broad base of support he gathered, including black support not customarily given a Republican.

Black concurred and warned, "If the Democratic party continues to fail to respond to the needs of minorities like blacks, a good, moderate candidate in the Republican ranks will win again."

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THE CHOWAN HERALD



**JAMES B. HUNT**  
... Rated As Key  
Democrat Currently ...

Black contrasted the Democratic parties in North Carolina and South Carolina to elaborate on this analysis. He explained that the S. C. party is a smaller, more cohesive unit that "saw the handwriting on the wall back in the Sixties" and acted to form a biracial coalition of Humphrey and Wallace supporters. Black thinks this coalition contributed significantly to the election of Gov. John West.

Beyle's interpretation of the Democratic need to win more black support centers on the impact of Holshouser as governor. "If Holshouser can gain support from blacks while in office, he can really unhinge Democratic political power in North Carolina," he said.

Beyle predicted that the new governor will appoint a black to a substantially important office in his administration. Speaking of the same type of coalition expounded by Black, Beyle said, "The Democrats can't take black support for granted anymore, and they can't put together a strong coalition of blacks and whites by pursuing traditional habits."

## Helms

Here the professors' views on Senator-elect Jesse Helms come into focus. None of the three are certain what effect the new senator will have upon GOP politics during the coming years, but are in agreement that the innovative techniques of the Helms campaign will have implications in future political wars.

Beyle commented, "Helms was just superorganized; he knew how to play the media game just right. Also Nixon's visit to Greensboro the weekend before the election boosted both Helms and Holshouser tremendously."

Black expects Helms to be "a Strom Thurmond type of Republican," voting with conservative Southerners in the Dixiecrat tradition. Black believes that it would be to the advantage of Democrats in the state to look closely at the Helms campaign to check their weaknesses and pick up ideas for strength in coming elections.

Wright is uncertain of the direction Helms will take in the party. "Right



**SENATOR SAM ERVIN**  
... Speculation High  
On Retirement ...

now Helms seems more concerned with ideology than party. That could change in the future but right now it's too difficult to tell. He certainly did not court the same wide base of support as did Holshouser. His future in the party will be interesting to watch," Wright said.

Remarkings on voting trends geographically in the state, the professors say that much is still to be learned from the change in voting patterns in different areas of the state.

Both Holshouser and Helms pulled chicks from the mortar in all three of the state's primary political regions — the mountains, the Piedmont, and the east.

Beyle explained that some political studies show that during the past decade Republican strength has maintained itself in the traditional stronghold of the mountains while picking up ground in the Piedmont.

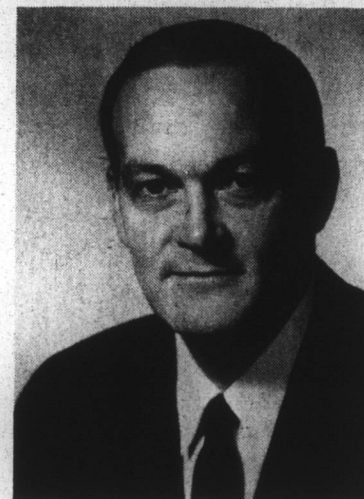
At the same time the Democrats appeared to be losing support in the Piedmont while holding constant in the east despite fairly successful efforts to break the eastern bulwark by Jim Gardner in 1968.

"But this year, there was a crash in the Piedmont, and Helms drove a sledgehammer into the east," Beyle said. "Somehow everything converged and Holshouser and Helms put together the traditional and the innovative to turn matters upside down," he continued.

This idea is bolstered by a statistical study finished recently by Fred Light, a graduate student in the UNC political science department.

The study traced voting patterns in North Carolina using aggregate county returns. By comparing results from different elections Light was able to trace co-relations in the voting patterns of North Carolina counties during the last decade. Comparison showed which counties were the most alike in voting behavior and which were the least alike.

Light concluded from his study that during the Sixties "the increase in Republican strength was stable in regard to the geographical region." But



**RICHARDSON PREYER**  
... Seen As New  
Senate Candidate ...

1972 proved to be a different story. A jump occurred in the ranks of Republican support.

About this year Light said, "Helms' support shows up significantly different from the type of support prior Republican candidates received in those areas."

In contrast the study showed that Holshouser drew support from areas that are traditionally more Republican to a larger extent than did Helms or Nixon.

Light believes that the Helms campaign was directed to the same type of voter constituency that tended to support Gardner and Wallace in 1968, part of the coalition that the professors see in the scheme of state politics.

Light commented, "Clearly, Helms and Nixon in 1972 are something new in North Carolina politics, but just how the Republicans act to take advantage of their new gains remains to be seen."

So, the questions the political scientists keep in mind while looking back on the November election are two: — What directions will the Republican party take to increase and sustain their new strength in state politics?

— What steps will the Democratic party take to pull its defeated forces together and retain the dominance it has had on North Carolina politics during the 20th Century?

It appears, as Beyle said, that "everything is up for grabs right now." For Republicans the next several years will provide the opportunity to build up the urban base that Black sees they need in the Piedmont areas, keep the mountains stable, and continue to chip away at the Democratic east.

For Democrats it becomes essential to realign forces, find a unifying leader, and tighten the lack of cohesiveness that led to the laxity and neglect of factors that cost them some important offices in 1972.

The UNC professors predict politics in North Carolina are headed toward a future of change where the wealth of marbles will go to the player who shoots fastest and with the sharpest aim.

## A Nation Against God

Scripture -- Jeremiah 5:21-31.

## Illustrated BIBLE LESSON

By Alfred J. Buescher



GOD would allow the Babylonians to destroy the country and capture the people because they had turned from Him and refused to repent. — Jeremiah 5:19-22.



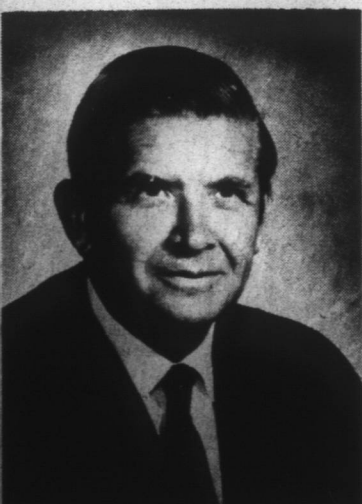
NOT ONLY did the people not fear God, they rebelled against Him and robbed themselves of any blessings He might have given them. — Jeremiah 5:23-25.



JEREMIAH warned that God would visit disaster upon His sinful people, particularly those who oppressed and enslaved the poor and fatherless. — Jeremiah 5:26-29.



THE PEOPLE were content with false teachers and corrupt leaders who misled and defrauded them. — Jeremiah 5:30-31.



**TERRY SANFORD**  
... Leader Of One  
Democratic Faction ...



**H. P. (PAT) TAYLOR**  
... Heads Another  
Strong Element ...