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"Politics '84"

Atwater

3/83

Bob Teeter and I agree that economic issues alone will be enough to motivate the middle class/populist swing group to vote Republican in 1984. The President needs to present a mix of economic, social, and foreign policy issues to build a winning coalition.

This memo examines what we believe is the ideal social issue to stress in 1984: quality of education.

The President strongly supports all the social issue positions contained in the 1980 Republican Platform. However, political reality dictates that we can't press for all of them at once.

We must select our 1984 issues carefully, with an eye to two key considerations:

- 1) High negatives: Do certain social issues face opposition so broadly-based as to divide our coalition?
- 2) Can't win: Do they face opposition so well-placed as to make it impossible for the President to achieve success by election time?

Quality of education springs to mind as a no-lose social issue. Not only is the issue important in its own right, but it subtly addresses larger issues. Schools are a microcosm of society. Other social issues (crime, morality, etc.) can be woven into our campaign for quality education. With this issue we can demonstrate the President's commitment to middle class, populist values, and deliver tangible results by 1984.

With quality education as our theme, we will score points with every parent in the country. In addition, educational quality should be projected as a "women's issue."

Richard Viguerie suggests that we will suffer from the gender gap so long as women's issues are limited to liberal causes like ERA, "reproductive rights," and stopping the "arms race." Viguerie asks: isn't the low quality of our children's education a women's issue? Or safeguarding our children from crime and drugs?

As a family-oriented issue, education is important to the New Right. We may not be able to deliver for them on voluntary school prayer and abolition of the Department of Education, but we can deliver some basic, "old time education."

Emphasis on education will please the neoconservatives. While not numerous, they are influential. Neoconservatives are uncomfortable with much of the Reagan social agenda, but a Presidential call for a return to discipline, excellence, and traditional values in the classroom will rally them.

The country as a whole is persuaded that teachers no longer teach, students no longer learn, and discipline no longer exists. Johnny can't read, can't write, can't add, can't subtract. High school diplomas indicate nothing more than 12 years of reasonably faithful, nonbelligerent attendance. Even as learning wanes, drugs and crime flourish. More than 50,000 teachers are physically assaulted on campus every year. Each month, 11% of high school students are victims of robbery or theft.

Concern about education quality cuts across political and ideological lines. Interestingly, so does the consensus solution. Everyone from Jesse Jackson to Jerry Falwell is saying that the remedy is a return to the traditional curriculum taught by a traditional teacher in a traditional classroom. A 1982 Roper Poll indicates that 98% of Americans favor more stress in schools on teaching basics.

Burt Pines of the Heritage Foundation recently published Back To Basics, whose title

alone capsulizes the people's gut feelings about what needs to be done to restore education. Americans want an end to trendy liberal fads in the academy and a return to traditional values and the three R's.

There is no question that the Republicans are on the right side of this issue, whereas the Democrats are on the wrong side. The contrast between the 1980 Republican Platform and that of the Democrats was clear. In 1980 the Democrats pursued their vacuous all-things-to-all people line ("The Democratic Party supports efforts to broaden students' knowledge and appreciation of other cultures, languages, and countries"). The GOP Platform, on the other hand, noted that schools were falling apart precisely because too many special interests were spoiling the broth, and pledged simply to "restore common sense and quality to education."

Minorities seem as enthusiastic about rigorous education as whites. President Reagan noted this in his trips to Providence-St. Mel High School in Chicago. Blacks of all political persuasions agree that basic skills are needed to escape poverty; and that those skills are not now being taught.

The trend is moving back in the direction of traditional education. Some 36 states have established minimum competency tests for promotion and/or graduation, almost all in the last five years. At least 12 states have tightened certification requirements for teachers in the last two years.

The back-to-basics movement is already bearing fruit. Scholastic Aptitude Tests rose slightly in 1982, the first increase after 19 straight years of decline. This encouraging sign comes on the heels of President Reagan's cutbacks in the rate of increase of federal aid to education, thus belying the Democrats' doomsaying.

President Reagan could lead the back-to-basics movement with rhetorical and programmatic support. The whole thrust of the movement is consistent with the traditional values shared by the President and the American people.

To be sure, the President is in tune with the public on most social/cultural/moral issues, but quality in education is unique because the issue is fresh and the political initiative is waiting to be seized.

The establishment does not openly oppose quality in education, as ^{it does} ~~they do~~ the school prayer amendment. Although three-fourths of the public supports an amendment, the media and judicial elite have effectively stymied any progress on this front. The voters come to learn this after hearing the rhetoric but not seeing any results. Politicians are expected to deliver, not merely posture on the issues.

The final report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education is due in late March. The report will offer concrete suggestions to immediately improve basic skills, science and math training, and tighten discipline. It is important that we emphasize that the Commission began its work back in August, 1981, long before education quality became a hot political issue.

There is a strong economic/jobs tie-in to the educational quality issue. The Conference Board reports that one-third of the companies it surveyed are forced to provide new employees with remedial education. We're not talking about high-tech companies that need their workers to operate computers, but firms that need their people to be able to read signs and manuals!

Boston's public schools and its local business community recently signed "The Boston

Compact." The schools promised in specific terms to raise performance standards for high school graduates. In return the business community agreed to hire a set number of graduates each year. No doubt this agreement will serve as a model of public-private sector cooperation in the future. Other policy straws in the wind include the Apple Computer bill the President endorsed last year and various proposals by Democratic Sens. Bradley, Glenn, and Tsongas.

President Reagan has already advanced a six-part program for educational improvement in 1983:

- 1) Tuition tax credits
- 2) Optional use of federal education funds to institute voucher plans
- 3) Education Savings Accounts (similar to IRA's)
- 4) Block grants to improve science and math instruction
- 5) Adopt-a-school programs
- 6) A renewed battle against illiteracy

The President is in a good position to deliver on all of these issues in the next year or so. Success in pursuing these policy goals will reap benefits with the populist middle class. Proposal #4, for example, ties into the public's alarm about the low quality of our technical and scientific training. Concern over this issue has not been so intense since the Sputnik period, although this time our rival is seen as Japan, not the USSR. Proposal #6, our fight against illiteracy, is being spearheaded by Legree Daniels of the National Black Republican Committee, who is working closely with the Rev. Bob Billings at the Dept. of Education. They aim to unite schools, parents, and the business community in an all-out effort to make every student literate enough to hold down a job in today's technological world.

Even as we pursue our own objectives, we should take a look at what the opposition is up to. The Democrats are all for improving education, but only so far as the effort does not conflict with the demands of key Democratic interest groups, such as the National Education Association. When there is a conflict between quality education and the desires of the teachers unions, the Democrats cave in to the unions every time.

In terms of 1984, we should not let the Democrats get away with posing as champions of education at the same time they kowtow to pressure groups with private agendas separate and distinct from the cause of quality education.

An issue like teacher competency puts the Democrats' hypocrisy into sharp focus. Everyone agrees that teachers should be tested and retested to assure their ability and effectiveness. Conservatives support the idea, moderates support it, even liberal organs like the New York Times and The New Republic support it. Everyone, that is, but the NEA and the American Federation of Teachers. Consequently, we will never hear a supportive word out of Walter Mondale or any other Democrat who desires the 1984 nomination.

Similarly, everyone agrees that there should be extra incentives to science and math teachers, to alleviate the current shortage and to better prepare American youth for the competitive, high-tech world of the 1980's. Everyone, that is, except for the NEA and AFT and thus Walter Mondale and the rest of the hopefuls.

President Reagan fights for the common good, even if the struggle gores a few sacred cows. Mondale and the Democrats fight to assure that the vested interests and "iron triangles" that back them will receive a larger piece of federal pork. This is a theme that has emerged in the media without any help from us. We must help develop this idea. It can be potent for us in 1984. We can contrast Ronald Reagan's time-tested traditional values against the trendy, costly, special-interest oriented policies of the Democrats.

Just as important, if we push now for quality in education, we can deliver demonstrable results to the voters by November, 1984.

Significantly, the most likely 1984 Democratic nominee--Walter Mondale--is also the most vulnerable to the charge of playing stooge for the NEA and the education establishment. Mondale is recalled as the Carter administration's leading proponent of a separate Department of Education. Joseph Kraft recently described Mondale as "the apple of (the NEA's) eye" in a column which disparagingly described how Mondale^{had} won over the activist mafias" in the Democratic Party.

There are ways for the President to thrust the educational quality fight into the forefront of the public consciousness. For example, the President speak at an NEA convention. The leadership of the NEA is, in the words of a Post reporter, "dedicated to helping defeat President Reagan." The President would be there to speak over the leadership's heads, to the NEA rank-and-file and to the American people.

Catholic John Kennedy scored a dramatic political coup by speaking to Protestant ministers in Houston in 1960. John Anderson made headlines by advocating gun control in an appearance before the NRA in 1980. Ronald Reagan would win ^{attention for his program by} ~~praise for~~ good-naturedly aiming some blunt truths to an assemblage of hostile special-interest activists. His real audience--the silent majority--would be cheering.

The President has the ^{power} ~~prestige~~ and the stature to frame the educational quality issue in a way--Republicans and tradition vs. Democrats and the Great Society--that would be helpful to our side. We are already making progress, but the Democrats are trying hard to steal our thunder. We will have to work to keep the initiative for the next 20 months.

RWS file:
- "Politics '84"

by Atwater

DRAFT

THE SOUTH IN 1984

March 1983

OUTLINE AND SUMMARY

I. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SOUTH IN 1984

A. THE ARITHMETIC OF THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

Presidential elections are won and lost in the electoral college. Candidates have gained The White House because they won in the electoral college, even if they lost the popular vote.

Thus we need to focus more on the peculiar dynamics of the electoral college and less on specific voter and constituent groups. Once we shift to this decision matrix, we will have to base more of our 1984 strategic thinking on the electoral vote totals of the states and regions.

The balance of power in GOP presidential politics has shifted to the region known as the Sunbelt. President Reagan has always been strongest there, and the same is certain to be true in 1984. The Sunbelt's bloc of 266 electoral votes must be the centerpiece of our campaign plans.

The Sunbelt consists of two regions: the West and the South. The West is safely Republican at the presidential level. Thus we should look at the other region in the Sunbelt: the South. The South alone has 155 electoral votes in 1984 -- 57% of the 270 votes needed to win.

B. THE FALL AND RISE OF THE SOLID SOUTH

1. Two Predictions

First, we will win the South in 1984.

Second, we will win all or nearly all of the South's electoral votes.

The South is neither solidly Republican nor solidly Democratic. But it is solid. The last three presidential elections prove that the South has rediscovered the power inherent in bloc voting.

2. The South and the Democrats from Reconstruction to the New Deal

From 1880 to 1944 the South was the Solid South. White Southerners--blacks generally couldn't vote--allied themselves virtually unanimously to the Democratic Party.

In return, Southern Democrats were dominant in the Party. Most important of all, Southern Democrats had a free hand to deal with the all-important race issue.

3. The Deep South and the Outer South

a. 1880-1944

There are really two Souths--the Outer South and the Deep South. The GOP always had some strength in the Outer South. Republicans were virtually non-existent in the Deep South.

b. 1948 and the Fragmentation of the Solid South

The cleavage between the Deep South and the Outer South became clear in 1948, the year Truman integrated the armed forces and the Dixiecrats broke away.

The dividing line between the two Souths was race. The Deep South, preoccupied by its large black minority, bolted. The Outer South had fewer blacks, and thus felt less threatened by civil rights legislation. Hence the Outer South stayed with the Democrats.

4. The Growth of Southern Presidential Republicanism

a. 1948-1952

b. 1956-1960

Economic and demographic changes in the post-war South assured modest growth for the GOP. However, the stupendous growth of Southern Republicanism in the 1950's can be attributed to one man--Dwight Eisenhower.

c. The Outer South and the Deep South, 1964-1968

The fragmentation of the South left the region unable to influence national policy on the issues that most concerned it.

5. The New Solid South

a. 1972: The McGovern Catalyst

McGovern's candidacy was the catalyst that reunited the South after twenty years of fragmentation.

By 1972 the storm over civil rights had subsided. Racial problems were not solved, but they were no worse in the South, by 1972, than in the North.

With the polarizing race controversies in the past, the Outer South and the Deep South united to reject the aberrant liberalism of McGovern and the national Democratic Party.

b. The Rise of the Southern GOP

Coincident with the fragmentation of the Solid Democratic South was the growth of the Southern GOP.

c. 1976: The Democrats Strike Back

Jimmy Carter's nomination in 1976 demonstrated that the Democrats possessed the flexibility that has kept them #1 for half a century.

By nominating a Deep Southerner, the Democrats recaptured the Solid South and The White House.

d. 1984

The South is not as monolithic as it once was, but it is still the most cohesive region.

The Democrats realize that they can't win unless they carry the South.

Poll data re 1984 is mixed.

II. A SECOND LOOK AT 1980--AND A GLIMPSE OF 1984

A. THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE VOTE AND THE POPULAR VOTE IN THE SOUTH

Ronald Reagan's overwhelming electoral victory in the South obscures the fact that the popular vote in most Southern states was very close.

The electoral college is all that matters in terms of 1980. However, the 1980 popular vote suggests some things about the popular and electoral votes of 1984.

B. CARTER AND THE REGIONAL PRIDE HYPOTHESIS

It can be argued that regional pride in native son Jimmy Carter was responsible for the strong Democratic showing in 1976 and the relatively strong Democratic showing in 1980. But this argument is undone by the results of 1982, when the Democrats did well, with Carter nowhere in sight.

C. TURNOUT 1972-1980

The key change in Southern elections over the past ten years is turnout. The number of votes cast in the 1980 presidential election was 33% higher than in 1972. By comparison, turnout in the rest of the United States rose just 5%. These new voters appear to be mostly Democratic.

D. TURNOUT IN A LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVE

From 1948 to 1980 Southern turnout increased 233%. In the rest of the United States, the increase was just 53%.

E. BLACK TURNOUT THROUGH 1980

The largest single factor in this explosive turnout growth is the black vote. Blacks have gone from near-total exclusion from participation in the political process to near-parity with white turnout in just three decades.

The areas in the South with the highest percentage of blacks have witnessed the highest turnout growth.

F. REPUBLICANS IN THE SOUTH THROUGH 1980

The millions of new black voters in the South are overwhelmingly Democratic. So too are many of the poor whites who also have only recently started voting.

The changes in the Southern electorate over the last thirty years make it unlikely that the GOP will be able to equal the explosive growth it achieved from 1962 to 1972. However, Republican strength is still ratcheting up.

G. THE DEMOCRATIC BASE

With the changed composition of the Southern electorate, the Democrats now have a base of 30-45% of the vote in each Southern state.

H. IMPLICATIONS OF HIGHER TURNOUT IN 1984

The key question regarding our Southern prospects in 1984 is whether current unfavorable trends in Southern voting will slow down, speed up, or change direction.

III. 1982: WHAT HAPPENED?

A. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE GOP IN THE SOUTH

1. The Democratic Tradition

The GOP is still far from political parity with the Democrats in Dixie. The Southern Democratic tradition runs deep.

2. Socioeconomic Variables and the GOP

There are objective socioeconomic reasons why the South is so responsive to the Democratic message. For example, the South is poorer, blacker, and less educated than the rest of the country.

We can apply the same demographic tests to specific states, to help discover where our prospects are brightest. Using these measures, we can see that President Reagan's best Southern states in 1980 were more affluent, better educated and had fewer blacks and unemployed than his worst states.

B. TURNOUT IN 1982

Eleven Southern states set all-time records for turnout in off-year elections in 1982. Evidently most of these new voters were Democrats.

C. THE FUNDAMENTALS OF SOUTHERN POLITICS

There are three main voter groups in the South.

1. The Country Clubbers

These upper and upper middle class whites fall into two categories:

- a. Strong Conservatives
- b. Socially Respectable Republicans

2. The Populists

These are middle and lower class whites.

a. Turnout

Like blacks, populists seldom voted. Now they do.

b. Ideology

The populists are liberal on economics, conservative on social and foreign policy.

c. Wallace

George Wallace is a reflection of the populists.

3. The Blacks

a. 1982

Blacks turned out to vote in record numbers and delivered overwhelming majorities to the Democrats.

b. The Republican Past

Blacks were staunchly Republican until the 1930's.

c. The Democratic Present

Soaring black turnout gives the Democrats an expanding base in every Southern state. We must take action to attract blacks to the GOP.

d. The Uncertain Future

Blacks are being exploited by white Southern Democrats. However, short-term prospects for any change in the status quo appear dim.

4. The Fundamentals and the Republican Coalition, 1960-1982

In recent decades the GOP has won when it added the swing populist vote to its country club base.

The Democrats have won when the populists and the blacks formed a coalition.

The populists are the largest of the three groups. Neither Party can win without them. The Party that wins their allegiance in 1984 will win the South.

D. THE URBAN-RURAL SPLIT IN THE SOUTH

1. Historic Tensions

The growth of the Southern GOP has occurred almost exclusively in and around the cities. Since there is already a long-standing hostility between urban and rural interests in the South, the growth of metropolitan Republicanism has often served to harden the already fierce Democratic loyalty of the boondocks.

a. Texas

The Republicans do well in states with relatively large urban populations, like Texas and Virginia.

b. Arkansas

c. Georgia

i. Mattingly and Talmadge

ii. The Georgia Gubernatorial Elections of 1966, 1970 and 1982

The Republicans do poorly in states with relatively small urban populations, like Arkansas and Georgia.

d. South Carolina

The Reagan margin in the cities of South Carolina barely edged Carter's margin in the countryside, and thus he barely edged Carter in the Palmetto State.

E. THE IDEOLOGY OF THE SOUTH

1. Populism and Conservatism in the Past

2. Populism and Conservatism in the Present

The South is not conservative. If one label had to be ascribed to the whole region, that label would have to be "populist."

Populists are conservative on defense and social issues and liberal on economics. Public opinion polls confirm that these are the attitudes of the South.

3. The Image of the GOP

Republicans will never win over the South until they develop an appropriate mix of themes and issues that appeal to populist instincts of the electorate.

F. CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRATS AND THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTH

The old days when conservative (Bourbon) Democrats controlled the South are gone forever. This class has either gone over to the GOP or else has been elbowed aside by the populists and the blacks.

The country clubbers that are the backbone of the modern Southern GOP are descended from the Bourbon Democrats. Blacks and populists did not like the Bourbon class when they were all together in the Democratic Party. Now that so many Bourbon Democrats have migrated to the GOP, the two remaining Democratic groups don't miss them.

If we want to win in 1984 we must overcome these tensions. In particular we must join the country club Republicans together with the populists.

APPENDIX

I. LOUISIANA: DEEP SOUTH STATE IN TRANSITION

Louisiana is emerging as the most Republican of the five Deep South states, thanks to its oil wealth.

II. THE APPALACHIANS: DECLINING REPUBLICAN STRENGTH

The Republican loyalties of the mountaineers of Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia are finally weakening, one hundred years after they were forged in the Civil War. This has hurt the GOP, most notably in Tennessee and Virginia.

IV. THE SOUTH IN 1984 AND BEYOND

A. THE REPUBLICANS WITHOUT KENNEDY

If we let them get away with it, the Democrats will pose as moderates in 1984 and win the South in 1984.

Our job must be to expose their Kennedy-esque liberalism to the Southern electorate.

B. THE PERFECT REPUBLICAN NOMINEE

Southerners only vote Democratic when they feel they must. The perfect GOP candidate for the South has a touch of populism.

Ronald Reagan displayed this in 1980, and it helped. Since the President has not changed his values and beliefs since coming from the Sunbelt to Washington, there is no reason why he should not be able to project the same winning image in 1984.

C. CONGRESSIONAL RACES

We have to begin preparations now for the 1984 Congressional elections. Half of our Southern Senate seats are up in 1984. In addition, we need to regain the House seats we lost in 1982 and also win additional seats.

D. THE FUNDAMENTALS

Most important of all, we need constant drill work in the fundamentals of Southern politics: the three voter groups that compose the Southern electorate.

1. The Country Clubbers

We should not have any trouble retaining their allegiance.

2. The Populists

a. The Question

This is the key group. Where they go in 1984 determines what happens to the GOP in the South.

b. The New Right

The New Right is far from dead. The New Right will survive because its strength does not depend on specific issues. Its strength comes from the age-old antagonism between the "ins" and the "outs." In 1980's America the "outs" will be stronger than ever.

c. Middle American Radicals

Hard times breed populists above and below the Mason-Dixon line. A well-conceived campaign to win over the huge bloc of Southern populists will, with a few modifications, win over the huge bloc of Northern populists.

d. Negative Advertising

The most effective tactic for winning populist votes is negative advertising.

e. Values and Issues

We should emphasize the deep, traditional, values of Ronald Reagan and his Party vs. the shallow, trendy, notions of the national Democratic Party.

3. The Blacks

We must take action to attract a larger share of the black vote.

Our best hope appears to be the black middle class, which shares the same values as does the white middle class.

E. PARTY BUILDING

We will never be on an equal footing with the Democrats in the South until state and local Republican Parties develop credible, indigenous candidates.

F. PLAYING UP OUR MILITARY STRENGTH

Our defense buildup is very popular in Dixie.

G. THE NEED FOR MORE STUDY

There is plenty of research left to be done!

I. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SOUTH IN 1984

A. THE ARITHMETIC OF THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The bottom line in presidential elections is the electoral college. We can think, if we want, in terms of coalitions of ethnic and religious groups, economic classes, genders, and occupational categories. But in the end, all these factors are subservient to the hard arithmetic of electoral votes.

History buffs who recall the presidential elections of 1824, 1876, and 1888 know that the popular vote winner can and has emerged as the electoral vote loser. More recently, we recall that a shift of just 9,246 votes in Ohio and Hawaii would have given Gerald Ford a victory in the 1976 election, even though he lost the popular vote to Jimmy Carter by more than 1.7 million ballots.

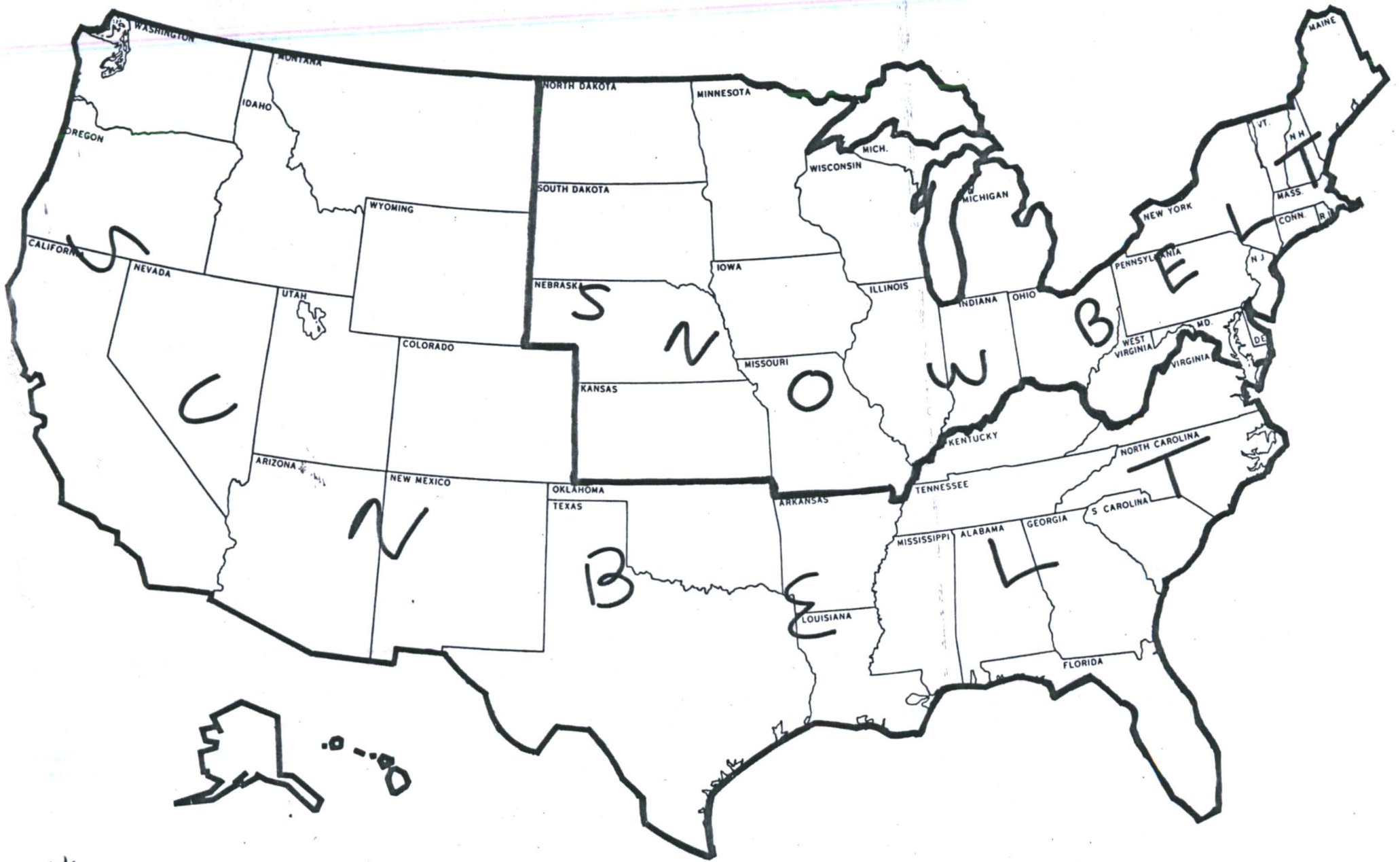
Therefore we really have no choice but to let our strategic thinking about the 1984 election be guided by the numbers of the electoral college. Once we shift to this decision matrix, we will have to think more about states and regions than about voter groups and constituencies. And some interesting geopolitical patterns emerge for both parties.

For example, in every presidential election since 1952, save one, one of the Democrats on the national ticket has been from the upper Midwest (Stevenson of Illinois in 1952 and 1956, Humphrey of Minnesota in 1964 and 1968, McGovern of South Dakota in 1972, and Mondale of Minnesota in 1976 and 1980). This persistent pattern demonstrates not only the grip that Northern industrial liberalism has on the Democratic Party, but also represents a continuing Democratic thrust to occupy the traditional heartland of the GOP. Considering that the leading Democratic hopefuls for the 1984 nomination are Mondale and Glenn, it is likely that this Midwestern pattern will continue in 1984.

A much different trend is at work in the Republican Party. In the last quarter century, the balance of power in GOP presidential politics has shifted decisively to the Sunbelt (see Map 1). In the last six presidential elections, the Republican nominee has been from the Sunbelt in five (Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan of California in 1960, 1968, 1972, and 1980, and Barry Goldwater of Arizona in 1964; the odd man out was Gerald Ford of Michigan in 1976, and he never had to campaign to reach the White House).

This Republican presidential shift to the Sunbelt is not a coincidence. It is the result of the increasing conservative influence within the Republican Party. The conservatives, centered in the South and the West (the Sunbelt) have a clout which first became manifest in 1964. Employing the "Southern Strategy," the forces of Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater bested New York's Nelson Rockefeller, Pennsylvania's William Scranton, Massachusetts' Henry Cabot Lodge, et al. Goldwater won most of the GOP delegates from Sunbelt states in the early spring primaries. His victory in the June California primary clinched his nomination.

SUNBELT AND SNOWBELT



MAP 1

President Reagan's greatest strength as a candidate for the GOP nomination has been in the Sunbelt. Recall that it was his victory in the March North Carolina primary that revived his faltering 1976 campaign, and that his 100-0 sweep of the May Texas primary gave him the strength to carry his fight for the nomination all the way to Kansas City. Table 1 shows Ronald Reagan's percentage of the primary vote, by region, in 1976 and 1980.

TABLE 1

<u>Region</u>	<u>1976</u>		<u>1980</u>	
	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Others</u>
Sunbelt	59.6	40.4	71.6	28.4
Snowbelt	36.7	63.3	54.3	45.7
Overall	45.9	54.1	63.0	37.0

It is always helpful to know where one's strength lies. In 1984, the South will send the largest bloc of delegates to the Dallas convention, based on President Reagan's victory in 12 of the 13 Southern states in 1980.

The GOP presidential orientation toward the Sunbelt since 1960 has been rewarded at the electoral college. We have won three of the last six presidential contests, compared to just two out of the seven prior to that. And we have won three of the last four elections since 1968, when Richard Nixon refined the Southern Strategy to high political art.

The 1964 presidential race was the first ever where the GOP nominee got more electoral votes in the Sunbelt than he did in the Snowbelt. At the same time Goldwater was losing Snowbelt states for the GOP for the first time in decades, he was winning Sunbelt states for the GOP for the first time in nearly a century. 1964 marked the first time that the Republicans had ever lost Vermont, but it also marked the first time that the Republicans had ever carried Georgia. These two states had never deviated from their respective parties since those parties were founded, but in 1964 tradition was felled in both on the same date.

Although 1964 presaged many shifts in national politics, it was not until 1968 that the GOP really demonstrated its rising Sunbelt strength. In that year Democrat Hubert Humphrey carried just three of the twenty-six states in the Sunbelt, and just one in the South. But the real power of the GOP Southern Strategy is displayed by the difference between the popular vote totals and the electoral vote totals. In 1968 Humphrey lost the popular vote by a mere 7/10ths of one percent, but he lost the electoral college by a hefty 303 to 191.

The reason for this divergence is the peculiar nature of the electoral college. It awards the same number of votes to the popular winner of a state, whether he carries that state by one vote or a million.

Thus the candidate that carries many states by narrow popular margins has the edge over one that wins a few states by wide popular margins. In fact it is precisely this scenario that three times has enabled the popular-vote loser to win in the Electoral College and thus gain The White House.

This scenario nearly occurred in 1968. The reason the electoral vote was not close was that Humphrey carried just thirteen states (plus the District of Columbia), while Nixon carried thirty two. (Wallace won five states.)

In January 1981 liberal New York Times columnist Tom Wicker wrote two columns on the electoral college. The "left's" exasperation with pro-Republican nature of the electoral college is clear from the title Wicker chose for the series: "A Good Republican College," Parts 1 and 2. There are other reasons why the electoral college helps the GOP, all of them too esoteric to discuss in this space.

Suffice it to say that the Republican edge in the electoral college is pronounced, and that it is most pronounced in the Sunbelt. Table 2 shows the GOP share of the cumulative popular and electoral votes for the six elections from 1960 to 1980, for the whole country and for the Sunbelt and Snowbelt. The far right hand column of Table 2 shows that the "spread" between the electoral and the popular vote is widest for the Sunbelt.

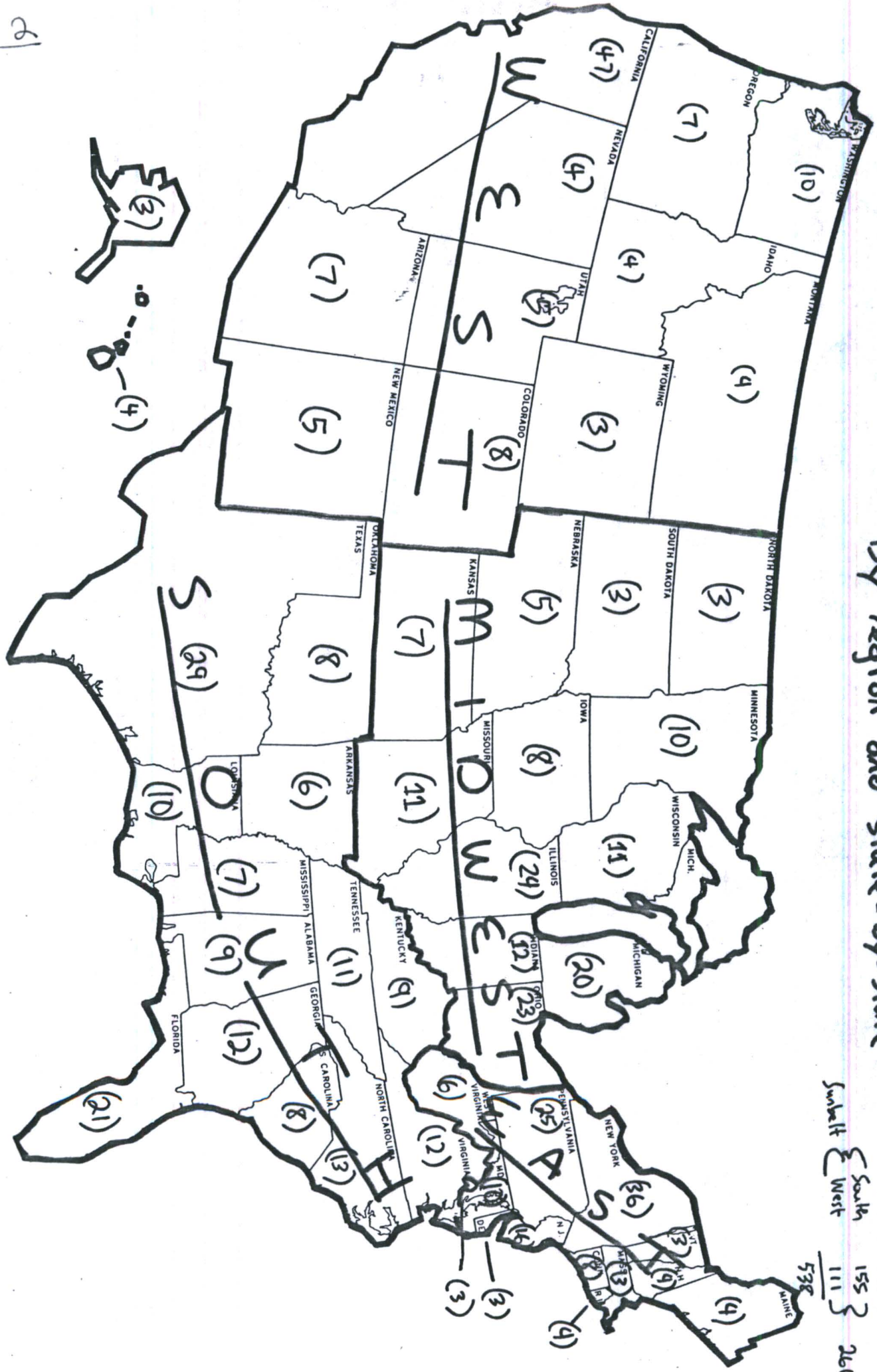
TABLE 2

<u>Region</u>	<u>GOP % of the popular vote</u>	<u>GOP % of the electoral vote</u>	<u>Difference between electoral & popular vote</u>
Sunbelt	51.0	63.8	12.8
Snowbelt	47.9	50.8	2.9
Whole Country	49.1	56.4	7.3

As a result of the 1980 census, a Sunbelt strategy has even more potential for the GOP. A total of seventeen electoral votes shifted from the Snowbelt to the Sunbelt after the census. Table 3 shows the 1984 electoral college vote totals for the four regions of the United States. See also Map 2.

TABLE 3

South	155
Midwest	137
East	135
West	<u>111</u>
	538



1984 ELECTORAL VOTES

By region and state-by-state

Region	Electoral Votes
West	135
Midwest	137
South	155
East	111
Total	538

The 1980 census was the first ever to show the South as the most populous region in the nation. Table 4 shows the electoral college totals for the Sunbelt (South and West) and the Snowbelt (East and Midwest).

TABLE 4

Sunbelt	266
Snowbelt	<u>272</u>

538

While it is still true that the Snowbelt has more electoral clout than the Sunbelt, it should be remembered that we can reach the 270 electoral votes we need to win by sweeping the Sunbelt and adding only the electoral votes of Snowbelt New Hampshire to our totals. Or, we could concede Sunbelt Hawaii to the Democrats (it has only gone Republican once in the six elections since statehood) and take in exchange Snowbelt Nebraska (which has only gone Democratic once since 1936) and still win The White House.

The significance of the shifts in the electoral college are worth examining further. In 1984 we could be boxed out of every large Eastern and Midwestern state and still win comfortably if we carried everything else. We should, of course, try to win everywhere, but if the Democratic nominee is a Midwesterner like Mondale or Glenn or an Easterner like the potentially available Kennedy, we should be prepared to make some hard choices and establish some no-nonsense priorities before we expend our 1984 campaign assets.

Little wonder then that in the December 24, 1982 National Review Richard Wirthlin affirmed that the 1984 GOP campaign will focus on the Sunbelt. Of course, the Democrats can count as well. In the January 31, 1983 Barron's, former OMB Director, now Georgia Democratic Party chairman Bert Lance observed that the Democrats can't win in 1984 unless they break Ronald Reagan's grip on the South. Even more recently, in the February 10, 1983 Post, Hamilton Jordan reminded his fellow Democratic politicians of the need to penetrate the Sunbelt if they wanted to win in 1984.

As we have seen, the Sunbelt consists of two regions: the South and the West. In the West we have little to fear in 1984. The West has been heavily Republican in presidential elections for thirty years. Since 1952 we have won 83% of the West's electoral vote. With Westerner Ronald Reagan leading the ticket, there should be little doubt that we will sweep every state in the West, except perhaps Hawaii. Even if President Reagan does not choose to run in 1984 we can be confident about our prospects in the West. After all, Midwesterner Gerald Ford won every Western state except Hawaii in 1976. So much for the Western half of the Sunbelt.

B. THE FALL AND RISE OF THE SOLID SOUTH

This brings me to the other half of the Sunbelt--the region of the country with the largest bloc of electoral votes and the region that I know best--the South.

1. Two Predictions

I predict we will whip the Democrats in Dixie in 1984, although I don't believe that it will be easy. A victory for the GOP in my homeland will require a lot of careful planning and equally rigorous execution. However, my view is apparently shared by Hamilton Jordan, who wrote in the Post that "current trends, issues, and voting behavior strongly suggest that the South is likely to vote Republican in the next national election."

My second prediction is that if we strategize and implement effectively in the next twenty-one months, we will sweep the South in 1984. On the other hand, if we fail at either task in the next twenty-one months, we will be swept in the South in 1984. I believe that it is all or nothing for us and the Democrats in the electoral college. A look at Table 5, showing the electoral college results for the last three elections, confirms that when the South picks its winner, it backs him all the way.

TABLE 5

<u>Year</u>	<u>Winner's Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Loser's Electoral Votes</u>
1972	147	0
1976	127	20
1980	135	12

The reader will no doubt instantly object that I am comparing apples to oranges, i.e., two Republican sweeps (1972 and 1980) vis-a-vis one Democratic sweep (1976). But that objection misses the point. I am not arguing that the South is solidly Republican or solidly Democratic. I am simply arguing that the South is solid.

While Dixie is no longer wedded to the Democratic Party, it is still committed to the idea that there is strength in numbers, and that numerical strength comes only from unanimity or near-unanimity. Southerners believe that in the 1980's, just as they believed that back in the 1880's. Thus in 1984 the South will want to make itself heard--by going solidly for one of the two presidential candidates.

Of course, the South has only been able to rediscover its bloc voting power since 1972, when the burning racial issues that divided the South for two decades had finally cooled down. Allow me to back up these assertions with a brief excursion in the history of Southern presidential election behavior.

2. The South and the Democrats from Reconstruction to the New Deal

Students of the South from Ulrich Phillips to W.J. Cash to V.O. Key have all emphasized the unique character of the region. They all stressed that the South, more so than any other part of the country, had a common culture and a common set of values and attitudes. What was written yesterday is still

true today. Although centrifugal cultural forces have affected the South in recent decades, they have affected the South less than the rest of the United States. There is still today, as Cash wrote 40 years ago, a distinct and definable "Mind of the South."

As the South has always lagged behind the rest of the United States in terms of economic power, Southerners long ago developed special means of asserting their influence in the nation's affairs. That means was politics. After their surrender at Appomattox, impoverished Southerners recognized that military as well as economic struggle against the North was futile. Their only opportunity for power was by acting as a bloc at the ballot box and in the Congress. Thus Southern voters and politicians formed the "Solid South" out of perceived necessity in the years immediately following Reconstruction.

The Compromise of 1877 gave the 1876 presidential election to the Republicans in return for the withdrawal of the last Federal soldiers from Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina. Thus after more than a decade of Yankee, i.e. Republican control, the South was once again free to develop its own political identity. As we know, that identity lay solely with the Democratic Party. From 1880 to 1916 every Southern state went Democratic in every presidential election. The South was nearly as solidly Democratic in state and local elections, although there were pockets of Republicanism in areas such as the Appalachians, where the mountain people had supported the Union in the Civil War. It should come as no surprise that political loyalties forged in armed conflict stayed hard for decades thereafter. Thus the Republicans had some strength in Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina, but rarely enough to affect statewide elections.

Election after election, Southerners contributed their entire bloc of electoral votes to the Democratic presidential nominee, who would never even need to campaign in Dixie. Since the Southern electoral vote was 25% to 30% of the national total, the Democratic nominee entered every campaign halfway to victory. Thus, the Republicans had to win nearly everything north of the Mason-Dixon Line. In the Republican era between the Civil War and the Depression, the GOP did manage to win nine out of the thirteen presidential elections, but the Democrats were almost always in the running thanks to the Solid South. In three of the four Democratic victories in this period, the winning Democratic nominee received a majority of his electoral votes from the South. In fact, 63% of the electoral votes the Democrats got between 1880 and 1928 were Southern.

The South came through for the Democrats, and to the extent of its power in this Republican-dominated period, the Democrats came through for the South. Southerners were always considered to be ballot-box poison on a national ticket, so the Southerners had to settle for behind-the-scenes power--power in the Congress and the power to set the Democratic agenda. Generally, the Southern position on the leading issues of the day became the Democratic position. On economic issues--tariffs, the income tax, the gold standard--and foreign policy issues--war with Spain, rearmament--the Democrats followed the Southern lead.

However, the most critical issue for Southerners was race. Southerners could tolerate compromise on any other issue, but all Democrats understood that Southern Democrats would be left alone to deal with the blacks. When I speak of the South in this context, I speak of the South as a political entity, and back then the only political players were the whites. Blacks couldn't vote in this period. While the race issue was paramount in the mind of the South, the views of a third of all Southerners--black Southerners--were completely ignored. Blacks were political objects, not political actors.

I wonder how many admirers of Woodrow Wilson--the institutor of the New Freedom, the war-to-end-all-wars visionary, the great reformer--know that one of Wilson's first "reforms" was the segregation of the Federal Civil Service! That may come as a surprise to some, but Wilson's action is perfectly comprehensible in the context of his time and party. Recall that Wilson was a Virginian who became President of Princeton and Governor of New Jersey. Wilson, the first Democratic President in twenty years, had a debt to repay to the South, which had given him every one of its electoral votes in 1912. Wilson's reward came in 1916, when he won one of the closest presidential elections in history on the strength of the still Solid South.

However, by 1936 the willingness of the national Democratic Party to go along with Southern racial policies was wearing thin. The case of the Scottsboro (Alabama) Boys in the early 1930s only intensified Northern revulsion toward institutionalized Southern racism. The liberal sensibilities of the time were outraged by the howling racism of Senators Bilbo and Vardaman of Mississippi and appalled by the continuation of lynching and the KKK.

Furthermore, the Democrats during the salad days of the New Deal no longer needed the South. The Republican machines in Chicago, Philadelphia, and Cleveland had been broken in the early 1930s, setting the Slavs, Italians, and other ethnics free to vote for their Democratic heroes. Roosevelt could have lost every Southern state in each of his four runs for the presidency and still won The White House each time. Whereas in the period 1920-1928 the South accounted for 93% of all Democratic electoral votes, the South contributed just 32% of Roosevelt's 1932-1944 total. At the same time, enfranchised blacks in the Northern ghettos were flocking to the polls to vote Democratic, further shifting the balance of power within the Party away from the South.

In 1936 a black minister gave the opening benediction at the Democratic Convention in Philadelphia, and South Carolina's senior senator, "Cotton Ed" Smith walked out, to no effect. The schism between the Northern and Southern wings of the Democratic Party was becoming visible, but it was not yet wide enough for any harm to be done to the New Deal coalition. The 1936 Democratic Convention is more memorable because the Northern delegates--greatly strengthened by FDR's victories across the country in 1932--abolished the two-thirds rule. This rule had for decades required that the Democratic presidential nominee get two thirds of the convention delegates' votes. This rule had in the past almost guaranteed long drawn-out conventions. It had taken Woodrow Wilson, for example, 54 ballots to secure the Democratic nomination in 1912, and in 1924 the deadlocked convention voted a record 103 times before it compromised on dark horse John W. Davis. Still, the South loved the rule,

since it gave the solid phalanx of Southern delegates effective veto power over the nominating process.

The Northern Democrats understood this too, and that is why they did away with the rule as soon as they had the power to do so. Since that rule change Democratic Conventions have usually only required a single ballot to nominate a Northern liberal.

However antithetical to Southern interests this rule change was, the change had no immediate effect on Southern voting. It may have outraged "Cotton Ed" to be in the same room with a black man, but South Carolina's lily-white electorate didn't seem to mind. FDR got 99% of the Palmetto State's votes in 1936. No doubt Smith voted for Roosevelt and Garner as well. Although they knew they were losing their grip on the national institution, Southern Democrats stayed loyal to the party of Jefferson, Calhoun, and Jackson.

All considerations of patronage and will-to-win aside, Southern Democrats understood that their own power and the whole structure of white supremacy they had built up since Reconstruction depended on unswerving loyalty to the Democratic Party--if not the national Party, then at least their respective state and local Party. After all, the microscopic Republican Parties in the Deep South were usually controlled by blacks! So long as Roosevelt and the Northern liberals confined themselves to rhetoric and symbolism on civil rights, Southern Democrats would do nothing to upset the enduring system.

3. The Deep South and the Outer South

a. 1880-1944

At this point we should divide the South between the "Outer South" and the "Deep South." The Outer South states--Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia--are of a different stripe than the Deep South states. They are not as Southern in the Faulknerian sense as are Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina (see Map 3).

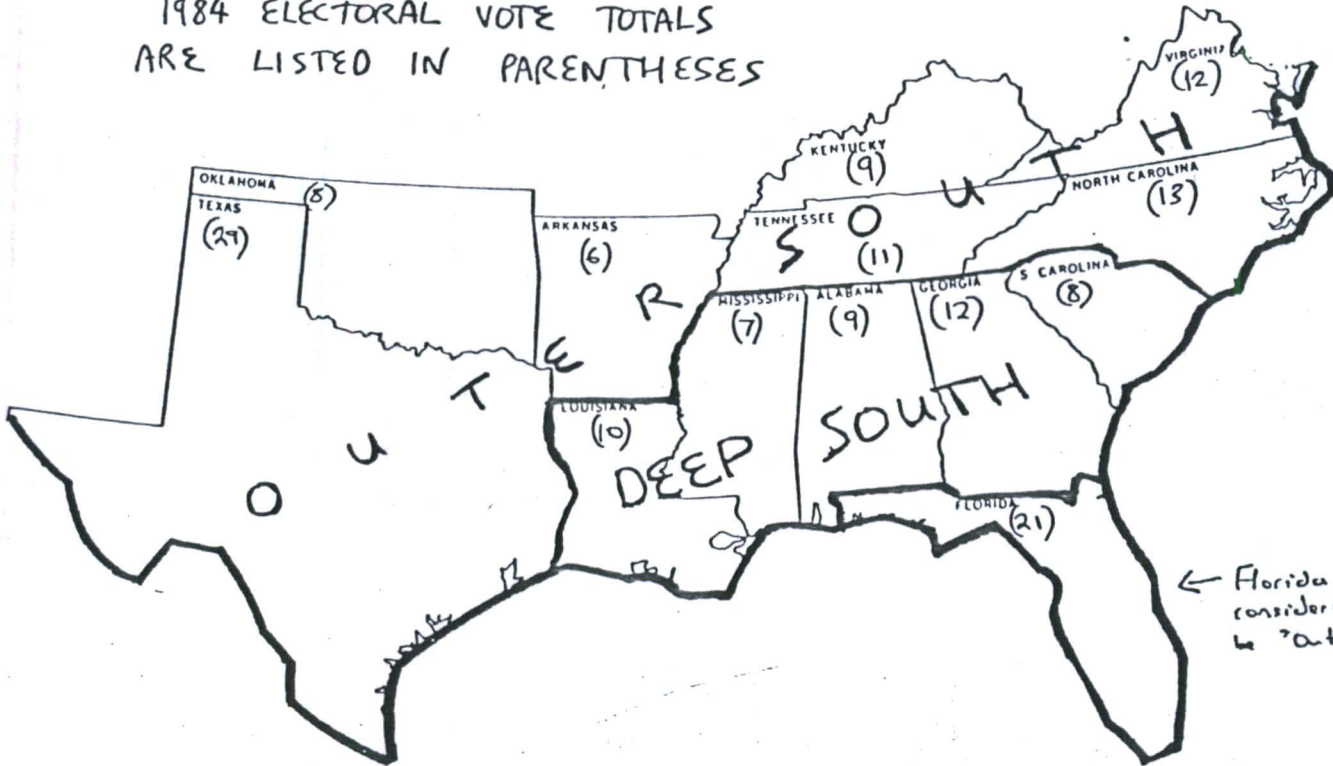
Leaving aside Oklahoma--which did not become a state until 1907--all of the Outer South states were slave states, and all but Kentucky fought for the Confederacy. But most of the Deep South states have long-standing Republican minorities, which puts them in sharp contrast to the Deep South, where Republicans were non-existent.

Transplanted Northerners created the Republican Parties of Florida and Texas, and in strong Republican presidential years (1920, 1928) the GOP could actually carry some Outer South states. But Republicans could never carry the Deep South, where memories of the Civil War and Reconstruction were vivid, and fears of the huge black populations were even stronger.

Table 6 illustrates the number of times each Southern state went Republican in presidential elections from 1880 to 1944, thus helping to make the distinction between the Outer and Deep South apparent:

THE SOUTH

1984 ELECTORAL VOTE TOTALS
ARE LISTED IN PARENTHESES



← Florida is considered to be "Outer South"

Total Electoral Votes

Outer South	109
Deep South	46
	<hr/>
	155

TABLE 6

	Number of times GOP carried
OUTER SOUTH	
Kentucky	2
Oklahoma	2
Tennessee	2
Florida	1
North Carolina	1
Texas	1
Virginia	1
Arkansas	0
DEEP SOUTH	
Alabama	0
Georgia	0
Louisiana	0
Mississippi	0
South Carolina	0

Why was the Deep South so much more devoted to the Democratic Party than the Outer South? There are many reasons. The Deep South was geographically more insulated from the influence of Northerners and Republicans. The martial tradition of the South assured that memories of the War Between the States would linger in the hearts of succeeding generations of cadets.

But the chief reason for the Deep South's extreme devotion to the Democratic Party was simple: the Deep South had the highest percentage of blacks, from one-third to one-half the population in the 1930s. The higher the percentage of blacks, the greater the political effort required to keep them in submission. The greater the political effort required, the greater the need for a monolithic Democratic Party.

The Outer South states had lower percentages of blacks, and thus the white populations of those states did not feel the same need to cling to the Democratic Party. Consequently, Democratic percentages were much lower in the Outer South than the Deep South.

Does this seem too simplistic? Too determinist? Too reductionist? Consider then the results of the 1944 presidential election. Roosevelt's last run for the Presidency was also the last election in which the old Solid South would appear. Recall that up to now the national Democrats had made no attempt to interfere with Southern racial policies. The Fair Employment Practices Commission--the first sign that Northerners intended to do something about discrimination--would not come into existence until 1945.

Table 7 below ranks the thirteen Southern states by their Democratic percentage in the 1944 election. The far right hand column lists each state's black percentage according to the 1940 census. Note the almost perfect correlation between high Roosevelt percentage and high black percentage. Note in particular that the extremely race-conscious Deep South

states match nearly perfectly. Recall that the percentage of blacks had no direct bearing on the Democrat percentage, because the blacks could not vote. Each state's black percentage is useful only as a predictive tool to determine how strongly the white voters of each state would support the Democratic Party. Of the Outer South states, only Texas seems slightly out of order.

TABLE 7

		<u>1944 Presidential Election</u>	
		<u>Democratic %</u>	<u>Black %</u>
DEEP SOUTH	Mississippi	93.6	49.2
	South Carolina	87.6	42.8
	Georgia	81.7	34.7
	Alabama	81.3	34.7
	Louisiana	80.6	34.4
OUTER SOUTH	Texas	71.4	14.4
	Florida	70.3	27.1
	Arkansas	70.0	24.8
	North Carolina	66.7	27.5
	Virginia	62.4	24.7
	Tennessee	60.5	17.5
	Oklahoma	55.6	7.2
	Kentucky	54.5	7.5

b. 1948 and the Fragmentation of the Solid South

It should be noted at this point that the New Deal--farm price supports, public works, the TVA, increased spending on health and education--was quite popular among Southern whites. Southern whites were by and large a lot better off than Southern blacks; but, even so the whites were poor, and as such they saw themselves as beneficiaries of the New Deal's redistributionist policies.

But all these economic considerations took a back seat to race, at least in the Deep South. The proof of this statement came in 1948, when Strom Thurmond led four Deep South states away from the Democratic column for the first time in more than seventy years. At the same time, the fact that the Outer South stood by Truman demonstrated that the lower black percentage states were concerned about issues other than race. The fault line along which the Solid South would divide for the next twenty years was clearly delineated.

In 1948 Truman ordered the integration of the U.S. armed forces. Northern Democrats applauded, Southern Democrats fumed, but as the Republicans controlled the 80th Congress, the Southern Democrats in the Congress were unable to exercise the effective veto power they would have had if they were chairmen of the germane committees. The Democrats won back the 81st Congress, but by the time it convened, in January 1949, it was too late.

The last straw, for the Deep South at least, came in Philadelphia at the Democratic Convention. Inspired by a ringing endorsement of voting and employment rights delivered by Minneapolis Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey, the convention added a strong civil rights plank to its platform. Many Southerners were apoplectic. They felt that their decades of loyalty to the Democratic Party were being betrayed.

Hordes of Southern Democratic delegates--mostly from the Deep South--walked out and reconvened as Dixiecrats in Montgomery, Alabama, the Cradle of the Confederacy. They nominated two Deep South governors--Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding Wright of Mississippi--to be President and Vice President, respectively. Running on a strong states' rights platform, the Dixiecrats carried four of the five Deep South states. The holdout state was Georgia, thanks to an extraordinary effort by Senators Russel and George to keep the Peach State in the Democratic column. Even so, Deep South Georgia was better for the Dixiecrats than any Outer South state.

The extreme race-consciousness we saw reflected in the 1944 election results was demonstrated again by the 1948 results, outlined in Table 8. Just as the states with the highest black percentages were best for the Democrats prior to the Dixiecrat rebellion, they were the best for Thurmond and Wright in 1948. Similarly, the worst 1944 Democratic states were the worst 1948 Dixiecrat states.

TABLE 8

		1948 Presidential Election		
		Dixiecrat %	Black %	1944 Democratic Percent Ranking
DEEP SOUTH	Mississippi	87.2	49.2	1
	Alabama	79.7	34.7	4
	South Carolina	72.0	42.8	2
	Louisiana	49.1	34.4	3
	Georgia	20.3	34.7	5
OUTER SOUTH	Arkansas	16.5	24.8	8
	Florida	15.5	27.1	7
	Tennessee	13.4	17.5	11
	Virginia	10.4	24.7	10
	Texas	9.3	14.4	6
	North Carolina	8.8	27.5	9
	Kentucky	1.3	7.5	12
	Oklahoma	--*	7.5	13

* Thurmond did not appear on the ballot.

Kevin Phillips has gone so far as to correlate the Dixiecrat vote to black percentages in individual counties across the South, reaching the same conclusion: the higher the proportion of blacks, the higher the loyalty to the Democrats and then the Dixiecrats. But I believe I have made my point about the difference between the Outer and Deep South, and how it was based on race.

The civil rights crisis would divide the South for two decades. I call this period the Era of the Fragmented South. It began in 1948 with Thurmond's third party candidacy winning most of the Deep South and ended in 1968 with third party candidate George Wallace winning most of the Deep South.

Race-based voting patterns were nearly as evident in 1968, at the end of the era of fragmentation, as they were in 1948, at the beginning. Wallace won 50.5% of the vote in the five Deep South states, which at the time were 32.5% black. But he won just 25.7% of the vote in the eight Outer South states, which were just 15.8% black.

4. The Growth of Southern Presidential Republicanism

a. 1948-1952

The Democrats retained control of The White House in 1948 but the significance of the Solid South's fracture was widely noted. Seeking to recapture the four Deep South states they lost in 1948, the 1952 Democratic presidential nominee - Adlai Stevenson - was joined by Alabama's senior senator, John Sparkman. Interestingly, Sparkman was the first man from the Deep South to go on the national ticket since 1852, when another Alabamian, William Rufus DeVane King, was nominated by the Democrats. That a pro-civil rights candidate like Stevenson would link himself with a segregationist like Sparkman was a sign of how concerned the Democrats were about the fissures in their Southern base.

But the Democratic strategem proved to be for naught, because the Republicans for once were skillfully positioned to penetrate and exploit the cracks in the Southern Democratic monolith. Increasing travel, tourism, and commerce guaranteed modest improvements in Southern Republicanism in post-war America.

However, the stupendous rise in Republican fortunes across the South in the 1950's can be attributed to one man--Texas-born Dwight Eisenhower. The General from Denison was a genuine military hero; free from the preppy Wall Street image that doomed Dewey and most other Republicans in the South. Graph 1 shows the Republican share of the Southern popular vote from 1948 to 1980.

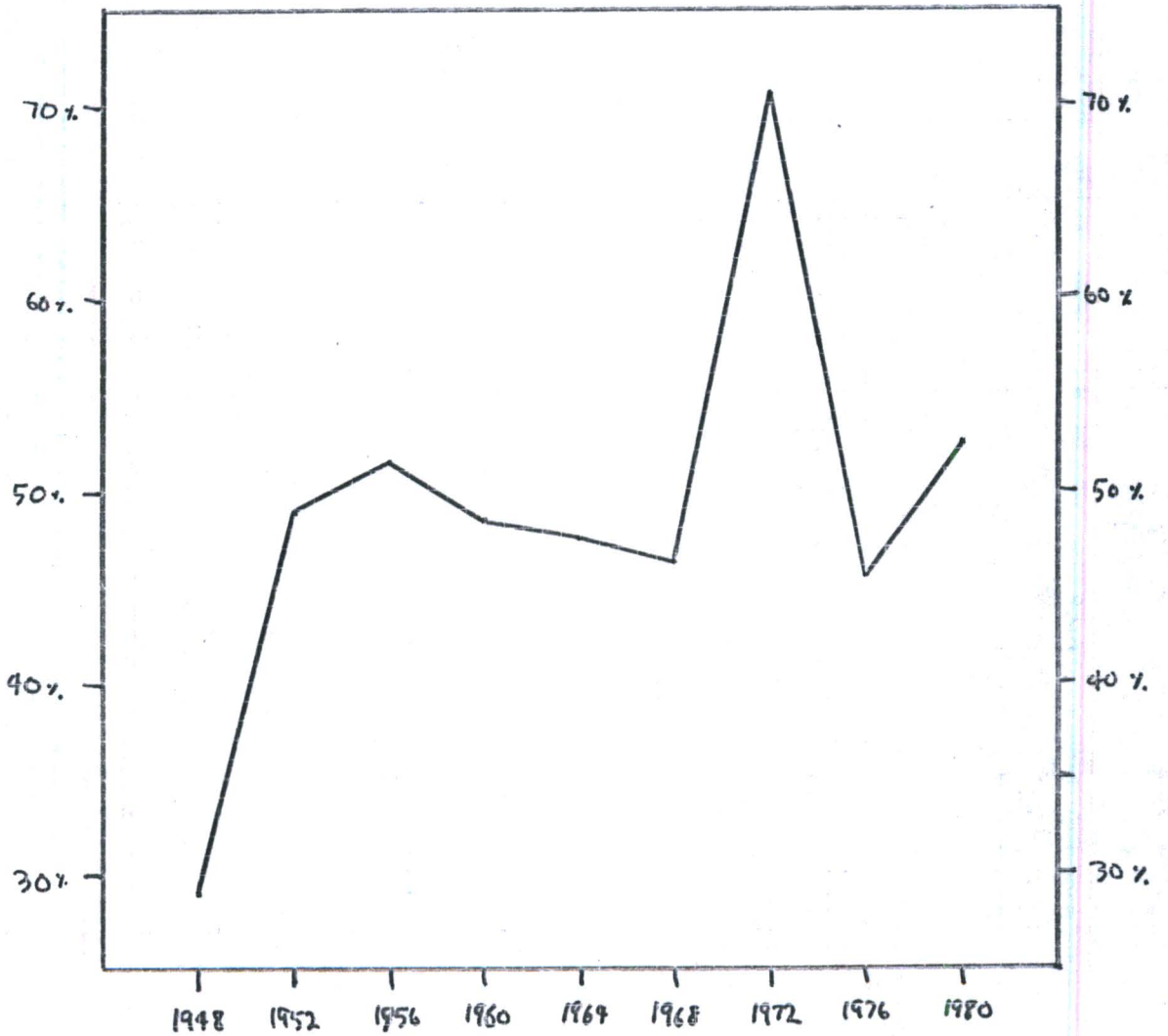
The Democratic attempt to regain the Deep South worked about as well as would anchoring the front door of a house in cement as a powerful tornado approaches. When the twister hits, the door will stay in place, but the house will blow away. Eisenhower did indeed lose all five Deep South states, thanks largely to Sparkman. But Ike carried five of the eight Outer South states. Indeed, Eisenhower also won 34 of the 35 non-Southern states. Without the South, Stevenson would have joined William Howard Taft, Alf Landon, and George McGovern in the exclusive club reserved for major party presidential candidates who carry two states or less nationwide.

Of more significance was the continued evidence of Democratic weakness in the South. In 1948 the Democrats had lost most of the Deep South. In 1952 they lost most of the Outer South. Stevenson would have lost in 1952 even if he had carried the entire South, but the results of 1952 demonstrated that 1948 was not a fluke. The South was genuinely divided.

GRAPH 1

TOTAL SOUTH

GOP % OF
THE VOTE IN
PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS



b. 1956-1960

In 1956 Eisenhower rolled over Stevenson again, winning all his Southern states of four years earlier plus Kentucky, and more remarkably, Deep South Louisiana. This was the first election since 1872 that a majority of Southern states had voted Republican and the first time since 1876 that any Deep South state had voted for the GOP. Again, only one non-Southern state--Missouri--voted for Stevenson.

Southerners were not particularly pleased by the state of events. With the South divided, it could be conquered politically. If it couldn't deliver its electoral votes in a solid bloc, it would become just another fragmented region with none of the electoral clout it used to have. But, the race issue was the stumbling block. The distinction between the Outer and Deep South was profoundly drawn over this issue.

The next three elections saw the South flying in all directions. In 1960 the South divided its electoral votes three ways--between Kennedy, Nixon and Independent Democrat Harry Flood Byrd, Sr.

c. The Outer South and the Deep South, 1964-1968

An interesting measure of the division between the two fragments of the erstwhile Solid South is provided by the Republican presidential percentages of the Deep and Outer South. Graphs 2 and 3 show that the general trend across the South was steadily up from 1948 to 1972, but that at times the Deep South and Outer South were very much out-of-sync. Table 9 shows the GOP percentages for Eisenhower's two election bids:

TABLE 9

Republican Percentage in the South

	<u>Deep South</u>	<u>Outer South</u>	<u>Percentage Spread</u>
1952	39.6	48.9	9.3
1956	37.9	51.4	13.5

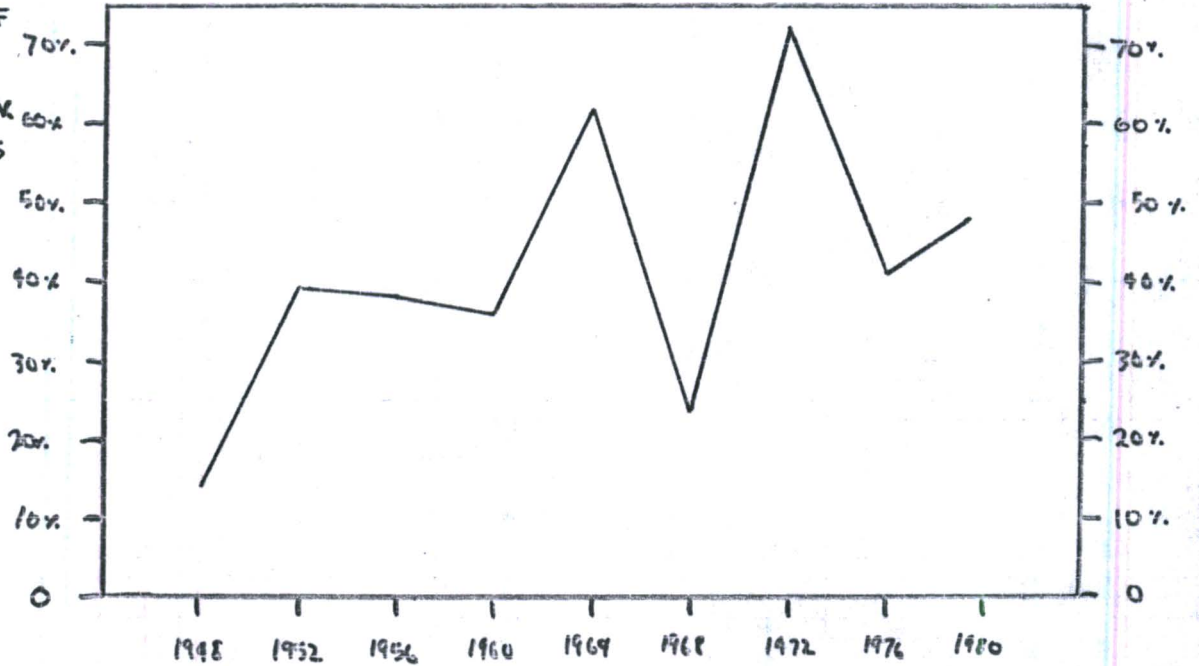
The Deep South always did march to a different drummer. Eisenhower actually increased his nationwide percentage in 1956, and as the above table shows, carried the Outer South vote. But the Deep South was not interested in Ike's steady hand at the tiller, or in the unprecedented prosperity of the mid-50s. The Deep South was up in arms about the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision, for which they blamed Eisenhower appointee Earl Warren. Thus the Deep South GOP percentage actually declined in 1956.

The gap between the Outer and Deep South was never wider than in 1964. Goldwater turned the normal Republican pattern in the South on its head. Just four years earlier, Richard Nixon carried a majority of the Outer South states for the GOP for the third time in a row. Nixon was the first Republican to carry the Outer South even as he lost the country--a sure sign that Outer South Republicanism was a force to be reckoned with. However, in

GRAPH 2

DEEP SOUTH

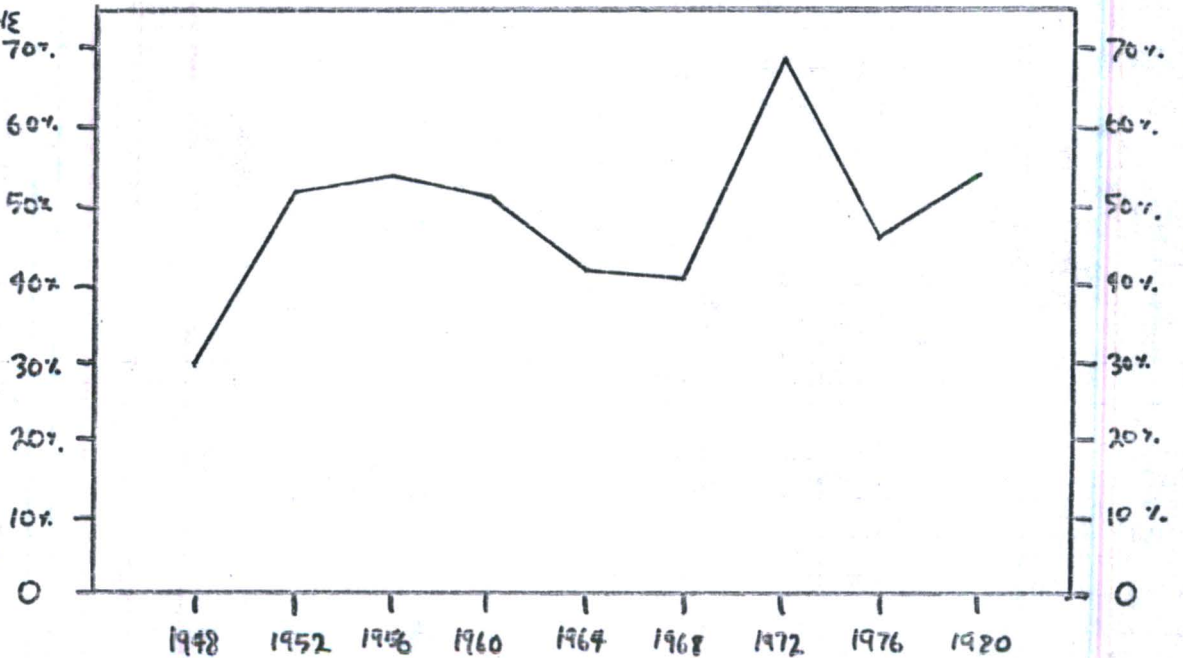
GOP % OF THE TOTAL VOTE IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS



GRAPH 3

OUTER SOUTH

GOP % OF THE TOTAL VOTE IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS



1964 Goldwater was blown away in the Outer South. But he carried the Deep South! For three of these states, 1964 represented the first time they had gone Republican since Reconstruction, and for a fourth--Georgia--it was the first time ever.

In percentage terms, Goldwater got 62.0% of the vote in the Deep South but just 42.4% of the Outer South vote. That spread of 19.6 percentage points is a high for the whole 1948-1968 era of the fragmented South, and symbolizes the political impotence of the region in this period.

Lest anyone doubt that racially inspired voting was still the key to Southern elections, the figures in Table 10 should dispel those doubts. They show that the five best Dixiecrat states were also Goldwater's five best states (not just in the South, but nationwide):

TABLE 10

	<u>1948 Dixiecrat %</u>	<u>1964 Goldwater %</u>
Mississippi	87.2	87.1
Alabama	79.7	69.5
South Carolina	72.0	58.9
Louisiana	49.1	56.8
Georgia	20.3	54.1

In 1968 the South again divided its electoral votes, between Nixon, who carried seven states, Wallace who carried five, and Humphrey, who won only LBJ's Texas. Nixon not only carried the majority of Southern states, but he won the lion's share of the South's electoral college vote. For the Democrats, 1968 was their worst showing--so far--in Dixie.

5. The New Solid South

a. 1972: The McGovern Catalyst

George McGovern was never destined to be President. Nixon was on a roll in 1971-72, with the trip to China, the SALT agreement, a booming economy, and an impending settlement in Vietnam. He could probably have beaten any Democrat in 1972. But McGovern was not just any Democrat. He was undoubtedly the most liberal man ever nominated for the presidency by a major party. He won the nomination thanks to the wizardry of his campaign manager's manipulation of the rules, which for example led to the expulsion of the regular Chicago and South Carolina delegations and their replacement by handpicked cadres of McGovernites.

McGovern of South Dakota was never expected to do well in the South--and he didn't. Few realized at the time, however, that McGovern's candidacy would be the catalyst for the reunification of the South. McGovern, candidate of acid, abortion, and amnesty, was a man the South could easily unite against. And it did. McGovern not only lost all thirteen states--reuniting the region for the first time since 1944--but he failed to get more than 34% of the vote in any Southern state!

There were other reasons why the South was so unanimous. By 1972 the storm over civil rights had subsided. By no means was the race problem in the South solved by the early 1970's, but then that was true of the rest of the country as well. The renewed harmony between Outer and Deep South as indicated by the South's electoral college unanimity, is even more effectively demonstrated in Table 11, which shows the respective Republican percentages of the Outer and Deep South from 1964 to 1972.

TABLE 11

Republican Percentage of the Vote

	<u>Deep South</u>	<u>Outer South</u>	<u>Percentage Spread</u>
1964	62.0	42.4	19.6
1968	23.9	40.6	16.7
1972	72.0	68.6	3.4

The 1972 election results demonstrated plainly that the Democratic presidential strategy was completely bankrupt. A succession of Northern liberals had converted the Solid Democratic South into a Solid Republican South in just twenty-eight years. Graph 4 shows how dramatic this plunge was.

b. The Rise of the Southern GOP

Coincident with the fragmentation of the Solid Democratic South was the rise of the Southern GOP. Table 12 shows the party of Lincoln as it stood in the South in 1948 and then in 1972:

TABLE 12

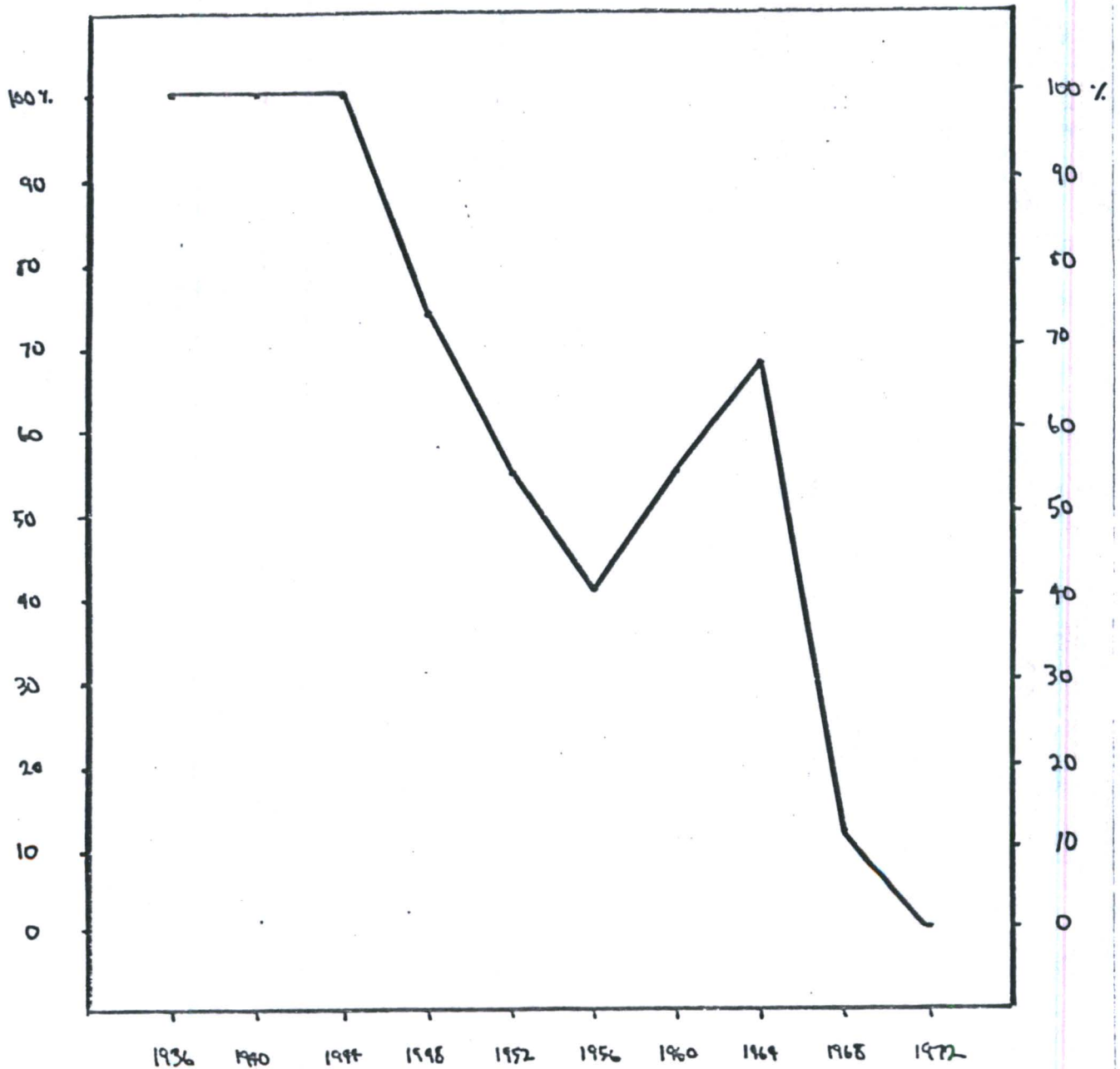
	<u>1948</u>	<u>1972</u>
Southern Republican Senators	1	10
Southern Republican Governors	0	3
Southern Republican Congressmen	6	38

But even though the general Republican trend was upward in the South in the decades following 1948, the Deep South and Outer South behaved much differently. In 1964, for example, the GOP gained seven House seats in the Deep South--the first such wins since Reconstruction--even as three Republican incumbent Congressmen were defeated in the Outer South. In 1966 Deep South Republicanism had subsided, and the GOP lost one net seat in that area, even as they won eleven new House seats in the Outer South.

But by 1972 the Outer and Inner South were starting to move toward the GOP at about the same speed. In that year the Republicans won four new House seats in the Outer South, and three more in the Deep South.

GRAPH 4

DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE OF
THE SOUTHERN ELECTORAL VOTE, 1936-1972



Graphs 5 through 13 illustrate the progress the GOP has made in the South--and also break the South down into its Outer South and Deep South regions. The graphs cover the House, the Senate and Governorships.

c. 1976: The Democrats Strike Back

If 1972 demonstrated that it was time for the Democrats to engage in the proverbial agonizing reassessment, 1976 demonstrated that the Democrats have the sort of flexibility that has allowed them to stay #1 for so long.

Jimmy Carter's nomination in 1976 solved the Democrats' problem, if temporarily. The peanut farmer from Plains was the first man from the Deep South in 128 years to fill the top one slot on a major party ticket. It was a masterful geopolitical stroke. The Solid South turned out for one of its own.

Carter was nearly shut out in the West. He was beaten decisively on Gerald Ford's Midwestern turf. He did only fairly well in the East, losing New Jersey and Connecticut, two states that JFK had carried in the last close presidential election won narrowly by a Democrat. But Carter won 127 of the 147 Southern electoral votes and thus went on to win the closest electoral contest in sixty years.

We all know the story of 1980. The whole country rose up to smite Carter hip and thigh. Dixie was as solid as any area in its determination to remove this regional embarrassment. It gave President Reagan 135 of its 147 electoral votes.

So for the last three elections, the South has once again learned to speak with one united voice. In 1972 the same candidate carried the Deep South and the Outer South, the first that had happened since 1944. In 1976 and 1980 the same was true, indicating a pattern of solidarity that has great implications for 1984. A look at Table 13, showing Republican percentages for the two Souths in 1976 and 1980 shows that the level of harmony is indeed high:

TABLE 13

	<u>Deep South</u>	<u>Outer South</u>	<u>Percentage Spread</u>
1976	41.6	46.2	4.6
1980	47.6	54.1	6.5

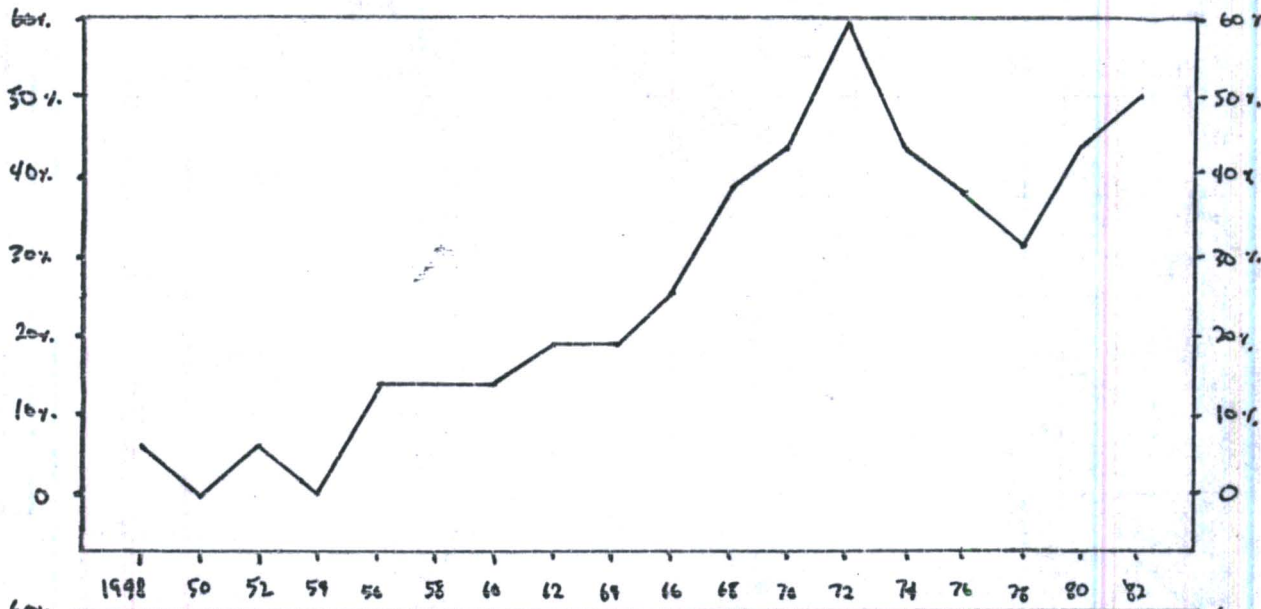
Thus the South could well regain the electoral prominence it last enjoyed six decades ago. The reason is simple. Not only does the South control a larger share of the electoral vote total than it ever has, but the South has put both parties on notice that if it chooses to do so, it can deliver to its chosen candidate 57% of the needed 270 electoral votes.

GRAPH 5.

SENATE

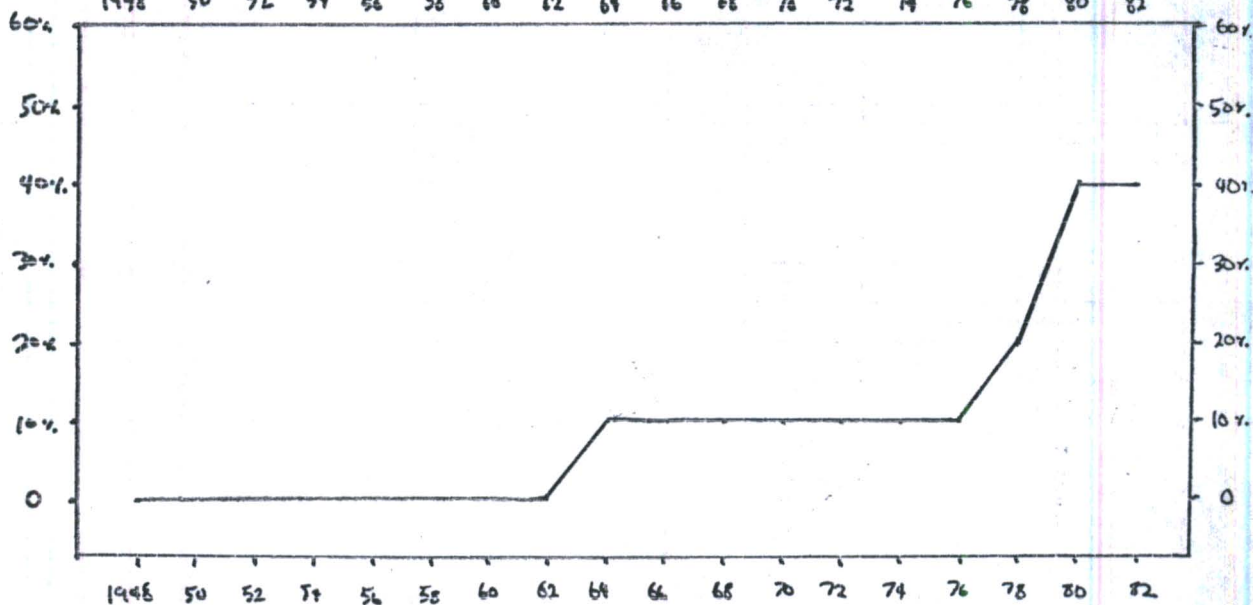
REPUBLICAN PERCENTAGE OF US SENATE SEATS
IN THE DEEP SOUTH, OUTER SOUTH, + TOTAL SOUTH 1948-1982

OUTER
SOUTH



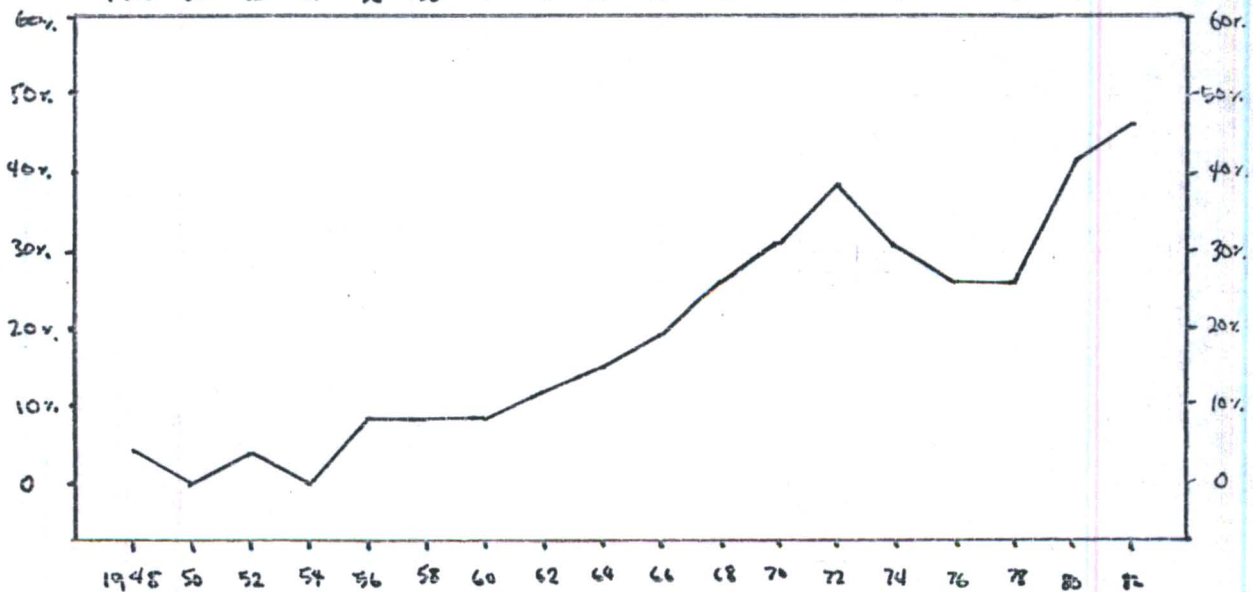
GRAPH 6

DEEP
SOUTH



GRAPH 7

TOTAL
SOUTH

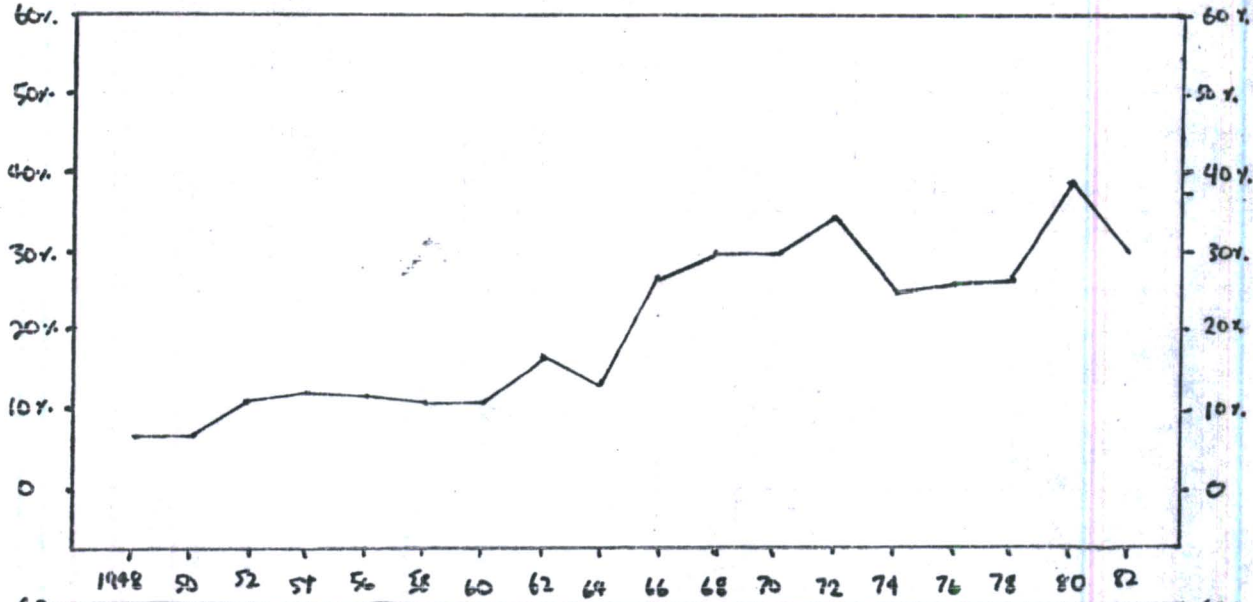


GRAPH 8

HOUSE

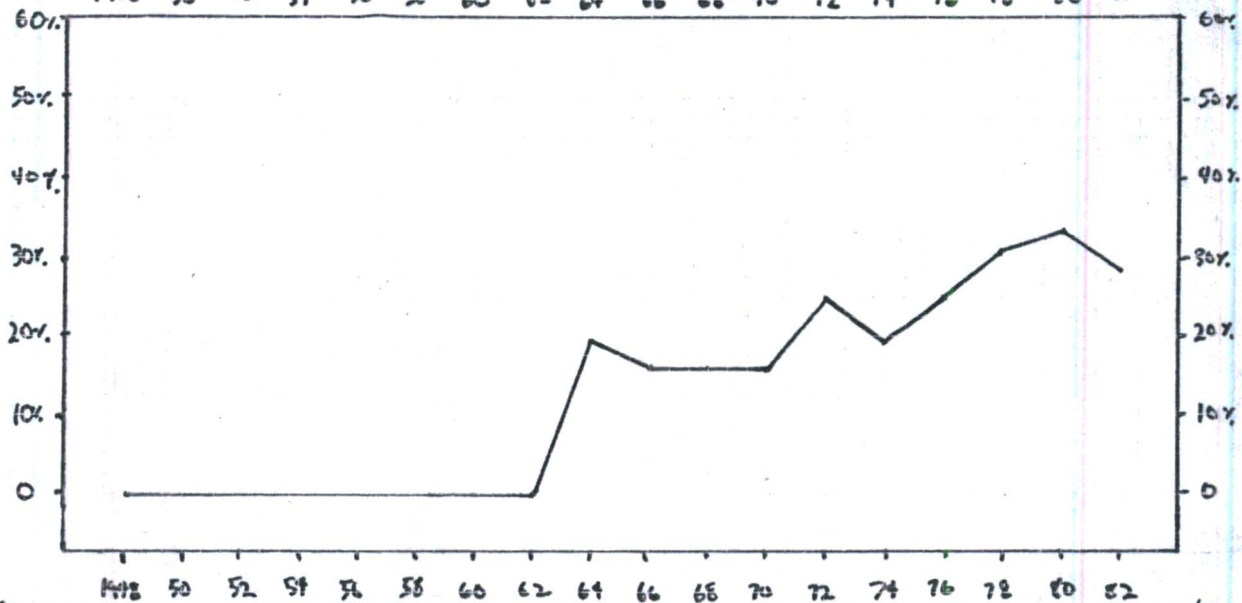
REPUBLICAN PERCENTAGE OF US HOUSE SEATS IN THE DEEP SOUTH, OUTER SOUTH, + TOTAL SEATS 1948-1982

OUTER SOUTH



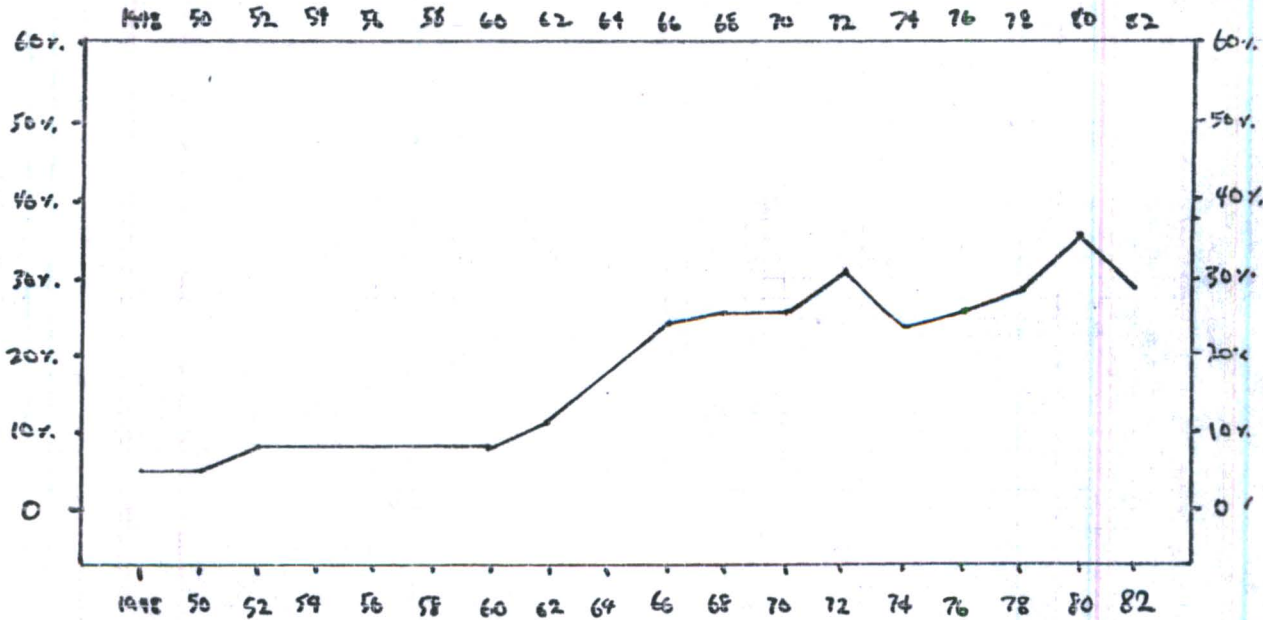
GRAPH 9

DEEP SOUTH



GRAPH 10

TOTAL SOUTH

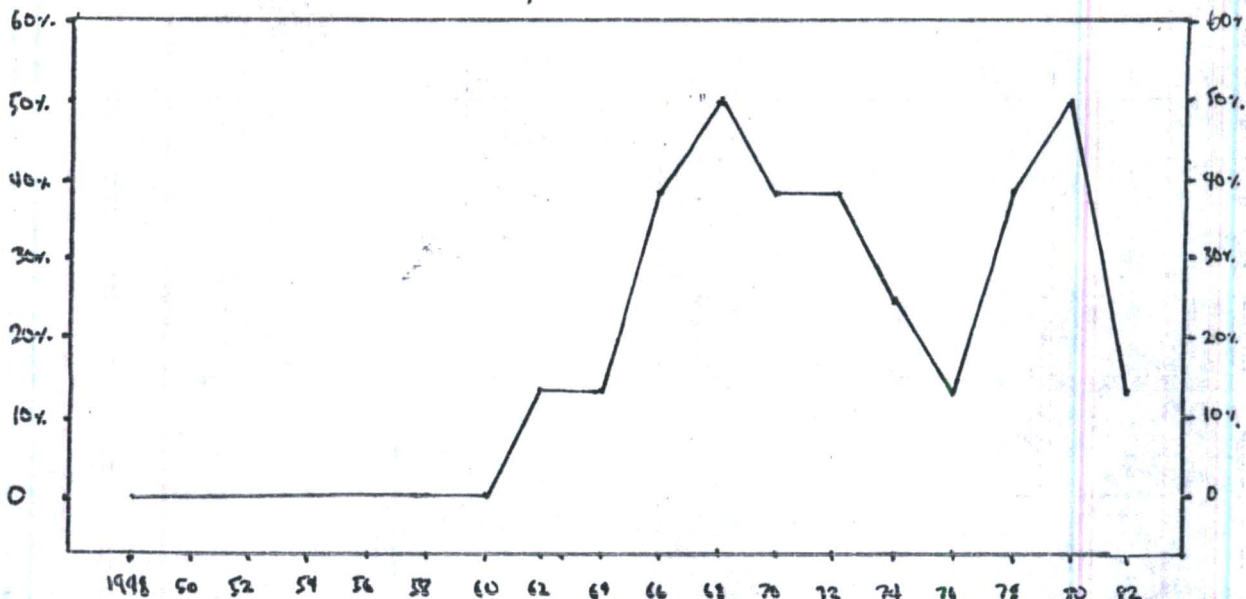


GOVERNORSHIPS

REPUBLICAN PERCENTAGE OF THE STATEHOUSES
IN THE DEEP SOUTH, OUTER SOUTH, + TOTAL SOUTH 1948-1982

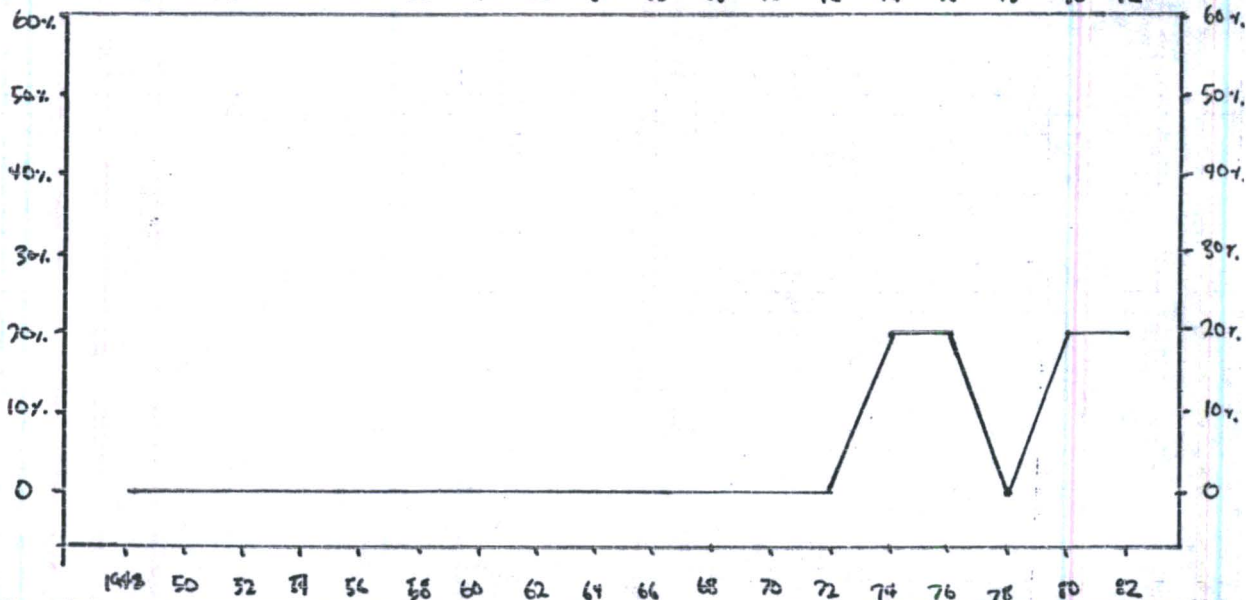
GRAPH 11

OUTER
SOUTH



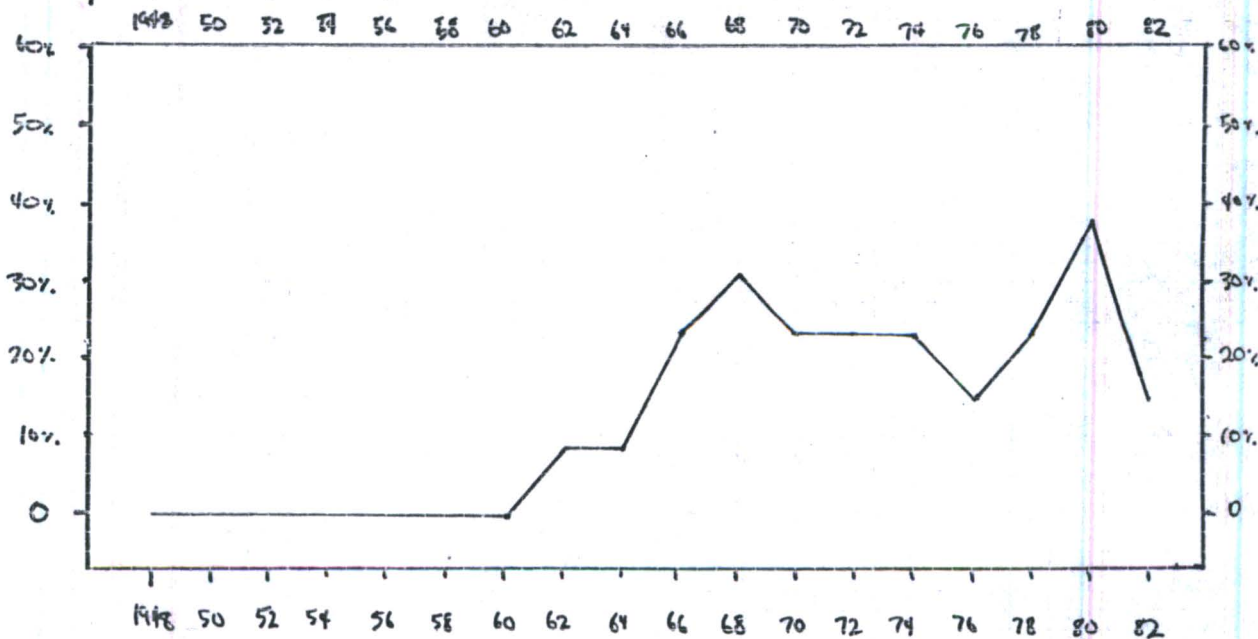
GRAPH 12

DEEP
SOUTH



GRAPH 13

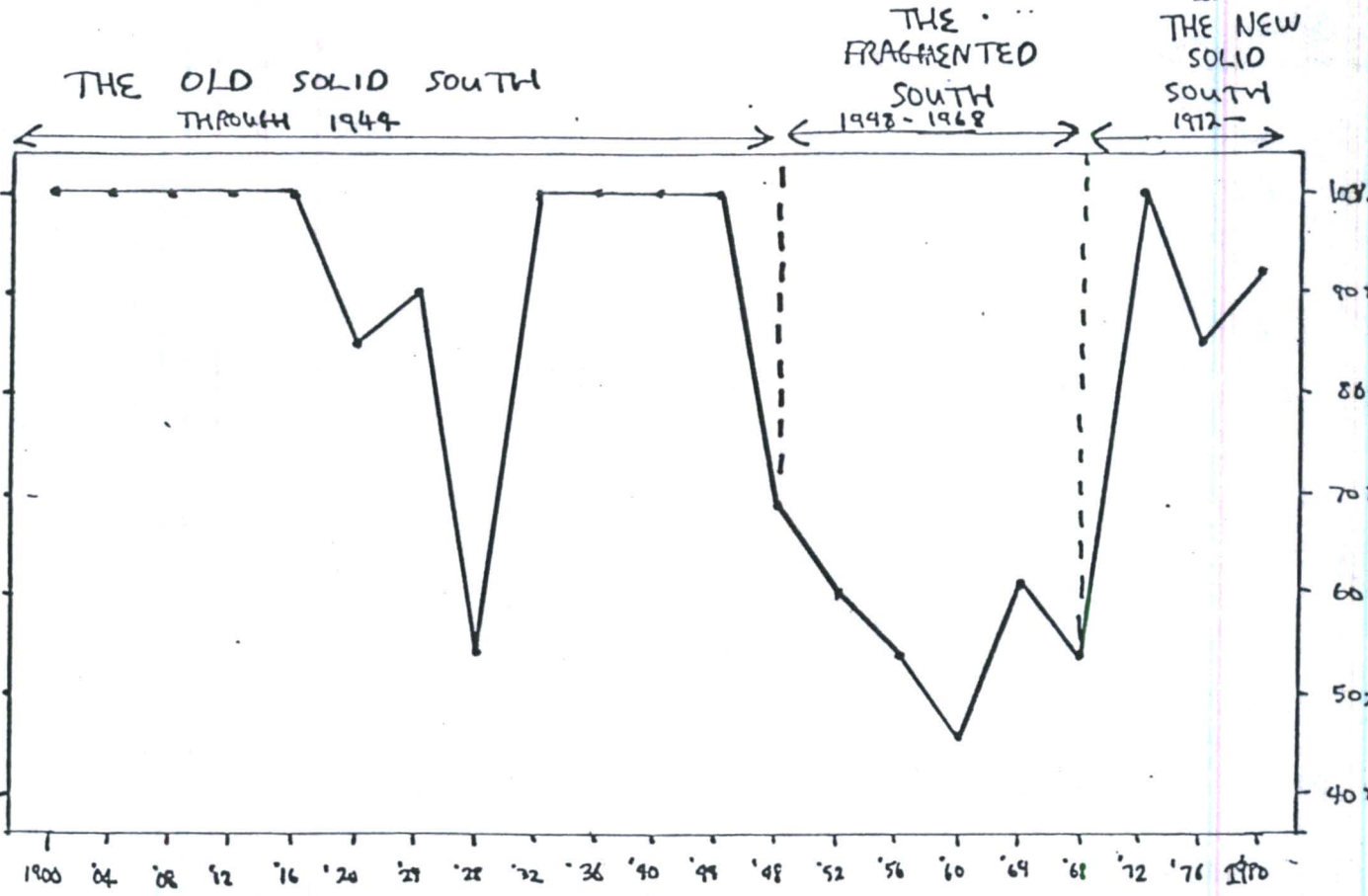
TOTAL
SOUTH



GRAPH 14

THE FALL + RISE OF THE SOLID SOUTH IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1900-1980

Percentage of Southern states giving their electoral votes to the leading candidate in the South.



Graph 14 illustrates the percentage of the thirteen Southern states that went for the leading candidate in the South from 1900 to 1980. In 1900, for example, Democrat William Jennings Bryan carried all 13 Southern states; and thus the percentage on the graph for that year is 100. In 1960, on the other hand, no candidate won more than six (46%) of the Southern states. In 1980 Ronald Reagan carried 12 of the 13 Southern states, and thus the graph for that year shows 92%.

Note that fidelity to either party is not measured by Graph 14. What is being measured is the unanimity, or lack of it, in the South from 1900 to 1980.

The period from 1900 to 1980 is divided into three sections: the Old Solid South, the Fragmented South, and the New Solid South.

Graph 14 and Table 15 sum up the fall and rise of the Solid South. They make it plain that the South enjoys a degree of cohesion unparalleled by any other contiguous region with equivalent electoral clout.

A look at Table 15 indicates that the Deep South--with 46 electoral votes in 1984--is much more inclined toward unanimity than the Outer South. It would be valuable for all those interested in winning 270 electoral votes in a presidential election to think of the Deep South as a single political unit, with only one less electoral vote than California.

d. 1984

Is the South again as monolithic as it was a half-century ago? The answer is, of course, no. The South has grown more heterodox, as has the nation. But in the fast-moving 1980's the South retains more of its old regional mentality than any other region. The South is still a state of mind.

The Democrats understand that they have to have the South in 1984. No Democrat has ever been elected without carrying most of the South (further fun fact: no Democrat since 1845 has won without carrying Texas).

The South, with its 155 electoral votes, is so tempting that even Teddy Kennedy shared a platform with George Wallace as far back as 1974. More recently, Kennedy hired the former Executive Director of the South Carolina Democratic Party, Bill Carrick, to be his Political Director. With Kennedy officially out of the race for 1984, Carrick may not be needed right away, but no doubt his time will come!

In Barron's, Bert Lance virtually conceded the West to the GOP and noted that there weren't enough electoral votes in the East and Midwest for the Democrats to win. Quoth the Georgia Democratic Chairman "there isn't any question that for a Democratic nominee to win in 1984, he's got to carry the South."

And how can the Democrats hope to do this? According to Jordan, "by understanding and responding to the special concerns and problems of the South." This the Democrats are obviously striving to do.

Polls at this time present a mixed picture. On one hand there is a Gallup Poll released in early January showing the President behind Glenn and Mondale. The data for the South are shown in Table 14.

TABLE 14

Reagan	33	Reagan	35
Mondale	52	Glenn	52
Undecided	15	Undecided	13

If these poll numbers were to be translated into 1984 popular votes and then into 1984 electoral votes, we would lose every Southern state.

TABLE 15

The South in the Electoral College, 1944-1980

The table below shows which candidate won the majority of each Southern state's electoral votes from 1940 to 1980. This table, in conjunction with Graph 14, illustrates the Fall and Rise of the Solid South. D=Democrat, R=Republican, I=Independent.

DEEP SOUTH

<u>State</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1944</u>	<u>1948</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1980</u>
Alabama	D	D	I	D	D	I	R	I	R	D	R
Georgia	D	D	D	D	D	D	R	I	R	D	D
Louisiana	D	D	I	D	R	D	R	I	R	D	R
Mississippi	D	D	I	D	D	I	R	I	R	D	R
South Carolina	D	D	I	D	D	D	R	R	R	D	R

Republican states:	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	1	5	0	4
Democratic states:	5	5	1	5	4	3	0	0	0	5	1
Independent states:	0	0	4	0	0	2	0	4	0	0	0

OUTER SOUTH

Arkansas	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	I	R	D	R
Florida	D	D	D	R	R	R	D	R	R	D	R
Kentucky	D	D	D	D	R	R	D	R	R	D	R
North Carolina	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	R	R	D	R
Oklahoma	D	D	D	R	R	R	D	R	R	R	R
Tennessee	D	D	D	R	R	R	D	R	R	D	R
Texas	D	D	D	R	R	D	D	D	R	D	R
Virginia	D	D	D	R	R	R	D	R	R	R	R

Republican states:	0	0	0	5	6	5	0	6	8	2	8
Democratic states:	8	8	8	3	2	3	8	1	0	6	0
Independent States:	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

TOTAL SOUTH

Republican states:	0	0	0	5	7	5	5	7	13	2	12
Democratic states:	13	13	9	8	6	6	8	1	0	11	1
Independent states:	0	0	4	0	0	2	0	5	0	0	0

Percentage of
Unanimity Shown
on Graph 14

100%	100%	70%	62%	54%	46%	62%	54%	100%	84%	92%
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It would be the worst GOP performance in the South since 1944, and the worst four-year slippage for the GOP in Dixie since 1928-1932.

It is interesting and somewhat surprising that Mondale, Minnesota's liberal protege of Hubert Humphrey (recall that he lost twelve of the thirteen Southern states in his 1968 bid), advocate of affirmative action; busing, etc., runs better, according to Gallup, than does John Glenn. Glenn is, after all, more conservative than Mondale, and has the military aura that Southerners have always found appealing.

However, Mondale's better showing should serve as a reminder of one of the major themes of this memo: that the Southern electorate is changing. Not only are blacks and poor whites voting in far greater numbers, but the motivating issues are changing. As we have seen the last gasp of the race issue was back in 1968. With that tumultuous period behind it, the South has been able to find its common voice and once again become the Solid South. One of the key issues for the post-civil rights trauma South is the economy. It is the poorest region of the country, and as such, the South may find Mondale's bread-and-butter economic liberalism attractive.

Another poll taken by the Atlanta-based Darden Research Organization appeared in the January 8 Atlanta Constitution. Its results were much more positive.

TABLE 16

Reagan	51	Reagan	49
Mondale	44	Glenn	42
Undecided	5	Undecided	9

Even so, what is going on in the South? After all it was just two years ago that Ronald Reagan won every state but Carter's own Georgia. How could we go from such a tremendous landslide to such uncertain status in so short a period? What does this portend for 1984 and beyond?

My answers to these questions appear in Sections 3 and 4. But first, I believe it is worth taking a clear look at the 1980 election, so that we can see more clearly just how Republicans stand in Dixie.

II. A SECOND LOOK AT 1980--AND A GLIMPSE OF 1984

A. THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE VOTE AND THE POPULAR VOTE IN THE SOUTH

In 1980 Ronald Reagan received 135 Southern electoral votes. That was 92% of the electoral total for the region that year. President Reagan's 135 electoral-vote total was not far behind Richard Nixon's 1972 total of 147, or 100% of the total for the region. Maybe we should leave it at that. The electoral college is, after all, the bottom line in presidential elections.

However, we do need to examine the popular vote totals. Even though a one-popular vote victory is worth just as much in the electoral college as a one million-popular vote victory, there is a difference! Sometimes the peculiar character of the electoral college obscures differences, and thus we must use other analytical tools, such as the raw popular vote totals. I believe that such analysis will help us to understand what happened in 1980 and what to expect in 1984.

Ronald Reagan received 51.3% of the popular vote in Dixie two years ago-- a far cry from the 92% of the electoral college vote he received based on his popular vote. The President's 51.3% showing ranks as the second-highest popular vote percentage ever achieved by a Republican in modern times. But it pales next to the staggering 70.1% of the popular vote racked up by Richard Nixon in 1972 (see Graph 1).

In 1972 no Southern state was even close for the Democrats. Nixon put at least 30 percentage points' worth of distance between the Republican share of the vote and the Democratic share. On the other hand, seven of President Reagan's twelve Southern state victories were quite close. These seven wins were decided by 2.1% or less of the vote. Also in these seven states the Republicans won by a plurality, as opposed to a majority. Table 17 indicates just how close most of our Southern victories were in 1980.

TABLE 17

<u>State</u>	<u>Reagan %</u>	<u>Spread between Reagan and Carter</u>
Oklahoma	60.5	25.8
Florida	55.5	17.1
Texas	55.3	14.0
Virginia	53.0	13.0
Louisiana	51.2	5.5
South Carolina	49.6	1.6
Mississippi	49.4	.2
North Carolina	49.3	2.1
Alabama	49.0	1.8
Kentucky	49.0	1.4
Tennessee	48.7	.3
Arkansas	48.1	.7
Georgia	41.0	-15.0