

Dale Bumpers

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Fulbright vs. Bumpers: The Arkansas Dilemma

Despite its relatively small size, Arkansas probably has more legislative power in Washington than any other state in the Union. Its senior senator, John McClellan, is chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee. Its junior senator is J. W. Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In the House, another supremely powerful Arkansan, Wilbur Mills, is chairman of the key Ways and Means Committee.

Fulbright, who is now running for a sixth term, is "junior" only because McClellan, 78, has served even longer in the Senate. It's hard to recall any state ever having at one time such a concentration of influence on Capitol Hill. New York and California are each about 10 times larger in population than Arkansas, but between them they can't claim the chairmanship of a single major committee.

In a few weeks, though, Arkansas could lose some of its pre-eminence if its star, Bill Fulbright, is defeated for re-nomination by Dale Bumpers, a young two-term governor who aspires to Fulbright's seat. The election (said to be touch and go) is acutely uncomfortable for many voters who have previously supported both men, but who now, unhappily, have to choose between them.

Bumpers has been a popular governor whose moderate policies have won the support of many voters who would have preferred to have him seek a third term as governor on May 28 (considered a sure thing), and then run for the Senate four years from now when Sen. McClellan is expected to retire at the age of 82.

Since Bumpers has generally supported Fulbright's actions in Congress, it is hard for many to understand why he suddenly decided to run for the Senate this year. The best explanation seems to be that he is simply a young man in a hurry who wants to strike while his political iron is hot.

As the campaign nears the stretch, however, this situation is causing him some embarrassment, for he is not in a position to complain about Fulbright stands that he has previously approved.



"Arkansas has had a special pride in Fulbright since his youth."

The Bumpers dilemma has been sharply analyzed by the state's leading newspaper, the esteemed Arkansas Gazette of Little Rock.

Bumpers, it says, "is asking the peo-

ple to turn out a veteran incumbent senator, one of the most honored men ever reared in Arkansas, without even making a case against him!" The paper challenged the governor "to stop putting

us all on and, instead, to define issues he has to make against the record of Bill Fulbright."

Bumpers, the Gazette points out, "has 30 years of Fulbright's record to examine, and surely he must object to something Fulbright has done. So far, Bumpers is just running against Congress and 'foreign relations' . . . He is very nearly standing in contempt of his own constituency."

Arkansas has had a special pride in Fulbright since his youth. He was the captain of the University of Arkansas football team; he won a Rhodes Scholarship, and he returned to become the state university's youngest president. In 1942, as a freshman congressman, he introduced the historic Fulbright resolution, which became a beacon for U.S. post-World War II foreign policy.

But the nation has also come to have a stake in his career, for he has turned out to be a towering figure as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee where, putting partisanship aside, he has steadfastly and effectively opposed the war-mongering of both Democratic and Republican Presidents.

Supported by a remarkably united committee, he was in the forefront of the fight to end the Vietnamese war and the bombing of Cambodia. Under him, the Tonkin Gulf resolution was repealed, and the Senate reasserted its constitutional covers over warmaking. Restraints have been placed on military aid to military dictatorships, along with re-examination of U.S. foreign commitments. As a result, headstrong Presidents will no longer find it easy to drag the United States into reckless interventions abroad.

Nevertheless, despite his opposition to the President over Vietnam, Fulbright is now working extremely closely with Mr. Nixon's secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, in trying to bring about a viable peace settlement in the Middle East and a reliable detente with Russia. It is no secret that Dr. Kissinger feels his Senate collaborator is playing an indispensable role.

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Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Sen. Fulbright: 'Only a Miracle Can Save Him'

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—The reason for the probable defeat of Sen. J. W. Fulbright by Gov. Dale Bumpers in the May 28 Senate Democratic primary, an event that would propel an important new figure into national politics, can be partly explained by a whispered comment to Bumpers at a roadside restaurant.

A retired Methodist minister pledged Bumpers his vote, then confided: "But to tell the truth, governor, I'd even vote for a colored man against Fulbright." Such incidents are commonplace, leading to this consensus: *Anybody* could beat Fulbright in Arkansas in 1974.

Thus, his defeat would stem not from the Watergate syndrome polluting Washington politicians, nor even Bumpers' unquestioned popularity. Rather, after 30 anomalous years of representing Arkansas in the Senate, the string has finally run out on the aloof and aristocratic intellectual. By pure accident, the man taking advantage of that is not a provincial nobody but an impressive political newcomer of broad ambition and potential.

Although the courthouse cliques traditionally in control of Arkansas politics are backing Fulbright, that is no longer adequate. Poll results are staggering: Bumpers' latest figures show

him more than 2-to-1 over the senator. Anti-Fulbright sentiment has so hardened that only a miracle can save him.

That stems partly from a feeling here that Fulbright, who maintains no residence in Arkansas, has become distant and unapproachable as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in Washington. "Bill's a lot smarter than the rest of us in Arkansas," says a country lawyer who formerly supported him but now backs Bumpers. "If you don't believe that, just ask him."

Beyond personality considerations lies a murky ideological incompatibility between Fulbright and his native state. To blue-collar workers and farmers who carried Arkansas for George Wallace in 1968, Fulbright's battle against the Vietnam war confirms their instinctive identification of him as a "liberal" and "egghead" (though, in fact, his voting record is not all that liberal on domestic issues).

Fulbright was ready for plucking in 1968 and managed only 53 per cent against two lackluster primary opponents. Arkansas politicians viewed his defeat as inevitable this time, probably by former Gov. Sid McMath if Bumpers did not run.

Bumpers' entry simply enhances the prospect. Emerging from the

obscurity of a small-town lawyer four years ago to score a stunning upset for governor over Orval Faubus and Winthrop Rockefeller, Bumpers at 48 is one of the most popular politicians in the state's history.

The Bumpers national image is that of a new breed southern liberal, but he views himself more as a centrist and privately derides "limousine liberals." Most important, lower-income whites who backed Wallace can relate to Bumpers as they cannot to Fulbright.

Although Prof. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and the New Republic have commenced public mourning over the probable loss of Fulbright for the liberal cause in foreign policy, Fulbright knows his only chance to survive is on more mundane issues. "Seniority is an asset to a small state," he told uncomprehending students at Westark Junior College in Fort Smith this week. Almost plaintively, he challenges Bumpers to say where he has failed.

The strategy concocted for Fulbright by Washington campaign consultant Mark Shields is to portray Bumpers as just another pretty face. "We are not running for homecoming queen," says Fulbright. His theme for full-page newspaper advertisements and television commercials: "It's more than

just a popularity contest. It's the most crucial election in America." The vigorously pro-Fulbright Arkansas Gazette refers to the governor editorially as "Smiley" Bumpers.

But stronger medicine is needed to beat Bumpers, a superb campaigner and stump speaker whose governorship has been widely acclaimed. There is consequently apprehension in the Bumpers camp that Fulbright's dignified and restrained criticism will intensify into all-out assault as election day nears. That prospect terrifies Bumpers supporters, not because it may defeat him but because it may scar him for a future national role.

When Bumpers was considering the race against Fulbright early this year, an aide asked an Arkansas labor leader his opinion. Bumpers would win, the union man said, but the battle would be so bitter that Bumpers' national ambitions would be prematurely crippled. To prevent that, Bumpers never mentions Fulbright's name and soft-pedals all criticism on the theory that Fulbright's number is up anyway.

The intent is obvious. If he can win without bloodshed, Bumpers could become the most available southern moderate for a Democratic national ticket—if not in 1976 then in the future.

Wash. Post Thursday March 14, 1974

Marquis Childs

Arkansas Democrats: A Case for Seniority

Few states in the Union have the political clout of Arkansas. With a population under 2 million, three key committee chairmanships are held by men whose influence extends far beyond the borders not only of their state but of the nation. Rep. Wilbur Mills, as chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, is one of the three or four most powerful men in Washington. Ruling his committee with his unflagging determination and his considerable ability, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that he also rules the federal tax structure.

"Don't make a move without seeing Wilbur," is the cautionary word running through the Treasury, the banking community and the Congress. The senior senator from Arkansas, John McClellan, is chairman of the appropriations committee which exercises authority over the entire federal government. His zeal as an investigator, his relentless digging into crime, corruption and waste has made him the scourge of the unrighteous. His service in the Senate began in 1942.

J. William Fulbright, the junior senator, became chairman of the Foreign

Relations Committee just 15 years ago. One of the sternest critics of the Vietnam war and its offshoots in Cambodia and Laos, and often at odds with the State Department over the politics of diplomatic appointments, he has achieved a good working relationship with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

It is a case of two specialists, each with a broad grounding in the intricacies of foreign policy, yet each with his own contribution to make to the conduct of foreign affairs in a time of troubles. This year Senator Fulbright is up for reelection to a sixth term. Back in Arkansas a challenger is testing the water to see how far the swing toward isolationism might carry him.

That potential challenger is Gov. Dale Bumpers. Arkansas is one of the states which has never moved out of the two-year cycle that keeps a governor running for reelection almost from the first day he takes office. And the salary of \$10,000 a year is the lowest in the country.

Completing his second two-year term, Bumpers, a shrewd campaigner with a wide following, could beyond doubt be

reelected governor. Although he has independent means, the contrast in salary, \$10,000 as against \$42,500 for the Senate, not to mention perquisites, cannot be ignored.

As a candidate for the Senate, Bumpers would get a big lift in money and skilled advice from important interests eager to see Fulbright retired. Foremost are the ardent Zionists who feel the senator has failed to give Israel sufficient support in his key position as foreign relations chairman.

Fulbright's skepticism about military aid programs around the world has hardly been a secret. He has been more detached than many of his colleagues about the large sums voted for Israel. At the same time, however, he proposed an open alliance between Israel and the United States, providing American military support should Israel be attacked.

Presumably if such an alliance had been in force when the Arabs launched the Yom Kippur war in October, the United States would have been at Israel's side. At one point during his Mid-

east shuttle diplomacy, Kissinger hinted that he might favor an alliance of the type Fulbright proposed.

The seniority system can put indifferent and incompetent men on the escalator until they arrive in positions of power they are unfit to hold. On the other hand, it can bring knowledge and expertise into a post such as the chairmanship of foreign relations.

In the opinion of this observer, Fulbright is in the latter category. For all the sniping of his critics in and out of government, he is equipped with his friendship with Kissinger to advance a negotiated peace. This may be one of those revolutionary years when anyone out of the old order, whether Democrat or Republican, is due for the ax. But government during the next two critical years would be the poorer for the loss of men like Fulbright.

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Gov. Bumpers Seeks Fulbright's Seat

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., March 11—Gov. Dale Bumpers announced today that he will challenge J.W. Fulbright for the Senate seat Fulbright has held for the past 29 years.

Bumpers, 48, one of the most popular governors in the state's history, told newsmen: "Faith in the government today is at an all-time low." What is needed, he said, "was new positive leadership."

He spoke of the United States as a nation "facing troublesome times" and enumerated such problems as inflation, the energy crisis and attendant unemployment, health care and the depletion of natural resources.

The governor, who has admitted an interest in 1976 presidential politics, said he had reached his decision after "agonizing" deliberations and that he did not make up his mind until after a family dinner Saturday night. He admitted he had encountered some pressure from prominent Democrats in the state not to oppose Fulbright in the May 28 Democratic primary but would not comment on the degree of pressure, which was considered heavy.

Within two hours of Bumpers' announcement, Fulbright, who had said previously he would seek a sixth term, held a news conference to say, "I regret that Gov. Bumpers has made this decision."

He said Bumpers' statements on national issues sounded "as if he were offering himself for a place on the national ticket." He added that "for anyone to use the Senate as a stepping-stone to the presidency would be a des-service to the state and the Senate."

Several times, Fulbright referred to Bumpers' "lack of experience" and "know-how" in Washington politics.

Fulbright commented: "Those who get results with legislation in Washington, who deliver the goods, so to speak, are those that have the respect and confidence of their associates. The final issue is, can I do more to obtain from the Senate measures to help the people of the state, or can a new man?"

He said that during his long career in the Senate "my record has been a credible one" and that the Arkansas delegation, which includes Sen. John L. McClellan (D), chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, and Rep. Wilbur D. Mills (D), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, had long "been an effective team."

Many political observers feel the race will be close and that both men will draw from the same base of liberal and moderate voter support. Some believe that many rural voters have been alienated by Fulbright's intellectual and aristocratic style and by his infrequent visits to the state except at election time.

Bumpers has been charged with indecisiveness on some state issues and avoidance of controversial matters.

Fulbright, in anticipation of Bumpers' candidacy, has been campaigning hard in the state since early in February. His campaign style, as in the past, has been one of "folksy" shirt-sleeve, people-to-people contact, aimed at dispelling his image as a cosmopolite whose interests lie primarily in foreign affairs.

Bumpers avoided any sharp criticism of Fulbright today, saying, "I am not running against Sen. Fulbright but for the U.S. Senate." He added that in the past "I have agreed more than disagreed with Fulbright."

He said he would run a "people-to-people" campaign, one that would stress "the need for the positive approach" at a time of national crisis. He said he would shun a large-scale, media-style campaign in favor of the personal approach and that he intended "to spend as little as possible" to finance it.

Bumpers spoke at length on a number of national issues. On inflation, he advocated the return to Phase I and Phase II controls, which he said "should not have been removed," and he urged the imposition of new wage and price controls.

On his plans for 1976 and the possibility he might be offered a place on the national Democratic ticket, he said: "I would not shut the option out, but it is so far-fetched at this time, I don't know if I'm even flattered by it."

He mentioned Watergate only once and said he was "reluctant to call for the President's resignation" until after the House Judiciary Committee has considered all of the evidence regarding impeachment.

In recent weeks Bumpers has traveled extensively across the state, speaking out on national issues.

Bumpers, a two-term governor, was virtually unknown in the summer of 1970 when he defeated former Gov. Orval E. Faubus in the Democratic primary and then the late Republican Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller in the general election.

He ran a campaign based largely on his personal appeal to the voters, enhanced by his youthfulness, good looks and polish as a television speaker, while he avoided controversial issues.

He was a fresh, unscarred political figure and managed to defeat two men who had occupied the governor's office for a total of 16, often stormy, years.

Ironically, Bumpers' success was influenced to some degree by the liberalism of Gov. Rockefeller, which helped shift public attitudes on racial and other issues and pave the way for a newcomer, a country lawyer from Charleston, whose views were basically moderate.

In his four years as governor, Bumpers has gained a reputation for reform. He has reorganized the executive function of state government along the lines of the U.S. Cabinet and has been a strong supporter of consumer legislation.

With Bumpers' support the state income tax was increased in 1971, producing large surpluses and solvency for the state treasury. His administration has also been free of scandal.

Bumpers is rated a strong contender by political observers in his race against Fulbright, 68, who is chairman of

the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a member of the Senate Finance Committee and Joint Economic Committee.

The race, because of the uncertain preference of the conservative rural voter, could be complicated by the entry of other political candidates who would draw from the vote, such as former Gov. Faubus and former Gov. Sid McMath, who have both expressed interest in running for the Senate.

The winner of the primary is almost certain to face only token GOP opposition in the general election.

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Fulbright Facing Peril in Vote Tomorrow

Victory by Bumpers Could Close His 30-Year Career

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON

Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., May 26 —The stature of Senator J. W. Fulbright, facing his gravest danger of defeat in a long and controversial career, brought the networks television crews and the overseas press to this sleepy capital for the final day of the campaign before the Democratic Senatorial primary Tuesday.

The 69-year-old cantankerously independent chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee even received a friendly telephone call from Secretary of State Kissinger in Damascus on Friday.

To Arkansas, however, the central figure in the primary is Gov. Dale Bumpers, the challenger, who has combined extraordinary personal ambition with a style of friction-proof politics that he has raised to a rare art.

A genial giant killer, Mr. Bumpers, 48 years old, emerged from an obscure country law office four years ago, in a carefully planned television campaign, to defeat two of the great names of Arkansas politics—first, former Gov. Orval E. Faubus in the Democratic primary and then the incumbent Republican, the late Winthrop Rockefeller.

After winning legislative



Gov. Dale L. Bumpers, left, of Arkansas and Senator J. W. Fulbright before their joint television appearance yesterday in Little Rock—the only one of the campaign.

United Press International

passage of Mr. Rockefeller's left-over program, including sweeping executive reorganization and income tax reform, Mr. Bumpers was overwhelmingly re-elected in 1972.

Surveys by respected national polltakers this spring have found the popular approval of the Governor's job performance ranging between 7 and 10 to 1—a strength that may be unmatched among political executives today. In the current campaign he has held both the initiative and the straw-poll lead ever since he surprised Mr. Fulbright by deplacirng against him in mid-March.

Mr. Bumpers had Senator Fulbright's active support in 1970, and some of the Governor's friends believe he is still a secret Fulbright admirer. That may be one of the reasons that Mr. Bumpers has declined to

criticize Mr. Fulbright's record and has refused to debate the Senator.

But Mr. Bumpers's lofty isolation, avoiding all joint appearances except a half-hour together today on the ABC-TV program "Issues and Answers," has also made it harder for Senator Fulbright to compete.

Points to Senate Record

First plaintive, then angry about the lack of public debate, Mr. Fulbright has had to scramble to be heard, pleading for some recollection of the national and international battles he has waged during 30 years in the Senate, trying somehow to turn Mr. Bumpers's popularity against him.

"Don't ask who you will like better," one Fulbright television commercial suggests, "ask who will do the better job." One circular ends, "It's O.K. to like Dale Bumpers and vote for Bill Fulbright."

Mark Shields, the Washington-based campaign consultant, had advised that in a 10-week campaign it would be futile to attack Governor Bumpers's job rating but that the Fulbright campaign might try to set a different standard for the Senate seat. And thus the slogan Mr. Shields suggested and Mr. Fulbright adopted: "It's more than just a popularity contest. It's the most crucial election in America."

Nevertheless, Mr. Bumpers represents a fresh image for many Arkansas of the common man in politics and a dazzling vision for some national Democrats, including Robert S. Strauss, the party chairman, of the moderate Southerner who could help a Presidential ticket in 1976.

Bland Manner

To his critics, Mr. Bumpers's speaking style is almost a caricature of blandness, wrapped in a confident, controlled television manner. Winthrop Rockefeller dismissed him as "a vaguely pleasant man who had one speech, a shoeline and a smile." The Fulbright staff jokes about the bland leading the bland.

A stocky former marine, Mr. Bumpers bears a certain resemblance to the television personalities Art Linkletter and David Frost. Arkansas hear Kennedy cadences in his speech. But his strongest appeal to crowds is a secular evangelism that seems to come naturally to him and his state.

Senator Fulbright mocks his "revival" manner, but Mr. Bumpers emphasizes it all the more fervently, saying, "If there was ever a time when this country needed a revival it's now—a revival of people's spirit and of their faith in the political system and the political process of this country."

He is a "civil religionist," says Brownie Ledbetter, a disenchanted supporter, appealing to what is "still the dominant strain in our culture." Like the Fundamentalist preachers of

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her childhood, Mrs. Ledbetter complains. Governor Bumpers glides past divisive social and political issues on a smooth stream of words about vaguely spiritual values and individual morality.

Yet like The Arkansas Gazette and other liberal voices that have denounced the campaign against Senator Fulbright, Mrs. Ledbetter tempers her criticism with the acknowledgment that she would have supported Governor Bumpers for re-election.

Except for Winthrop Rockefeller, Mr. Bumpers has been more responsive than any major Arkansas politician to the state's large black population—far more so, it is generally agreed, than Mr. Fulbright through most of his career.

Record As Governor

Professional observers here make fun of Mr. Bumper's tortured temporizing over big decisions, but no one accuses him of being a do-nothing Governor. He is credited with enacting free kindergarten and free textbook programs, and he was responsible for the first reform of the state's income taxes in nearly 50 years.

In his most strenuous battle with the state legislature and local government leaders, Mr. Bumpers vetoed a bill to guarantee 7 per cent of all state revenues to city and county government. Partly as a result, most of Arkansas' state legislators and county leaders are now on Senator Fulbright's side.

But with the mass of voters it seems to have helped Governor Bumpers to be pictured as a loner and something of a reformer who has found the rough and tumble of State-house politics distasteful.

The Fulbright campaign has met the Bumpers challenge with a broad and vigorous coalition. It includes, for example, Mrs. Ledbetter, who directed Senator George McGovern's Presidential campaign in Arkansas in 1972, and State Representative Frank Henslee of Pine Bluff, who is organizing Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace's Presidential campaign hereabouts for 1976.

Gets Federal Funds

"I'm sure Governor Wallace is aware," Mr. Henslee explained in an interview, "of the connection between Governor Bumpers and Senator [Edward M.] Kennedy [of Massachusetts] so that Senator Kennedy could make Dale Bumpers his Vice-Presidential candidate—and of course that cuts Governor Wallace out."

While Senator Fulbright is known as a philosopher and teacher in Washington, he is also an effective pork-barrel politician at home. When Mr. Bumpers complained of Congress's seniority system on "Issues and Answers" today, the Senator noted pointedly that committee chairmanships in Washington had supplied Arkansas with more than its share of Federal funds.

Newsweek June 10, 1974

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Sen

PRIMARIES:

Bumpered

As the Arkansas primary-election campaign headed into the homestretch, two farmers strolled past a crowd on the steps of the Marion County Courthouse in the Ozarks. "Who's that up there?"

one of them asked. "That's Bill Fulbright come home," said his friend. "What for?" gumbled the other.

As it turned out, Sen. J. William Fulbright might as well have stayed in Washington. Last week the voters of Arkansas gave Gov. Dale E. Bumpers a thumping, nearly 2-to-1 victory over Fulbright in the race for the Democratic Senatorial nomination. The primary defeat ended Fulbright's try for a sixth Senate term and cut short a political career in which the urbane chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee became a giant in international diplomacy—

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Bumpers, wife: Likely to succeed?

A DEMOCRATIC STAR IS BORN

It has been years since a new face was awaited in Washington with such anticipation. With his overwhelming victory over Sen. J. William Fulbright in last week's Democratic primary election, it was all but taken for granted that Arkansas Gov. Dale Bumpers, 48, would win the Senate seat in November. The question that has Washington astir is whether the political magic that made Bumpers a sensation down home will propel him to stardom on the national level. "As of right now," ventures one Washington admirer, "Dale Bumpers would make a good Vice Presidential running mate for almost any Democrat."

He has already earned a reputation as a thoroughly effective, charismatic campaigner. Four years ago, Bumpers closed his law office in tiny Charleston, Ark. (population: 1,400), sold off \$60,000 worth of cattle to finance a gubernatorial primary campaign and trounced former Gov. Orval Faubus—the biggest vote getter in the state's history. He went on to defeat Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller in the general election, establish a solid record in the Statehouse and begin making his mark at the national level. Following the 1972 McGovern debacle, Bumpers emerged as the Democratic governors' acknowledged leader in the struggle to rebuild the party and elect moderate Texas financier Robert Strauss as its chairman. This year, after two terms as the nation's lowest-paid governor (\$10,000 a year), Bumpers saw a chance for higher office—and took it.

In contrast to the cosmopolitan Fulbright, Bumpers is thoroughly rooted in the soil of Arkansas. In 1878, his great-grandfather took a Cherokee bride and settled on a west Arkansas farm. His parents ran a hardware store in Charleston until they were killed in a car crash in 1949. Bumpers himself—a graduate of the University of Arkansas and Northwestern Law School—took over the store, married Betty Flanagan, the daughter of a local dairy farmer, and fathered two boys and a girl. Hurling himself into civic activities, he became choirmaster and Sunday school teacher at the local Methodist church, served as president of the school board and was named city attorney—for the sensible reason that he was Charleston's only lawyer. It was from that shaky platform that he launched into state politics.

As governor, Bumpers demonstrated a remarkable knack for getting things done without stepping on toes—including passage of much of the legislative program his predecessor had tried in vain to enact. Bumpers overhauled the state bureaucracy, cleaned up its appalling prison system and began building a community-college system. He instituted the state's first major income-tax reform, and carried out a successful program of rural industrialization aimed at putting factories where jobs are needed. And he is working to extend Medicaid benefits to the working poor and welfare recipients.

Heroes: Bumpers's political convictions have yet to be proved, but a much-professed concern for probity in public office is no small part of his appeal. He speaks out frequently on the need for political heroes and seems almost priggishly image-conscious. Bumpers neither drinks nor smokes in public and winces visibly when reporters quote him uttering so much as a "damn." Privately, Bumpers thoroughly enjoys a stogie, an occasional gin and tonic and a good earthy story—but only privately. "My father," Bumpers is fond of telling visitors, "taught me that politics is a noble profession."

Homiletic as such sentiments can sound, Bumpers may have caught the spirit of post-Watergate politics—and with it, perhaps, a chance at his party's 1976 Vice Presidential nomination. Whether he can sustain his present momentum is another matter. McGovernites still smart at his coolness toward their man during the 1972 campaign; some Northern liberals are even angrier at what they see as his opportunistic challenge to Fulbright. And a number of others are simply suspicious of the man. Says one Democratic national committeeman: "He's so ambitious he keeps letting it show."

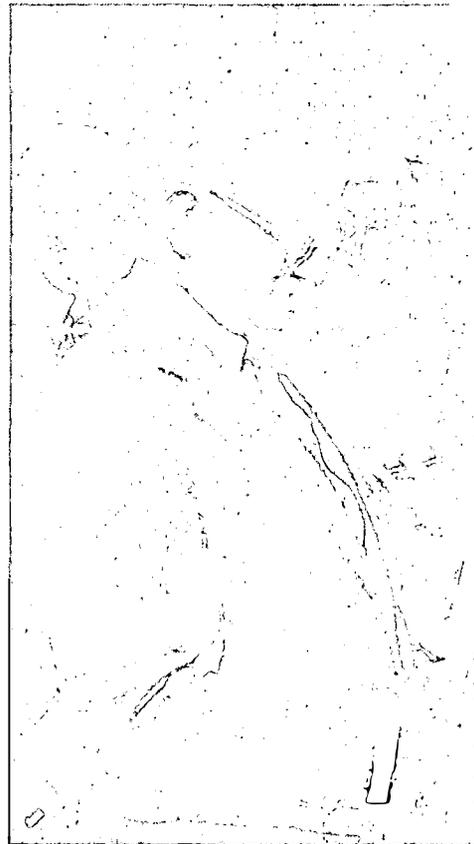
but lost touch with his own constituents.

Fulbright's defeat meant the loss of one of Capitol Hill's most articulate and outspoken experts on foreign affairs and set the stage for a leadership shuffle in two key Senate committees. And the charismatic, 48-year-old Bumpers, who won 71 of Arkansas's 75 counties and all but guaranteed himself victory in November, was now a political giant killer. There was even some discussion about a spot for Bumpers on the Democratic national ticket in 1976 (box).

The Arkansas campaign was a genteel affair—"clean and rather dull," as Fulbright himself put it. The two men had supported each other in previous elections, and on most issues their views seemed identical. As a result, the Fulbright forces were reduced to arguing that Bumpers was just not suited to replace an able man who ranks fifth in seniority in the Senate. "I think the world of Dale," said one actor in a Fulbright TV spot, "but, man, he's no Fulbright." Bumpers campaigned mainly on his impressive record in two terms as governor. And while he never tried to link Fulbright to Watergate, he proclaimed that it was time for new blood to clean up the "sordid mess in Washington."

It was Bumpers's youth and energy that carried the day against the 69-year-old Fulbright. The senator was stunned. He pledged his support to Bumpers and told newsmen: "It's so overwhelming I wouldn't begin to analyze it."

Fulbright's loss juggled some chair-



Larry Oshitsink—Arkansas Gazette
Fulbright conceding defeat:
Swamped by a giant killer

manships in the Senate. Succeeding him as head of the Foreign Relations Committee will be Alabama Democrat John Sparkman—a move that could have far-reaching repercussions. Sparkman, 74, has a record of almost unquestioning support for the Administration's foreign and defense policies, and some committee members fear that he will cut back the watchdog role carved out by Fulbright. The betting is, however, that the committee's bipartisan liberal majority won't let that happen without a fight.

Sparkman's shift may make the biggest impact in his old Banking Committee, where Wisconsin liberal William Proxmire will become chairman. Proxmire's advocacy of truth-in-lending and other consumer bills has won him few friends in the banking community, and some bankers were anxious enough about what he might do as chairman that they contributed to Fulbright's campaign. "I don't think they shudder much in my state where they know me," Proxmire says. But as one bank lobbyist puts it: "It is something that we don't look forward to. The sheer uncertainty of Proxmire is more unsettling than anything else."

In last week's other key race, 73-year-old Wayne Morse captured just over 50 per cent of the vote to swamp three opponents in the Oregon Democratic Senatorial primary. Morse will face Republican Robert Packwood in the fall. It was Packwood who ended Morse's 24-year



Giesick, Katherine: Complications

Senate career six years ago, and Morse faces an uphill battle to unseat him this time. Packwood, 41, seems certain to make an issue of Morse's age. But Morse is lean, vigorous and obviously enthusiastic about the prospect of returning to Washington. "If I'm sent back to the Senate, I'm going to pick up where I left off," he declares. "That's the worst news for Richard Nixon that anyone could send him."

Dale Bumpers biding his time

LYNN ROSELLINI
Newsday

WASHINGTON — They like to tell the story in Little Rock about Dale Bumpers' visit to the 1972 Democratic National Convention.

Bumpers, then governor of Arkansas, was mentioned one day in a Miami newspaper's list of vice presidential prospects after George McGovern's nomination. When reporters questioned him during a morning tennis game, Bumpers said he wasn't interested in the job.

But later that day, a political aide slipped out of Bumpers' hotel suite and into the lobby. "He's sitting up there right now by his phone," the aide told reporters, "waiting for a call from McGovern."

Since his overwhelming Senate Democratic primary victory over Sen. J. William Fulbright last year, the 49-year-old Bumpers is considered perhaps the most promising longshot among the current crop of "New South" hopefuls for a spot on the 1976 Democratic ticket. Arkansas' new senator apparently views the presidential race in 1976 in much the same way that he viewed the vice presidency in 1972 — publicly disdaining interest, privately waiting; and watching.

It was only five years ago that the six-foot lawyer from Charleston, Ark., (pop. 1,400) sold off his dairy herd to help finance a primary campaign for governor against former Gov. Orval Faubus. When Bumpers began stumping the state, he developed the image of a clean-cut country lawyer who would move Arkansas into the 1970s. The image contrasted sharply with that of the six-term Faubus, closely associated with the old Southern-boss style of politics.

Bumpers proved to be a naturally magnetic campaigner and an effective television candidate. He beat Faubus in the primary and the voters of Arkansas, a Democratic state uncomfortable with a Republican in the governor's office, went on to give him a resounding victory over Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller.

Two years later, he emerged into national politics as leader of the Democratic Governors' Conference. Bumpers furthered his national image last year by his

victory by a margin of nearly 2-1 over Fulbright, a Senate veteran of 30 years.

Publicly, Bumpers says he is not running for President. "I would not allow that to creep into my thinking in a serious way," he says "at least for a long time."

But privately, he may feel differently. In the past two years, Bumpers has accepted speaking engagements in all 50 states, talking mainly to Democrats about the lack of faith in government and the "terrible mess" in Washington. And he has recently consulted his advertising adviser, Deloss Walker, about what primary races he might consider entering. No decision has been made, Walker says.

But Bumpers has done little more in preparation for 1976. He has gathered no campaign funds and formed no organization. The staff he assembled in Washington is composed of personal and legislative aides from Arkansas, not national political strategists. In fact, Bumpers has no strategy for 1976, just a loose, hopeful scenario.

Friends say that scenario goes like this: Bumpers sits back while the national media speculate about him and while Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington and other early runners falter. Bumpers wins a primary or two and goes into a wide-open convention with a fair shot at the top job, and gets credentials for Vice President or a 1980 race.

"The sign he would need is if those candidates who have announced are not getting the response necessary to get the nomination," said Bumpers' friend and political adviser, Arkansas Democratic National Committeeman Charles Ward. "If he felt he possibly could get that sort of response, he would go into it."

Bumpers would bring several important strengths to a national ticket. He is a new face and a proven vote-getter. An unassuming grin and folksy, downhome manner make him an extremely effective campaigner. "He's a superb candidate," says one veteran national political consultant. "He has an unflinching memory for peo-

Candidate
file

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ple's names and words the crowd as well as anyone I've ever seen. Whether that appeal would transfer itself to a national electorate so far has not been tested.

But Bumpers' personal plus his reputation as a moderate, make him an vice presidential candidate could be paired from either the spectrum, from a Mondale to a Jackson to a Udall..." said one Democratic Committee official "but so could a number o



Dale Bumpers of Ark (75)

Profile

Bumpers, however has several significant disadvantages as a national candidate. He is largely unknown outside his home state, as

are other Southerners like Georgia's former governor, Jimmy Carter, and Florida Gov. Reubin Askew. And he is a novice to national affairs.

"Without much doubt he is the most attractive candidate out of the deep South as a national candidate," said another former Democratic Committee official. "But in 18 months he'd have to be a lot better known."

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ARKANSAS SENATOR AND CHALLENGER
L-R: J. William Fulbright, Dale Bumpers

Atlanta Constitution
March 29, 1974

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Fulbright Faces Hard Senate Race

By BILL SIMMONS

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP)

— A political analyst once observed that J. W. Fulbright stays in trouble with his constituents, but he keeps winning elections.

Now that election-winning ability may be in question.

Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is seeking re-election this year, and may be on better-than-usual terms with Arkansas voters. But he is in greater danger of defeat in the May 28 Democratic primary.

Fulbright appears to have regained some of the favor he lost with constituents who were upset for a time with his criticism of U.S. participation in Vietnam.

The danger for Fulbright comes from Dale Bumpers, who four years ago was "Dale who?" to many in this state. But now he is wrapping up his second two-year term as an eloquent, handsome and charismatic governor who has been mentioned as a potential

national candidate in the Democratic party.

Bumpers has produced a scandal-free administration, and, perhaps most significant, has a powerful positive projection on television.

By all accounts, Bumpers was a shoo-in for a third gubernatorial term and was thought a likely prospect for higher office at a later time when he announced a week ago that he would oppose Fulbright.

Pollster Gene Newsom of Little Rock, denying ties to either candidate, put Bumpers in front 60 per cent to 27 per cent, with the rest undecided.

"I'm not a great believer in polls," Fulbright said. "I think it's very unfortunate that a young man with promise — very little experience, but promise — is going to bring his political fortunes to such a premature end."

Bumpers, a rancher, lawyer and nursing home owner before going into state politics, obviously feels differently. But for 5,000 votes in 1970, he might still be a political nobody.

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March 12, 1974

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Gov. Bumpers to Face Fulbright In Race for Senate in Arkansas

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., March 11 — Gov. Dale Bumpers announced today that he would oppose Senator J. W. Fulbright in the Democratic primary in May 28.

Mr. Fulbright's news conference today and asked him if he was bitter at being opposed by Mr. Bumpers.

Arkansas observers predict a close race. "No," he said. "this is a free country. Anyone can run. The element of gratitude is a personal one, not a public one."

Mr. Bumpers, 48 years old, said he was running for the Senate because of a need for new national leadership during this "troublesome time."

Fulbright more often than I "The people," he said, "are have disagreed with him." But pleading for leadership that he will restore their faith; faith in the system, faith in themselves, thus most importantly, faith in each other."

Problem for Liberals

Mr. Fulbright, 68, who was here working on his re-election campaign, agreed that the nation was troubled and said that that stemmed "from the President of the United States." He added that the Governor's statement seemed to be more nearly that of a candidate for President or Vice President than as a candidate for the Senate.

The Senate's Problem

There has been speculation that Mr. Bumpers is aiming at a place on the national Democratic ticket in 1976. Mr. Fulbright said today that the trouble with the Senate was that many Senators were running for President instead of paying attention to the Senate's business.

The two men have been friendly, if not close. Mr. Fulbright supported Mr. Bumpers actively when the latter rose in the Middle East controversy.

Black voters face the same problem. While neither candidate has been as popular with black voters as the late Mr. Rockefeller, whose political base was built on black support, both are considered friendly to blacks. Both have several of these attended the two news conferences today. There have been continuing rumors that wealthy eastern Jews have offered to contribute money to Mr. Bumpers to oppose Mr. Fulbright. The Senator, who is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has been unpopular with some Jewish groups because of what they consider his lack of support for Israel.

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Sen

Gov. Bumpers Seeks Fulbright's Seat

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.

March 11—Gov. Dale Bumpers announced today that he will challenge J.W. Fulbright for the Senate seat Fulbright has held for the past 29 years.

Bumpers, 48, one of the most popular governors in the state's history, told newsmen: "Faith in the government today is at an all-time low." What is needed, he said, "was new positive leadership."

He spoke of the United States as a nation "facing troublesome times" and enumerated such problems as inflation, the energy crisis and attendant unemployment, health care and the depletion of natural resources.

The governor, who has admitted an interest in 1976

presidential politics, said he had reached his decision after "agonizing" deliberations and

that he did not make up his mind until after a family dinner Saturday night. He admitted he had encountered some pressure from prominent Democrats in the state not to oppose Fulbright in the May 28 Democratic primary but would not comment on the degree of pressure, which was considered heavy.

Within two hours of Bumpers' announcement, Fulbright, who had said previously he would seek a sixth term, held a news conference to say, "I regret that Gov. Bumpers has made this decision."

He said Bumpers' statements on national issues sounded "as if he were offering himself for a place on the national ticket." He added that "for anyone to use the Senate as a stepping-stone to the presidency would be a disservice to the state and the Senate."

Several times, Fulbright referred to Bumpers' "lack of experience" and "know-how" in Washington politics.

Fulbright commented: "Those who get results with legislation in Washington, who deliver the goods, so to speak, are those that have the respect and confidence of their associates. The final issue is, can I do more to obtain from the Senate measures to help the people of the state, or can a new man?"

He said that during his long career in the Senate "my record has been a credible one" and that the Arkansas delegation, which includes Sen. John L. McClellan (D), chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, and Rep. Wilbur D. Mills (D), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, had long "been an effective team."

Many political observers feel the race will be close and that both men will draw from the same base of liberal and moderate voter support. Some believe that many rural voters have been alienated by Fulbright's intellectual and aristocratic style and by his infrequent visits to the state except at election time.

Bumpers has been charged with indecisiveness on some state issues and avoidance of controversial matters.

Fulbright, in anticipation of Bumpers' candidacy, has been campaigning hard in the state since early in February. His campaign style, as in the past, has been one of "folksy" shirt-sleeve, people-to-people contact, aimed at dispelling his image as a cosmopolite whose interests lie primarily in foreign affairs.

Bumpers avoided any sharp criticism of Fulbright today, saying, "I am not running against Sen. Fulbright but for the U.S. Senate." He added that in the past "I have agreed more than disagreed with Fulbright."

He said he would run a "people-to-people" campaign, one that would stress "the need for the positive approach" at a time of national crisis. He said he would shun a large-scale, media-style campaign in favor of the personal approach and that he intended "to spend as little as possible" to finance it.

Bumpers spoke at length on a number of national issues. On inflation, he advocated the return to Phase I and Phase II controls, which he said "should not have been removed," and he urged the imposition of new wage and price controls.

On his plans for 1976 and the possibility he might be offered a place on the national Democratic ticket, he said: "I would not shut the option out, but it is so far-fetched at this time, I don't know if I'm even flattered by it."

He mentioned Watergate only once and said he was "reluctant to call for the President's resignation" until after the House Judiciary Committee has considered all of the evidence regarding impeachment.

In recent weeks Bumpers has traveled extensively across the state, speaking out on national issues.

Bumpers, a two-term governor, was virtually unknown in the summer of 1970 when he defeated former Gov. Orval E. Faubus in the Democratic primary and then the late Republican Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller in the general election.

He ran a campaign based largely on his personal appeal to the voters, enhanced by his youthfulness, good looks and polish as a television speaker, while he avoided controversial issues.

He was a fresh, unscarred political figure and managed to defeat two men who had occupied the governor's office for a total of 16, often stormy, years.

Ironically, Bumpers' success was influenced to some degree by the liberalism of Gov. Rockefeller, which helped shift public attitudes on racial and other issues and pave the way for a newcomer, a country lawyer from Charleston, whose views were basically moderate.

In his four years as governor, Bumpers has gained a reputation for reform. He has reorganized the executive function of state government along the lines of the U.S. Cabinet and has been a strong supporter of consumer legislation.

With Bumpers' support the state income tax was increased in 1971, producing large surpluses and solvency for the state treasury. His administration has also been free of scandal.

Bumpers is rated a strong contender by political observers in his race against Fulbright, 68, who is chairman of

the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a member of the Senate Finance Committee and Joint Economic Committee.

The race, because of the uncertain preference of the conservative rural voter, could be complicated by the entry of other political candidates who would draw from the vote, such as former Gov. Faubus and former Gov. Sid McMath, who have both expressed interest in running for the Senate.

The winner of the primary is almost certain to face only token GOP opposition in the general election.

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