The 1966 elections will be one of the most significant political news stories of the decade - and one of its headlines will be the coming of age of the Republican Party in the South.

As the Republican Party comes of age in the South, what is critically important is that its objective not be the limited one of simply winning in the next election, but that of building a strong two-party system for the next generation.

Today, there is not yet a true two-party system in the South.

Progress has been made in that direction. Dwight Eisenhower cracked the Solid South in 1952 and 1956. In 1960 and 1964 Republican presidential candidates made dramatic inroads in every Southern state. Seventeen Southern Congressmen today are Republicans.

But the weakness of the Republican Party in the South is evident from the fact that in Southern legislatures, Republicans are outnumbered 15 - 1.

The South cannot build a two-party system by simply sending Republicans to the national capital on national issues.

Before there will be a two-party system in the South, Southerners must vote Republican at the courthouse level, as well as the White House level.

A strong political party cannot be built from the top down; it must be built from the bottom up.

This year the Republican Party in the South will begin to become a competing party, not just a minority party.

As a result, in the next decade, Southern cities and states will reap the benefits of competing candidates and competing programs - rather than be saddled with the stifling stagnation of a one-party system.

How can Republicans build the party of the future in the South? By campaigning on the issues of the future. By leaving the issues of the past to the party of the past.

These issues of the future are human rights, states rights, private enterprise, and a foreign policy of peace without appeasement. These issues are the foundations of the party of the future in the South.

**HUMAN RIGHTS**

The Republican opportunity in the South is a golden one; but Republicans must not go prospecting for the fool's gold of racist votes.

Southern Republicans must not climb aboard the sinking ship of racial injustice. They should let Southern Democrats sink with it, as they have sailed with it.
Any Republican victory that would come of courting racists, black or white, would be a defeat for our future in the South, and our Party in the nation. It would be a battle won in a lost cause.

The Democratic Party in the South has ridden to power for a century on an annual tide of racist oratory.

The Democratic Party is the party which runs with the hounds in the North and the hares in the South.

The Republicans, as the South's party of the future, should reject this hypocritical policy of the past.

On this issue it is time for both Republicans and Democrats to stop talking of what is smart politically, and start talking of what is right morally.

A short time ago, in a demagogic appeal to segregationist sympathies, Alabama Democrat Lister Hill proclaimed, "If it hadn't been for Republicans we would have still been talking. If the Republican members had voted with the South, none of that (civil rights) legislation would have been passed."

Senator Hill is correct. Republicans should adhere to the principles of the party of Lincoln. They should leave it to the George Wallaces and the Lister Hills to squeeze the last ounces of political juice from the rotting fruit of racial injustice.

But respect for human rights means respect for the laws which protect those rights. The racial problems which will confront the South in the years ahead must be settled in the courts - not decided in the streets.

**STATES RIGHTS**

Another foundation of the party of the future in the South is a new concept of states rights. Republicans reject the old concept that belongs to the party of the past.

Southern Democrats have used states rights as instruments of reaction; Republicans support states rights as instruments of progress.

Southern Democrats insisted on states rights so that they might avoid state obligations; Republicans support states rights because they want the states, rather than the Federal government, to assume responsibilities - in education, transportation, health and human welfare.

The best answer to bigger government in Washington is better government in the states.

As a positive step toward this goal, Republicans are introducing legislation remitting to the states a fixed percentage of Federal income tax collections. This will provide the states with the means to deal with their own problems in their own way - without Federal domination and control.
FREE ENTERPRISE

The third foundation for the party of the future in the South is free enterprise and individual initiative.

For too long the growth of the Southern economy has been stunted by an unbalanced and unhealthy diet of Federal pork.

For too long Southern voters have measured their Congressmen by counting the rashers of bacon they brought home from Washington.

Unlike the party of the past, the party of the future cannot be built upon a foundation of Federal handouts.

The Republican Party in the South ought to state to the people of the South: Ask not what Washington can do for you, but what you can do for yourselves.

Republicans should support a policy of fiscal sanity and economic conservatism in Southern state houses, avoiding the fiscal recklessness which has driven private enterprise away from some Northern cities.

Alabama and Georgia are presented with special opportunities this year in the candidacies of James Martin and Bo Callaway, who have surrendered safe seats in the Congress to run for Governor in their home states.

Their election would do for Alabama and Georgia what the election of Republican Governors in recent years has done for Pennsylvania and Ohio.

PEACE WITHOUT Appeasement

The fourth foundation for the party of the future in the South is the Republican foreign policy of Peace without Appeasement. The South has never been a harbor of isolationism or a home of appeasement.

It has always sent more than its share of volunteers into the service. It has always provided more than its quota of general officers.

It is ironic, that on the crucial issue of Vietnam, the spokesman for the appeasement crowd in the Senate is an anti-equal rights Southerner, J. W. Fulbright.

A PRICE IN PRESIDENTS

The South and the nation have paid a heavy price for the Southern one-party system.
Because of it - for a century the avenues to power and responsibility in Southern states have been closed by Southern political machines to all but a chosen few.

Because of it - for a century statesmen from this third of a nation were excluded from the country's highest office. By their being denied consideration for the presidency these men have been done an injustice, and the nation has been done a disservice.

In the hundred years since the Civil War began, the region of the nation which gave us nine of our first twelve Presidents - among them Washington, Jefferson and Jackson - provided us with none.

If Woodrow Wilson had remained in the Old Dominion, where he was born, and risen to become Governor of Virginia, instead of Governor of New Jersey, he would be a forgotten man today, and the nation again would have been the loser.

The rise of the Republican Party in the South will mean that all its capable young men will have the opportunity to lead their states - and all its statesmen will have the opportunity to lead their nation.

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