# TARGET AUDIENCES: THE 1976 TENNESSEE DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL PRIMARY

## David Walker

The setting was ideal for what should have been an exciting campaign in Tennessee. Senator Brock, the Republican incumbent, bore the image of being a Nixon-Ford rubber stamp. Two years before, in 1974, the Democratic party had broken the Republican stranglehold on the governorship by electing Ray Blanton; now it looked as though the time was ripe for Senator Brock's Senate seat to go to the Democratic side of the ledger.

In most states, the candidate tries to promise everyone a little bit of something to try to get a majority vote. This is not the situation in Tennessee where there is only one primary, with no runoff. The person with the most votes in the single primary gets the party's nomination. In a crowded field, this has produced some rather undemocratic results in past elections. In 1958, for instance, Buford Ellington succeeded Frank Clement as governor by winning the Democratic primary with only a little over thirty-one percent of the vote; his margin of victory over the second place candidate was less than nine thousand votes; the third place finisher was another three hundred votes behind.

An even more dramatic example was seen in the 1974 Governor's race. The Watergate era produced an ideal time for Democrats to recapture the state house, and so a host of Democrats ran for the party nomination. Ray Blanton, who won the race, pulled a little better than twenty-one percent of the total vote -- only one hundred and forty-eight thousand votes out of a total of six hundred and fifty thousand votes. Just two years earlier, he had lost the general election race for the Senate to Howard Baker by over two hundred and seventy-five thousand votes in one of the largest landslides in Tennessee history. The name recognition factor, however, from that campaign was apparently enough to get him the party nomination for governor in 1974.

Therefore, a candidate running in a crowded field of five serious candidates and two non-serious candidates could seek to win the 1976 senatorial nomination by appealing to certain segments of the Tennessee population rather than trying to win everyone's vote. The Democratic nomination became even more attractive after Jimmy Carter sewed up his party's nomination for President; Tennessee had given Carter his second largest majority of the campaign trail -- seventy-eight percent -- in its presidential preference primary. Democratic leaders believed that if Carter carried fifty-five percent of the vote in November, any nominee would win the Senate race. What was the type of audience to which each of these five serious candidates appealed, and how successful were they? That is the thrust of this particular

paper.

There was a lack of real issues in this campaign, for the most part. Four of the five serious candidates were relatively liberal; the other was a conservative who preferred to call himself moderate. With so much similarity on the issues, a voter's choice had to rest upon something else, unless he was a Sadler supporter.

#### JOHN JAY HOOKER

John Jay Hooker was the only candidate who had made a statewide race before. He lost the Democratic primary for governor to Buford Ellington in 1966. Four years later, he won that nomination but lost the general election to Winfield Dunn. At that time, his business setbacks in the Minnie Pearl Fried Chicken franchise cost him a considerable number of votes. In a later business venture, however, Hooker, as president of the STP corporation, reportedly got a losing business into the money again. 1

The strategy for the Hooker race was to conduct a lowprofile race and hope to win the nomination primarily upon
name-recognition from previous races. Keith Hampton, the
state coordinator of the Hooker campaign, and former commissioner
of correction and of personnel for Tennessee, explained that
the name Hooker is known throughout the state. His primary
function, he noted, was to talk to people across the state

to see if they were still for Hooker; and, with few exceptions they were, he said. Thousands of people had been contacted by telephone and personal contact seeking their support.

Hooker had been criticized by some of his opponents for not getting out and shaking hands with people. Although Hooker did some of this during the last two weeks of the campaign, Hampton insisted that the telephone and personal contacts were more profitable. He said, for instance, in one shopping center that Hooker shook hands with thirty or forty people; only three of these, however, turned out to be registered Tennessee voters. 2

Hooker was also criticized by some of his opponents for not showing up at Blanton-sponsored political rallies held across the state. Hooker's non-appearance at these rallies may actually have been justified by the actions of the other candidates, as on several occasions, they heatedly asserted that the rallies were rigged in favor of Jim Sasser, the man charged with being the governor's candidate. WSM-TV sponsored a forum on August 2, and Hooker was again criticized for his non-appearance. He later explained that he did not appear because he wanted to avoid party "divisiveness."

Another important element in Hooker's strategy was to employ a media blitz. This again brought charges from his opponents that he was an "impersonal media candidate." 5

Keith Hampton, in commenting on this charge, said: "How many more people will see you on that tube in their living room sitting there in the cool and they can look at you and hear what you got to say."

Still another important factor in Hooker's strategy was to capture a large segment of the black vote. Hooker had scored heavily among black voters in his previous races, and Hampton said that he would do even better this time. 7 In the 1970 Democratic primary, Hooker had carried large Shelby County (where forty percent of the state's black population resides) by a two to one majority. In the general election, he lost that county to the winning Winfield Dunn, a Memphis dentist, but he carried the black precincts heavily. In one such precinct, for instance, he outpolled Dunn 1,107 to 14; another precinct showed him ahead 735 to 7.8 Hooker's strategy in this area seemed to be failing when the Tennessee Voters Council, an organization of one hundred and twentyfive thousand black voters, endorsed Jim Sasser. 9 This endorsement produced the only instance this writer could find in which Hooker attacked one of his fellow candidates. He charged Sasser with making inconsistent statements concerning the integration of private schools. Sasser was quoted in the Oak Ridger newspaper as saying at a June 25 press conference that "the right to go to a private school and exclude those you don't want seems to be a basic right to me." The following day, he commented to the Tennessee

Voters Council that "blacks ought to be afforded the opportunity to go to private schools if they wish." Sasser charged that the <u>Oak Ridger</u> quoted him out of context. 10

The last weeks of the campaign saw Hooker rely quite heavily on testimonials from some of his friends, as he picked up endorsements both within the state and without. The Nashville Tennessean, a paper with a liberal tradition, announced its endorsement on July 25. Franklin Haney, a gubernatorial candidate in 1974, endorsed Hooker on July 22. 11 James Neal, special prosecutor in the Watergate case, endorsed Hooker on July 8. 12 But the most colorful endorsements came during the last days of the campaign. Muhammed Ali appeared in Memphis just five days before the election to endorse Hooker as a good man who was always trying to help people. 13 "He's got the connection and the complexion to give us the protection," was Ali's poetic contribution. 14 An interesting sidelight to his endorsement was the fact that Ali admitted he was not a registered voter, and that he didn't know whether Hooker was a Republican or Democrat. The two became friends when Hooker helped to start the Muhammed Ali School of Boxing in Louisville several years earlier. 15

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Three days before the election, Hubert Humphrey appeared in Nashville to endorse Hooker. Speaking at a

press conference, he declared that he was a very personal friend of Hooker. Hooker had been loyal to him in time of difficulty and that was something he treasured. When he was asked if it was customary for public officials to endorse candidates in primaries, he responded that: "It may not be customary, but I'm not a customary fellow." 16

Jim Sasser commented on Humphrey's appearance by declaring that Hooker had been using the campaign tactics of the past during the past several days. In a statement that no doubt made all Humphrey supporters close to Sasser's heart, Sasser said: "The Humphrey-Hooker days are over." 17

Still another endorsement picked up in the last days came from Mrs. George Wallace. Unable to meet Hooker for a press conference in Chattanooga on August 2, she commented: "We think John J. Hooker is going to be the most dynamic and colorful senator that Tennessee has ever had." 18

Where did Hooker stand on the issues? What issues?

He supported the Humphrey-Hawkins bill; 19 he opposed mandatory retirement laws and he believed that persons living on Social Security should be able to work without losing their benefits. 20 Just as most candidates, he wanted lower TVA rates; 21 and he denounced Bill Brock on a number of occasions. These observations are not crucial, however, in assessing the Hooker strategy. Here was a man running on name recognition of the past, trying to hold what he had won in past elections. The strategy of the other candidates would have to revolve

around overcoming this.

#### JIM SASSER

It's time we started thinking about the way we're going; It's time we put our trust in someone new; And if we all pull together, Jim will make the difference; Jim Sasser thinks it's time Washington heard you.

This television jingle of Jim Sasser's signalled a keynote of Sasser's campaign -- an appeal to trust, and someone new. Sasser's major contribution to Tennessee politics came from his serving as state Democratic party chairman from 1973 to 1976. On another television commercial, audience attention was captured by a picture of Sasser with his father, as the candidate declared that "from him I learned that public service is a public trust. A trust that must never be betrayed." As the picture shifted, then showing Sasser between two farmers next to a barn, with the candidate wearing working boots and clothes that looked as though they had never been used, he continued his discourse on trust by declaring that "We need a senator from Tennessee who will work to restore faith in government and I'll work to do just that." As part of his campaign on the basis of trust, he released early his personal financial statement and chided the other candidates for not so doing. 22

Sasser described himself as running a "positive campaign,"

(After making this statement on a television program, he almost immediately took a cut at Hooker for not appearing on the

program.)<sup>23</sup>a slogan probably borrowed from one of the other candidates; but apparently his definition of a positive campaign did not deter him from taking swipes at the other candidates. As did all the candidates with the possible exception of Harry Sadler, he had his say about Bill Brock: "I think Senator Brock is primarily a tool of the vested interests in this day and in this country."24 He attacked, as noted above, other candidates for not disclosing their personal financial statements. His greatest wrath, however, was reserved for John Jay Hooker. He attacked him for being a media-style candidate, 25 for being a representative of the "politics of the past," 26 and for getting endorsements from personalities such as Muhammed Ali, Richard Petty, 27 and Hubert Humphrey. It's interesting to note, however, that his opposition to Ali's endorsement did not deter Sasser from attempting to solicit black votes by touring Memphis and Nashville with singer Isaac Hayes; free Isaac Hayes albums allegedly were given away, according to the Tennessean. 27

Sasser had his share of other endorsements also. Five unsuccessful candidates for governor in 1974 -- David Pack, Mayor Jimmie Powers, Stan Snodgrass, and Tom Wiseman -- all openly endorsed him. <sup>28</sup> Sasser also claimed the support of eighteen newspapers, thirty-two members of the Democratic State Executive Committee, the Tennessee State Labor Council,

and as mentioned earlier, the Tennessee Voters Council.<sup>29</sup>
Another unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1974, Jake
Butcher, all but endorsed him.<sup>30</sup>

Sasser had comments on a number of different topics, but they were not real issues in the campaign. He wanted to close the tax loopholes, <sup>31</sup> reduce unemployment to three percent; <sup>32</sup> he supported lower electric rates for residential TVA users, <sup>33</sup> and opposed the nomination of Thomas Longshore to the TVA board. <sup>34</sup> He supported more federal school funds, <sup>35</sup> and lower natural gas rates. <sup>36</sup> Finally, he opposed reduction or elimination of veterans benefits. <sup>37</sup>

Sasser did not have the name recognition advantage of Hooker. In fact, since his name and Harry Sadler's name were the last two on the ballot, voters often confused the two candidates -- not a very amusing problem for Jim Sasser. <sup>38</sup> Sasser was considered by many experts to be the number two man in the race. Ordinarily, one would expect the front-runner to receive the brunt of the attack from the other candidates, but not so in this race. Sadler, Kefauver, and Bolin repeatedly launched attacks upon Sasser which must have hurt him in the final weeks of the race.

One frequent charge was that he was the governor's candidate. Sasser repeatedly replied that the governor had told him he was staying neutral; and that if Blanton was supporting him, he didn't know it. He further commented

that "Winfield Dunn is giving me as much help as Governor Ray Blanton is . . . . Neither one is helping me." <sup>39</sup> Another charge was that he had borrowed without any collateral a vast amount of money from banks controlled by Jake Butcher. Sasser finally announced that he had borrowed one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars without collateral to finance about half of his campaign, but he insisted it was according to good business practice. He also declared that Jake Butcher was not financing his campaign. <sup>40</sup> There were also other charges -- some to be noted later in this paper.

## DAVID BOLIN

David Bolin served as state campaign manager for Ray Blanton in 1974, and entered the race probably thinking he would get the governor's support. When he didn't, Bolin spent a great deal of time attacking Sasser as the governor's man.

There were two key slogans in Bolin's campaign. In the first place, he insisted he was running a "positive campaign." His "positive campaign," however, did not deter him from attacking on various occasions Brock, Sasser, and Hooker. Brock was characterized as being "inaccessible" and supporting "large, vested interests," Hooker was described as a media-oriented candidate running an impersonal media campaign. In attacking Sasser as Blanton's candidate

for governor, Bolin was quoted as saying: "On March 28, 1976, James Sasser hosted a gathering of about twenty people at his Nashville home and told them, 'I have the best of both worlds -- I have Governor Blanton's support without the stigma of being publicly associated with him." Bolin charged that pressure had been put on his campaign workers not to support him; when asked for specifics, he declined to make any further comment because, he said, he was afraid further pressure would be put on them. 45

Another key slogan was "participatory." If elected, Bolin would take a participatory approach to representing his constituents. The other candidates, he charged, would ask people to elect them, and then they would do what they wanted to do, and then come back in six years and ask again for their vote. Bolin, however, believed the people ought to be involved throughout the six year term. To accomplish this, Bolin promised to go regularly into each county to meet his constituents and discuss their problems. 46

Bolin had a little bit to say about a lot of different topics, but again these were not real issues in the campaign. He wanted improvement in the Social Security system, <sup>47</sup> and wanted to improve the condition of the elderly in other ways as well. <sup>48</sup> He favored increased federal funding for education, <sup>49</sup> and wanted Congress to raise the minimum wage. <sup>50</sup> He wanted to

reduce government interference with farm operations, <sup>51</sup> and opposed Henry Kissinger's approach to detente. <sup>52</sup> He wanted anti-monopoly legislation to restore the health of the free enterprise system, because the "American Way" is not working. <sup>53</sup> He favored an increase in the number of directors for the TVA board, <sup>54</sup> and wanted to work for alternative energy sources, stabilized energy prices, and energy conservation. <sup>55</sup> He advocated raising benefits for veterans, <sup>56</sup> and supported programs which would create new jobs. <sup>57</sup>

Bolin had some endorsements, but they were minimal for the most part. Bolin's strategy appeared to have been one in which he attacked the number two candidate vigorously, and then tried to appeal to as many voters as possible by promising everyone a little bit of everything. In a primary system such as Tennessee's, he probably spread himself too thin.

## LESTER KEFAUVER

The name Kefauver is a magic one in Tennessee politics, and Les Kefauver apparently tried to cash in on it. At thirty years of age, Kefauver, a Lenoir City businessman, was barely old enough to make the race. He identified himself as the second cousin of Estes Kefauver. Speculation suggested that he was actually preparing the way for a race for Congress in 1978.<sup>58</sup>

Although he insisted he had to run on his own merit, Kefauver nevertheless attempted to profit from name identification. At one time, he asserted that he was counting on one hundred thousand to one hundred and fifteen thousand votes because of the Kefauver name. <sup>59</sup> He wore, on occasion, a coonskin cap -- a symbol made famous by Estes Kefauver. <sup>60</sup>

Kefauver also had his favorite slogan for the campaign; he was interested in "middle America." He had walked across the state of Tennessee in order to make contacts with this group of people. He described himself as running a "hearts and guts campaign," since he didn't have the airplanes or money some of the other candidates had. 61

A strange thing about the Kefauver campaign was that he apparently tried to pull out of it to endorse another candidate, although he later denied this. Kefauver was appalled at a story which said he was pulling out in favor of Sadler, but Sadler declared that it was discussed, but he Sadler himself had discouraged it: "He is a liberal and I am the only conservative in the race. His endorsement would not help me. I told him to stay in the race."

Earlier in the campaign, it had been rumored he would pull out in favor of Hooker. He was quoted as saying that, "I like John J. Hooker . . . The only reason I don't pull out and get behind John is because I have this d\_\_\_ gut feeling I might win this thing."

His admiration for Hooker must have

"why John Jay feels it necessary to bring in celebrities. They won't be able to help him in Washington. The next thing they will bring in Lassie." In commenting on Humphrey's appearing to support Hooker, Kefauver said that Humphrey has been able to pick losers, so perhaps birds of a feather flock together. 65

Kefauver also attacked other candidates as well. He charged that Brock "cannot relate to the problems of the common man." He agreed with Hooker that Sasser "was saying one thing to whites and another to blacks about basic philosophical issues." He didn't believe that Sasser could communicate with the general public. Furthermore, he charged that Sasser was part of a plan whereby he would be senator and would be influential in the next governor's race and senator's race. This was his opinion, he said, and could substantiate it only on "gut feeling."

Kefauver spoke out on various topics, but again these were not real issues in the campaign. He wanted to reform taxation, revamp programs in Social Security, support those things that benefitted the "common man," improve teachers' salaries, close tax loopholes, have a Senate investigation of the TVA, decriminalize marijuana, <sup>69</sup> and support a national health care program. <sup>70</sup>

In assessing Kefauver's candidacy, then, the major thrust of his approach centered around name identification. Although he said you couldn't elect someone who had been dead for thirteen years, the linkup attempt was obvious. 71

## HARRY SADLER

Harry Sadler is a Nashville businessman with a successful Chevrolet dealership. The only conservative in the race, his charges and bombastic statements injected color into a relatively lifeless campaign. Sadler hit hard on several key issues -- extravagance in government, big government, and the candidacy of Jim Sasser. His campaign made frequent use of patriotic appeals to his audience.

Harry Sadler spent more money in his campaign than any other senatorial candidate except for Bill Brock (who was unopposed for the Republican nomination). Full page ads came out in key newspapers throughout the state in which he reminded his public of "Harry Sadler's 20 point program," which he proposed to Winfield Dunn for Tennessee in 1970. Claiming that many of his points were put into operation and brought successes, Sadler printed a resume of his program and the results. His campaign manager declared that Sadler was opposed to "extravagance in government, encroachment on individual freedom, socialism, and communism." "... Harry Sadler has declared himself to be for the free, competitive

enterprise system . . . And he has vowed that he will continue to fight, as he has for the past six years, big government, over-taxation, and too much government."72 He declared that if elected, he would donate his salary as Senator for the first year to charitable causes. 73 He declared in a television forum that, "Thank Goodness we don't get all the government we pay for." If the United States didn't turn around in the next ten years, he charged that the Communists would write our obituary. 74 Towards the end of the campaign, he again came out with full page ads in the major newspapers -- this time with a new twenty point program, but this time one for the federal government. This twenty point program included such items as: the right to freedom from big government, over-taxation, and too much government; the right to stop unfair and unneeded busing; the right to choose to have prayer in the schools; the right to worship God in one's own way; the denial of the right of any elected official to raise salaries while in office; a ceiling on how much tax the government could take from any taxpayer's income: the plugging of tax loopholes and tax shelters so the rich pay their fair share of taxes; the reorganization of the welfare system to include the increasing of the amount to deserving people by eliminating "all the chiselers and cheaters who are able to work but will not work if offered a job; " a review of the complete bureaucratic system in the federal government; a ceiling on the national

debt; and the right to freedom from arbitrary government regulation and control. 75

During the campaign, Sadler also called upon Governor Blanton to call a special session of the state legislature to repeal an additional one percent increase in the state sales tax that had been passed earlier that year. "Sales tax collections are exceeding estimates by a substantial amount, and there is going to be a big surplus." 76

Sadler also turned his guns on the campaign of Jim Sasser. In responding to other candidates' statements about running a positive campaign, Sadler said: "This deal about a positive campaign -- I'm not going to come out here and fight by the Kingsbury (sic) rules when somebody else is concreting both gloves."77 In addition to the charges noted earlier in this paper about Sasser being Blanton's man, and also that Sasser had borrowed money without collateral from banks controlled by Jake Butcher, Sadler charged that Sasser was getting illegal free airplane service for his campaign. 78 On a television show in Knoxville, a television conference with four of the candidates (Hooker was absent), a viewer called up to ask if the candidates would support legislation legalizing homosexuality. Sasser's answer indicated that he thought protection was already afforded through our legal system. The program ended on a heated note, in which Sadler was asking: "Are you for or against it, Jim?" Sasser replied: "For or against what?" 79

In many ways, Sadler seemed to be running for governor instead of senator, as he spoke often about his twenty point program for improving Tennessee. He justified this by declaring that "Local, state, and federal government is all one ball of wax. If you don't know anything about local and state, what can you do in Washington?" 80

He also relied heavily upon patriotic appeals. His full page ads made heavy use of red, white, and blue. One of his better television commercials showed the American flag flying, and then switched to a closeup of the Bill of Rights. His basic campaign brochure, of which a half million were printed, contained the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Monroe Doctrine, the Gettysburg Address, and the Pledge of Allegiance. 81 On August 3, an insert ad in the Nashville Tennessean showed a campaign statement on one side, and on the other, using high quality paper suitable for framing, an American flag. 82

Although Sadler was the most colorful figure of the campaign, he had a name recognition problem. Perhaps this campaign actually laid the groundwork for a future attempt in another race. Perhaps, also, he put too much emphasis upon one or two issues.

#### CONCLUSIONS

As the race neared its end, several candidates had polls released showing themselves as the frontrunner. Early in the race, Lester Kefauver claimed sixty percent of the vote. 83 A number of polls were taken at Blanton's rallies throughout the state showing Sasser as the frontrunner; however, the method in conducting these polls was unscientific; furthermore, the rallies were largely attended by state employees who were backing Sasser. 84 Another poll released near the end of the campaign by Sasser showed him ahead by twenty-nine percent to twenty-seven percent over Hooker. 85 A poll commissioned by Bill Brock the week prior showed Hooker ahead of Sasser by twenty-nine percent to seventeen percent, with the others far behind. 86 Two days before the election, Jimmy the Greek picked Hooker as a three to two choice and indicated that he would run well against Bill Brock.87

But Jimmy the Greek was wrong. Two and one-half hours after the polls closed in Tennessee, John Jay Hooker conceded victory to Jim Sasser. In a gracious speech, Hooker praised Sasser: "I have tremendous respect for his accomplishment . . . I really admire him . . . . He's got guts . . . When he got into this thing I was ahead, and he had to come from behind . . . . He deserved to win the primary." Pledging his support to Sasser, Hooker said

that he was going "to help Jim Sasser put a whuppin" on Bill Brock." 88

So what happened? Floyd Kephart, political analyst for WSM-TV, suggested that in a light turnout such as Tennessee experienced in this election, that organization as Sasser had was more important than name recognition. <sup>89</sup> Hooker attributed Sasser's victory, among other factors, to "energy, organization, character, and ability." Hooker continued to carry the black vote heavily, as he had done in the past, but the black turnout was much lighter than had been anticipated by the Hooker organization. Also, it did not hurt his chief opponent to have the implied support of the state machinery.

Two other factors should be considered in a final analysis. Throughout the campaign, Jim Sasser had a hidden persuader -- a subtle link between his campaign and that of Jimmy Carter's. For his campaign posters, he chose Jimmy Carter green: "Choosing Jimmy Carter green just came naturally because I've known Jimmy Carter really since 1972."91 On numerous occasions, he would flash a smile that seemed very familiar to one seen at the Democratic convention. A favorite picture used during the campaign showed Sasser smiling on one side, Carter smiling on the other side, and Sasser's wife smiling in the middle. Following his victory speech on election night, in response to a reporter's question,

Sasser said, "I saw Jimmy in Memphis two months ago and he told me then, he said, Jim, I'm looking forward to running with you in November and I said, Governor, I'm really looking forward to running with you." 92

The final factor that should be considered is that Hooker's strategy just did not work. Hooker's campaign seemed aloof and impersonal to many. Instead of speaking on issues, he chose to remain silent. Instead of participating in television debates, his chair remained vacant. Simon and Garfunkel are well known for their great record, "The Sounds of Silence." In 1976, the Rhetoric of Silence failed.

#### NOTES

David Walker is a professor of speech communication at Middle Tennessee State University. Research for this paper was funded in part by a grant from the Faculty Research Fund of Middle Tennessee State University.

- <sup>1</sup>Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, August 1, 1976.
- <sup>2</sup>Interview by the writer with Keith Hampton, August 2, 1976.
  - 3Nashville Banner, July 21, 30, 1976.
  - 4Nashville Banner, August 3, 1976.
  - <sup>5</sup>Daily News Journal (Murfreesboro), July 8, 1976.
- <sup>6</sup>Interview by the writer with Keith Hampton, August 2, 1976.
- <sup>7</sup>Interview by the writer with Keith Hampton, August 2, 1976.
  - 8 (Memphis) Commercial Appeal, November 5, 1970.
  - <sup>9</sup>Jackson Sun, June 20, 1976.
  - 10 Chattanooga Times, July 7, 1976.
  - 11 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 23, 1976.
  - 12 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 9, 1976.
  - 13 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, August 1, 1976.
  - 14 Daily News Journal (Murfreesboro), August 1, 1976.
  - 15 Nashville Tennessean, August 1, 1976.

- 16 Hubert Humphrey and John J. Hooker press conference in Nashville at the Sheraton Hotel, August 2, 1976.
  - 17wNGE-TV (Nashville), August 2, 1976.
  - 18 Nashville Banner, August 3, 1976.
  - 19 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 23, 1976.
  - <sup>20</sup>Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 23, 1976.
  - 21 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, August 2, 1976.
  - <sup>22</sup>Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, August 3, 1976.
- 23"Channel 4 News Conference," WSM-TV (Nashville), August 2, 1976.
  - 24"Teddy Bart Show," WSM-TV (Nashville), July 22, 1976.
  - <sup>25</sup>Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 23, 1976.
  - <sup>26</sup>Nashville <u>Banner</u>, August 3, 1976.
  - <sup>27</sup>Nashville <u>Banner</u>, August 4, 1976.
  - <sup>28</sup>Nashville <u>Banner</u>, July 29, 1976.
- 29 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, August 2, 1976; Nashville <u>Banner</u>, August 4, 1976.
  - 30 Nashville Banner, July 15, 1976
  - 31 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 9, 1976.
  - 32"Teddy Bart Show," WSM-TV (Nashville), July 22, 1976.
  - 33 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 25, 1976.
  - 34 Nashville <u>Banner</u>, July 19, 1976.

- 35 Nashville Tennessean, July 27, 1976.
- 36 Daily News Journal (Murfreesboro), July 29, 1976.
- 37 Tennessee Democrat, July 16, 1976.
- 38 Nashville Banner, July 23, 1976.
- 39"Teddy Bart Show," WSM-TV (Nashville), July 22, 1976.
- 40 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 31, 1976.
- 41 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 2, 1976.
- 42 Daily News Journal (Murfreesboro), May 30, 1976.
- 43 Daily News Journal (Murfreesboro), July 8, 1976.
- <sup>44</sup>Nashville <u>Banner</u>, July 8, 1976.
- 45"Channel 4 News Conference," WSM-TV (Nashville), August 2, 1976.
  - 46 Nashville Banner, July 7, August 2, 1976.
  - <sup>47</sup>Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 27, 1976.
  - 48 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, August 1, 1976.
  - 49 Daily News Journal (Murfreesboro), July 21, 1976.
  - <sup>50</sup>Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 31, 1976.
  - 51 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 23, 1976.
  - 52 Nashville Banner, July 28, 1976.
  - 53 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 29, 1976.
  - <sup>54</sup>Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 24, 1976.

- 55 Nashville Tennessean, August 3, 1976.
- <sup>56</sup>Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, August 2, 1976.
- 57 Campaign brochure, David Bolin For U. S. Senate.
- <sup>58</sup>Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 25, 1976.
- <sup>59</sup>Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 2, 1976.
- 60"Teddy Bart Show," WSM-TV (Nashville), July 30, 1976; "Channel 4 News Conference," WSM-TV (Nashville), August 2, 1976.
  - 61 Daily News Journal (Murfreesboro), July 13, 1976.
  - 62 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 31, 1976.
  - 63 Nashville Tennessean, July 29, 1976.
  - 64 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, August 4, 1976.
  - 65"Teddy Bart Show," WSM-TV (Nashville), July 30, 1976.
  - 66 Nashville Banner, July 20, 1976.
  - 67 Nashville <u>Banner</u>, July 8, 1976.
  - 68"Teddy Bart Show," WSM-TV (Nashville), July 30, 1976.
  - 69"Teddy Bart Show," WSM-TV (Nashville), July 30, 1976.
  - <sup>70</sup>Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, August 3, 1976.
  - 71 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 2, 1976.
  - 72 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 14, 1976.
  - 73 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, August 3, 1976.

- 74"Channel 4 News Conference," WSM-TV (Nashville), August 2, 1976.
  - 75 Nashville Tennessean, August 2, 1976.
  - <sup>76</sup>Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 24, 1976.
- 77"Channel 4 News Conference, WSM-TV (Nashville), August 2, 1976.
  - 78 Nashville Tennessean, July 27, 1976.
  - 79 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, July 24, 1976.
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  - 81wsm-TV, July 29, 1976.
  - 82 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, August 3, 1976.
  - 83 Chattanooga Times, July 15, 1976.
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  - 86 Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, August 1, 1976.
  - <sup>87</sup>Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>, August 4, 1976.
- 88 Concession Speech at Hooker Headquarters, August 5, 1976.
  - <sup>89</sup>WSM-TV, August 5, 1976.
  - 90WSM-TV, August 5, 1976.
- 91 Victory Speech at Sasser Headquarters, August 5, 1976.
  - 92WSM-TV, August 5, 1976.