

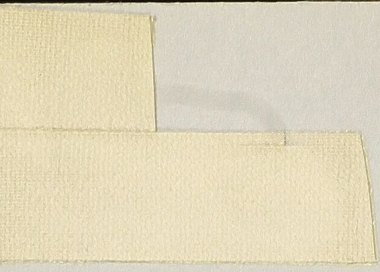
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PRACTICAL POLITICS

Choosing the President



League of Women Voters
of the United States



PART ONE

The Process

Choosing the President

PUBLISHED BY

League of Women Voters
of the United States

Choosing the
President

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PART ONE

The Process

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PART ONE: *The Process*

I THE PRESIDENT AND THE CHOOSING

Every four years the citizens of this country choose a President and a Vice President. And now, more than midway through the twentieth century, the significance of these choices—to each individual, to the nation, and to the world—is immeasurable.

When President John F. Kennedy was assassinated, the whole world held its breath. But when, in less than two hours, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson was sworn in as the new President and the process of orderly transition to a new administration was set in motion, the world began to breathe again. Such is the tremendous power of the office and the responsibility—both for the man who fills it and for the man who must be ready to fill it at a moment's notice.

What is a President of the United States? He is the head of state of this country, a maker of its foreign and domestic policy, the commander-in-chief of its armed forces, the leader of all its people in peace and war. He recommends legislation, he administers this country's government, he enforces the laws of the land. And in addition to all this, he is the national leader of his political party. A President is also what he makes of the office.

Many, many millions of people sit with eyes glued to television screens during the national party conventions which nominate candidates for election to the presidency and vice presidency. Some watch these performances as spectators, as interested outsiders. Others feel the personal involvement that comes from understanding the nominating process and participating in it.

To understand fully how a presidential candidate becomes his party's official nominee, it is important to know the process by which political parties function and their place in the governmental structure of our country. It is important to know, too, a few details about how the national conventions operate—how they are organized, how delegates are chosen, how the convention actually nominates the candidates. Some knowledge of how

the present nominating system evolved will enhance appreciation of its importance in the political life of the country.

With the election campaigns, the process of choosing a President shifts into high gear. The focus of the campaigns, their strategy and techniques, their intensity, their killing pace—these are all elements in the process.

The exciting climax to choosing a President occurs on one day in November—when the people vote—despite the fact that the outcome of the election is determined not by direct popular vote but by the vote of the electoral college. But the process of choosing starts years before, and many people have worked in many ways, sometimes for many years, to help bring about the final choice.

Take a look at **THE CHOOSING CHART** (p. 16) which traces the path of selection from a member of a political party or an independent to the White House.

As a voter, you cross the path to the White House far along the way. Perhaps you are an “independent” voter, and there are many of you. Because each party is wooing the independent, your views on candidates—expressed, for example, in popular opinion polls—may well influence party decisions to some degree. But as an independent, you can have no direct influence on the choice of candidates. You can express a preference only between candidates already nominated by the parties.

If you are a registered Democrat or a registered Republican, you can influence the selection of candidates if you get the decision-makers of your party to listen to your opinion. For most people this can happen only at the precinct level, or at least must begin at the precinct level. And it is accomplished by influencing the choice of delegates to meetings at the next higher party level.

Sometimes situations do arise where powerful influence on the choice of delegates to county, state, or even national conventions is exerted beyond the precinct level by top community or business leaders, or by extraordinarily generous party contributors. Even the actual choice of the nominees is sometimes affected by such direct means.

From the precinct, you—and your voice—may have an opportunity to move upward to the county political stage. From the county, the path to the national convention may take any one of several directions, according to your party and your state. The parties elect district delegates through congressional district conventions in some states; in others, all party delegates are elected at state conventions. Delegates-at-large are chosen at the state

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level. In some states and the District of Columbia delegates are elected at primaries, and in just a few, the state committees of the parties choose the delegates.

Your exact role will depend in part on where you live and what party you work in, because each state regulates the nominating process in its own way and each party makes its own rules for choosing delegates and for nominating candidates. You should participate in the nominating process in whatever way is open to you, for the power to nominate is as important as the power to elect.

The choosing of a President is done in a continuing four-year cycle: no sooner are the national conventions and a presidential election over for one cycle than the next are being planned for within the parties by party leaders.

CHOOSING THE PRESIDENT tells in Part I the story of the process of nominating candidates for the presidency and of electing a President.

President. Part II provides facts and figures behind the process.

This is the chronology of choosing a President:

- emergence into the public view of candidates for nomination during the year or two before the national conventions
- preconvention campaigns for nomination aimed at capturing delegate votes at the national conventions
- presidential preference primaries in some states
- choice of delegates to the national conventions by presidential primaries, state, or district conventions, state committees, or a combination of these methods
- national party conventions during the summer of election year, providing party nominees for President and Vice President
- campaigns by nominees of the parties during the summer and fall for votes at the November general election¹
- election by voters of party's presidential electors in each of the 50 states on the Tuesday after the first Monday of November every four years

¹ If a presidential or vice presidential nominee should die before election day, the party's national committee would be authorized to fill the vacancy by a majority vote of the total number of votes the states and territories had at the preceding convention.

- casting of votes for President and Vice President on Monday following the second Wednesday in December in each state capital by slate of electors elected in November
- formal election of the President and Vice President on January 6 of the year following the election year (the President of the Senate, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, counts the electoral vote sent by registered mail from each state)²
- President-elect and Vice President-elect inaugurated on January 20 (their terms begin at noon on this day).

² If the President-elect dies before he is inaugurated, the Vice President-elect becomes President and then the President nominates a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both houses of Congress.

II HOW ARE POLITICAL PARTIES ORGANIZED?

The axis on which the process of choosing a President revolves is party organization. To understand it keep in mind the different spheres of activity that the word “party” covers. The “party-in-the-electorate,” for instance, really means the voters in the precincts. The “party-outside-the-government,” or the professional party group, refers to the fewer than 5 million individuals who are “party pros” in an electorate of over 100 million. Sometimes it is the “party-in-the-legislature” that is stressed—the lawmakers, in other words. And occasionally people speak as if there actually were a “party-in-the-government”—the President, members of his party in the Senate and the House, and heads of executive agencies—which could be held accountable for the conduct of the government.¹

Our system of government almost since its beginning has operated through political parties which have no constitutional basis at the national level. The party system has remained almost untouched by federal legislation, with the exception of party financing and campaign practices. Party organization has not been regulated by federal law.

The presidential election first became a choice between candidates of two parties in 1796 when John Adams, a Federalist, won over Thomas Jefferson, a Democratic-Republican. Since that time a two-party system has always provided two major candidates for the presidency. Occasionally, a third minority party or an opposition group within one of the major parties has put up a candidate for President but that candidate has never been elected.

A major political party is organized according to state laws, the rules of its national convention, and its own rules, adopted by state and local party authorities. Party organization is closely

¹ V. O. Key, Jr., *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*, 5th ed. (Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964) p. 164.

connected with party functions. Perhaps two of the most important are nominating candidates and mobilizing voter support.

Political Party Structure

The structure of the official party organizations has been likened to a layer cake rather than to a chain of command. Not a common layer cake but an imposing wedding cake with at least four, sometimes five, distinct geographical tiers. The precincts are the bottom layer. And at the top, instead of figures of the bride and groom, stands the lone figure of the chairman of the national committee of his party.

The titular heads of the parties are the President and the defeated nominee of the other party. But their positions are of varying importance in party organization. Some presidential candidates have had little influence during the four years following their defeat at the polls.²

As in a wedding cake, each tier of the party's organization is dependent on the layer below it. In addition, however, each tier, from precinct to national committee, has its special responsibility within its geographical area in the elections. A common cause elicits the necessary cooperation, not a chain of command.

The Precinct, a neighborhood of hundreds of voters, is the basic unit in the political structure and the first theater of operation for party workers. The 170,000 and more such units are headed by precinct captains or committeemen usually chosen at direct primary elections, at the general election, at caucuses, or appointed by higher party officials.³ This precinct executive is the only direct link between voters in the precinct and the professional political group. Through his block workers and other aides, he is the party organization person who knows a great deal about the individual voters in his precinct and has sub-

² For an interesting description of post-1960 election events touching upon Nixon's claim to the titular leadership of the Republican party, see Paul T. David, "The Political Changes of 1960-1961" in *The Presidential Election and Transition 1960-1961* (Brookings Institution, 1961) pp. 327-28.

³ Despite the fact that provisions have been made to enable the rank and file of voters to participate in party organization, these have not been effective in practice. Party officials are still more or less self-appointed because most people have no concern about party organization. Comparatively few party members attend meetings, and when party committeemen are to be chosen by popular vote, a very small percentage of potential votes is cast. Usually party officials are chosen in a very amicable way because there is seldom any competition for the particular job. Only infrequently do contests develop for party positions and these are decided by in-fighting party cliques, but most party leaders try to avoid intra-party fights.

stantial direct influence on them. Through him the working members of the party at the precinct level, if they work hard in the party and are articulate at the right time and place, may make their voices heard in the selection of delegates.

The County Committee is the party tier just above the precinct (in larger cities, just above the ward or district, which is composed of several precincts), and a unit of major significance in the party machinery. It consists of precinct executives or of alternates chosen by them. There are more than 3,000 counties in the United States, and as a functioning political entity the county has reality even greater than the congressional district. Major decisions in the selection of congressional district delegates to the national conventions are often made at county level.⁴ County committees are tied into the state organization through the county chairmen who direct the precinct chairmen in getting out the vote.

The State Committee or State Central Committee comprises the tier above the county committee. The state committee chairman is an important party figure. State committees are usually based on legislative act and range in size from a handful of people to hundreds of members. Methods of selection differ widely. The chief function of state committees is to conduct campaigns through their officers and agents and to assist with the government of the party. They may also influence the choice of delegates to the national conventions. In some states the state committee actually selects the delegates. Where states have conventions to select delegates, the state committee wields great influence. Even with the direct primary, control of the state committee may be extremely important.

The National Committee is the top layer of party organization. This has representatives, at least one man and one woman, from each state and is of prime importance in the choosing of a President. Its chairman is a top-ranking professional politician. Its powers and duties are dictated by the national convention. (Part II, Section II, p. 66 has details on membership, the responsibilities of the national chairman, and the powers and duties of the national committee.)

“Kingpin of the national organization,”⁵ the national com-

⁴ Paul T. David, Malcolm Moos, Ralph M. Goldman, *Presidential Nominating Politics in 1952* (The Johns Hopkins Press, 1954) p. 165.

⁵ Key, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

mittee chairman is theoretically elected by the national committee. In practice he is designated, ordinarily immediately after the national convention, by the party's presidential candidate.

National committee members may be described as top politicians in their states, usually wealthy, because membership on the national committee is costly in both time and money. The men are often lawyers or businessmen. Many combine experience in law, business, and politics.

In the party the national committeeman may be the unquestioned statewide party leader or his power may emanate from a concentrated geographical area in the state. He may be a "right-hand man" of the party leader, or he may be receiving his reward for his generous contribution of money or for years of party service or distinction.

National committeewomen usually have been state or county vice chairmen of their parties. However, they enjoy "very little power in their state parties. The national committeewomen are as important as any women in the parties, but of very little importance at all by comparison with the male party leaders."⁶

Senate and Congressional Campaign Committees. Each party also has a Senate Campaign Committee and a Congressional Campaign Committee, selected in each new Congress at conferences of party members. The work of these committees is to raise funds and help in the campaigns of candidates for the Senate and the House of Representatives. Differences in the constituencies and in the election timetables frequently create enmity between these committees and the national committees.

This outline is a skeleton of the structure of the official organization of the two major political parties. The actual situation is far less tidy. Each party does not have a complete working organization at each level, except for the national committee, and except during election campaigns. In some precincts in some very large cities, even in some counties, no full organization exists for either of the major parties.

Each of these political layers, especially those not in the limelight during the nominating conventions, plays a vital role in choosing the nominees for President and Vice President and in electing a President and a Vice President.

⁶ Cornelius P. Cotter and Bernard C. Hennessy, *Politics Without Power, The National Party Committees* (Atherton Press, 1964) p. 59.

Volunteer and Auxiliary Groups

Aiding the regular party organization is a network of volunteer political groups that covers the country and auxiliary groups that unofficially support either a candidate or a cause. These volunteer groups are not directly connected with the official party organization but dovetail into its work. In actuality, they do the bulk of the work, raise huge amounts of money, supply volunteers for official party work and, in some cases, operate year-round. They are open to all comers, and attract into active membership many people not interested in purely party work.

THE CHOOSING CHART

THE CHOOSING CHART

YOU (perhaps?)

DEMOCRAT

Party Worker in Precinct

Precinct Committee

County Caucus or Convention

Congressional District Conventions

State Convention or State Central Committee or State Primaries

District and At-Large Delegates

**DEMOCRATIC
NATIONAL CONVENTION**
Delegates and Alternates
National Committee

YOU (perhaps?)

INDEPENDENT VOTER

YOU (perhaps?)

REPUBLICAN

Party Worker in Precinct

Precinct Committee

County Caucus or Convention

Congressional District Conventions

State Convention or State Central Committee or State Primaries

District and At-Large Delegates

**REPUBLICAN
NATIONAL CONVENTION**
Delegates and Alternates
National Committee

PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL DEMOCRATIC NOMINEES

PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL REPUBLICAN NOMINEES

YOU VOTE GENERAL ELECTION

YOU VOTE GENERAL ELECTION

YOU VOTE GENERAL ELECTION

ELECTORAL COLLEGE
Electors Vote, by state, for
President and Vice President

WHITE HOUSE

REPUBLICAN

III WHAT DOES THE NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTION DO?

Choosing the party presidential and vice presidential nominees is the major accomplishment of a national convention. But the over-all importance of the national party convention is often neglected or unknown by many citizens.

The national convention is the national party. It is at the heart of the national party system. Neither Congress nor the Constitution created it nor have they any control over it. The national convention is the basic element of the national party apparatus, and its decisions are binding more by consent than by sanction. It is a native political phenomenon. Party government for the nation as a whole could not exist without the national convention.

The national convention makes a very special contribution to the American political system by serving as a channel for advancement to the office of the presidency, independent of the Congress. The two-party system, and ultimately the national conventions, make it possible for men of different backgrounds, experience and ideals to seek or attain the nominations for the presidency and vice-presidency. This fact alone deeply affects the character of American politics and government.

The national convention serves four distinct purposes:

1) *Nominates candidates for President and Vice President*, its principal, most obvious task. Occasionally the primary purpose of the convention has been almost completely achieved before the convention meets: the nomination of President Johnson at the Democratic Convention in 1964 is one recent example.

2) *Writes a platform* which broadly states the party's program. Unity in issues is stressed, and inter- and intra-party conflicts are ignored whenever possible. Platforms are election implements, but not binding on the elected candidates once

they are in office. Platforms reflect current thinking, policy and basic philosophies, not commitments to action. (See the work of the Resolutions Committee under Convention Committees, Part II, Section VI, p. 79.) The relationship between platform writing and competition for the nomination was clearly illustrated before the opening of the 1964 Republican Convention when William W. Scranton sought to use the platform in certain areas of domestic and foreign policy as a weapon to defeat Barry M. Goldwater for the nomination.

3) *Serves as a national rally* to start the campaign for electing its candidates. Its purpose is to unite the party nationally behind the candidates the party hopes to elect by healing the wounds left by the battles among factions supporting different men for nomination and to consolidate its resources for an all-out election fight.

4) *Is a governing body for its party.* Through the national committee it provides national leadership and continuity from one convention to the next; it determines party policy and procedure for the next convention. Without it, political party structure and function would not exist as they do today.

IV HOW MANY DELEGATES GO TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION?

In choosing a presidential nominee the delegate body to the convention has the last word. Who the delegates are, how they are chosen, how many and from where help to decide the big question, "Which candidate will be supported by which delegates and by how many?"

The battle for the support and votes of delegates is waged for many months before the national convention. The states from which delegates come, their number, and how they are chosen are elemental parts of this battle. During the convention itself the importance of the delegates is in proportion to the strength of the candidates. If one candidate is out in front with a large number of assured delegate votes as Senator Goldwater was at the Republican Convention and President Johnson at the Democratic Convention in 1964, the delegates play a passive role of consent during the convention. If it is a tight race, the delegates play the decisive role.

Delegate Allocation

The basic character of the national party convention as an institution is determined by the method of allocating delegates and by the way they are selected, state by state. Although the conventions have always held the right to apportion voting strength among the states, each party within a state has retained the right, subject to state laws, to choose its delegation.

From the very beginning of national conventions, delegation votes have been allotted on the same basis as the electoral college with, in later years, bonus votes allotted to certain states for election successes. Electors from each state "equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the state may be entitled" make up the electoral college—U.S. Constitution, Article II.

The major elements in the constitutional structure of Con-

gress appear also in the delegate structure of the conventions. There are two kinds of delegates—delegates-at-large, who correspond to Senators, and congressional district delegates, who correspond to House members. Delegates-at-large are frequently distinguished party members being rewarded with special recognition and patronage by the party. At the conventions both kinds of delegates vote together.

The allocation of delegates to national conventions is determined by each party's national committee and usually announced early in the election year. The allocation is made by the authority granted at the last national convention. The national committees use a somewhat different system of allocating delegates and votes. (See Part II, Section III, p. 69, for a detailed description and statistics by states of the 1968 national convention allocation by the parties.)

Convention Size

The Republicans permit one full vote only for each delegate. The Democrats permit fractional voting which means that some delegates may cast a fraction of a vote. This practice has greatly increased the size of their conventions. At intervals they have tried to get rid of fractional voting and in 1964 and 1968, their allocation formula called for "a delegate for each vote and an alternate for each vote." However, because it also entitled each state to select the same number of individuals to serve as delegates as had been authorized for the preceding convention, the total delegation to each succeeding convention since 1960 has increased. The 1964 and the 1968 Democratic Conventions were more than twice the size of the Republican. In 1968 the Democrats have a maximum delegation with national committee members of 5611 with 2622 votes. The Republicans have a total of 2666 delegates and 1333 votes.

V HOW ARE THE DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTIONS CHOSEN?

State laws, party rules, not embodied in law, unwritten customs and traditional practices determine the selection of delegates to the national conventions of both major political parties. The state laws which are different in different states regulate political parties and one of two methods for choosing delegates—the caucus-convention method or, in roughly one-third of the states, the presidential primary. The selections are made in a variety of ways with little participation by voters. (For methods by states, see Table in Part II, Section IV, p. 72.) Many of the states divide their delegate body into two categories—delegates-at-large and district delegates. In some states the two categories are selected by different methods.

Caucus-Convention Method

In the majority of states, delegates are selected wholly through party machinery, by either conventions or state committees, in which the ordinary citizen may have little or no direct part. These decisions are made at caucuses or meetings of party leaders. The term is also used to refer to an informal meeting of party members or party leaders. A duly constituted or authorized caucus is generally a gathering of local, county, or district party members or their representatives, and is recognized under party rules.

At local party caucuses, which are open to all party members but attended by comparatively few, delegates are selected to go to county conventions and from there to district and/or state party conventions which in some states elect the national convention delegates. In other states, delegates to the national conventions are chosen by the state central committees of the parties.

District Delegates in still other states are chosen through congressional district party machinery. Republican national

rules provide for the election of district delegates through conventions at the congressional district level. This method is widely used, but in some states all Republican delegates are elected at a state convention. The Democratic party in some states selects district delegates in the district, although the selections are ratified by the state convention.

Delegates-at-large in both parties in convention states are generally chosen by state party leadership although again usually the selections are ratified by a state party convention.

In recent years, thousands of newer party members have attended local and state conventions for the first time, with varying degrees of frustration and success. Sometimes the party machinery operates so smoothly that less experienced party members do not know what is going on until it is over. At other times newcomers who have made special efforts to understand local party procedures have been able to participate effectively and have a voice in decisions.

Citizens who want to have some influence on the choice of delegates to the national conventions in states using the caucus-convention system must begin by learning the state laws governing parties, party rules and procedures, and local customs and practices. They must be acquainted with parliamentary procedure and develop a sense of timing.

Test yourself on these questions if you live in a state where your party delegates to national conventions are chosen by the caucus-convention method:

Who calls the state convention?

Are unofficial conventions or conferences held before the regular state convention?

Can I vote for the delegates to the state convention of my party?

What do I do to become eligible to vote for these delegates?

When is the election?

Do I have to show proof of party membership? If so, what?

Is there a regular "organization slate" offered?

Do we have a city, town, or county convention (or caucus) in my community? What do I do to get in?

How do I know who was chosen at the state convention?

How can I tell what candidate the delegates from my state will support?

Will the delegates to the national convention from my state vote as a bloc, or are they allowed to divide their votes among the candidates?

State Presidential Primary Method

Presidential primaries in states express either presidential preference and/or elect convention delegates, pledged or unpledged. These two functions are performed in some states in separate elections or in a combination of the two. Depending on state law, delegates may be wholly committed to a presidential candidate, favorable to him, or completely uncommitted.

Fifteen states and the District of Columbia may use primary elections for electing delegates to national conventions, and in fourteen states presidential preference may be indicated directly or indirectly.

Intended to assure genuine popular control of political parties, the direct primary was heralded as a great reform in the early years of this century. Woodrow Wilson was so staunch a supporter of the direct primary that in 1913 he asked for a law requiring presidential primaries in every state.

No state has initiated a presidential primary in recent years although many have amended their original laws. In 1965 Maryland abolished its presidential primary altogether by moving its primary date from May to September. The District of Columbia in 1955 provided for the election of officially unpledged delegates. Indiana, which had had a presidential preference primary and delegation selection from 1916 to 1928, re-enacted the presidential preference portion in 1956.

Types of presidential primary vary greatly among the fifteen states, some of which have optional laws permitting a choice of method. The most important point of difference is the degree to which a delegate is, or is not, committed to support a presidential candidate. (See Part II, Section IV, p. 72, for methods of each state.) Whether the consent of a presidential candidate is required before his name can appear in a presidential preference poll and whether write-ins are permitted are other significant differences.

There are four general types of delegate election systems:¹

1. Ballots *must not* show the delegate's preference among presidential candidates; delegates *must* run on a "no-preference" basis so far as the ballot is concerned.
(New York, Illinois, West Virginia, for example)

¹ Paul T. David, Ralph M. Goldman, Richard C. Bain, *The Politics of National Party Conventions* (Vintage Books, 1964—a condensation by Kathleen Sproul of the Brookings Institution study) p. 195.

2. Ballot *may* show delegate's preference if the candidate consents; delegates may also run on a "no-preference" basis.
(Massachusetts, California, for example)
3. Ballot *may* show delegate's preference whether or not the candidate consents; delegates may also run on a "no-preference" basis.
(New Hampshire, Florida, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, for example)
4. Ballot *must* show delegate's preference (with consent of the candidate in Ohio, and with or without the consent of the candidate in South Dakota, for example); delegates *must not* run on a "no-preference" basis.

Within each category, the system in each state may be different.

Test yourself on these questions if your state has a presidential primary:

What kind of an election is held in my state to choose the delegates to the national political conventions?

Is my preference declared through a direct vote on announced presidential candidates or through the election of delegates pledged to specific candidates?

Does my state require a definite word from a presidential candidate or his representative before his name or those endorsing him may be placed on the primary ballot?

How are the names of candidates for delegate put on the ballot?

When is the primary election? Am I eligible to vote in it?

Do I have to show proof of party membership? If so, what?

Is the primary "merely advisory" or does it bind the delegates? If so, for how long? (For example, past the first ballot?)

What happens when the delegates are released from the candidate they have been pledged to support?

Must they vote as a unit or may they divide their votes among the candidates? Who controls this?

NOTE: *Congressional Quarterly* Special Presidential 1968 Report has a study of the history and rules of the presidential primaries and the results of the 1964 presidential primaries.

VI PRECONVENTION CAMPAIGNING

The process of nominating a presidential candidate begins long before the conventions. The contest has no defined starting point. Candidates enter the race at different times, months, and even years, before the nominating conventions. Popular opinion polls on presidential preference flourish a year or two before the conventions. When a possible presidential candidate announces his willingness to be drafted for the nomination, there are newspaper headlines across the country. Denials of availability can cause headlines too.

There are usually preannouncement campaigns. One of the most extensive in recent elections was Nelson Rockefeller's in 1959, with a staff of some 70 persons divided by function into political work, work on position papers (stands on issues), speech writing, image, logistics and transportation, and publicity. His campaign ended in December of that year with an announcement that he would not run for the presidency, but he kept his large campaign staff and continued to be available for a draft that did not materialize.¹ Although he had been working on it since 1956, John F. Kennedy did not announce his candidacy until January 3, 1960. Lyndon B. Johnson did not announce his 1960 candidacy until July 5, two days after Congress recessed for the conventions.

In the preconvention period a few of the candidates may be new to the presidential contest. It is not rare that one candidate has been defeated in a past presidential election. Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon in 1964 and in 1968 and Adlai E. Stevenson in 1960 are recent examples. Some others are diehards who have the presidential "bug" and turn up perennially as starters in preconvention campaigns.

¹ Paul T. David, "The Presidential Nominations" in *The Presidential Election and Transition 1960-1961* (The Brookings Institution, 1961) p. 3.

Purpose

Preconvention campaigns reflect the tensions and cleavages within the party. It is from among the campaigners that the convention chooses a candidate around whom the delegates believe the whole party will rally. The preconvention campaign is an important and necessary testing in public of men and issues, and performs exactly the opposite function from the national convention which is to unite the party in support of the nominee it has chosen.

Preconvention campaigns help develop the issues, test factional strengths and the vote-getting abilities of candidates themselves. This competition involves "a complicated process of weighing, testing, rejecting, and admission into the circle of serious competitors."² It is an important outgrowth of our system, yet each time around there are special circumstances. A candidate's success may depend upon his policies, personality, perseverance, patronage or on a combination of these or on still other factors. It is impossible to generalize.

Preconvention Candidates

The purpose of preconvention campaigning is first to sell a candidate to the party. Then it must procure enough delegates pledged to the candidate to secure him the nomination at the convention. Situations of various kinds within a party focus attention on some preconvention candidates. When an incumbent President seeks renomination, for example, there is a continuation of the dominant coalitions within the party. Factional competition, such as that created in the Republican party by the Dwight D. Eisenhower and Robert A. Taft forces in 1952 or the Barry M. Goldwater and William W. Scranton forces in 1964, gives these candidates added publicity. Favorite sons and other bargainers often have great influence at the beginning of the nomination contest. Because they have the support of their own delegations, they can hold the votes of a state delegation open for negotiation at the convention.

Strategy

Campaign tactics of presidential hopefuls run the gamut from a fully mounted campaign to a "lie-low and be available for a draft" strategy. Setting up an organization or headquarters to publicize the candidate and raise funds heads the list of jobs to be done. Preconvention campaign funds, which may total mil-

² Key, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

lions of dollars (examples, Eisenhower's and Taft's in 1952, Kennedy's in 1960 and Goldwater's in 1964), must be spent where the money will do the most good.

The decision as to when to announce a candidacy is extremely important. The often invaluable support of state and local leaders must be enlisted. A favorable public image of the candidate through speechmaking and public appearances must be built. (Occasionally the existing public image must be *unbuilt*, too, by pulling in the candidate from over-exposure to the public view.) A decision must be made whether to enter the presidential primaries (March to June in 14 states). It must be decided, also, whether to seek favorite son support by direct challenge in his own state or by asking for second preference support at the convention. (The latter tactic aims to avoid ill feeling.)

Presidential primaries in some election years seem to kill off more candidates than they nurture. These primaries are not always successful as a means of determining which of the two or three aspirants most likely to succeed will actually get the nomination, and they are a very expensive pre-convention tactic. But a spectacular primary performance by a candidate, such as Eisenhower's in Minnesota in 1952 and Kennedy's in West Virginia in 1960, may be a means of drawing additional leaders to his bandwagon. Kennedy campaigned vigorously in West Virginia in 1960, and this paid off. It has been called "the decisive point at which the Kennedy nomination became a near certainty."³ On the other hand, the unpredictability of presidential primaries is illustrated by the New Hampshire Republican primary in 1964. Write-in candidate Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, who was in Vietnam, won 36 percent of the votes against Senator Goldwater's 22 percent and Governor Nelson Rockefeller's 21 percent, both of whom campaigned very actively. Nixon, also a write-in candidate, got 17 percent. Senator Goldwater later won the nomination at the 1964 Republican National Convention.

³ David, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

VII A NATIONAL CONVENTION IN SESSION

The time and place of the national conventions have been set by the national committees. The delegates have been selected by the several methods already described, and are on their way. Large delegations from distant states often travel together. Possibly they have held a meeting before leaving and have chosen a delegation chairman, vice chairman, and secretary. Or they may wait until they reach the convention city to organize and elect their leadership.

Who are these men and women whose votes at the convention will be the final step in choosing a presidential nominee? They are generally upper middle class, usually college-educated, probably professional or managerial, and to some degree professional politicians. They are not typical of the voters who are their constituents. "There is every reason to believe, however, that this is the kind of representative that most constituents wish to have."¹

Frequently these delegates are politicians on the local or state level only and know few people outside their own state delegation. They may have had only a limited previous connection even with members of their own delegation.²

On the way to the convention, political talk is excited. There are delegates who are eloquent and articulate about the men of their choice. There are others who are for certain candidates under certain conditions, and still others who are silent. By the time a delegation reaches its destination, however, the flood of political talk has created convention atmosphere. Delegations are met by the enthusiastic supporters of contending candidates, accompanied by brass bands playing their state's songs.

Convention Preliminaries

Within minutes after delegates have checked in at hotels, the preliminary conferences and caucuses start. Each state has its

¹ Paul T. David, Ralph M. Goldman, Richard C. Bain, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

² Richard C. Bain, *Convention Decisions and Voting Records* (Brookings Institution, 1960) p. 4.

headquarters and calls its delegation together. Some are closed caucuses; others are open to the presidential candidates and their representatives.

Meeting at the same time are representatives of the great pressure groups—labor, agriculture and business, the religious and citizen groups—who hope to influence, and often do influence, delegates in the choice of candidates and in the content of the party platform. These leaders, representative of many facets of American life, generally arrive well in advance of the convention and already have presented their views to the preliminary drafting committee on party platform. Their activities will continue throughout the convention.

Television cameras, microphones, and amplifiers are everywhere in evidence in the convention hall. The “greatest show in America” is ready to start. And decisions of the greatest importance will be made.

The Convention Begins

The convention opens with a burst of drama—banners, emblems, music and party fervor. The hall is jammed with thousands of people—officials, delegates, alternates, and representatives of television, radio, and the press. Delegations are seated by states in the front of the auditorium; the alternates by states in the rear or in the galleries. The delegation leader is seated on the aisle next to his state banner and a microphone. The national committee chairman presides at the opening session of the convention until the temporary convention officers are formally elected.

Temporary convention officers, including the temporary chairman, are nominated by the national committee. They are then formally elected by the whole convention, usually by acclamation. In actual fact the temporary chairman has been selected well in advance of the convention's opening.

Nominations for temporary officers may be made, however, from the convention floor. Occasionally the selection of a temporary chairman becomes a test of strength between forces fighting for control of the convention because the temporary chairman can make or break candidates for the nomination by recognizing or ignoring delegates who wish to speak. He may also have a chance to make rulings that will ultimately affect the choice of the nominee.

Other temporary officers, who are usually made permanent, include the secretary, sergeant-at-arms, parliamentarian, chief tally clerk, door-keeper, and others.

The keynote address is traditionally given by the temporary chairman, although the Republicans in recent years have chosen other party figures of great prominence to give it. It is usually political party oratory. Since the advent of television, one purpose of the keynote address has been to whip up enthusiasm among the party faithful.

Permanent Officers

Instead of being elected by the convention, the permanent chairman has come to be chosen several months before the convention by consultation between the national chairman and other party leaders or by a subcommittee of the national committee, and the choice is ratified by the convention.³ His name is presented to the convention by the Permanent Organization Committee. After the report of this committee has been accepted, the permanent chairman takes the helm and addresses the convention. (The Speaker of the House of Representatives has often been the permanent chairman of the convention.)

Because the permanent chairman and other convention officers have great power over the conduct of convention proceedings, each serious candidate for nomination prefers to have a permanent chairman who is at the least not hostile to his candidacy.

Frequently the permanent chairman has to rule on votes of the convention. At the 1960 Democratic Convention, for example, Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida had to rule on a number of votes, among them the voice vote on the civil rights plank in the party platform.

Standing Committees

Much of the highly important work of the convention, less televisable than the balloting for nominees, is done by its four standing committees which report to the convention as a whole before the nominating process begins. Under the authority of the national committee, chairmen of these committees have been selected well ahead of time so they may begin work before the convention meets. State delegations—or their leaders—also designate state representatives on the committees in advance of the convention. (See Part II, Section VI, p. 78, for membership, voting, and details of the work of the standing committees.)

The credentials committee examines credentials of delegates, hears challenges of them, and lists the permanent roll of bona fide delegates.

³ Key, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

The permanent organization committee recommends a set of permanent officers, including the permanent chairman for the convention.

The rules committee reports to the convention a set of rules for its operation and establishes the voting procedure.

The resolutions and platform committee drafts and presents resolutions and a platform to the convention.

At almost every convention a contest or two develops. Its resolution, which may take a great deal of convention time, often indicates which candidate for the nomination is in control of the convention. In 1952, for example, the results of the seating contests in the Republican Convention involving Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas served to demonstrate that the presidential nomination was beyond Robert A. Taft's grasp.

The credentials fight in the 1964 Democratic National Convention between the "regular" all white Mississippi delegation and the largely Negro Mississippi Freedom Democratic group resulted in the following resolution approved by the Democratic National Committee with the recommendation it be adopted as a rule applicable to the 1968 Convention.

"BE IT RESOLVED by the Democratic National Committee that:

- (1) It is the understanding that a State Democratic Party, in selecting and certifying delegates to the Democratic National Convention, thereby undertakes to assure that voters in the State, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin, will have the opportunity to participate fully in Party affairs, and to cast their election ballots for the Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominees selected by said Convention, and for electors formally and in good conscience to the election of these Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominees, under the Democratic Party label and designation."

As early as February 26, 1968 it was announced by the Alabama State Democratic Party Chairman that there will be at least two Negroes in the delegation to the Democratic National Convention. This will be the first integrated Alabama delegation to a national convention in modern times.⁴

⁴ UPI in *The Washington Post*, February 27, 1968.

VIII THE ACT OF NOMINATING

The act of nominating the candidate for President of the United States is the dramatic climax of a national convention and the part Americans are most familiar with through the press and television. This is the hour toward which all the months of pre-convention campaigning, and the pre-convention planning, the endless conferences, political maneuvers, promises and compromises, the seeking and holding and sometimes losing of loyalties, the changing of strategies, the analyzing of issues, the using of influence have pointed.

The First Steps

A candidate's name is placed in nomination by a prominent supporter during a roll call of the states. Arrangements are usually made in advance so that the top-of-the-alphabet state yields its first turn to a state with a delegate prepared to nominate a front-running candidate. Only an official delegate may nominate. After each nominating speech, a demonstration on behalf of the candidate takes place—a parade with banners, slogans, and symbols moves with difficulty through the aisles of the Convention Hall. Sometimes the show is spontaneous, sometimes it is carefully rehearsed, and sometimes it is staged by paid professionals. The seconding speeches follow, several for each nominee.

None of these first three steps in the actual nominating process changes any votes. But “politicians highly prize the opportunity to make such a speech before a nationwide TV audience, and state delegations have been delivered in gratitude for an invitation to make a nominating speech.”¹

The Vote to Nominate

Balloting for the candidate is by roll call vote. Before the balloting begins, each state and territorial delegation has met

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 424.

and agreed, or agreed to disagree, upon strategy, which is greatly influenced by the voting method, individual or bloc, i.e., the unit rule. (See Part II, Section VII, p. 80.)

When the roll of the states is called alphabetically, the chairman of each state delegation announces the vote of the state. (In years past this announcement called for a short, flowery speech.) If a state wishes, it may pass and be called again at the end of the roll. This is a frequent tactical measure. Balloting on the floor is often slowed up by the requests of individual delegates for the polling of their delegations—a delegate may honestly doubt the tally of his delegation chairman or a delegation may wish to reveal publicly the votes of specific delegates. Any delegation may change its vote at the end of the roll call up to the time the final tally is announced.

Instructed Delegates

The votes of many delegates are decided beforehand in the home state. Instructions on voting to delegations are given by the state convention or by the state primary that selected the delegates. Some instructed delegations must maintain their commitments only on the first ballot; others until their candidate seems to have no hope of being nominated; still others until they are officially released by the man whom they endorse.

Favorite Son Voting

A state delegation may vote on the first ballot for the "favorite son" of its state. At some conventions the number of favorite sons slows up the convention unreasonably. In 1960 at the Democratic Convention, the first ballot, before switches, totaled:

Kennedy	806	Stevenson	79½	Smathers	30	Brown	½
Johnson	409	Meyner	43	Barnett	23	Faubus	½
Symington	86	Humphrey	41½	Loveless	1½	Rossellini	½

Number of Ballots to Nominate

If a majority for one candidate is not produced at the first ballot, further ballots are taken until a decision is reached. The nomination is often made on the first ballot. Two thirds of the Republican presidential candidates since the Civil War have been nominated on the first ballot but only half the Democratic candidates in this same period.

In 1920 it took 44 ballots to nominate James M. Cox; 103 ballots were required in 1924 to nominate John W. Davis. This situation was changed by the abolition of the two-thirds rule in

Democratic conventions. Balloting in conventions since 1928 has required as many as six ballots only once—in the Wendell L. Willkie nomination of 1940. Long-term trends suggest that more nominating contests will be settled after three ballots or fewer at future conventions. In 1960 one ballot at each of the conventions was sufficient. In 1964 President Johnson was nominated by acclamation and Goldwater was nominated on the first ballot.

When the roll call of states edges along in a close ballot, millions of people all over the country mark convention tally sheets. Television and radio stations keep score. And when the moment arrives that a particular state declares for a candidate and carries the candidate to victory, pandemonium breaks loose. It is a difficult feat to finish calling the roll. Before the final count is announced, many delegations change their votes to be on the winning side.

IX CHOOSING THE VICE PRESIDENT

The choice of nominees for Vice President is overshadowed by the choice of nominees for President. Yet the vice presidency is second in importance only to the presidency and therefore the manner of choosing the nominees for this office has tremendous potential significance. In fact, however, it is one of the most neglected areas of American politics.

Presidential Succession

The Constitution provides that the Vice President shall become President¹ in case of the removal of the President from office which has never happened or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the presidency. This is why the office of the Vice President has such tremendous importance. The Constitution also assigns the Vice President the task of presiding over the Senate as its president.

Eight times in our history a Vice President has succeeded to the presidency when a President has died. Four of these times the President has been assassinated.

<i>President</i>	DIED IN	<i>Vice President</i>	AND WAS SUCCEEDED BY
W. H. Harrison	1841 John Tyler	
Zachary Taylor	1850 Millard Fillmore	
Abraham Lincoln	1865 Andrew Johnson	
James A. Garfield	1881 Chester A. Arthur	
William McKinley	1901 Theodore Roosevelt	
Warren G. Harding	1923 Calvin Coolidge	
Franklin D. Roosevelt	1945 Harry S. Truman	
John F. Kennedy	1963 Lyndon B. Johnson	

¹ For a description of the confusion which led to the adoption of the 25th Amendment to the Constitution, see Alvin Shuster "The Vice President" in *The New York Times Election Handbook 1964* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964) p. 33.

Presidential succession has never yet gone beyond the vice presidency. By the Presidential Succession Act of 1948 as amended, the line of succession to the presidency is

Vice President	Secretary of the Interior
Speaker of the House	Secretary of Agriculture
President pro tempore of the Senate	Secretary of Commerce
Secretary of State	Secretary of Labor
Secretary of the Treasury	Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare
Secretary of Defense	Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
Attorney General	Secretary of Transportation
Postmaster General	

Upon succession, each of these officials beginning with the Speaker of the House must resign his office.

Who Succeeds the Vice President?

The office of the Vice President has been vacant 16 times, for a total of 37 years. Eight Vice Presidents have left vacant the office they were elected to fill when they went to the White House on the death of a President. Seven Vice Presidents have died in office.

<i>Vice President</i>	DIED IN	<i>under President</i>
George Clinton	1812	James Madison—1st term
Elbridge Gerry	1814	James Madison—2nd term
William King	1853	Franklin Pierce
Henry Wilson	1875	Ulysses Grant
Thomas Hendricks	1885	Grover Cleveland
Garret A. Hobart	1899	William McKinley
James S. Sherman	1912	William Taft

One Vice President resigned: John Calhoun resigned in 1832 as Vice President under Andrew Jackson to become a U.S. Senator. He had been Vice President since 1825—under both Jackson and John Quincy Adams.

The tragedy of President Kennedy's assassination in 1963 focused attention on the subject of presidential succession and on the fact that there was no constitutional provision for choosing another Vice President when a Vice President succeeded to the presidency, resigned or died. President Eisenhower's illnesses had earlier caused considerable discussion as had President Wilson's disability.

In January 1965, bills were introduced into Congress proposing a 25th Amendment to the federal constitution providing for continuity in the functions of the presidency in case of presidential disability and for filling a vacancy in the vice presi-

dency. In July, the 25th Amendment was sent to the states for ratification by the required three fourths of the states. On February 10, 1967 it was ratified, when Nevada became the 38th state to approve it. (See Part II, Section I, p. 63.)

Nominating a Vice President

Traditionally the presidential candidate and/or the few key party leaders pick the vice presidential candidate in the last weary hours of the nominating convention. Convention delegates usually proceed to ratify this choice without question through fatigue, apathy, and the confirmed opinion that the presidential nominee deserves the right to pick his running mate. Choice of a nominee usually revolves much more upon how he will balance the ticket than on how good a President he would make if he succeeded to that office.

Despite the fact that choosing a Vice President has more often than not been the result of a last minute "deal" or a strategy maneuver to balance the ticket or placate a segment of the party, the country has been fortunate in some of the Vice Presidents who have gone to the White House on the death of a President.

At the 1960 conventions of both parties "the ticket leader made the choice in each party and the convention confirmed it. In a sense, the convention was abdicating its function of choice; but obviously neither convention could make a choice unless it could find at least two willing candidates for the vice presidential office who were willing to accept consideration. The absence of alternative candidates at the point of action was the result of the consensus among party leaders that the presidential nominee should make the choice, after consultation and due deliberation."²

On the other hand, presidential candidate Stevenson in 1956 threw open the vice presidential nomination which was the beginning of the Kennedy campaign for the presidency.

In 1964 "in a move unprecedented in the annals of American politics, Johnson appeared before the Democratic National Convention just before his own nomination the same evening to announce to the delegates (and the country watching on television) that Humphrey was his choice for the vice presidential slot. . . . Predictably, the delegates nominated Humphrey by acclamation."³

² David, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

³ Congressional Quarterly, *Special Presidential 1968 Report*, September 29, 1967, p. 1935.

X CAMPAIGNING FOR ELECTION

When the parties have nominated their candidates for President and Vice President, the contest shifts from trying to win the votes of convention delegations to winning those of individual voters, in particular those individual votes which will swing the electoral vote of the most populous states.

From nominations of candidates at the conventions through Election Day, in November, the voter is king, whatever his party affiliation. "The election of a President of the United States is the largest free electoral decision taken regularly in the world,"¹ and the postconvention campaigns *do* influence many citizens to register and vote, and they *do* help determine for whom they vote.

The sole purpose of a presidential campaign is to woo voters. Probably the net result of even the best campaigns is to catch some of the uncommitted votes which may be enough to swing an election. A voter bases his ultimate decision on personal judgment. The campaign, therefore, strives to appeal to as many kinds of people in as many different ways as possible.

Campaign Organization

To do this for a potential electorate of more than a hundred million people is a staggering task that demands tremendous organization, manpower, mostly volunteer, and money. "The business of getting a national candidate nationally known is a complex matter even in this day of electronic wonders."²

Presidential campaigns have changed in many ways in the 100 years between 1860 when Abraham Lincoln never left Springfield nor made a single speech and 1960 when Kennedy made

¹ Daniel M. Ogden, Jr., and Arthur L. Peterson, *Electing the President: 1964* (Chandler Publishing Company, 1964) p. 241.

² Malcolm Moos, "Is the Long Campaign Necessary?" in *The New York Times Magazine*, May 10, 1964. © 1964 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

360 speeches while traveling 44,000 miles in 43 states and Nixon, 212 speeches traveling 65,000 miles through 50 states.

Nowadays a presidential campaign is big business. Herbert E. Alexander, director of the Citizens' Research Foundation and an authority on political finance, calls a presidential campaign "a multi-million dollar operation run by an amazing assemblage of amateurs and professionals, family and friends, specialists, job seekers, old hands and new faces, party bureaucrats, statesmen, and hangers-on."³

A presidential campaign is also a study in cooperation and conflicts among party leaders in high places, especially among the national committee and those top personal campaign strategists already close to the candidate because of their preconvention activity.

The national committee, which theoretically has the management of the presidential campaign as one of its tasks, does not always, or even often, play a policy-making role in campaigns these days. The candidate may feel that the national committee lacks leadership with enough campaign expertise or staff to activate the far-flung, comprehensive, multimillion dollar operation needed to sell him to the voters.

"There can be only one boss in a political campaign. Democratic and Republican leaders alike have learned this rule the hard way."⁴ Who shall boss a campaign depends somewhat on whether the candidate is an incumbent President or a challenger or an "heir" to an incumbent. If the candidate is an incumbent President, the White House directs the campaign through a campaign manager and uses the national committee as it sees fit. In 1956 this worked well to help re-elect Eisenhower. A tightly knit organization was in operation for months ahead of time, with the authority to make important early decisions. Eisenhower relied heavily on Leonard Hall, the national committee chairman.

In 1960, however, when Nixon strove to create a new image of himself and his party, hoping to attract Democratic votes as well as Republican, he did not establish a cooperative campaign organization with the Republican National Committee but used it "almost as an auxiliary to his own campaign."⁵

A unified organization for a presidential campaign which ties in the national committee can produce a really effective, responsible operation. This requires a melding of command between

³ Herbert E. Alexander, "Financing the Parties and Campaigns" in *The Presidential Election and Transition 1960-61* (Brookings Institution 1961) pp. 2, 126.

⁴ Ogden and Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁵ Ogden and Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

the candidate's personal team and the regular national committee members and staff—the assigning of responsibility for decision-making and for carrying out decisions, the assumption of leadership by the campaign manager with such tact and firmness that a minimum of discontent is aroused in those national committee people who might be given a secondary role. This is a tough assignment for any campaign manager. James Farley accomplished it in 1932 as campaign manager but only after Franklin D. Roosevelt had “cleaned out the old Democratic National Committee personnel and installed his own high command.”⁶

In 1960 Robert Kennedy was the Democratic campaign manager with an efficient campaign organization that was a family team, while Senator Henry Jackson was the head of the Democratic National Committee. The unified organization was purposely left rather “unstructured” and the national committee was given great freedom to work in any way it could to win the election. Its facilities were meshed with those of Kennedy's personal campaign team and its greatly increased staff ended up reporting both to Jackson and Robert Kennedy. There were points of confusion and moments of adjustment, but on the whole it was a successful meld.

A dual organization, by contrast, was used by Stevenson in 1952 and Nixon in 1960, both potential “heirs” to an incumbent President. Neither was successful in integrating his own campaign organization with the national committee's, which was the instrument of the man they were trying to succeed. Stevenson maintained his campaign headquarters in Springfield, Illinois, to make a break with the “Truman image,” while the Democratic National Committee operated in something of a vacuum in Washington—a situation that has been described as a “two-headed monstrosity.”

Campaign Strategy

The strategy for a presidential campaign should be a thoroughly developed plan for all the operations and methods that create vote-getting exposure for a candidate. It should be detailed enough to be a guide in the day-to-day operation and flexible enough to deal with unexpected developments, good and bad, as the campaign progresses.

The who, why, when, and where of the different types of campaign activity are important elements in the over-all strategy. Speech-making, for example, should be concentrated in certain

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

places at certain times to certain groups for certain ends. Campaign literature must deal with certain issues in certain parts of the country and with other issues in other parts.

Big strategy decisions must be made—how to attack the other party's record, how to lure away its voters, how to defend one's own party in matters of domestic and foreign policy, how to attack the other candidate and defend oneself. In 1960, for instance, part of Kennedy's grand strategy was to play up Nixon's Republicanism and the differences between the parties. Nixon played down his Republicanism in an effort to win Democratic voters. "Vice President Nixon tried to induce the voter to make a choice between men. Senator Kennedy strove to make his choice one between parties as well as candidates."⁷

Geography and time are also very influential factors in campaign strategy. Where the candidate chooses to spend time, how much and when—early, middle, or late in the campaign—can be vital in planning strategy. For example, Kennedy spent more time in the largest doubtful states than did Nixon and "he also spent relatively more time in the northeast in the final three weeks and relatively less in the midwest than did the Vice President in the same period."⁸

The 1960 television debates were the only new campaign features in that election. They performed the valuable function of focusing on the differences between the two candidates on many important issues—differences which strategically could much more easily be avoided in regular speeches. The debates also served to bring both candidates before huge audiences, a large portion of whom would not have listened to one or the other of the candidates speaking individually.

The 1960 presidential debates evoked such widespread interest that in 1963 the American Political Science Association appointed a Commission on Presidential Campaign Debates to review past experiences, consider the implications of future television and radio debates between presidential candidates, and make recommendations regarding format and procedures for such debates if they are held. This was financed by an unconditional grant from the National Broadcasting Company.

The 1964 report of the Commission states that

"The development of new methods and new techniques for informing the electorate should be a matter of concern to

⁷ Stanley Kelley, Jr., "The Presidential Campaign" in *The Presidential Election and Transition 1960-61* (The Brookings Institution, 1961) p. 65.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

all who are actively interested in political life and in the maintenance of a vital democratic system . . . The choice of presidential candidates must not be limited to those who are masters of appearance on television . . . A continuing evaluation is necessary if the potential of radio and television for informing the electorate is to be fully realized.”

One of the fourteen recommendations of the Commission is that Congress remove obstacles to broadcast debates between presidential candidates.

However, in 1964 President Johnson reportedly did not wish to debate Senator Goldwater.

Presumably at President Johnson's behest, Democratic Congressional leaders killed a bill to suspend the equal time requirements of the Communication Act for the 1964 campaign.⁹ Section 315 of this Act had been suspended by Congress in 1960 to permit the networks to stage the Nixon-Kennedy debates without giving equal time to the many minor party candidates for President.

Volunteer Groups

Who does all the work of election campaigning and how is it paid for? Aside from the regular party organizations at the national, state, county, and precinct levels, there are two kinds of volunteer organizations—permanent and temporary, both of tremendous importance. First is the permanent, party-affiliated club to be found at all levels—the Young Democrats or Young Republicans, or the State Federation of Republican Women or Democratic Women, or district, county, or local community Democratic or Republican Clubs. The second type is the “Citizens for John Doe Clubs” which spring to life in every presidential campaign. These nonparty clubs are organized to appeal to people who might be willing to work for and contribute to the campaign of a candidate but who do not want to ally themselves with a party permanently. While these nonparty organizations are valuable, they also create problems, principally organizational, from the national down to the precinct level, over questions of money-raising, scheduling, division of labor, and patronage.

In the 1960 campaign, the Citizens for Kennedy-Johnson organization was set up for people who wanted to work exclusively for the national ticket, and money was raised for the campaign through this committee. In the last few weeks of the campaign

⁹ Congressional Quarterly, *op. cit.*, p. 1937.

all campaign money had to flow through this committee because the \$3 million limit imposed by the Hatch Act had been reached by the Democratic National Committee.¹⁰

In addition to Citizens for Kennedy-Johnson, special-interest groups for Kennedy-Johnson fell into three categories—divisions of the Democratic National Committee, independent citizen organizations which raised their own funds and technically were independent of the Democratic National Committee, and divisions of Citizens for Kennedy-Johnson. There were four major sections of the Nationalities Division of the campaign—German, Italian, Polish, and Spanish. For example, 200 local level Viva Kennedy Clubs were organized in the 21 states with concentrations of Spanish-speaking citizens.

Two independent groups of businessmen for Kennedy were an important source of funds and of the formation of 35 state-wide committees, pointing up the fact that this type of campaign committee often acts as an adjunct to the national committee during the campaign. Labor, farmers, senior citizens, and young citizens also formed special committees for Kennedy.

Supplementing its Volunteers for Nixon-Lodge, the Republicans in 1960 used a different technique to organize special-interest groups, by relying heavily on direct mail campaigns. Letters requesting support for the Nixon-Lodge campaign went to huge numbers of individuals with some success. Names of those who replied were given to special state groups who would then invite these interested persons to participate in their campaign activities. "What happened in too many states was that thousands of persons interested in assisting the campaign never were called to help."¹¹

The matter of effective channeling of man-womanpower is fundamental in campaign planning. What is planned for individuals who show an interest in a candidate? What will make them feel their part in the campaign is worthwhile? Use of auxiliary groups is now receiving more and more attention from both parties.

Campaign Financing

The total bill in 1964 including the major party committees was almost \$35 million for national-level committees. In addition, a large share of the expense of presidential campaigning is borne by state and local party organizations. For political cam-

¹⁰ Ogden and Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

¹¹ Ogden and Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

paigining at all levels for 1964, Herbert Alexander estimated that \$200 million was spent.¹²

The \$35 million national tab does not include the cost of preconvention campaigns nor of national conventions. (See Part II, Section VIII, p. 81.) It does include most of the major ingredients of general election campaigns—television and radio, billboards, postage for mailings, paper, photographs, printing, addressing, telephone, candidate and staff travel, private public opinion polls, speakers' expenses, headquarters' costs, staff salaries, election day expenses.

All this money comes from people and organizations and is gathered with great effort, somewhat haphazardly. It comes from wealthy individuals, corporations, associations, labor unions, and other organizations, and to a lesser extent from average people. It comes from bankers, manufacturers, brokers, oil, mining, and utility executives, people in real estate and insurance; also from contractors, builders, brewers, distillers, publishers, radio and TV executives, advertising people, the professions, and merchants. It comes from householders and factory workers, from millionaires and from government clerks.

And how does it come? National committees do not have exclusive constituencies and they have great difficulty in reaching large numbers of potential contributors. There is tremendous competition for the campaign dollar among the different levels of political operation and among the different fund raising entities. Of necessity, the national committees depend upon the state and local party organizations for a part of their financing. This situation has built-in problems, for state and local organizations feel they can use all the money they can raise for their own campaign activities.

National committees are also greatly hampered by the fact that presidential campaigns involve commitment much more to individual candidates than to party loyalty. And the greatest obstacle of all is the reluctance of the American people as a whole to involve themselves or their pocketbooks in working for a candidate or a party. This has been spelled out by the President's Commission on Campaign Costs in its 1962 Report. "No problem has become more troublesome than that of providing adequate financial support for campaigns. A chronic difficulty in maintaining adequate support has long been the lurking suspicion that contributing to political parties is somehow a shoddy

¹² Herbert E. Alexander, *Financing the 1964 Election* (Citizens' Research Foundation, 1966) pp. 7, 13.

business. This is unfortunate. Improvement of public understanding of campaign finance is essential."

Nevertheless, money is raised. And the five main categories of political fund-raising are fund-raising dinners, gift solicitations, sustaining funds, collections by other groups, and quotas.

The Republicans and the Democrats do not raise money in precisely the same way. "The Republican party has developed a far more effective money-raising apparatus than have the Democrats. In its broad conception, the scheme is one of specialization—the businessmen raise the money and the politicians spend it."¹³ Republican party financing is done by separate united finance committees which put on drives for the regular organization, for example, the Republican National Finance Committee or The United Republican Finance Committee of New York.

Democratic party financing is usually carried on through regular party committees controlled by party officials. It has been described as "frantic" and "frenzied," but it has the advantage of being a tool to achieve greater party responsibility. In recent years the trend has been towards more systematic fund-raising. The Democrats have never done a better job of fund-raising for a national campaign than in 1964. (See Part II, Section VIII, p. 81.)

In the past the national revenue of both parties has been heavily dependent upon large contributions and fund-raising dinners. Both parties have reaped huge profits from dinners, cocktail parties, galas and banquets with closed-circuit television. Contributions over \$500 ordinarily comprise "two-thirds of the income received by national campaign groups from individual givers."¹⁴ But in 1964 this was true of the Democratic party only.

"The financial base of Democratic support was comprised mostly of a wide geographic and occupational diversity of large contributors. About 69 percent of the dollar value of total individual contributions came in sums of \$500 and over."¹⁵ The combination of the President's Club and fund-raising dinners provided the Democrats with most of their funds for the national-level campaign. The President's Club had 4,000 members throughout the country (including some disenchanted Republicans) contributing at least \$1,000 each. At the same time there

¹³ Key, *op. cit.*, p. 500.

¹⁴ Alexander Heard, "A New Approach to Campaign Finances," *The New York Times Magazine*, October 6, 1963. © 1963, by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

¹⁵ Herbert E. Alexander, *Financing the 1964 Election* (Citizens' Research Foundation 1966) p. 11.

was an important decrease in emphasis on small contributors, on the Democratic National Committee Sustaining Fund and on the national Dollars for Democrats program.

On the other hand, only 28 percent of the dollar value of Republican individual contributions was in sums of \$500 or over. The unparalleled number of small contributors to Republican committees was the result of massive direct mail drives and effective television appeals for funds which broadened their appeal dramatically. An unprecedented 32 percent of total income was from direct mail and almost 14 percent from television appeals.

Despite their large numbers of contributors in smaller sums, the Republicans also received substantial funds from their Associates Program, consisting of 1500 contributors of \$1,000 or more. This provided 12 percent of their total national income.

Republican fund-raising experience in 1964 was marked by the breakdown of the unified fund raising structure developed in recent decades. Some of this was due to the large investment of time, energy and money which the Republicans since 1962 have consciously devoted to building a national Sustaining Fund. Both parties try to solicit \$10 dues-paying members, but this source is important in presidential campaign financing only for the Republicans.

For years, the Republicans used a quota system with considerable success. Quotas were assigned to state organizations for contribution to the national level, although some states rarely met their assessments. Recently the Democrats tried the quota system but no longer use it. Instead they negotiate with each state for support of the national party.

Actually in 1964 the Democratic financial effort experienced to some extent a change in direction. It is said that the Democrats entered the 1964 presidential campaign with a deficit. However, their direct fund-raising techniques, including membership in the President's Club and galas and fund-raising dinners, were so successful that rather than attempting to get state and local funds to move steadily up to the national level, national committees made a substantial effort to channel funds they had collected down to state and local committees for congressional and other campaigns so that the expected presidential landslide could pay off for state and congressional Democratic candidates.

Democrats raised enough at the national level to be able to contribute \$2.3 million to state groups for registration drives and other purposes, to give twice as much to candidates for Congress as in 1960, and to direct certain funds to congressional cam-

paigns and to registration drives that would benefit the party at all levels.

No doubt because of these diversions of funds, the Democratic presidential campaign ended with a deficit of about \$1 million (compared with a larger \$3.8 million deficit in 1960).

What does the federal government do to regulate presidential campaign financing? The Federal Corrupt Practices Act imposes some regulation on both receipts and expenditures. Some of its provisions require detailed reports to be made to the Clerk of the House of Representatives. These reports have been analyzed by Alexander Heard, Herbert Alexander, and others. Other provisions of the Act limit the sources of contributions. A corporation or labor organization, for example, is forbidden to make any contribution or expenditure in connection with any federal election. This provision can be evaded by round-about methods. (Restrictions on both contributions and expenditures by labor organizations in national elections are also to be found in other federal acts.)

The Hatch Act of 1940 sets a limit on individual contributions of \$5,000 to each presidential candidate and each presidential campaign committee within a calendar year. This does not prevent an individual, in other words, from making contributions to a number of different presidential campaign committees. This Act also limits annual expenditures of national committees to \$3 million. This provision can be circumvented by setting up several national committees to spend money, but the duplication complicates the financial controls. The President's Commission on Campaign Costs recommended that both these Hatch Act provisions be repealed.

Despite the many millions of dollars raised for presidential campaigning, there is seldom enough money to do the job. Huge national party deficits are usual. Yet it is generally agreed that it is unwise for candidates for any office, but especially for the presidency and vice presidency, to be dependent on individual people or on organizations for large contributions of cash or services to their campaigns.

"Party and public officials alike have failed to devote enough attention to the financial problems of the parties and their candidates. Indefinite use of stop-gap measures cannot but affect adversely the health of the political system. Either government subsidies or the voluntary broadening of financial constituencies would herald democratic changes as significant as those brought about by the broadening of electoral constituencies."

The bipartisan Commission on Campaign Costs appointed by

President Kennedy in 1961 made twelve recommendations to improve the financing of campaigns for President and Vice President of the United States. So far only two of the recommendations have been acted upon. President Johnson signed into law in March 1964 a bill passed by Congress for financing the transition between administrations (P.L. 88-277). Both houses of the 88th Congress acted favorably on proposals which would temporarily suspend Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act covering political broadcasting but the conference report was tabled by the Senate, killing the bill. President Kennedy and former Presidents Eisenhower and Truman, with recent presidential candidates, all endorsed the Commission's report, which included tax incentives for contributors and improvement of party fund-raising.

It is difficult to stir up popular interest in campaign financing except in a presidential election year and then it is too late to legislate for that campaign. In his 1966 State of the Union Address President Johnson called for revision of "present unrealistic restrictions on campaign contributions," and in May sent a message to Congress with a draft bill which moved far beyond existing law. No legislation resulted from the President's proposal.

In October 1966 the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act (introduced in the Senate by Senator Russell B. Long of Louisiana) was passed as an amendment to the Foreign Investors Bill (which because of its many amendments on all sorts of subjects was called "the Christmas Tree Bill"). This needed implementing legislation to be operative for Congress had to enact guidelines as to how the funds might be distributed. Because of wide opposition to some of its provisions and the expectation that this Act would almost immediately be amended, Congress has chosen up to this moment not to legislate to activate it. It is not improbable that amendments to this Act will be passed by Congress in the very near future.

The Act provides that a taxpayer will each year have the option of checking a box on his income tax return to allocate \$1 of his income tax to a special Presidential Campaign Fund. If husband and wife file a joint return, an allocation of \$2 may be indicated. The General Accounting Office will authorize payments from this fund. Such allocation will not increase or decrease the amount of any person's tax. The taxpayer does not indicate to which party his allocation is to be paid. Political parties that have polled 15 million or more popular votes in the last presidential election will be compensated on an equal shar-

ing basis from this fund for actual presidential campaign expenses incurred after September of the presidential election year or for \$1 times the total number of votes over 10 million cast in the last presidential election, whichever is lower. A minority party (one polling more than 5 million but less than 15 million votes in the last presidential election) would get \$1 for each vote above 5 million. (No minority party has yet polled 5 million votes.)

It is estimated that under the provisions of this Act that each of the two major parties might receive \$30 million or more for a presidential campaign. It has been stated that if every taxpayer in 1965 could have taken advantage of the option possibility, \$104 million would have been available—a great bonanza. Until now no party has received \$5 million from one source.

Amendments to Senator Long's Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act have been introduced into the 90th Congress. An Election Reform Bill has passed the Senate and is at present still awaiting action in the House of Representatives. This would also modify the Corrupt Practices Act in various ways and would affect the Hatch Act limitations on individual contributions to a presidential candidate or campaign committee and on expenditures by national campaign committees.

It is unlikely that the Reform Bill, even if it were passed by Congress this spring, could be operative for the 1968 campaign.

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XI THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE— WINNER-TAKE-ALL SYSTEM

Indirect Method

Many voters do not realize that they do not directly elect the President and the Vice President. The indirectness of our presidential election system—and the important implications of this indirectness—are lost upon at least a portion of the electorate.

The founding fathers were afraid of direct election by the people. The device of the electoral college was suggested by Alexander Hamilton and adopted by the framers of the Constitution. It has survived many more than 100 attempts in Congress to bring to the people a proposed constitutional amendment to abolish it.

Membership

Members of the electoral college from each state equal the number of Senators and Representatives from that state. The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and Guam have no electoral votes. The District of Columbia, beginning in 1964, has three electoral votes.

The electoral college now totals 538. The necessary majority to elect a President is 270. An elector cannot be a member of Congress or a person holding federal office.

Under the Constitution the method of selecting electors is left to state law, but most state laws provide merely for the assembly of the electors to cast their ballots. In practice the state legislatures have directed that the electors be chosen at large by popular vote within each state. Electors, on the other hand, are nominated in various ways by the parties within the states.

Presidential Election

On the Tuesday following the first Monday in November every four years, the voters of the state choose between the party slates of electors, that is, the members of the electoral college.

Some voters are not aware that this is what they are doing. Presidential electors came to be chosen by popular vote simultaneously with the development of the national party conventions.¹

The names of the electors for the parties do not appear on the ballot in more than half the states; instead, the ballots carry the names of the presidential and vice presidential candidates. In some states both the names of the electors and those of the candidates appear; in other states only the names of the electors. The winning slate of electors is bound by custom, or by law in some states, to cast its electoral votes for the presidential and vice presidential candidates nominated at its national party convention. This custom has been violated only infrequently.² The Supreme Court has held that state parties may require of their nominees for elector a pledge to vote for the party's candidate, although such a pledge is not enforceable. Some states sometimes choose either a whole slate or part of a slate of "unpledged" electors, as did Mississippi (whole slate) and Alabama (6 out of 11 electors) in 1960. These unpledged electors voted for Senator Harry F. Byrd instead of Kennedy.

The November general election *indirectly* determines in a formal sense only who will be the next President of the United States, but the President and Vice President are not actually elected until the casting of the electoral votes and the formal counting of those votes.

On the Monday following the second Wednesday in December, in each state the slate of presidential electors which has received a plurality of votes at the November election formally meets at the state capital to cast the total state electoral vote for the party's candidates for President and Vice President.

Winner-Take-All System

Votes cast in November for defeated presidential electors do not count when the electoral college casts its votes. Nor does the margin by which the winning slate tops the losing slate matter in the slightest.

A plurality of popular votes for a party's slate of state electors determines which party's candidates for President and Vice President get the total number of electoral votes of that state. In other words, the electoral college vote is a winner-take-all system.

¹ For state laws on nomination and election of presidential electors, see tables beginning on page 157 of *Nomination and Election of the President and Vice President of the United States* compiled under the direction of Francis R. Valeo, Secretary of the Senate, by Richard D. Hupman, Senate Library, and Robert L. Tienken, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, January 1968.

² Recent examples are discussed in Key, *op. cit.*, p. 521.

The electoral college never meets as a body. On January 6 the President of the Senate in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives formally counts the electoral votes which have been sent by registered mail from each state capital, announces the count, and then, and not until then, are the President and the Vice President of the United States legally elected.

If No Majority

If no presidential candidate receives a majority in the electoral college, the election is thereupon immediately decided by the House of Representatives as provided in the 12th Amendment to the Constitution. Each state has one vote. The House chooses from among the three candidates with the greatest number of votes; a majority of 26 votes is needed to elect. Two Presidents have been so elected—Thomas Jefferson in 1800 and John Quincy Adams in 1825. (See Part II, Section X, pp. 90, 91.)

If no candidate for Vice President has a majority, the Senate chooses from the two top candidates with the Senators voting as individuals. This occurred in the election of 1836, when Martin Van Buren was elected President and Richard Johnson was elected Vice President by the Senate.

In 1968 many political commentators think there is a possibility that the candidacy of ex-Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama may result in no presidential candidate receiving a majority in the electoral college. The choice of President between the Democratic candidate, the Republican candidate and ex-Governor Wallace would then be made by the House of Representatives.

XII ELECTION DAY

A presidential Election Day is the consummation of the study, the planning and training, the grueling work and travel, the meeting and talking, the writing and speech-making, the persuading and financing, that have been done on behalf of and by the presidential candidates. It is their day of victory or of defeat.

Party Workers

For many hundreds of thousands of other people, it is a long, hard day that starts for many of them at five in the morning when precinct workers, organized to catch voters before they leave for work, nail VOTE signs along the streets and slip reminder sheets under the doors of "their voters." In some places the polls open at 6 a.m. and a full complement of poll workers, officials, watchers, policemen, must be on hand. Dozens of kinds of tasks, painstakingly planned, have been assigned to volunteers and regular party workers of all ages and talents. Party poll watchers, message runners, drivers to take voters to the polls, teen-agers to electioneer, all ages to baby-sit, housebound mothers to telephone registered voters who have not appeared at the polls, Scouts to give out "I have voted" tags—all swing into action for a long, tiring, exciting day.

Election Officials

Voting is supervised by election judges representing both parties in more than 170,000 urban, suburban, and rural precincts. Increasingly polling places are equipped with voting machines. In many communities, however, paper ballots are still used, each one of which has to be checked for proper marking. These officials are paid a fee, usually a nominal one. Their work begins before the polls open and is far from over when the polls close. They are responsible for proper voting procedure and the conduct of the polling places. They may cast the absentee ballots

and help those whose physical disabilities entitle them to assistance in the voting booth. They count the votes and report the official returns.

Voters

Once every four years a citizen can do something that has a direct bearing on the future of his nation. He can help choose a President and a Vice President of the United States.

First, he must be ready to vote. He must be registered. Many citizens who could register under the existing election laws of their states do not. Many citizens who might like to register cannot because of registration laws and practices in their states which are considered by many people to be unnecessarily restrictive. Indifference, ignorance, and sometimes fear are factors which explain a citizen's failure to register or to vote though there are widespread legal obstacles to convenient registration of all qualified citizens.

Because President Kennedy was so concerned about the low registration and voter turnout in national elections, he established in March 1963 a Commission on Registration and Voting Participation to make a study. Its report, issued the following December, contained 21 recommendations for combating the apathy of citizens to register and to vote; the report also recommended correction of some legal obstacles in various states which appear to needlessly exclude some citizens from registering and voting.

There is one group of people, however, in the position of wanting to vote and being unable to simply because they have recently changed their address. It has been estimated that eight million people could not vote in the 1960 presidential election because they were disfranchised by residence requirements.

With the constantly increasing mobility of our population, the frustrating experience of being prevented from voting for the President and Vice President because of having moved across a state line, or even within a smaller geographical area, can be remedied by legislation. In more than half the states it is now possible for new residents to vote in presidential elections if they are eligible to register except for their not yet being able to meet the state's residence requirement. (See Part II, Section IX, p. 88.)

Volumes have been written on why people don't vote. If every person eligible to vote could understand that his single vote can make a difference in the outcome of an election, he might be more willing to exercise this right and privilege. The importance of one vote in an electoral race is frequently illustrated in elec-

tions at all levels. In the presidential elections of 1916, 1948, and 1960 the margins were very narrow; the 1960 contest was the closest election in percentage of plurality in 76 years. If Nixon had received one more vote per precinct, his popular vote would have been higher than Kennedy's.¹

In 1964 more than 70 million people voted in the presidential election. If they had had to stand in line at one precinct polling place, that line would have criss-crossed the continent more than four times. Even so this was only roughly two thirds of the adults eligible to vote.

Those who do vote, by the very fact of their voting, are deeply concerned about the outcome of the election. As election evening wears on, and voting ends on the west coast, larger cities report their returns, the huge computing boards set up by the TV networks shift figures minute by minute, and the tension and excitement accelerate.

When finally the magic number—the necessary majority of electoral votes—has been cast, a new President of the United States has been chosen. For the next four years at least the course of the nation has been charted. A particular presidential election may indicate more than a general direction of policy, more than approval or rejection of past policy.

“And though the powers of the office are unique, even more spectacular and novel in the sight of history is the method of transfer of those powers—the free choice by a free people, one by one, in secrecy, of a single national leader.”²

Analyzing the Vote

For days and weeks and months after Election Day, political analysts and statisticians interpret the results. The chief obstacle to a minute analysis of the vote is the secrecy of the ballot. There is no way of telling from a vote—either registered on a voting machine or dropped in a ballot box—whether the voter is a man or a woman, white or colored, Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant, upper income or lower income, college graduate or high school graduate, business executive or factory worker. Conclusions may be drawn by the experts from detailed studies of small geographical areas but they are conjectures, not facts. “The interpretation of election statistics is a black art whose practice requires subtleties of insight (and detailed knowledge of

¹ *Democratic Campaign Manual 1964* (Democratic National Committee, 1964) p. 69.

² Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President 1960* (Atheneum Publishers, 1961) p. 345.

local circumstances) not so widely distributed in the population as are the practitioners of the art.”³

Before the excitement over victory and defeat has died down, the wheels are already beginning to be set in motion for the next choosing of a President. Even before the President has been officially elected by the electoral college, even before he is inaugurated and has entered the White House, it is probable that the political planners are already at work for the next campaign.

Formalizing the Election

The November presidential election is a choice by the people between party slates of electors within a state. Two more formal procedures involving the electoral college are necessary to create a President, but these procedures occur practically unnoticed by the people. They are after the fact, carrying out the expressed will of the people.

Inauguration

The next and final step to the White House is purely ceremonial—the Inauguration. At noon on January 20 the term of the preceding President ends and that of the incoming President begins.

At a formal Inauguration Ceremony, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court swears in the President and the Vice President before members of Congress, government dignitaries, representatives of foreign governments, and a host of important well wishers. The new Chief Executive makes an Inauguration Speech and a parade usually follows.

In emergency situations, however, a President of the United States may take the oath of office in the presence of a notary public or other official authorized to give oaths. In 1923 Calvin Coolidge was sworn in late at night by his father, a notary public, in the living room of a Vermont farmhouse lit by kerosene lamps. No photographers were present. At the Dallas airport in November 1963, President Lyndon Johnson was sworn in by Federal Judge Sarah Hughes on the presidential plane waiting to take off for Washington after President Kennedy's assassination.

³ V. O. Key, Jr., “Interpreting the Election Results” in *The Presidential Election and Transition 1960-61* (The Brookings Institution, 1961) p. 152.

XIII WHAT YOU CAN DO

Work for the Party

Many people wait to be asked to work for their party. When no one active in the precinct happens to ask them, they go right on waiting—and missing opportunities to learn how to have an active share in choosing the President and other government officials.

Don't wait to be asked to work in your precinct—volunteer. You will doubtless find even your precinct captain a non-professional volunteer like yourself.

How to Become a Precinct Worker

“Elections are still won in the precincts,” says a nonpartisan guide to modern precinct work by Don Cass¹—a must for all who would be politically effective, for beginners in politics, for seasoned hands, and for semi-experienced eager beavers. The following section is quoted in its entirety from this book.

Wherever you live in the United States, your party can use your services in a precinct. You will be welcomed to the fold, especially since you ask nothing in return. This is how you may volunteer. If there is a captain assigned by your party to the precinct in which you live, get together with him. He can introduce you to the leaders of the local organization. Perhaps he needs help in his own precinct. There may be a nearby precinct unassigned.

If you do not know your precinct captain, contact the organization directly. There you may obtain his name and telephone number. (Note: To contact the organization, check the telephone book for your party's state, or county, or local committees, or for party clubs, or telephone your newspaper and ask for names and telephone numbers of party organization people.)

¹ Don Pirie Cass, *How To Win Votes and Influence Elections* (Public Administration Service, 1962) pp. 18-19.

If there is no captain assigned to your precinct, go to the local organization and offer your services. If you are acquainted with no one in the group, someone will interview you informally. This interview, from the point of view of the party leadership, is an attempt to assess your motives, your potential effectiveness, and your value to the organization. Don't resent this screening. Consider their position. They want to know what you expect from them in return for your time and energy. They want to know that you are a sincere supporter of their candidates. They want to know that placing you in a precinct can do them no harm, and possibly even some good. Once accepted, you will be introduced to other leaders and members of the organization, and someone will help you get started. They will be grateful to have you with them.

The process described above refers mainly to regular party organizations. It applies also to Democratic and Republican clubs and nonparty organizations, with one qualification. Since these groups are themselves nonprofessional, they are not concerned with what you may want from them. They assume your motives are similar to theirs. They have nothing to give you in any case except the satisfaction of being part of a team working toward the achievement of a worthwhile goal.

Another member of the group will probably accompany you into your new precinct and help you with the fundamentals. He will show you how to use some of the techniques and tools of the craft.

Two personal qualifications are necessary to do a creditable job in the precinct: a strong desire to see your chosen party or candidate win and an interest in the voter as an individual.

If you are enthusiastic about the merits of the party, candidates, and ideals you are supporting, you will do the thorough job that is necessary. If you genuinely like the people with whom you are dealing, you will be able to work with them and have some influence in their decisions. Always remember that precinct work deals with individuals and not with groups. To be effective you must be a firm believer in your cause but you must also be tolerant of the views of others. Always approach voting alternatives on the voter's terms, not your own.²

Be Informed. Make it your business to know the election laws of your state regarding registration and voting, especially residence requirements (see Part II, Section IX, p. 88, for example).

² Cass, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

Be familiar with local voting procedures—hours, dates, and places of registration and of elections. Learn about candidates and ballot issues. Use the local League of Women Voters for Voters Service information. This is part of the League's stock in trade.

Participate. Attend precinct meetings. Learn the details of your party's local organization. Meet people who have worked long and hard in your precinct. Tell precinct officials what you think. Suggest candidates for party work and for political office. Be willing to take party jobs yourself.

Jobs to Be Done. Between the job of the year-round precinct captain and of the election day baby-sitter lies a wide range of work to be done in the precinct, most of it there for the asking. The precinct captain has a variety of interesting responsibilities—canvassing the precinct, meeting the voters, finding out party preferences, getting people registered, influencing them to vote and to support his candidates, getting them to the polls on election day, taking care in his election day organization of such minute but important details as having his workers make a special effort to bring voters to the polls during slack periods so they will not have to stand in line.

At the other end of the precinct job-ladder is the "chore work"—which can be interesting and, in the long run, influential. It can always be a means to an end for you. Never forget that what you want is to be able to influence the people in your party who influence those who influence the nominations.

Don't hesitate to begin by offering to stuff envelopes or, better still, corraling your teen-agers as stuffers. Teen-agers are valuable help during the whole campaign as well as on election day. They can learn a lot and can indirectly help bring in votes via their families and friends.

But keep in mind that you make your impact on people directly. Whenever you can get a chance to talk with voters and work directly with other precinct workers, do not pass up the opportunity. Try to be a block worker, for here is where you can influence votes. All volunteers become members of the precinct committee for the campaign. Do whatever you can find time and energy for:

Work on registration lists

Do telephoning

Write postcards and letters

Distribute registration and voting information

- Make and deliver posters
- Demonstrate voting machines
- Ring doorbells and talk to your neighbors
- Go to party meetings, and bring friends with you
- Sign up to work on election day—poll watch or poll report
- Offer to baby-sit for voters or to drive people to register or to the polls
- Volunteer to help with a precinct party a week or ten days before election.

Helping to Choose a President

If it is hard to imagine how doing precinct chores can lead to helping more directly to choose a President, consider the case of Mrs. M, a woman in a midwestern state in 1964. She had started party work some years before through an interest in issues and in a particular candidate. At first she did block work, seeing that the people who believed as she did were registered, and talking to them about the qualifications of the candidate for President she was backing. She got others to work with her.

Mrs. M proved her loyalty and dependability as well as her organizational ability. When the ballots were counted, the precincts where she had worked showed larger majorities than other precincts. She was asked to take on bigger jobs. By the late winter of 1964 she knew her way around her district and she knew, and was known in turn by, party leaders throughout the state. She knew which people in the party shared her general philosophy and with whom she wanted to throw in her lot politically.

In Mrs. M's state it is customary to introduce resolutions endorsing particular candidates for national office at the precinct meetings late in the winter preceding district, county, and state conventions. At the same time that endorsements are made, delegates are chosen to the convention at the next higher level of political decision-making. Each of the precinct meetings is a presidential nominating convention in miniature.

In 1964 Mrs. M wanted to see her state delegation go to the national convention backing a favorite son candidate on the first ballot and after that free to cast its ballots in the light of developments at the convention. She did not want to see the delegates committed to a candidate she and her friends in the party were convinced could not win in November. Her job then was to persuade as many people as she could to attend the precinct meetings, vote to endorse the favorite son candidate, and elect delegates to the county convention who would carry the fight for endorsement to the county level.

On a cold winter night in February nine precinct meetings were held in the community. In four precincts Mrs. M's side won. In five no endorsement was made and both sides claimed victory. It was uncertain in some cases just how the delegates to the county convention would vote. Mrs. M began again—this time to be sure that the delegates pledged to the favorite son would stay firm and that they would actually attend the county convention. She also tried to influence the uncommitted candidates.

Interest in the county convention was kept alive not only by word of mouth and by telephone but by news stories and letters to the editor. When the opposition spread a rumor about the way in which the favorite son candidate was being financed, Mrs. M made a tape recording of a denial from the favorite son who was campaigning in a different area and would not himself visit Mrs. M's community. The tape recording was played in her community and was reported in the press.

All this activity took place well before the 1964 national conventions and months before the November election. And yet only a handful of people attended the precinct meetings where sometimes decisions on endorsement and on delegates to the county convention were made by votes as close as 7 to 5. The county convention—and there too it was a fight all the way—elected the delegates to the district convention and to the state convention, and they in turn chose the delegates to the national convention. No wonder an editorial in the local paper declared "Your caucus vote may actually have more influence in determining the next White House occupant than the presidential ballot you mark in November." And no wonder that the Mrs. M's of this country have more influence than you might think.

PART TWO: *Facts and Figures*

I ABOUT THE PRESIDENT AND THE VICE PRESIDENT

Qualifications for Office

Natural-born citizen; 35 years old; 14 years a resident within the United States. The President and Vice President cannot both be "inhabitants" of the same state.

U.S. Constitution, Article II, Section 1. "No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States."

Amendment XII. "The electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves."

Term of Office

Four years, beginning on January 20 of the year following their election.

U.S. Constitution, Amendment XX, Section 1. "The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin."

Succession to the Presidency

(See Part I, Section IX, p. 36.)

U.S. Constitution, Amendment XXV.

SECTION 1. "In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

SECTION 2. "Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both houses of Congress.

SECTION 3. "Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and

until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

SECTION 4. "Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the Executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President. Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office."

Presidential Oath of Office

U.S. Constitution, Article II, Section 1. "Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of the President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.'"

Salary

President

U.S. Constitution, Article II, Section 1. "The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them."

\$100,000 a year salary, taxable

\$ 50,000 a year expense allowance, taxable, to assist in defraying expenses resulting from his official duties

\$ 40,000 a year, nontaxable, may be expended for travel expenses and official entertainment

Ex-President

\$ 25,000 a year lifetime pension, free mailing privileges, free office space

Up to \$65,000 a year for office help

\$ 10,000 a year for widow

Vice President

\$ 43,000 a year, taxable

\$ 10,000 a year, taxable, for expenses

Duties and Powers

President

U.S. Constitution, Article II, Section 2. (1) "The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment."

Section 2. (2) "He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments."

Section 3. "He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States."

Section 4. "The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors."

Vice President

U.S. Constitution, Article I, Section 3. (4): "The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided."

II THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Membership

Composed of

1 man and 1 woman from each of the 50 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

The Democrats add the Canal Zone, and Guam was ratified at the 1964 Convention.

The Republicans add (since 1952) state party chairmen from predominantly Republican states.¹

In 1968 the Democratic National Committee numbers 110, and the Republican National Committee 145.

Nominated by

- primary elections
- state party conventions
- state party committees
- national convention delegates

Elected by and responsible to the national convention

In practice, state delegations propose to the convention the national committee members from the state. Ratification by convention is largely a rhetorical gesture.

Term

4 years; members do not take office at the convention which confirms them; they serve from adjournment of that convention through the following convention.

Many national committee members serve for a number of years, some of them advancing to the national executive committee.

Powers and Duties

National Committee Business

- creating the necessary committees, such as the executive committee
- settling contests for membership on the national committee

¹ These are states which cast their electoral votes for the Republican candidate for President at the last presidential election, or with a Republican majority in their representation in the Senate and the House of Representatives combined, or with a Republican governor. In 1964 the rules were amended to add the state chairman for the District of Columbia, if the District of Columbia casts its electoral votes for the Republican candidate for President.

electing or appointing any additional officers
exercising power of removal of any member or officer

Party Organization and Elections

promoting, encouraging, and sponsoring party organization and elections
conducting the national campaign following the convention
promoting, aiding, and assisting in the election of all candidates for public office on the ticket of the Democratic or Republican party in all general elections in each state, territory, and district
maintaining party headquarters
financing the work of the party

National Convention

setting the time and place and making all other arrangements for the national convention
issuing the call to convention to the state committees after determining the apportionment of the delegates among states within the authority granted by the previous national convention
nominating temporary officers of the convention

Executive Committee

The Executive Committee of the Democratic National Committee in 1968 consists of 13 members, of whom 6 are women. The 1968 Republican Executive Committee numbers 15, of whom 7 are women.

National Chairman of the "Ins"

The national committee theoretically elects the national chairman; in fact he is designated, ordinarily immediately after the national convention, by the party's presidential candidate.

Principal responsibilities

manager of the presidential campaign
director of party between elections
fund raiser—year-round for national committee expenses and to pay off deficit from last campaign
personal agent for the candidate or the President
dispenser of patronage (applicants for patronage usually must clear through him)
help to the President to hold the party line in Congress on important votes

National Chairman of the "Outs"

This chairman has different problems—he has to worry about keeping his job; he can try to operate as a party spokesman but he may be opposed by congressional leaders.

National Party Policy

Between conventions, the national committee has no policy-making mandate. It does happen, of course, that the stated powers and

duties of the national committee do often affect the substance of party policy.

In recent years, both parties have made attempts to solve this problem of policy-making:

From 1956 through the 1960 election the Democratic party had an advisory council of about 25 persons, which frequently advocated new policy lines. Congressional leaders were not members of this council partly perhaps because they did not want to be in the position of being led by a group close to the national committee. It was dissolved after the Kennedy victory.

In 1962 the Republican National Committee authorized the creation of an All-Republican Conference, a broadly representative advisory group, to help develop a positive image of the Republican party distinct from the Republican congressional image. The Republican party in Congress grumbled about this as had the Democratic party in Congress earlier about the Democratic Advisory Council. The All-Republican Conference is no longer in existence.

This reflects in part the difference in electoral base between a presidential election and a congressional election and also the difference between the party inside-the-government (in this case the congressional leaders) and the party outside-the-government. Whether leadership of the party rests with its elected officials or with the formal party organization is frequently a source of conflict. Elected officials want to control party organization and, if they cannot, and party organization tries to control them, then the elected officials may want to destroy party organization.

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III SIZE OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

1968 Convention Allocations

Democratic Convention. August 26, in Chicago. 2622 votes, 5611 delegates and alternates

- 1) Each state, 3 convention votes for each of the electors in the electoral college
- 2) Plus a popular vote bonus equal to 1 convention vote for each 100,000 popular votes, or major fraction thereof, cast in that state in 1964 for Democratic Convention nominee electors. Also a minimum of 1 such bonus vote for each state
- 3) Plus a victory bonus of 10 convention votes for each state casting its electoral votes for Democratic nominees in 1964
- 4) National committee members have 1 personal vote (no alternates). They are members of their state delegation.
- 5) Including national committee member votes

District of Columbia	23
Canal Zone	5
Guam	5
Puerto Rico	8
Virgin Islands	5

One alternate for each full vote, except for national committee members

The Democratic National Committee has not prescribed how the delegates shall be designated—at large (on a statewide basis) or district (congressional district). This is determined for the Democratic party within the states.

A state is not required to halve its votes and not permitted to fractionalize below one-half votes.

Republican Convention. August 5, in Miami Beach. 1333 votes, 2666 delegates and alternates

- a) Delegates-at-large
 - 4 delegates-at-large from each state
 - 2 additional delegates-at-large for each representative-at-large in Congress from each state
 - 9 delegates-at-large for District of Columbia
 - 5 delegates-at-large for Puerto Rico

- 3 delegates-at-large for the Virgin Islands
 - 6 additional delegates-at-large from each state casting its electoral vote (or a majority thereof) for the Republican nominee for President in the last election OR having elected a Republican U.S. Senator or a Republican Governor
- b) District delegates
- 1 district delegate from each congressional district casting 2000 votes or more for Republican nominee for President (or elector thereof) or for Congress in the last election
 - 1 additional district delegate for each congressional district casting 10,000 votes or more, as above
- c) Alternate delegates
- 1 alternate delegate to each delegate to the convention

ALLOCATION OF DELEGATES TO THE 1968 DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

Democratic Convention			Republican Convention			
Maximum total delegation with national committee members ¹	Total 1968 convention vote	Maximum total delegation with maximum number of alternates	STATE	Delegates-at-large	Delegates from each congressional district	Number of delegates (and votes) at convention ²
58	32	88	Alabama	10	2	26
22	22	42	Alaska	12	—	12
34	19	51	Arizona	10	2	16
54	33	85	Arkansas	10	2	18
174	174	346	California	10	2	86
42	35	75	Colorado	10	2	18
44	44	86	Connecticut	4	2	16
22	22	42	Delaware	12	—	12
63	63	124	Florida	10	2	34
66	43	107	Georgia	10	2	30
26	26	50	Hawaii	14	—	14
26	25	49	Idaho	10	2	14
138	118	254	Illinois	10	2	58
68	63	129	Indiana	4	2	26
52	46	96	Iowa	10	2	24
42	38	78	Kansas	10	2	20
62	46	106	Kentucky	10	2	24
52	36	86	Louisiana	10	2	26
30	27	55	Maine	10	2	14
49	49	96	Maryland	10	2	26
82	72	152	Massachusetts	10	2	34

¹ Without alternates.

² Total delegation with alternate delegates at the Republican Convention for each state and territory is exactly twice the number of delegates.

Democratic Convention

Republican Convention

Maximum total delegation with national committee members ¹	Total 1968 convention vote	Maximum total delegation with maximum number of alternates	STATE	Delegates-at-large	Delegates from each congressional district	Number of delegates (and votes) at convention ²
102	96	196	Michigan	10	2	48
62	52	112	Minnesota	10	2	26
46	24	68	Mississippi	10	2	20
78	60	136	Missouri	4	2	24
32	26	56	Montana	10	2	14
32	30	60	Nebraska	10	2	16
30	22	50	Nevada	12	—	12
26	26	50	New Hampshire	4	2	8
82	82	162	New Jersey	10	2	40
34	26	58	New Mexico	14	—	14
228	190	416	New York	10	2	92
74	59	131	North Carolina	4	2	26
25	25	48	North Dakota	4	2	8
128	115	241	Ohio	10	2	58
58	41	97	Oklahoma	10	2	22
35	35	68	Oregon	10	2	18
162	130	290	Pennsylvania	10	2	64
34	27	59	Rhode Island	10	2	14
42	28	68	South Carolina	10	2	22
26	26	50	South Dakota	10	2	14
66	51	115	Tennessee	10	2	28
122	104	224	Texas	10	2	56
26	26	50	Utah	4	2	8
22	22	42	Vermont	12	—	12
66	54	118	Virginia	4	2	24
54	47	99	Washington	10	2	24
50	38	86	West Virginia	4	2	14
62	59	119	Wisconsin	10	2	30
28	22	48	Wyoming	12	—	12
23	23	44	D. of C.	9	—	9
8	5	11	Canal Zone	—	—	—
14	8	20	Puerto Rico	5	—	5
8	5	11	Guam	—	—	—
8	5	11	Virgin Islands	3	—	3
3,099	2,622	5,611				1,333 ³

³ Total number of delegates plus alternates is 2666.

Source: *Nomination and Election of the President and Vice President of the United States* compiled under the direction of Francis R. Valeo, Secretary of the Senate, by Richard D. Hupman, Senate Library and Robert L. Tienken, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, January 1968.

IV HOW ARE DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTIONS CHOSEN?

State	Method of Selection ¹	Statutory Instruction ²
Alabama	Democrats at Primary Republicans at State Convention ³	Democrats may be pledged
Alaska	State Convention	
Arizona	State Committee meeting at State Convention	
Arkansas	State Committee (Presidential Preference Primary only at request of a presidential candidate; not customarily held.)	
*California	Preferential Presidential Primary	May be pledged
Colorado	State and District Conventions	
Connecticut	Democrats at State Convention Republicans at State and District Conventions	
Delaware	State Convention	
District of Columbia	Primary Election (No Presidential Preference)	
*Florida	Presidential Primary	May be pledged
Georgia	Democrats by State Committee Republicans at State and District Conventions	
Hawaii	State Convention	
Idaho	State Convention	

¹ States with primaries in which presidential preference is expressed, either directly or indirectly, are starred. In some of these states there is no direct preference poll, but if the slates of delegates may or must show preference (whether or not legally pledged to support their preference) these primaries are here labelled preferential presidential elections.

² Delegates are unpledged unless otherwise noted.

³ Use of the primary by a party casting more than 20 percent of the vote at the general election for State officers is optional in Alabama. In 1968 the Republican party qualifies to use the primary method but has chosen not to do so.

**Statutory
Instruction²**

State	Method of Selection¹	
*Illinois	State Convention for At-Large Delegates Preferential Presidential Primary for District Delegates (Preference Advisory only)	
*Indiana	State and District Conventions for All Delegates Preferential Presidential Primary	Binding on dele- gates for one ballot
Iowa	State Convention	
Kansas	State and District Conventions	
Kentucky	Democrats at State Convention Republicans at State and District Conventions	
Louisiana	Democrats by State Central Committee Republicans at State and District Conventions	
Maine	Democrats at State Convention Republicans at District and State Conventions	
Maryland	State Convention	
*Massachusetts	Preferential Presidential Primary	Binding for the first ballot
Michigan	State and District Conventions	
Minnesota	State and District Conventions	
Mississippi	State Convention	
Missouri	State and District Conventions	
Montana	State Convention	
*Nebraska	Preferential Presidential Primary	May be pledged
Nevada	State Convention	
*New Hampshire	Preferential Presidential Primary	May be pledged
*New Jersey	Preferential Presidential Primary	May be pledged
New Mexico	State Convention	
New York	State Convention or State Committee for At-Large Delegates	

State	Method of Selection ¹	Statutory Instruction ²
New York (<i>Cont.</i>)	Primary Election for District Delegates (No Presidential Preference)	
North Carolina	Democrats at State Convention Republicans at State and District Conventions	
North Dakota	State Convention	
*Ohio	Preferential Presidential Primary because delegate preference must be indicated. No direct poll	Delegates may also be pledged
Oklahoma	State and District Conventions	
*Oregon	Preferential Presidential Primary	Binding to a specifically limited extent
*Pennsylvania	State Committee for At-Large Delegates Preferential Presidential Primary and Election of District Delegates	May be pledged
Rhode Island	State Convention	
South Carolina	State Convention	
*South Dakota	Preferential Presidential Primary	Must be pledged
Tennessee	State and/or District Conventions	
Texas	State Convention	
Utah	State Convention	
Vermont	State Convention	
Virginia	Democrats at State Convention Republicans at State and District Conventions	
Washington	State Convention	
*West Virginia	Preferential Presidential Primary	
*Wisconsin	Preferential Presidential Primary	Binding on delegates ⁴
Wyoming	State Convention	
Canal Zone	Democrats only at Territorial Convention	
Puerto Rico	Commonwealth Convention	
Virgin Islands	Democrats at Territorial Convention Republicans by Territorial Committee	

V WHO ARE THE DELEGATES?

In *The Politics of National Party Conventions* by David, Goldman, and Bain (published by The Brookings Institution) a discussion of the delegates to the national convention is based on information from two mail questionnaires of 1948 convention delegates, a 1952 study, and personal observation of the 1956 and 1960 conventions.

A few observations directly from this discussion may fill out the image of the delegates. The whole treatment of this subject in the Brookings book is valuable reading.

Age. In 1948 the average age of Democratic delegates was 50 and Republicans 52. In most age groups below 50, there were proportionately more Democratic delegates than Republican; from 50 to 70, there were more Republicans, suggesting that in 1948 the Democrats were somewhat more successful than the Republicans in bringing in new blood.

Sex. In 1952 there were 203 women delegates and 322 women alternates at the Democratic convention. The Republicans had 129 women delegates and 260 women alternates. "Women were more likely to be admitted to delegations from states where their party was loosely organized or easily susceptible to insurgency. However, they were also fairly well represented in delegations coming out of well-knit party situations, if the controlling leadership was not in the hands of male politicians of the older generation."

Race. In 1952 Negro delegates held about 2.6 percent of the voting strength in the Republican convention, about 1.5 percent in the Democratic one. Most of the Negro strength was from districts in the north with large Negro population. Very few were delegates-at-large. At both conventions, Negro voters were underrepresented.

Education. The 1948 questionnaires resulted in the conclusion that over one third of the 1948 delegates had received one or more years of postgraduate education, in most cases probably in law schools. Little difference existed between the parties.

⁴ Under a 1967 law Wisconsin has only a preferential presidential poll. Delegates are not elected in the primary. The poll offers opportunity to vote for presidential candidates selected by an 11 person committee or placed on the ballot by petition, opportunity for write-in votes, and opportunity to vote for "none of the names shown." (If there is a majority of votes for "none of the names shown," an uninstructed delegation is chosen by the state party committee.) If presidential candidates on the ballot or write-in candidates do not provide a list of delegates, the state party committee does so. In either case the delegates would be committed to the winning candidate in their district or in the state at large.

Income. The 1948 conventions of both parties were drawn to a large extent from the upper income levels of the population. For each convention, the heaviest concentration was around the \$10,000 level (which now, of course, would mean an economic and social status associated with a \$15,000 level). Four percent of the Democrats reported annual income of \$50,000 or more and 9.4 percent of the Republicans.

The privilege of taking part in a convention is an expensive one. It is assumed that delegates will attend \$100-a-plate fund-raising dinners in their states. In a few states it is still the custom to require large contributions to party treasuries as a condition for being a delegate. The delegate usually pays any personal expenses involved in his selection, his transportation expenses to the convention city and living expenses while there, and contributes if necessary toward maintaining his delegation's convention headquarters. Arrangements are sometimes made to assist delegates with their travel expenses. Nevertheless, the high cost of being a delegate favors the selection of the well-to-do.

Occupations and Connections with Interest Groups. Four fifths of the 1948 respondents to the questionnaire in both parties had regularly attended state and county party organization meetings. Three fifths either were or had been state party officers.

The typical 1952 delegate devoted much of his time and energy to politics as an engrossing side line and frequently contributed money while also doing party work. (State chairmen are likely to be provided with paid staff and other facilities, but most of the 3,000 county chairmen in each party provide their own facilities. In recent years an increasing number of state and county chairmen have been paid salaries from funds raised for party activities.)

Governors. Thirty-two state governors were members of delegations in 1952 and 34 in 1956. Most of them served as delegation chairmen.

Senators. Fifty-nine of the 96 U.S. Senators in 1956 were delegates, ten of them as delegation chairmen. The Senators most likely to be found as delegates are those from the competitive two-party states, especially those that have one Senator of each party. In recent years most of the Senators of the southern one-party states have gone to the Democratic conventions as delegates.

House Members. About 27 percent of the House membership served as delegates or alternates in 1956, more than double the 1948 percentage. The Representatives (if any) of the minority party in a state dominated by one party are often sent as delegates; those of the majority party usually are not. House members who belong to a minority group of any kind seem to become delegates more often than others.

Experience and Leadership. About 40 percent of the delegates in each 1952 convention had served on an earlier delegation at least once. Continuous service in three conventions or more was several times as frequent among the delegates listed in WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA as among other delegates. In general, the leadership resources of the conventions depend on this combination of experience and distinction. A convention needs an enormous amount of convention experience within its ranks.

By comparison with convention delegates at the turn of the century, "the delegates of 1948, 1952, and 1956 were measurably better educated, less boss-ridden, better adjusted to the requirements of an open political system, and generally more trustworthy in all respects than the delegates of 1900."

Delegations

Although the individual delegate is the essential building block in the convention voting structure, the actual working unit for most purposes is the state delegation as a whole. Delegations have their organization meeting well ahead of the convention, to select representatives of the major convention committees.

Delegation meetings during the convention are more often than not closed to outsiders. About 80 percent of the delegation chairmen of 1952 and 1956 were incumbents of some public or party office, with public officials outnumbering the party officials in the Democratic party but not in the Republican.

A delegation chairman occupies a strategic position. He can have substantial power. Yet the chairmen are in some respects the unknown men of the convention. An outsider sometimes finds it hard to learn just who does head a delegation. Neither party had ever recorded the list of chairmen in its official proceedings until 1956, when the practice was adopted at the suggestion of the American Political Science Association.

VI CONVENTION COMMITTEES

Membership

Each state and territorial delegation names two representatives, a man and a woman, for each of the four convention committees—Committees on Permanent Organization, on Rules and Order of Business, on Credentials, on Resolutions and Platform.

Voting

Because each state has equal committee representation, the states with a majority in convention voting can be outvoted in committee. Committee voting results can be overturned when they reach the full convention, but only at the cost of much trouble and delay.

No form of weighted voting has so far been adopted for any of the convention committees, but some political convention authorities feel action is needed in this area. "A simple and readily feasible alternative to weighted voting would be a proportionate increase of committee representation for the larger states. One proposal discussed would give each state one member in each committee for every twelve votes that it has in the convention, while leaving to each state the present minimums."¹

Standing Committees

Credentials Committee

- examines credentials of the delegates
- hears challenges against the right of delegations to sit
- lists permanent roll of bona fide convention delegates

When two delegations appear at the convention and both claim legal rights to the same seats, their dispute, in the form of briefs, is heard by the national committee. The Credentials Committee may attend these hearings but has no vote in the decision. However, either of the delegations can appeal the national committee ruling to the Credentials Committee which may then overrule the national committee.

¹ Paul T. David, Ralph M. Goldman, Richard C. Bain, *The Politics of National Party Conventions* (Vintage Books, 1964—a condensation by Kathleen Sproul of the Brookings Institution study) p. 268.

Further appeal is possible, for a majority report and a minority report from the Credentials Committee may go to the convention floor. Each side is then given equal time to present its case to the entire convention. Then the convention votes on the contesting reports by roll call. A convention may or may not allow contested delegates to vote before their contest is finally settled. The Republican 1964 Convention did not.

Permanent Organization Committee

recommends a set of permanent officers for the convention

The most important is the Permanent Chairman. (Recently a current or former Speaker of the House of Representatives has been selected. In 1960, however, Speaker Rayburn was managing the nomination campaign of Lyndon Johnson so Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida presided.)

Rules Committee

reports to convention a set of rules for its operation and establishes the voting procedure

Each convention, when in session, makes its own rules. These rules comprise the only completely uniform procedures for all states.

Republican national party rules were systematized many years ago and are readopted by each convention, frequently with amendments. They contain a great deal of detail on how delegates to the convention should be selected.

The Democratic party historically has held that it will not attempt to adopt national party rules on delegate selection and other parts of the process that occur before the conventions. They believe it is the function of a state party or the state's public authorities to decide how a state's delegates should be selected, organized, and instructed.

Resolutions and Platform Committee

drafts and presents a platform to the convention

Platform deliberations begin long before a convention meets. Party meetings discuss proposals sometimes months ahead and often study committees prepare drafts. Incumbent Presidents seeking nomination exert great influence on the "planks," as do other party personalities.

Occasionally several candidates for the nomination will together work out opposing platform proposals before the convention (for example, the Nixon-Rockefeller platform discussions before the 1960 convention).

The finished product tries to reconcile all points of view or, at least, to offend no one faction too greatly. It often speaks very directly and firmly on settled issues or those on which the party has long had a stand. Since party unity on issues is an important goal of the platform, it tends to be less than specific, and sometimes ambiguous, on issues currently in conflict within the party or between the parties.

Platforms do show the general direction of movement desired by the dominant elements of the party, but practically, they ordinarily leave wide latitude for discretion after the election is over. A national convention has no power to bind its nominees (and also the nominees for Congress) to specific courses of action. Once elected, the President (and the party in Congress) become the government and must not act as a rubber stamp of a political party.

VII CONVENTION VOTING

Types of Voting

Nominations are made by roll call vote but other business may be settled by voice vote unless there is an objection. A roll call can always be demanded.

Roll Call Votes are those in which the roll of delegations is called in alphabetical order of the states, with each chairman reporting his delegation's vote. All roll call votes are recorded verbatim. If a state wishes, it may pass and be called again at the end of the roll. Any delegation may change its vote at the end of the roll up to the time the final tally is announced. A member of a delegation can challenge the vote reported by his chairman, and then the delegation is polled.

Calling the roll on a presidential nomination has never been dispensed with by the Republican party. The Democratic party has done so only in 1888, 1916, 1936, and 1964, all occasions when an incumbent first-term President was being renominated by acclamation.

Aye and No Voice Votes (or standing votes) are those on which the chairman rules the results. Often important, highly controversial business is decided by voice votes. (Examples: The Democratic Convention of 1936 rescinded the two-thirds rule by a voice vote. The Taft forces at the 1952 Republican Convention, recognizing defeat, moved to settle the Texas seating contest by voice vote after a debate that occupied 18 pages of printed record.)

Unit Rule

Under the Democratic Convention unit rule, the entire vote of a state delegation may be cast for the candidate supported by a majority of the delegation, if the state delegation has been so instructed by the state convention.

The Democratic National Convention does not impose unit rule upon a state delegation; it merely enforces the instruction of the duly empowered agencies within the states.

The Republican National Convention does not recognize as valid a state instruction to its delegation to operate under the unit rule.

Increasingly states are failing to instruct their delegations to act as a unit. The unit rule, which subordinates individual votes, is frequently attacked as unfair because it permits bare majorities within delegations to cast the entire vote for the state.

VIII THE COST OF THE CAMPAIGN

How Many Millions in 1964?

Total political costs at all levels have been estimated at \$200 million in 1964. This compares with \$175 million in 1960, \$155 million in 1956 and \$140 million in 1952. The 107 committees operating in politics at the national level (including the major parties) spent \$34.8 million in 1964, a 39% increase over the \$25 million spent in 1960 (by 70 comparable committees) and more than twice the \$17 million in 1956. The major party national campaign cost (disregarding spending by labor and miscellaneous committees and excluding state and local expenses on behalf of the national ticket)¹ was more than \$29 million in 1964—or 41 cents per voter for the more than 70 million voters in the presidential election. In 1960 almost \$22 million was spent at the national level—or 32 cents for each of the almost 69 million votes cast.

Expenses for political broadcasting at all levels in the general election period were 73 percent higher than in 1960.

Expenditures

Preconvention Campaigns. There is no federal requirement that pre-nomination expenses have to be disclosed, and laws in states holding presidential primaries are not uniform. Therefore, there are wide gaps in information in this area of political activity.

Expenses of Republican candidates for the presidential nomination totaled more than \$10 million in 1964. On the Democratic side specific expenditures by Governor Wallace's opponents in Democratic primaries in the three states in which he was opposed total \$186,000—\$16,000 in Wisconsin, \$100,000 in Indiana and \$70,000 in Maryland. Herbert Alexander sets a figure of \$510,000 for all national level Democratic preconvention campaigns.

He also estimates that \$5.5 million was raised and spent for the nomination of Senator Goldwater—and the calculation does not include amounts raised by numerous state and local groups throughout the country. From January to July 1964 the Goldwater national campaign raised more money than did the national Republican Party committees which were suffering from uncertainty as to who the presidential nominee would be. Funds for the Goldwater candidacy for nominations came from more than an estimated 300,000 contributors, many of whom contributed

¹ Herbert E. Alexander, *Financing the 1964 Election* (Citizens' Research Foundation, 1966).

only \$1. Goldwater supporters raised \$2 million for the California primary, more than \$500,000 of which was collected at two fund-raising events. Each of the 58 California counties had a Goldwater finance chairman and committee, and a network of Goldwater Clubs cooperated.

Reported estimates of Governor Nelson Rockefeller's expenditures for the 1964 campaign ranged from \$3.5 to \$5 million and more. It is also said that less than \$100,000 was raised outside of the family for Governor Rockefeller's candidacy. Nine major committees took in \$827,035 from individuals in every state except Arkansas and Mississippi in support of Governor William W. Scranton who campaigned actively for only about one month before the Republican National Convention. Much of the money came from Pennsylvania and proportionately more funds were contributed from Minnesota than any other state. For several months following the convention, the Scranton campaign carried a deficit as high as \$150,000 but by 1965 no bills remained.

The campaign for Henry Cabot Lodge cost over \$100,000. Major sources of funds for the Lodge campaign were Boston and New York supporters. Harold Stassen's campaign cost \$70,000 for primaries in New Hampshire and Indiana and for a late and unsuccessful attempt to get on the ballot in California. On the unannounced 1964 candidacy of Richard Nixon the only information available indicates that more than \$71,800 was spent on Nixon's behalf.

In 1968 Nixon is again campaigning for the Republican presidential nomination. In New Hampshire before the first presidential primary of this election year Nixon is said to have spent more money than any other candidate—between \$200,000 and \$225,000. Governor George Romney of Michigan was an announced candidate who campaigned across the country for the Republican nomination up until February 28, 1968 when he withdrew from the race because he believed he had failed to win wide support from rank and file Republicans. He had already spent \$200,000 in New Hampshire. Senator Eugene McCarthy, who is entered in the Democratic primary in New Hampshire, has spent between \$60,000 and \$70,000 there.¹

The Conventions. In 1964 the Republican National Nominating Convention cost only \$22,000 more than their 1960 convention. Of the total cost, \$650,000 was guaranteed and paid by San Francisco, the host city. Hotel tax funds were the source of \$400,000, and the remainder came from Republican Convention Program proceeds (corporate advertising at \$5000 per page) and other sources.

The Democratic National Nominating Convention cost about \$2 million, more than 250 percent than their 1960 convention. Atlantic City and New Jersey groups pledged and paid \$625,000 in cash. (Cost of corporate advertising in the Democratic Convention Program Book was \$15,000 per page. Income from this source must have been at least \$1.5 million dollars.)

Presidential Election Campaigns. The presidential campaigns of both major parties were highly centralized, with most auxiliary committees well-integrated with party campaigns and with direction of campaign activity and financial operations centered in party headquarters. The Democratic campaign was operated with unusual efficiency. White House

¹ *The Washington Post*, February 28, 1968.

direction was apparent, and numerous citizens' committees were directed by close friends and associates of President Johnson. And both Goldwater and Miller had been national party committee leaders, strongly valuing party control. The Democratic presidential campaign budget was kept at a minimum because of the excellent outlook for an overwhelming Johnson victory. Direct expenditures by Democratic national campaign committees during 1964 amounted to \$4.8 million. A comparable figure for Republican national campaign committees is \$16 million.

The national Republican campaign operation reached a total of more than 600 employees. At a peak in the campaign, the Republican payroll amounted to \$37,500 a week, compared to \$23,500 for the Democrats. Payroll at the Democratic National Committee alone, not including other campaign committees, was over \$1 million. Advertising agency spending (mostly for broadcasts) by the Democrats was reputed to be \$4 million or more. A firm called Campaign Aids received at least \$435,000 for campaign materials. Considerable newspaper advertising was paid for directly by national-level committees, including some foreign language and nationality-oriented papers.

TV and radio time and production, salaries, travel, postage and express, advertising and printing were the most expensive items among Republican presidential campaign expenditures. The Republican committees at the national level spent over \$7.3 million on items identifiable as publicity.

Newspaper advertising in 1964 had an interesting twist. For the first time in memory in some sections of the country partisans paid for advertising and for broadcasts showing how to split a ticket, in order to permit defections to Johnson while voting for other Republican candidates. And the content of much Democratic advertising seemed to be testimony of Republicans telling why they were voting for President Johnson.

In 1964 Herbert Alexander estimates that there were 12 million individual givers to political campaigns, four times the number in 1952, and two million more than in 1960. The large increase in the number of national-level Republican individual contributors in 1964 resulted in part from Goldwater's attraction, but also from a serious Republican effort starting in 1962 to build a national sustaining fund of \$10 a year memberships. President Johnson developed a Kennedy fund-raising innovation called the President's Club into a personal financial-political organization dedicated to the support of his election.

The Republican National Committee entered 1964 with a deficit of \$400,000. But the Republican surplus after the 1964 election is said to have ranged anywhere from \$500,000 to \$1.8 million. In early 1966 Republicans decided to organize 11 regional finance networks between national and state committees. The Republican impulse to unified fund-raising campaigns was beginning to reassert itself after breaking down with the advent of the Goldwater and right-wing splinter movements. The Democrats in recent years have shown little initiative in developing a wider financial constituency to match their wider voter constituency.

Political Broadcasting. In 1964 probably the largest single political cost was for broadcasting. Network and station charges for political broadcasting in the prenomination and general election periods totaled \$34.6 million for candidates and committees at all levels—18 percent of all political spending. For the general election alone, total network and

station charges for political broadcasting at all levels amounted to almost \$25 million, an increase of 73 percent from the \$14 million spent in 1960 and a 150 percent increase from the almost \$10 million spent in 1956.

In 1964 there was no suspension of Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act—the “equal time” provision which Congress had temporarily suspended in 1960—and therefore much less free time was provided to the presidential candidates in 1964 than in 1960. Time also was much more costly.

Of the \$34.6 million spent in 1964 on radio and television, combining networks and stations in the primary and general election periods, \$13 million or about 37 percent was for the presidential and vice-presidential contests—25 percent of total radio dollars and 42 percent of total television dollars spent for political broadcasts. For campaigns at all levels spot announcements seem to be much more highly valued than program time by political campaigners. They accounted for 60 percent of the dollars spent in the general election period. Announcements on television and radio totaled 92,300, much more than twice as many as in 1960.

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IX THE ELECTING OF A PRESIDENT

With the electoral college system it is possible for a candidate to be elected by a majority of the electoral votes, even though he may not have had a majority of the popular votes throughout the nation (majority means one more than half). Elected without majorities of popular votes:

John Quincy Adams in 1825 (election decided by House of Representatives)

Rutherford Hayes in 1876 (election decided by Congressional electoral commission)

Benjamin Harrison in 1888

Elected without popular majorities, but with popular pluralities (the most votes) in a field of more than two candidates:¹

James K. Polk in 1844

Zachary Taylor in 1848

James Buchanan in 1856

Abraham Lincoln in 1860

James A. Garfield in 1880

Grover Cleveland in 1884

Grover Cleveland in 1892

Woodrow Wilson in 1912

Woodrow Wilson in 1916

Harry Truman in 1948

John F. Kennedy in 1960

The Closest Presidential Election in 76 Years. In 1960 Kennedy's official plurality after recounts was 118,263 votes in a record 68 million plus. A total of 224,931 voters did not mark their ballots for President. His plurality percentage was by the thinnest margin—less than one half of 1 percent. The electoral votes were 303 for Kennedy; 219 for Nixon; 15 for Senator Harry Byrd (from electors in Mississippi, Alabama and Oklahoma).

Kennedy won seven states by less than 1 percent of the popular vote in each. These seven states had a total of 77 electoral votes—much more than enough to swing the election to him. (Delaware, Hawaii, Illinois, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New Mexico.) Five additional states gave Kennedy all their electoral votes (87) with a less than 2 percent plurality of popular vote. (Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas.) Altogether these 12 states with a less than 2 percent popular plurality have a total electoral vote of 164, far more than half the electoral votes Kennedy received to win the election.

All-time Electoral Vote Record. Since 1900 only two Democratic Presidents, Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Lyndon Baines Johnson, have received an absolute majority of the popular vote. In 1936 Roosevelt reached an all-time record of 98.5 percent of the electoral vote with a substantial 59 percent of the popular vote. Johnson in 1964 won 90 percent of the electoral vote with 61 percent of the popular vote.

Because of the concentration of electoral votes, 12 key states could elect the President in 1968—in other words, a candidate could carry 38 states and still lose the election.

¹ Examples of third party presidential nominees in this century who have received electoral votes are: in 1912 Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressive (Bull Moose) party—88 electoral votes; in 1924 Robert M. LaFollette, Progressive—13 electoral votes; in 1948 J. Strom Thurmond, States' Rights party (Dixiecrat)—39 electoral votes.

President and political party	Major opponent 1	Electoral vote 2		Popular vote		Took office	Vice President
		Winner	Loser	Winner	Loser		
George Washington	John Adams	69	34			Apr. 30, 1789..	John Adams
" (F)	John Adams (F)	132	77			Mar. 4, 1793..	"
John Adams (F)	Jefferson (D-R)	71	68			Mar. 4, 1797..	Thomas Jefferson
Thomas Jefferson (D-R)	Burr (D-R)	73	37 ³			Mar. 4, 1801..	Aaron Burr
"	Pinckney (F)	162	14			Mar. 4, 1805..	George Clinton
James Madison (D-R)	Pinckney (F)	122	47			Mar. 4, 1809..	"
"	Clinton (F)	128	89			Mar. 4, 1813..	Elbridge Gerry
James Monroe (D-R)	King (F)	183	34			Mar. 4, 1817..	Daniel D. Tompkins
"	J. Q. Adams (N-R)	231	1			Mar. 4, 1821..	"
John Q. Adams (N-R)	Jackson (D-R)	84	99 ⁴	108,740	153,544	Mar. 4, 1825..	John C. Calhoun
Andrew Jackson (D)	J. Q. Adams (N-R)	178	83	647,286	508,064	Mar. 4, 1829..	"
"	Clay (N-R)	219	49	687,502	530,189	Mar. 4, 1833..	Martin Van Buren
Martin Van Buren (D)	W. H. Harrison (W)	170	73	762,678	735,651	Mar. 4, 1837..	Richard M. Johnson
W. H. Harrison (W)	Van Buren (D)	234	60	1,275,016	1,129,102	Mar. 4, 1841..	John Tyler
John Tyler (D)						Apr. 6, 1841..	
James K. Polk (D)	Clay (W)	170	105	1,337,243	1,299,062	Mar. 4, 1845..	George M. Dallas
Zachary Taylor (W)	Cass (D)	163	127	1,360,099	1,220,544	Mar. 5, 1849..	Millard Fillmore
Millard Fillmore (W)						July 10, 1850..	
Franklin Pierce (D)	Scott (W)	254	42	1,601,274	1,386,580	Mar. 4, 1853..	William R. King
James Buchanan (D)	Fremont (R)	174	114	1,838,169	1,341,264	Mar. 4, 1857..	John C. Breckinridge
Abraham Lincoln (R)	Breckinridge (D)	180	72	1,866,452	847,953	Mar. 4, 1861..	Hannibal Hamlin
"	McClellan (D)	212	21	2,213,665	1,805,237	Mar. 4, 1865..	Andrew Johnson
Andrew Johnson (R)						Apr. 15, 1865..	
Ulysses S. Grant (R)	Seymour (D)	214	80	3,012,833	2,703,249	Mar. 4, 1869..	Schuyler Colfax
"	Greeley (D-LR)	286	(5)	3,597,132	2,834,125	Mar. 4, 1873..	Henry Wilson
Rutherford B. Hayes (R)	Tilden (D)	185	184 ⁶	4,036,298	4,300,590	Mar. 4, 1877..	William A. Wheeler
James A. Garfield (R)	Hancock (D)	214	155	4,454,416	4,444,952	Mar. 4, 1881..	Chester A. Arthur
Chester A. Arthur (R)						Sent. 20 1881	

President and political party	Major opponent 1	Electoral vote 2	Popular vote	Took office	Vice President
William McKinley (R)	William Jennings Bryan (D)	267	7,045,546	Sept. 14, 1897..	Theodore Roosevelt
T. Roosevelt (R)	Parker (D)	140	7,623,486	Mar. 4, 1901..	Charles W. Fairbanks
"	Bryan (D)	321	7,678,908	Mar. 4, 1909..	James S. Sherman
William H. Taft (R)	T. Roosevelt (R)	435	6,293,454	Mar. 4, 1913..	Thomas R. Marshall
"		277	9,129,606	Mar. 4, 1917..	
		254	16,152,200	Mar. 4, 1921..	

Grover Cleveland (D)	Blaine (R)	219	4,874,986	4,851,981	Mar. 4, 1885	Thomas A. Hendricks
Benjamin Harrison (R)	Cleveland (D)	233	5,439,853	5,540,309	Mar. 4, 1889	Levi P. Morton
Grover Cleveland (D)	Benjamin Harrison (R)	277	5,556,918	5,176,108	Mar. 4, 1893	Adlai E. Stevenson
William McKinley (R)	Bryan (D)	271	7,104,779	6,502,925	Mar. 4, 1897	Garret A. Hobart
"	"	292	7,207,923	6,358,133	Mar. 4, 1901	Theodore Roosevelt
T. Roosevelt (R)					Sept. 14, 1901	
"	Parker (D)	336	7,623,486	5,077,911	Mar. 4, 1905	Charles W. Fairbanks
William H. Taft (R)	Bryan (D)	321	7,678,908	6,409,104	Mar. 4, 1909	James S. Sherman
Woodrow Wilson (D)	T. Roosevelt (R)	435	6,293,454	3,484,980	Mar. 4, 1913	Thomas R. Marshall
"	Hughes (R)	277	9,129,606	8,538,221	Mar. 4, 1917	"
Warren G. Harding (R)	Cox (D)	404	16,152,200	9,147,353	Mar. 4, 1921	Calvin Coolidge
Calvin Coolidge (R)					Aug. 3, 1923	
"	Davis (D)	382	15,725,016	8,386,503	Mar. 4, 1925	Charles G. Dawes
Herbert Hoover (R)	Smith (D)	444	21,391,381	15,016,443	Mar. 4, 1929	Charles Curtis
F. D. Roosevelt (D)	Hoover (R)	472	22,821,857	15,761,841	Mar. 4, 1933	John N. Garner
"	Landon (R)	523	27,751,597	16,679,583	Jan. 20, 1937	"
"	Willkie (R)	449	27,244,160	22,305,198	Jan. 20, 1941	Henry A. Wallace
"	Dewey (R)	432	25,602,504	22,006,285	Jan. 20, 1945	Harry S. Truman
Harry S. Truman (D)					Apr. 12, 1945	
"	Dewey (R)	303	24,105,695	21,969,170	Jan. 20, 1949	Alben W. Barkley
Dwight D. Eisenhower (R)	Stevenson (D)	442	33,778,963	27,314,992	Jan. 20, 1953	Richard M. Nixon
"	"	457	35,581,003	25,738,765	Jan. 20, 1957	"
John F. Kennedy (D)	Nixon (R)	303	34,227,096	34,107,646	Jan. 20, 1961	Lyndon B. Johnson
Lyndon B. Johnson (D)					Nov. 22, 1963	
"	Barry M. Goldwater (R)	486	42,825,463	27,146,969	Jan. 20, 1965	Hubert H. Humphrey

Source: "Statistics of the Presidential and Congressional Election of November 3, 1964" (corrected to August 15, 1965), compiled from official sources by Benjamin J. Guthrie under direction of Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Key to abbreviations: (D) Democrat; (DP) Democrat-Popular; (D-R) Democrat-Republican; (D-LR) Democratic-Liberal Republican; (F) Federalist; (N-R) National Republican; (R) Republican; (W) Whig.

¹ Where no opponent is given, the Vice President succeeded to the presidency upon the death of the President.

² Electoral votes for other candidates disregarded.

³ There being no choice for President by the people, the election devolved upon the House of Representatives. Jefferson was chosen by the votes of 10 States, to 4 for Burr, and 2 blank.

⁴ No choice for President having been made by the people, the election devolved upon the House of Representatives and John Quincy Adams was elected, receiving the votes of 13 States to 7 for Andrew Jackson and 4 for William H. Crawford.

⁵ By resolution of the House, 3 votes cast for Horace Greeley were not counted.

⁶ The electoral votes of 4 States were disputed. Congress referred the matter to the Electoral Commission which gave the decision to Hayes.

X EVOLUTION OF THE NOMINATING PROCESS

Our first President was elected in 1789 and since then no national emergency has ever interrupted the process. In 1968 the 46th presidential election takes place.

Three different systems of choosing a President and Vice President have been used during this long span of time, one evolving from another to solve the shortcomings of its predecessor and all contributing in no uncertain fashion to the origins and development of our national parties:

The Early Nonpartisan System—which one party supplanted as early as 1796 with the

“King Caucus” System—followed by

National Party Conventions—dating from the early 1830s.

As these three nominating systems flourished in turn, the institutional forms of the party system also evolved and so did the major functions of the party conventions.

The functions of a national convention came gradually to be

to nominate a President and Vice President

(Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren were nominated at the Democratic National Convention in Baltimore in 1832; they were later elected)

to issue a statement of principles as a “party platform”

(first occurred at the Democratic National Convention in 1840)

to create party unity out of factional differences

(James Polk’s nomination at the Democratic National Convention in 1844)

to create a continuing committee with a governing function to serve until the next convention

(Democratic National Convention in 1848)

By 1860 all these functions were substantially developed, and for the next 100 years and more the presidential element of each party asserted its independence of congressional control.

The Early Nonpartisan System

Ours has been called a nation created by and devoted to a written Constitution. What does our Constitution say about electing Presidents and Vice Presidents? In the Constitution nomination is merged with election. (See Part II, Section XI, p. 93, for sections of the Constitution

and amendments on this subject.) Six amendments deal with the President and Vice President—12th (1804), 20th (1933), 22nd (1951), 23rd (1961), 24th (1964) and 25th (1967). The founding fathers intended the presidency to be a strong, nonpartisan office, and wanted nonpartisan electors to select the “best” American for President and the runner-up for Vice President.

1789 George Washington (Federalist) elected President unanimously by 69 electoral votes

John Adams (Federalist) elected Vice President by 34 electoral votes

1792 Washington re-elected unanimously by 132 electoral votes

Adams re-elected unanimously by 77 electoral votes

Except for these first two elections there has always been a contest. The factionalism which the founding fathers hoped to avoid through the device of the electoral college showed up almost immediately and led to the formation of political parties.

“King Caucus” System

The third time around saw the beginning of the caucus system—and the separation of the process of nomination and election. The “King Caucus” system nominated candidates by party caucus in Congress and chose electors by popular vote in the states.

By this time, any incumbent of the presidency was beginning to owe his position to the efforts of a political party. This third presidential election was the first real test of the electoral college provision of the Constitution.

1796 Adams (Federalist) elected President by 71 electoral votes.

Thomas Jefferson (Democratic-Republican) elected Vice President by 68 electoral votes.

This resulted in a President of one party and a Vice President of the opposing party.

Before this election Jefferson’s party had decided upon a plan of open nominations made by a congressional group to unite electors of like mind on a slate of first and second choices.

1800 Jefferson (Democratic-Republican) with 73 electoral votes tied for first place with Aaron Burr of the same party.

The House of Representatives decided on Jefferson, and Burr became Vice President.

This led to Jefferson’s proposal of the 12th Amendment to the Constitution to separate Presidential and Vice Presidential voting in the electoral college.

1804 12th Amendment to the Constitution adopted.

Jefferson elected President, 162 electoral votes against 14 for opponents

George Clinton, Vice President, 162 electoral votes against 14 for opponents

1816- The Federalist party gradually disappeared because it could not adapt to the requirements of an expanding electorate. “King Caucus” also died out as a nominating process.

1820 James Monroe renominated by Democratic-Republicans by common consent with no formal action. No opposition party. Electoral college vote was almost unanimous—231-1.

1824 Andrew Jackson (Democratic-Republican) nominated by the Tennessee legislature. Won 99 of the 261 electoral college votes for President, not enough to elect. John Quincy Adams got only 84 votes. Presidential choice was thus thrown into the House of Representatives for the second time.

Vote in the House in February 1825 by states gave the presidency to John Quincy Adams, also a Democratic-Republican. (Estimated breakdown of the popular vote, the first in American history to be widely publicized, showed Jackson led with about 42 percent.)

1828 Jackson nominated again by the Tennessee legislature. Now, popular vote for Presidential electors in all states but two.

Jackson elected President with 178 electoral votes; Adams, 83.

This election represents a revolution in party politics, for Jackson came to power as a result of a highly organized popular movement. It began a new era in the development of the presidency both as an office and as related to Congress.

National Party Conventions

1830-Several national party conventions were held before 1832, but the 1831 parties involved did not survive.

1832 First Democratic (Jacksonian Democratic-Republican) national convention held in May 1832 in Baltimore. (The Democratic National Convention is among the oldest virtually unchanged political institutions in the world today.)

Because of dire need to pull the bitter splits in the party together, this convention was suggested as a way of drawing on Jackson's vast strength among the people and it was deliberately held after Congress had gone home.

Procedures used earlier by other conventions were employed:
each state could use its own judgment in choosing delegates
delegation votes were allotted on the electoral college basis
two-thirds majority was required for nomination.

Jackson was unanimously endorsed and Martin Van Buren named for Vice President, and they were elected.

1835 Democratic-Republicans nominated Van Buren at a second convention.

1839 The Whigs held their first convention.

Beginnings of Various Functions of Modern Nominating Conventions

1840 The Democratic-Republicans changed their name to "Democratic" and issued a statement of principles as a "party platform." Again nominated Van Buren.

The first convention of each party was an effort to gain a wider representation among the constantly expanding electorate.

Nominating conventions of the major parties were uniformly held from this point on in the presidential election years.

- 1844 Democratic Convention nominated James K. Polk and created party unity out of factional differences.
- 1845 Election day, nationally uniform, established by federal statute on the Tuesday following the first Monday in November.
- 1848 Continuing Committee to serve until the next Convention set up by the Democrats, one from each state, to be named by the delegations. Called the Democratic National Committee.
- 1852 Whig Party denied renomination to President Millard Fillmore (who had a good record), nominated Gen. Winfield Scott on the 53rd ballot, and gradually died out.
- 1856 Republicans' first convention at Philadelphia nominated John C. Fremont. Fairly close popular vote but Democrat James Buchanan won.
- 1860 "Only four-cornered election so far held in American history in which each party candidate had to be taken seriously and actually did win votes in the electoral college."¹

Northern Democrats nominated Stephen Douglas

Southern Democrats nominated John Breckinridge of Kentucky

Constitutional Union party nominated John Bell of Tennessee

Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln

Lincoln received only 40 percent of the total popular vote but won the election because he held popular majorities in the states with a majority of the electoral vote.

Thus it can be seen that the national party conventions developed as a nominating process to take the place of the early nonpartisan system of selecting the President when this proved to be unworkable.

¹ David, Goldman, and Bain, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

XI FEDERAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS RELATING TO CHOOSING THE PRESIDENT

UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE II—THE PRESIDENT

Section 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same Term, be elected as follows:

Each state shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Congress may determine the Time of choosing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

AMENDMENT XII—PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS

The Electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March¹ next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.²—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall

¹ By the 20th Amendment, adopted in 1933, the term of the President is to begin on the 20th of January.

² Under the 20th Amendment, Sec. 3, in case a President is not chosen before the time for beginning of his term, the Vice President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified.

be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States. [Ratified in 1804]

AMENDMENT XX—LAME DUCK AMENDMENT

Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have developed upon them. [Ratified in 1933]

AMENDMENT XXII—LIMITATION ON PRESIDENTIAL TERMS

No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term. [Ratified in 1951]

AMENDMENT XXIII—PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS FOR DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Section 1. The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment. [Ratified in 1961]

AMENDMENT XXIV—BAN ON POLL TAX

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reasons of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax. [Ratified in 1964]

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