DEMOCRATS
IN CONVENTION 1972















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PepsiCo is the worldwide consumer goods and services company whose subsidiaries and divisions include Pepsi-Cola, Frito-Lay, Wilson Sporting Goods, northAmerican Van Lines and PepsiCo Leasing Corporation.

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At convention time or anytime, you can fly "727 Braniff Place" between Miami and cities throughout the United States. For instance, you can fly non-stop between Miami and Dallas/Fort Worth or New Orleans. And we have convenient service between Miami and Hawaii, Seattle, Minneapolis/St. Paul and Denver.

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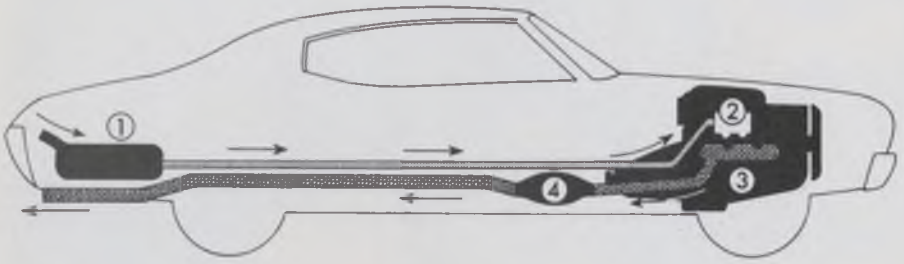
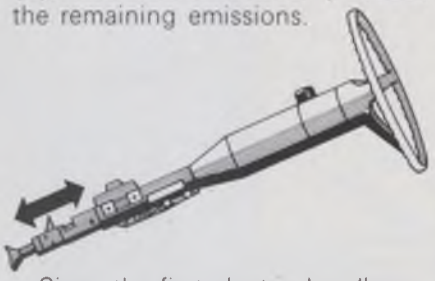
Personally, you'll like flying Braniff Style.

GM is doing it...

Everybody wants to find ways to make the air we breathe cleaner and the cars we drive safer. Here are some of the ways General Motors has been addressing itself to these areas of vital concern.

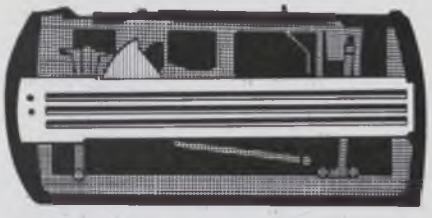


All new GM cars have controls that limit the escape of gasoline vapor into the air from the fuel tank (1) and the carburetor (2). Engine modifications (3) have also been made, to make sure gasoline is burned more completely. These changes mean that today's GM cars, on the average, emit over 80% fewer hydrocarbons and 65% less carbon monoxide than uncontrolled cars, and about 30% less oxides of nitrogen. In addition, all 1971 and 1972 GM cars have engines designed to run on regular, low-lead or lead-free fuels. This means even lower exhaust emissions today, and could make possible the development of a new catalytic converter system (4), that would drastically reduce the remaining emissions.



Since the first electric headlamp, GM has been working on ways to make cars safer. In 1966, General Motors pioneered the energy-absorbing steering column. It compresses, upon severe impact, to help protect the driver in a collision.

In 1968, General Motors developed the Side-guard door beam for added protection against side impacts.



GM's most recent safety improvements include a new, double-shell roof construction with a contoured inner panel to help reduce the possibility of head and neck injuries. And a new impact-resistant windshield glass, which is less likely to produce lacerations if broken.

Another development, the GM Infant Safety Carrier, gently restrains infants within its protective contours. And most important, it has been proved a lifesaver in actual use.

are you?

Cleaner air and safer driving are possible only if you do your part. Don't drive if you've been drinking.

Maintain your car in safe operating condition. Have your anti-pollution devices checked periodically. Observe traffic laws. Wear your lap and shoulder belts. Don't litter our roads. Use regular, unleaded or low-lead gasolines whenever possible.

Let's all do our share.

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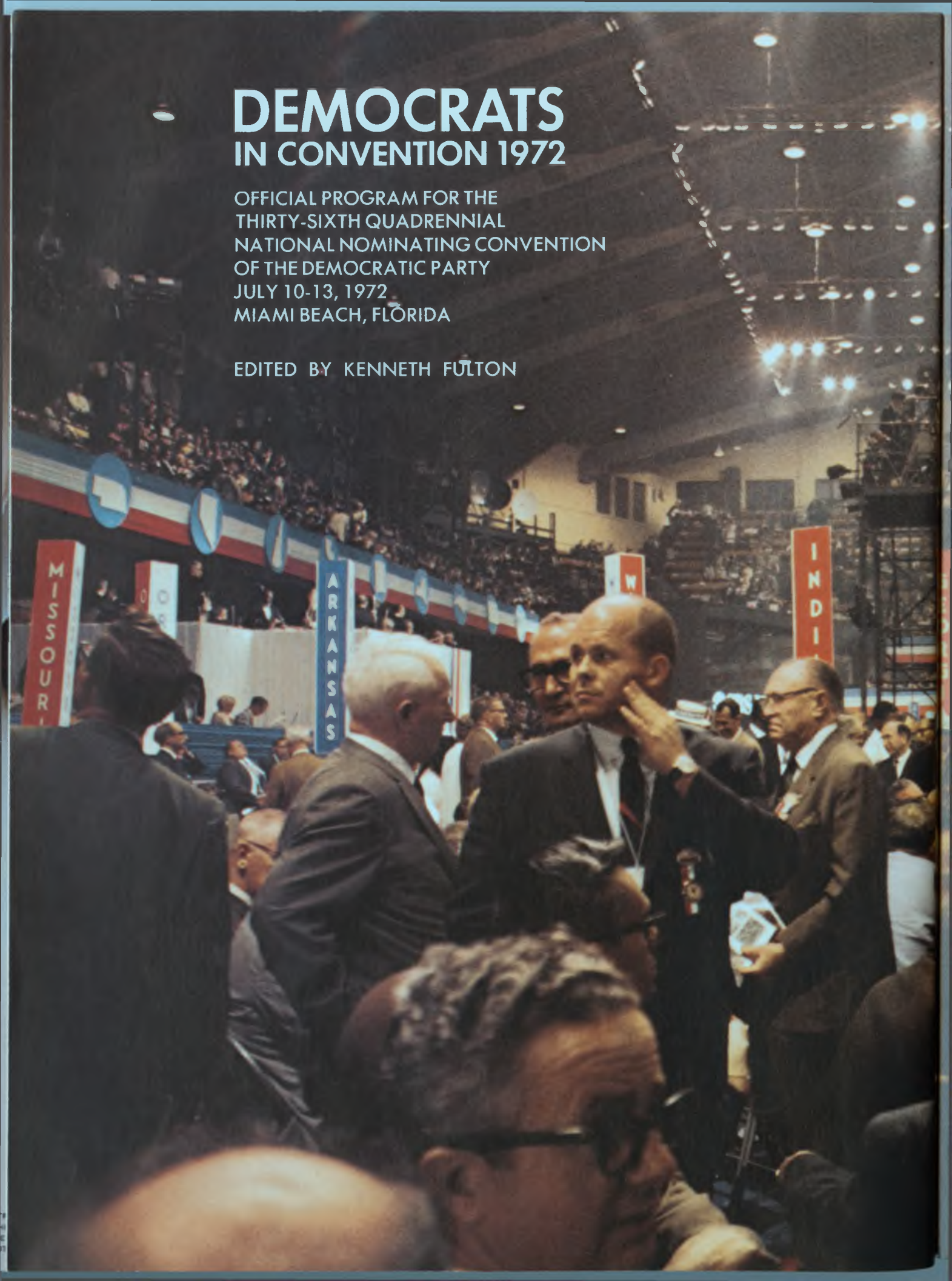

DEMOCRATS
IN CONVENTION 1972

OFFICIAL PROGRAM FOR THE
THIRTY-SIXTH QUADRENNIAL
NATIONAL NOMINATING CONVENTION
OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY
JULY 10-13, 1972
MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA

EDITED BY KENNETH FULTON


FLORI

Photography Credits

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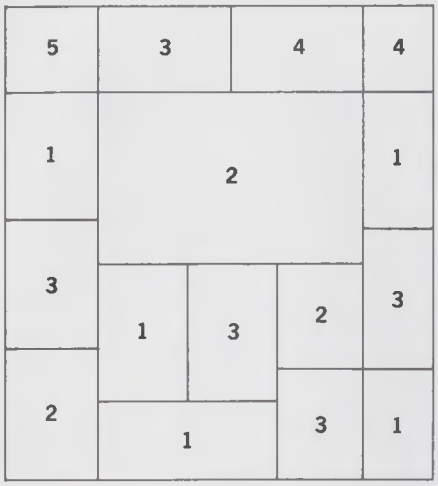

Cover

1 John C. Daughtry
2 © Mark E. Talisman 1972
3 Tommy Noonan
4 Paul Conklin
5 Kenneth Fulton

Why is America Waiting?
pp. 45-51

All photographs © Mark E. Talisman 1972
except

p. 46, folded arms, **Paul Conklin**
shanty, **Office of Economic Opportunity**

p. 48, worker hammering, **Tommy Noonan**
neon above pedestrian, **Paul Conklin**

p. 50, girl in red blouse, **Tommy Noonan**
girl with glasses, **Paul Conklin**
crowd against the sky, **James Pickerell**
victory, **James Pickerell**

Ira Kapenstein

February 12, 1936 - March 1, 1971
Deputy Chairman
Democratic National Committee
1970 - 71

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1945-53

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President of the United States
1963-69

John W. McCormack

Speaker
House of Representatives
1962-71

Member of Congress
from Massachusetts
1928-71

STATE OF FLORIDA

OFFICE OF GOVERNOR REUBIN O'D. ASKEW

WELCOME

We are honored that the Democrats have chosen Miami Beach to hold their 1972 Democratic National Convention. On behalf of the citizens of Florida, I extend a cordial welcome to all delegates and guests.

As many of you know, this marks the first time in 44 years that the Democrats have come to the South for their Convention. We are extremely proud and pleased to be able to act as hosts. The people of Florida and of the Nation are deeply aware of the great responsibility of every delegate. The decisions which the delegates make in nominating the new leaders of the Democratic Party will vitally influence the course of our County and the entire world for years to come.

This Convention could very well be the most important in the long and rich history of the Democratic Party. I feel the delegates to the 1972 Convention represent an unusual coalition -- one which crosses all the old lines of race, religion, class and economic condition. It is a coalition of the people -- all kinds of people -- people who want a government which respects and enhances their capacity to rise above themselves. People who want a government which is responsive to them. People who demand a new day of national maturity in our approach to government -- and to the government.

Miami Beach is one of the world's great convention cities, not only because of its superb facilities for hotels, shopping, dining, entertainment and culture, but because of the warmth and Friendly Floridian spirit of the people. This is the first time a Democratic National Convention has been held here in Florida, and both the State and the city of Miami Beach have done everything possible to assure an atmosphere and conditions conducive to the most successful and productive Convention in the Party's history.

From the people of Florida and Miami Beach -- welcome.

Reubin O'D. Askew


SMIRNOFF SILVER
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DISTILLED FROM GRAIN
The Silver Martini.
For people who want a silver lining
without the cloud.
Smirnoff Silver
Ninety point four proof. Smirnoff leaves you breathless®

America is running out of ways to hide its garbage.

The only trouble with garbage is the quaint habit we Americans have of hiding it in the ground.

This is bad because:

Land is too valuable to serve as a trash basket.

We're rapidly running out of landfill areas.

And garbage is simply too valuable to be swept under the carpet.

Contrary to its definition, garbage is *not* "worthless, offensive waste material." More accurately, garbage is a valuable natural resource which can, and should be "mined" and put back into use.

For starters, garbage is almost 7% steel. Magnetic separators have been developed to pull out all the steel cans, containers, and what-not, so they can be conveniently recycled back to industry.

As a matter of fact, magnetic separators are already recovering more than 2 billion steel cans every year.

Paper, glass and non-ferrous metals are, in many cases, being reclaimed and re-used by industry.

Even the organic remains in garbage can be used, to create energy.

The complete reclamation of all solid waste material is possible, but it will become a reality only through the cooperative efforts of concerned citizens, government agencies, industry, and the National Center for Resource Recovery.

The National Center, of which Continental Can is a member, is the vital link between all industries concerned with solid waste solutions.

It is constantly evaluating and researching new techniques, and it serves as a clearing house for every relevant piece of information on the subject.

You'll see what we mean if you send for the free NCRR Information Kit.

It may even give you some ideas on what *you* can do to give garbage a better name.

Continental Can Company

633 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

Arrangements Committee

Low-cost housing, modern security enforcement and the largest communications network ever are among the most important improvements of the 1972 Convention Arrangements Committee.

Convention Manager Richard J. Murphy of Maryland and voting members of the Arrangements Committee were elected by the full Democratic National Committee as a means of creating a widely representative convention organization. The action is another Democratic reform responding to criticism that past conventions were operated by a narrowly drawn, unrepresentative group of party officials. The new Arrangements Committee includes a broad spectrum of Democratic interests—governors, state chairmen, members of Congress, elected state officials, young people and the presidential candidates. The committee includes eight women and seven men nominated by DNC Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien; among them are two blacks, one Spanish-speaking American and a nineteen-year-old college student.

Mr. Murphy, who worked closely with former DNC Chairman Paul M. Butler in late 1950's and who later served as a sub-Cabinet officer under two presidents, is the executive in charge of all convention arrangements. He will coordinate closely with the Arrangements Committee on their common responsibilities: admission and passes, seating of delegates, visitors and guests; security; transportation; finance; radio, television and print media facilities; communication, community relations, housing.

Air-conditioned housing, at $5 or $6 a day, will be provided in Miami Beach for convention delegates and alternates who cannot afford expensive accommodations. Security within the hall will be under the sole authority of the Arrangements Committee benefiting from the advice of a distinguished Security Advisory Committee.

Chairman of the Advisory Committee is Wesley A. Pomeroy, Director of Safety and Development, University of Minnesota. Committee members are J. E. Bassett III, former Director, Kentucky State Police; Henry B. Montague, Vienna, Virginia, former U. S. Chief Postal Inspector; James F. Ahern, Westport, Connecticut, Director, Insurance Crime Prevention Institute; Howard Baugh, Director of Community Relations, Atlanta Police Department; Floyd M. Boring, of Washington, D. C., former Inspector for the U. S. Secret Service; Cliff W. Cassidy, Jr., former Chairman, Texas Public Safety Commission; and Paul G. Bower, Los Angeles, former Assistant Director for Public Safety for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. The committee will work closely with Rocky Pomerance, Miami Beach Chief of Police, whose

Continued on next page

Arrangements Committee:

1 *Colonel Jacob M. Arvey, Illinois*
2 *Mrs. Beatrice Rosenthal, Connecticut*
3 *Governor Reubin O'D. Askew, Florida*
4 *Mrs. Caroline Wilkins, Oregon*
5 *Mr. Robert S. Vance, Alabama*
6 *Senator Philip A. Hart, Michigan*
7 *Representative Edward P. Boland, Massachusetts*
8 *Mrs. C. DeLores Tucker, Pennsylvania*
9 *State Senator Barbara Jordan, Texas*
10 *Mrs. Waldo S. Benavidez, Colorado*
11 *Miss Gwendolyn R. Mink, Hawaii*


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force will be responsible for security outside the convention hall.

Communications facilities will include television anchor booths, camera stations commanding full view of the proceedings, and lighting adequate for color telecasts. Telephone systems will connect press and delegates, delegations and rostrum and delegations with other delegations. Telephones and writing areas will be available to newspapers and magazine reporters. Presidential candidates will be provided equal office space adjacent to the convention floor, and each candidate will be offered an equal choice of headquarters facilities in at least two hotels.

Delegates will receive special attention; for the first time, all of them and their alternates will be seated on the convention floor; reports of Platform and Rules Committees will be printed and in delegates' hands ten days before convention opening; the Credentials report will be finished two days before the opening; twenty-five caucus rooms will be constructed within the convention hall for convenience of delegates. All housing and seating of delegations will be done by lot. A special fund has been established to pay expenses of the Credentials, Rules and Platform Committee members.

Members of the Arrangements Committee include the top officials of the Democratic National Committee—Chairman O'Brien, Vice Chairman Mary Lou Burg, Secretary Dorothy Vredenburgh Bush, Treasurer Robert S. Strauss, Colonel Jacob M. Arvey of Illinois, Senior Executive Committeeman; Mrs. Beatrice Rosenthal of Connecticut, Senior Executive Committeewoman. Other members are Governor Reubin O'D. Askew, of Florida; Mrs. Caroline Wilkins, Oregon State Chairman; Robert S. Vance, Alabama State Chairman; Senator Philip A. Hart of Michigan, recommended by the Majority Leader of the United States Senate; Representative Edward P. Boland of Massachusetts, recommended by the Speaker of the House of Representatives; Mrs. C. DeLores Tucker, secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and vice chairman of the Pennsylvania Democratic Party; State Senator Barbara Jordan of Texas; Mrs. Waldo S. Benavidez, Colorado State Representative and Denver Democratic party leader; Gwendolyn R. Mink, sophomore at the University of Chicago, Speakers Bureau Chairman of the National Student Vote and former intern in the office of Senator Edward M. Kennedy and Speaker Carl Albert.

Ex officio non-voting members are Mike Mansfield, Majority Leader of the United States Senate; Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Severin M. Beliveau, chairman of the Association of Democratic State Chairmen; Marvin Mandel, governor of Maryland and chairman of the Democratic Governors Conference; Robert E. B. Allen, president of the Young Democratic Clubs of America; and Henry Maier, Mayor of Milwaukee and chairman of the U.S. Conference of Mayors. In addition, each presidential candidate has been authorized to appoint one non-voting member. •

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Security Advisory Committee

1 *Wesley A. Pomeroy, Chairman*
2 *J. E. Bassett III*
3 *Henry B. Montague*
4 *James F. Ahern*
5 *Howard Baugh*
6 *Floyd M. Boring*
7 *Cliff W. Cassidy, Jr.*
Paul G. Bower (not shown)

6

7

Chief of Police, Miami Beach

8 *Rocky Pomerance*

8

1972 Democratic National Convention

Agenda

Chairman's Address; Credentials, Rules

First Session **Monday, July 10** **7 p.m. EDT**

Invocation, Presentation of Arms, National Anthem

Welcoming Remarks:
Lawton Chiles, U. S. Senator from Florida

Opening Address by Temporary Convention Chairman:
Lawrence F. O'Brien, Chairman
Democratic National Committee

Official Call to Convention:
Mrs. Dorothy Vredenburgh Bush, Secretary
Democratic National Committee

Report of Credentials Committee
Consideration and Adoption of Report

Other Addresses:
Special Guest Speakers to be Announced

Election of Permanent Convention Chairman

Election of Permanent Convention Vice Chairman

Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business
Consideration and Adoption of Report

Recess

Keynote, Resolutions, Platform

Second Session **Tuesday, July 11** **7 p.m. EDT**

Invocation, Presentation of Arms, National Anthem

Permanent Chairman Presiding

Keynote Address:
Reubin O'D. Askew, Governor of Florida,
Chairman of the Florida Host Committee

Addresses:
Speakers to be Announced

Report of Committee on Resolutions and Platform
Consideration and Adoption of
Resolutions and Platform

Recess

Presidential Nomination

Third Session **Wednesday, July 12** **7 p.m. EDT**

Invocation, Presentation of Arms, National Anthem

Addresses:
Speakers to be Announced

Roll Call for Presidential Nominations

Balloting for the Presidential Nominee

Appointment of Committee to Advise Nominee of Selection

Recess

Vice Presidential Nomination

Fourth Session **Thursday, July 13** **7 p.m. EDT**

Invocation, Presentation of Arms, National Anthem

Addresses:
Speakers to be Announced

Roll Call for Vice Presidential Nominations

Balloting for Vice Presidential Nominee

Appointment of Committee to Advise Nominee of Selection

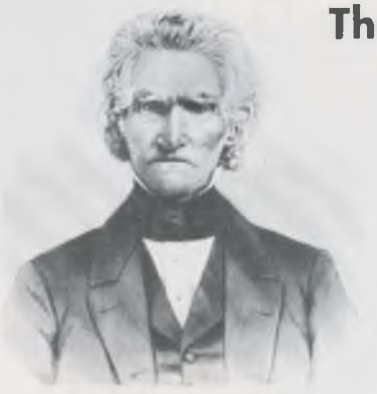
Other Convention Business

Acceptance Speeches:
Vice Presidential Nominee
Presidential Nominee

Adjournment

Agenda is subject to approval by the Arrangements Committee and the Convention.

Longest convention ever—New York's fourteen-day marathon in 1924—witnessed one of the most stirring moments in American politics. Thousands of delegates and spectators watched thrilled as a former vice presidential nominee made his way courageously, on braced legs, across the platform and in his first major appearance since a crippling attack of polio nominated Alfred E. Smith for President. Franklin D. Roosevelt had returned to national politics.



Robert Lucas
first convention chairman

The Succession: Democratic Officers Since 1832

Florida Governor Reubin O'D. Askew breaks three traditions by keynoting this year's precedent-setting Democratic National Convention. For the first time since 1880, the speaker is an inhabitant of the convention state; for the first time since 1872, he will not be the convention's temporary chairman, and for the first time since 1848, he will not speak to the opening session.

Lawrence F. O'Brien breaks yet another tradition by becoming the first Democratic National Chairman ever to serve as temporary chairman of a convention. In so doing, he is complying with the new rule book drafted by a special Democratic reform commission. O'Brien will call the convention to order, deliver opening remarks, preside over the credentials and other preliminary business and then instruct the body to elect its permanent presiding officer. A candidate will be nominated from the rostrum, and other nominations will be received from the floor before the convention votes on its permanent chairman. These procedures replace a system which since 1852 had enabled the Democratic National Chairman to appoint the temporary chairman and to recommend the permanent, subject to convention confirmation.

The new rules do not specifically provide for a keynote speech, so Democratic National Chairman O'Brien, exercising the authority of his office, assigned the principal address to Governor Askew. George Hoadly of Ohio was the last to give a keynote speech in his home state—at the Cincinnati convention in 1880. Governor Askew will be the first since Andrew Stevenson in 1848 to give the keynote on the second day of the convention. This year's address was moved to Tuesday night to free Monday's opening session for internal affairs regarding rules, credentials, and the future structure of the party—an unusual amount of preliminary business expected for the reformed, reconstituted convention of 1972.

The keynote address is conceived today as a mood-setting survey of the political scene, an exposition of party objectives and an exhortation to action. The term "keynote" was first applied to the rousing speech delivered by Theodore A. Bell of California at the 1908 convention in Denver, but the antecedents of the address may be traced to 1848 when Permanent Chairman Andrew Stevenson spoke a few bland lines to the Baltimore convention. Four years later, General Romulus M. Saunders, serving as the temporary chairman, inaugurated the tradition of flaming political oratory. Ever since, except for 1868 and 1872 when Democratic National Chairman August Belmont exercised the prerogative, the temporary chairman has performed the function of keynoter. Gradually, the address became his most important duty.

The first temporary chairman in 1832 was Robert Lucas, a Governor of Ohio. His successors have included a former presidential nominee, Alton B. Parker in 1912; a distinguished historian, Claude G. Bowers in 1928; and a future Vice President, Alben W. Barkley in 1932, 1936 and 1948. Barkley also served as permanent chairman in 1940. The only permanent chairman to be nominated for the presidency was Horatio Seymour who was drafted in 1868.

Year	CONVENTION OFFICERS	
	Temporary Chairman	Permanent Chairman
1832	Robert Lucas, Ohio	Robert Lucas, Ohio
1836	Andrew Stevenson, Va.	Andrew Stevenson, Va.
1840	Isaac Hill, N.H.	William Carroll, Tenn.
1844	Hendrick B. Wright, Pa.	Hendrick B. Wright, Pa.
1848	J. S. Bryce, La.	Andrew Stevenson, Va.
1852	Gen. Romulus M. Saunders, N.C.	John W. Davis, Ind.
1856	Samuel Medary, Ohio	John E. Ward, Ga.
1860	Francis B. Flournoy, Ark.	Caleb Cushing, Mass.
1864	William Bigler, Pa.	Horatio Seymour, N.Y.
1868	Henry L. Palmer, Wisc.	Horatio Seymour, N.Y.
1872	Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Va.	James R. Doolittle, Wisc.
1876	Henry M. Watterson, Ky.	Gen. John A. McClernand, Ill.
1877		
1880	George Hoadly, Ohio	John W. Stevenson, Ky.
1884	Richard D. Hubbard, Tex.	William F. Vilas, Wisc.
1888	Stephen M. White, Calif.	Patrick A. Collins, Mass.
1889		
1892	William C. Owens, Ky.	William L. Wilson, W. Va.
1896	John W. Daniel, Va.	Stephen M. White, Calif.
1900	Charles S. Thomas, Colo.	James D. Richardson, Tenn.
1904	John Sharp Williams, Miss.	Champ Clark, Mo.
1908	Theodore A. Bell, Calif.	Henry D. Clayton, Ala.
1912	Alton B. Parker, N.Y.	Ollie M. James, Ky.
1916	Martin H. Glynn, N.Y.	Ollie M. James, Ky.
1919		
1920	Homer S. Cummings, Conn.	Joseph T. Robinson, Ark.
1921		
1924	Pat Harrison, Miss.	Thomas J. Walsh, Mont.
1928	Claude G. Bowers, Ind.	Joseph T. Robinson, Ark.
1932	Alben W. Barkley, Ky.	Thomas J. Walsh, Mont.
1934		
1935		
1936	Alben W. Barkley, Ky.	Joseph T. Robinson, Ark.
1937		
1940	William B. Bankhead, Ala.	Alben W. Barkley, Ky.
1941		
1942		
1943		
1944	Robert S. Kerr, Okla.	Samuel D. Jackson, Ind.
1945		
1947		
1948	Alben W. Barkley, Ky.	Sam Rayburn, Tex.
1949		
1950		
1951		
1952	Paul A. Dever, Mass.	Sam Rayburn, Tex.
1953		
1955		
1956	Frank G. Clement, Tenn.	Sam Rayburn, Tex.
1960	Frank Church, Idaho	LeRoy Collins, Fla.
1961		
1962		
1964	John O. Pastore, R.I.	John W. McCormack, Mass.
1967		
1968	Daniel K. Inouye, Hawaii	Carl Albert, Okla.
1969		
1970		
1972	Lawrence F. O'Brien, Mass.	

Research for this chart was handicapped by fragmentary records and other imperfect sources. Former national convention or national committee officers or other persons with knowledge of revisions or additions are invited to inform the Office of the Secretary, Democratic National Committee, 2600 Virginia Ave, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Telephone: 202-333-8750.

Year Took Office	DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE OFFICERS			
	Chairman	Secretary	Treasurer	Vice Chairman
1848	Benjamin F. Hallett, Mass.	W. F. Ritchie, Va.		
1852	Robert M. McLane, Md.	R. H. Stanton, Ky.		
1856	David A. Smalley, Vt.	(not available)		
1860	August Belmont, N.Y.	Frederick O. Prince, Mass.		
1864				
1868			Frederick O. Prince, Mass.	
1872	Augustus Schell, N.Y.			
1876	Abram Stevens Hewitt, N.Y.			
1877	William H. Barnum, Conn.			
1880				
1884			Charles J. Canda, N.Y.	
1888		Simon P. Sheerin, Ind.		
1889	Calvin Stewart Brice, Ohio			
1892	William F. Harrity, Penna.		Robert B. Roosevelt, N.Y.	
1896	James K. Jones, Ark.	C. A. Walsh, Iowa	William P. St. John, N.Y.	
1900			M. F. Dunlap, Ill.	
1904	Thomas Taggart, Ind.	Urey Woodson, Ky.	George F. Peabody, Ga.	
1908	Norman E. Mack, N.Y.		C. N. Haskell, Okla.	
1912	William F. McCombs, N.Y.	Joseph E. Davies, Wisc.	Rolla Wells, Mo.	
1916	Vance C. McCormick, Penna.	Carter Glass, Va.	Wilbur W. Marsh, Iowa	
1919	Homer S. Cummings, Conn.			
1920	George H. White, Ohio	E. G. Hoffman, Ind.		Charl Ormond Williams, Tenn.
1921	Cordell Hull, Tenn.			
1924	Clem L. Shaver, W. Va.	Charles A. Greathouse, Ind.	James W. Gerard, N.Y.	Emily Newell Blair, Mo.
1928	John J. Raskob, Md.			Nellie Tayloe Ross, Wyo.
1932	James A. Farley, N.Y.	Robert Jackson, N.H.	Frank C. Walker, Penna.	
1934			Walter J. Cummings, Ill.	
1935		W. Forbes Morgan, N.H.		
1936		Lawrence W. Roberts, Jr., Ga.		Mary W. Dewson, Maine*
1937			Oliver A. Quayle, Jr., N.Y.	
1940	Edward J. Flynn, N.Y.			
1941		Edwin W. Pauley, Calif.	Richard J. Reynolds, Jr., N.C.	
1942			Edwin W. Pauley, Calif.	
1943	Frank C. Walker, Penna.	George E. Allen, Miss.		Mrs. Charles W. Tillett, N.C.
1944	Robert E. Hannegan, Mo.	Dorothy M. Vredenburgh, Ala.		
1945			George Killion, Calif.	
1947	J. Howard McGrath, R.I.			
1948			Joseph L. Blythe, N.C.	
1949	William M. Boyle, Jr., Mo.			
1950			Sidney Salomon, Jr., Mo.	India Edwards, D.C.
1951	Frank E. McKinney, Ind.			
1952	Stephen A. Mitchell, Ill.		Dwight R. G. Palmer, N.J.	
1953			Stanley Woodward, Penna.	
1955	Paul M. Butler, Ind.		Matthew H. McCloskey, Penna.	
1956				Katie Louchheim, D.C.
1960	Henry M. Jackson, Wash.			Margaret Price, Mich.
1961	John M. Bailey, Conn.			
1962			Richard Maguire, Mass.	
1964		Dorothy V. Bush, Ala.		
1967			John Criswell, Okla.	
1968	Lawrence F. O'Brien, Mass.		Robert E. Short, Minn.	Geri Joseph, Minn.
1969	Fred R. Harris, Okla.		Patrick J. O'Connor, Minn.	
1970	Lawrence F. O'Brien, Mass.		Robert S. Strauss, Tex.	Mary Lou Burg, Wisc.
1972				

Convention years are indicated in **boldface.** Democratic National Committee officers are listed abreast of the years in which they took office. Officers' terms may have overlapped into the years in which their successors were inaugurated. Thus, for example, Paul M. Butler was chairman through the 1960 convention when Henry M. Jackson succeeded him; John M. Bailey was chairman through the 1968 convention when Lawrence F. O'Brien succeeded him.

*From 1936-40 the Democratic National Committee had eight Vice Chairmen representing different regions of the country. Washington resident officer was Mary W. Dewson of Maine; her colleagues were Mrs. Samuel Ralston, Indiana; Mrs. Anna G. Struble, South Dakota; Mrs. Lucretia del Valle Grady, California; Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, Pennsylvania; Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. Douglas W. Brown, West Virginia, and Helen Hanson, Maine.

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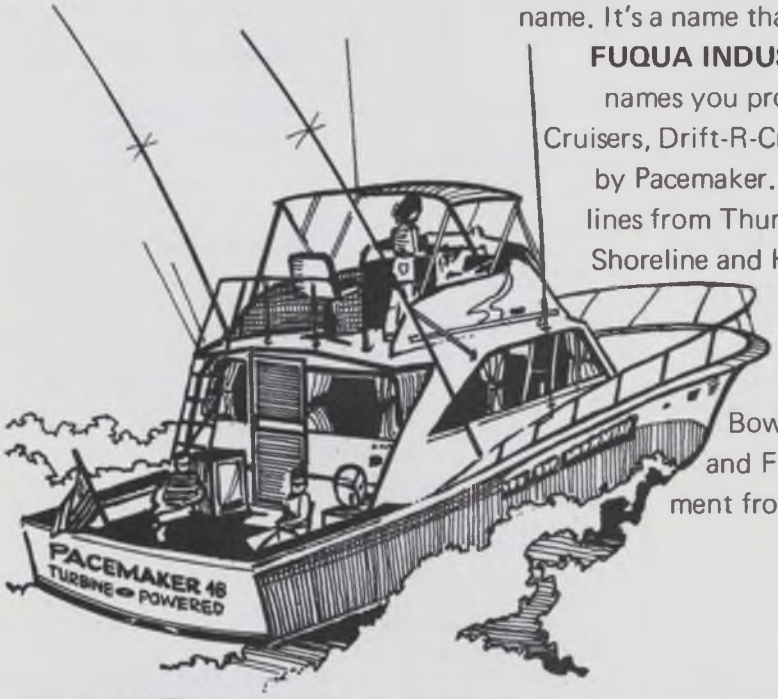

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Political adage notwithstanding, we at JCPenney believe strongly that every state is important.

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Chairman's Message

Democrats have made political history in four brief years. Not since Andrew Jackson has the party undergone such a massive and fundamental reorganization. Party reform in the 1970s has given us a broader, sturdier, more popular mandate for the Democratic party and in the process has tested and strengthened the validity of the two-party system.

Thousands of delegates, spectators and news correspondents in Miami Beach and a radio-television-satellite audience of uncounted millions across the nation and throughout the world will see a 1972 Democratic National Convention unprecedented for its openness, its fairness and its representative character. The new convention is the result of the long, difficult, and often controversial reform process that has swept through the Democratic Party in the four years since the turmoil and disorder of the 1968 convention gave birth to the reform movement.

The new convention is far more than a party matter. The manner in which we nominate our presidential candidates and conduct our platform-writing process will tell the American people that the Democratic party has its own house in order, that it is the party most responsive to the will of the people, and that it is prepared to govern this troubled nation wisely, rationally, and steadily through the difficult 1970s and beyond.

The results of the reform effort will be readily visible to the television viewer. It will be a no-nonsense convention, conducted under rules formulated by a reform commission headed by Representative James G. O'Hara of Michigan. Artificial, stage-managed demonstrations will be banned; the secrecy of the legendary smoke-filled rooms will be prohibited; confusing and delaying parliamentary tactics will not be tolerated, and minority views will be heard. The convention will be simpler, easier—and more fun to watch. Not so visible but equally important reforms have been at work throughout the nation since February, 1971, when the Democratic National Committee imposed new guidelines on the selection of delegates from fifty states, four territories and the District of Columbia. The rules require states to select their delegations in a way that gives full opportunity for participation by all Democrats, including women, young people, and minorities. No element of the Democratic party should be able to say, as

some did in 1968, that its voice went unheard, its views unheeded, and its membership unrepresented in the nominating process. The guidelines were the result of a year's hard work by the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection under its two chairmen—first, Senator George McGovern of South Dakota and later, Representative Donald M. Fraser of Minnesota.

All delegates shall have been chosen openly—at least three-fourths of them by popular election—and only in the year of the convention, when issues and candidates have begun to emerge. Members of the Democratic National Committee further demonstrated their commitment to reform by giving up their traditional right to an automatic delegate vote at the national convention. This year, reform will have prompted Democratic primaries in a record twenty-three states, seven more than in 1968. The number of presidential contenders in the past year has swollen, diminished and risen again; the contest for the nomination has been rigorously competitive. The reason is clear: rarely has our party's nomination been a prize so valuable for a party out of the White House.

As national chairman, I have undertaken several assignments that I hope will have enhanced that prize:

—I instituted a series of dinner meetings among the contenders; these sessions were designed to foster a commonness of purpose, a mutuality of goals that transcended the individual competition for the nomination itself. All contenders have seen, as have we, what four years of a Richard Nixon administration have done to the country they love and want to lead.

—Since 1970, from the congressional election campaigns to the present, I have been traveling the length and breadth of this land, striving to convey to this vast constituency of ours the sense of a national Democratic Party presence.

—National Treasurer Robert S. Strauss and I have mounted a coordinated attack on the problems of current debt and future campaign finance. I repeatedly and publicly urged congressional reform of campaign financing so that no longer will any party be forced to rely on large private contributions. In an era of multimillion-dollar presidential campaigns, private funding threatens to undermine our Democratic system and to destroy it. We must never permit the purchase of the presidency by private fortunes of whatever interest.

—We have challenged the networks and the government regulatory bureaucracy, striving to gain equity on the airwaves. Never before has a President resorted so frequently to radio and television; Mr. Nixon has demonstrated that the unrestricted use of the public airwaves by a single party can wreck our democratic system. We need laws providing for full public exposure of all views on every issue of public importance.

—I have sought to build the staff of the Democratic National Committee into a highly professional political organization. Implementing the nine-point national political strategy I set forth last summer, the Democratic National Committee has created a strong campaign base and an organizational nucleus for our presidential nominee, whoever may win that honor.

Our achievement of the past four years has been without precedent for the national committee of a major political party. We have served as the loyal opposition in the finest sense of the word. With a vigilant, responsible voice, we have responded forthrightly and constructively to an administration that inspires little public confidence, that has caused national division, distrust and disarray. A few weeks after our convention in Miami Beach, you will have the opportunity to witness another political convention in San Diego, California. I sincerely invite all Americans to compare the two—the first the result of a long, searching self-scrutiny and rebuilding; the second the result of a smug satisfaction with things as they have always been in an exclusive club. The contrast surely must inspire a record number of Americans to register and to vote in an election that will be a crucial test of our democracy—and a crucial decision about our country's destiny.

To citizens of the United States, to observers around the world: Welcome to the 1972 Democratic National Convention.

Neutral among Democrats

"Now I want everyone to understand," Larry O'Brien was telling the staff of the Democratic National Committee, "that this operation is strictly neutral. . . ."

The O'Brien grin came on.

"Among Democrats," he finished.

"I know you read or hear that O'Brien supports this candidate or that O'Brien's in favor of somebody else, but just don't listen to it," O'Brien said.

"Above all, we want to unite this Democratic party. That's before everything else. Secondly, we want this party to have the best convention it's ever had, and that means the arrangements and the mechanics as well as the reform aspects. And finally, we want to come out of it with a strong, broad consensus united behind the ticket and enough money in hand so that the nominees can at least launch the campaign."

He added: "We're looking for resources all the way to the grassroots to draw upon as we need to—and we're going to need to. Bob Strauss is taking care of that," he said, referring to the Treasurer, with whom he has formed such an effective partnership since both were elected at the Executive Committee meeting of March, 1970.

Mary Lou Burg, elected Vice Chairman on O'Brien's nomination, has added strong support to O'Brien's unity efforts, and he has relied upon the experience of long-time Secretary Dorothy Vredenburgh Bush. Miss Burg has been an indefatigable traveler and speaker, helping O'Brien share the heavy load of invitations for appearances.

Says the Chairman: "It's getting so they're asking for Mary Lou now, instead of me."

Throughout O'Brien's chairmanship, his continuing concern has been the survival of the two-party system. He has sought to deal with two major problems that beset it: financial imbalance between the parties and unrestricted use of the air waves by the party in power. With his immediate staff, Deputy Chairman Stanley L. Greigg, Executive Director William B. Welsh, Communications Director John G. Stewart, Press Secretary Joseph E. Mohbat and Special Assistant to the Chairman Nicholas P. Kostopulos, he pressed for legislation which would have won equal broadcast time for the party out of power, and he pushed for a law which would have provided public funding of presidential campaigns by a voluntary income tax checkoff. Only the threat of a presidential veto prevented enactment of public funding for this year's campaign.

Within the party, O'Brien's conservation of Democratic strength has been founded upon a strict impartiality in his treatment of presidential candidates. The careful neutrality is intended to prevent a Democratic rift; it is designed to relieve intra-party tension and free all challengers for a concentrated attack on the Republican President whom the party must defeat.

No small assistance to O'Brien in that undertaking is the affability that has been characteristic of his career. The friendships, acquaintanceships and respect he has achieved among Democrats at all levels made him the natural—and inevitably, the only—choice as the Chairman who could heal what was in 1970 a badly divided party structure.

Making the job even more complex was the mandate of the 1968 convention for sweeping reform of the party structure. O'Brien's task was to unite the party while he presided over its reorganization. He gave strong support to the efforts of the reform commissions, directed state parties to revise their structures in accord with the reform guidelines. He encouraged state groups to open the party to broader popular participation, to seek the involvement of women, minorities and the young. Vigorously, he urged Democrats to remake the party.

"Larry," says an old friend, "has never lost his enthusiasm, even after all these years in Washington." Underlying the good nature and the unruffled calm is the thorough professional competence of Larry O'Brien, the ceaseless capacity for work, the concern for detail and the genius for organization which has transformed that specialty into a new branch of political science.

After the victory of 1960, O'Brien served as counselor to two Presidents and as the chief legislative strategist who helped achieve enactment of landmark legislation in such fields as health care, education and civil rights—attainments that will continue to benefit millions in the decades ahead.

A politician who knows the place for politics, O'Brien emphatically recommended their banishment from the Post Office Department. Eighteen months after he entered the Johnson Cabinet as Postmaster General, he proposed that the postal service be converted to a government-owned corporation run as a public service enterprise.

O'Brien emerged from the decade of the sixties into the seventies with a new eminence in the party and in national politics. He had been tempered by the experience of directing the last three presidential campaigns; he had grown in the service of two Presidents; he had been seared by his presence at both of the Kennedy assassinations, and he was shaken again by the death in 1971 of his close assistant Ira Kapenstein. The decade had bestowed even greater maturity and deeper understanding. Through it all, he has retained his love for the political experience and an unyielding dedication to the betterment of mankind. He is still the Larry O'Brien who has never lost his enthusiasm. He looks ahead to this new election as a new challenge against an old adversary. "This year," he says with relish, "we have the greatest opportunity since the first election of Franklin Roosevelt forty years ago to defeat an incumbent President." •

The Vice Chairman
Mary Lou Burg

Her audience might be businessmen or women voters; Mary Lou Burg speaks to either kind of group indiscriminately—and authoritatively. She attracts her audiences, regardless of sex, because she can bring them what they want to hear—top Democratic party policy from one of the decision-makers.

Since she was elected Vice Chairman of the Democratic National Committee two years ago, Miss Burg has traveled more than 100,000 miles, visited thirty-four states, addressed countless Democratic groups of all sizes and constituencies, and made numerous television appearances, speaking in behalf of the Democratic cause and bearing the message of Democratic reform.

"The important thing is that the party speak with a firm consistent voice on reform and all other policy matters," she says. "I tell them about this upcoming election; I tell them we've got to get together and present a united Democratic front and we're going to fight and win it this fall."

It is a straight, simple message that has been boosting morale and rallying Democrats all over the nation. Frequently, Miss Burg takes to television, radio and other forums to debate Republican officials.

Her work, involving all aspects of party policy, is perhaps the best evidence of the metamorphosis she has wrought in the Democratic vice chairmanship, a post once given generally to women's matters. "Of course I will always be very much concerned with women's affairs," she says.

Last October, Miss Burg and Harriet Cipriani, director of women's activities, staged a Washington leadership conference to encourage women to run for elective office and for delegate to the 1972 convention. "The mood," says the Vice Chairman, "was one of healthy, constructive militancy."

India Edwards, Vice Chairman from 1950-56, described participants as "pols in the best sense of the word, but new style pols. That is what we need in our party, whether they be female or male, young or old, of whatever color or creed."

Miss Burg believes that the best way to advance the cause of women is to demonstrate that they are obtaining political equality and that they can function capably and effectively in the political world.

That is exactly what she has been doing since she took over the vice chairmanship as a full-time salaried officer with an equal say in all party matters. Miss Burg entered politics at the county level in her native Wisconsin in 1960; she served as county chairman and member of the state party Administration Committee before she was chosen Democratic National Committeewoman in 1968.

She left a position as General Manager and General Sales Manager of radio station WYLO of Milwaukee to become an officer of the Democratic National Committee in 1970. She had been in broadcasting for fifteen years, and she had served, among other community and professional activities, as fund-raiser for the March of Dimes and the Milwaukee Center for the Performing Arts. She is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin. •

The Treasurer

Robert S. Strauss

"Call it the cost of democracy," Bob Strauss says. Like other costs magnified by Republican inflation, this one continues to rise—steeply. "You have to pay it," Mr. Strauss says. "You can't have a two-party democratic system without it."

Democratic finance has been the responsibility of Robert S. Strauss, Dallas attorney, businessman and national committeeman, since he was elected Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee two years ago. He promptly launched a diverse, imaginative and energetic attack upon the committee's money problems. He stepped up fund-raising by traditional means—the dinner he organized in April, 1971, brought in more than a million dollars—and he introduced effective new techniques—like the fund-raising telethon to be held just before the convention. Another Strauss innovation was the establishment of a Democratic Finance Council to help mobilize the nation-wide effort. Early in 1971, the Treasurer and Democratic National Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien announced the members. Their pictures appear with those of other party officials in the section beginning on page 185: "The States and the Election of the President."

Prominent citizens, businessmen and community leaders, the seventy-one Finance Council members—including one in Europe—serve as regional advisers and fund-raising coordinators in the field.

The efforts Strauss has directed have stabilized the Democratic debt and made it possible to finance national party operations from current funds. Even more importantly, revision of the finance system has broadened the base of Democratic support for the eventual presidential nominee; the fund-raising operation has been extended by a massive direct-mail program to millions of citizens—not rich by any means—but willing to contribute and to help share the Democratic cause. This year fund appeals are expected to be sent to more than twenty million Americans, says Ms. Bobbie Gechas, director of the direct-mail program. The total, in this presidential year, is four times that of 1971. "It was Mr. Strauss who committed us to the development of this program, invested in it, pushed its growth," Ms. Gechas said. In three years the number of contributors by mail has increased four hundred percent. Proceeds now fund half the committee budget, compared to twenty percent in 1969.

Another Treasurer's project has been the expansion of the 1972 Sponsors Club to an enrollment of more than eight hundred members whose subscriptions provide another significant share of Democratic National Committee income.

Such varied undertakings help prepare for a balanced Democratic campaign financing operation, founded upon small contributions as well as large, designed to achieve the broadest support ever received by a Democratic presidential nominee. It is all intended, Bob Strauss says, to assure that our candidate will owe his election to the proper sponsors—the people of the United States.

The Secretary

Dorothy Vredenburgh Bush

"She is always poised amid the din," an admirer has said of the gracious and coolly self-possessed Secretary of the Democratic National Committee.

Mrs. Dorothy Vredenburgh Bush will take the podium on July 10 before a throng of 15,000 and a world-wide television audience to give the official call to the 1972 Democratic National Convention. Her roll call of states will equal a record and set a precedent: it is the eighth time she has called the roll and the first time that the roll has been based on a drawing. Democratic reform, in the interests of fairness, has replaced the traditional alphabetical order with a listing of states determined by lot. Drawings this year have established priorities for convention housing, floor seating and balloting for nominations.

Mrs. Bush's historic roll call is only the first of her responsibilities. "That's when my job really begins," she says, smiling. Ultimately, she must make, keep and coordinate every major record of the 1972 convention. "Enough transcript, journal, resolutions, actions to fill a row of bookstacks," she says. During convention sessions, Mrs. Bush's knowledge of procedure makes her an invaluable consultant on parliamentary matters.

It was the same intellect and political acumen that facilitated her swift rise to the top counsels of the Democratic party. The first woman to become Secretary of the Democratic National Committee, she is now senior among the committee's officers. This year her service equals the record for a committee official; only Frederick O. Prince of Massachusetts, Secretary from 1860 to 1888, has served as long as Mrs. Bush.

Her entry into politics was as Alabama's National Committeewoman for the Young Democrats, a post she held until 1950. She was Vice President of the Young Democratic Clubs of America from 1943 to 1948 and in 1944 was its Acting President, the only woman to hold that position. Mrs. Bush is in demand as a speaker, and she has traveled throughout the nation in behalf of Democratic candidates at local, state, and national levels. In 1964, she was a White House coordinator for the "Lady Bird Special," the train which took Mrs. Johnson on her historic trip through eight southern states. •

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The Democratic National Committee

The Democratic National Committee, which has won new stature and esteem for its implementation of party reform, itself faces searching questions concerning its role in a changing Democratic party.

The two reform panels which shaped the revisions in convention procedure and state party structure (see pages 121-127) are also proposing improvements in the national party machinery. The Fraser and O'Hara Commissions jointly have prepared a draft for the Democratic party. The charter proposal, submitted for consideration by the convention at Miami Beach, incorporates three important features: establishment of a national membership system; provision for yearly participation by party members in regional or national party conferences; and creation of a strong regional party organization.

The draft charter is framed to permit more direct participation by members in national party policy-making. Direct participation, particularly through annual meetings, is intended to bring new vitality to the party by stimulating a new dimension of grass-roots interest to complement that of state organizations and elected officials.

The July convention, which must reconstitute and reinstruct its national between-conventions party organization, has the power to make whatever changes it deems necessary. The convention will face fundamental questions on the nature of its national party organization: What should be the duties of such an organization? How should its members be chosen? Should it have status in federal law? How should it relate to Democrats in Congress, to state committees, to state Democratic officeholders, and to party members in general? What new capacities must the national organization have for the technological 1970's and beyond?

For 124 years, the convention has left its interim responsibilities to the Democratic National Committee which has become the permanent agency of the Democratic party. The committee's function is primarily that of an instructed executive; its major directives come from the quadrennial convention whose delegates—3,016 of them this year—represent population and Democratic voting strength and are empowered to legislate for the party. The Democratic National Committee, which meets at least twice a year, elects a working nucleus known as the Executive Committee which is headed by the Democratic National Chairman. Since 1920 the committee has been composed of a man and a woman from each state and territory, one hundred and ten members in all, elected at the conclusion of one convention to serve through the next.

The thirty-first committee, under the chairmanship of Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma and now of Lawrence F. O'Brien, supervised all party reform activities—largest assignment ever imposed by a convention—and won praise for its performance. The party Chairman appointed members of the Fraser and O'Hara reform commissions; the committee financed their work with a $310,000 grant, then received, deliberated and ultimately adopted the commissions' reports, virtually intact, and finally promulgated among all state parties the most comprehensive reform in Democratic history. Incumbent committee members spared not even themselves, renouncing their traditional right to vote at the national convention because their election, four years before the convention meets, violates the new rule that voting delegates be chosen within the convention year.

Besides reforms, the committee under Chairman O'Brien has undertaken such extraordinary assignments as developing a nine-point program for return to the White House and holding periodic meetings with presidential contenders to regulate matters of mutual concern before the convention. Mr. O'Brien is the only man ever to be drafted by the Executive Committee to become

Vice Chairmen of the Democratic National Committee *from left: Mike Mansfield, Majority Leader, United States Senate; Hale Boggs, Majority Leader, House of Representatives; Robert W. Scott, Governor of North Carolina; Charles C. Diggs, Jr., M. C., Chairman, Minorities Division; Robert F. Wagner, Chairman, All Americans Council*

Former Chairmen of the Democratic National Committee *from left:*
Benjamin F. Hallett of Massachusetts, the first chairman; Cordell Hull of Tennessee;
James A. Farley of New York; Paul M. Butler of Indiana; John M. Bailey of Connecticut, the chairman emeritus

National Chairman for the second time.

The committee has given special attention to its traditional duty of organizing the quadrennial convention: it has elected an ethnically and geographically representative arrangements committee of eight women and seven men, and it has chosen as Convention Manager Richard J. Murphy, Assistant Postmaster General for Personnel under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson and executive director of the Young Democrats from 1956-61.

Washington, D. C., headquarters of the Democractic National Committee maintains a permanent staff of about eighty persons which under the day-to-day direction of Deputy Chairman Stanley L. Greigg, former Member of Congress from Iowa, carries out a wide-ranging program covering communications, women's activities, organizational and campaign activities, fund raising, research, publications, black, ethnic and young people's affairs, convention activities, provision of speakers, and liaison with party and interest groups.

The committee is the oldest continuing national party committee in the United States, having been established by the Democratic National Convention of 1848, as a result of a motion presented by J. D. Bright of Indiana. The action was prompted largely by a law passed by Congress in 1845, establishing a uniform date for the selection of presidential electors in the states. The committee was originally composed of one man from each state. With the advent of women's suffrage in 1920, women were included in the committee, giving each state, territory and the District of Columbia two representatives, and the first woman Vice Chairman, Miss Charl Ormond Williams. In 1921, Cordell Hull, later to become President Roosevelt's Secretary of State, became the first man to serve on a full-time basis as National Chairman, but it was not until 1930 that Chairman John J. Raskob, following prodding by then New York Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, established a permanent DNC staff, paid for initially largely out of the Chairman's own pocket.

In 1932, the DNC on the recommendation of its new Chairman, James A. Farley, established the Young Democratic Clubs of America as the first official youth organization of a major American political party. The *Democratic Digest*, the party's official organ, was established in 1935 by the Women's Division. It succeeded the *BULLETIN*, published by the Women's National Democratic Club, which for several years, in the absence of a permanent staff had carried on the work of the Democratic National Committee. During the thirties and forties the DNC maintained offices in both Washington, D. C. and New York City, from which campaigns were directed, but it was not until the 1950's that the headquarters was operated solely in Washington, D. C. The Executive Committee of the DNC, with representatives from all sections, was established in 1951.

In the latter 1950's, under the leadership of Chairman Paul M. Butler, a number of innovative reforms were accomplished including the 1957 creation of the Democratic Advisory Council (percursor to the Democratic Policy Council established in 1969 by Chairman Fred Harris); the creation of an Organization Division with five full-time regional representatives; the establishment of the first permanent Young Democrats Division in 1956; the National Dollars for Democrats program, and in January, 1960, the first advance platform hearings ever held by either party. During its existence, the National Committee has been headed by seven Cabinet officers—H. Homer Cummings, Cordell Hull, James A. Farley, Frank C. Walker, J. Howard McGrath, Robert E. Hannegan and Lawrence F. O'Brien; eight U. S. Senators—William H. Varnum of Connecticut, C. S. Brice of Ohio, James K. Jones of Arkansas, Thomas Taggart of Indiana, Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, Cordell Hull of Tennessee, and J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island; and one Governor—George White of Ohio.

The thousands of men and women who have been its members and the leaders who have become its chairmen have given the Democratic National Committee a century and a quarter of dedicated service; at the direction of the 1972 convention, the national party organization faces a bold and ambitious future.

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Managing the Convention

Richard J. Murphy

Richard J. Murphy

Richard J. Murphy, Convention Manager and Director of Convention Activities, is used to handling massive projects. Which is a good thing.

The Democratic National Convention on July 10-13 will bring to Miami Beach an estimated 50,000 persons, including everybody's families—in all, two-thirds more than can be accommodated by the convention hall although that vast chamber seats 15,000.

"The party has mandated the fairest, most open convention in history, and that's what we're going to give the people," says the convention's chief administrative officer. The party's reform rules require abandonment of many traditional procedures. Says Murphy: "We have to know when to follow a precedent and when to set one." He coordinates closely with the policy-making Convention Arrangements Committee headed by Democratic National Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien.

Among the largest tasks under his direction is the allocation of precious space: housing for delegates, alternates and presidential candidates; seating on the convention floor for the first time for all delegates and alternates. Press relations will involve news representatives from all over the world—an average estimated at one and a half media representatives for each delegate and alternate. A platform seating 1,500 news representatives as well as party officials is being constructed, and 500 telephones are being installed within the hall. Security, transportation and community relations with Miami Beach are other important responsibilities.

For eight years, Dick Murphy handled one of the most demanding jobs in government, serving under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson as Assistant Postmaster General in charge of personnel policies and labor-management relations affecting more than 700,000 postal employees throughout the United States. His appointment at the age of thirty-one made him the youngest official of sub-Cabinet rank in the Kennedy Administration. From 1955-61 he had been Executive Secretary of the Young Democratic Clubs of America and was a close associate of the late Democratic National Chairman Paul M. Butler.

Murphy was the Cabinet member's alternate on the presidential commission which devised the government's first formal labor-management relations program for postal and other federal employees, and in 1967 Murphy supervised the founding of the Postal Service Institute and was instrumental in promoting Postmaster General O'Brien's proposed reorganization of the postal service into a government-owned public service corporation.

Born in Baltimore during a Republican Administration, Murphy grew up in the Roosevelt liberal tradition and has been an ardent Democrat since his days as a partisan newspaperboy. He is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of North Carolina, and was a prominent national student leader in the 1950's.

Andrew J. Shea

Two years ago Andrew J. Shea began studying files and records, analyzing the mechanics and functioning of the previous convention and looking ahead to the new one.

"We began figuring out what would have to be done and how much it would cost and we suddenly realized that the convention was being born," Shea said.

Staff Counsel for the convention and Assistant to the Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, Shea has been a chief financial planner of the convention since 1970. He made the preliminary projections of ways and means, served on the staff for the Site Selection Committee, and when it had settled on Miami Beach, Shea assisted in drafting the contract with the city. Since the full-time convention staff has been organized, Shea has coordinated its activities with the Treasurer's office and has been responsible for the monitoring of convention income and expenditure.

Says Treasurer Robert S. Strauss: "Without the prudent and responsible hand of Andy Shea, it would have been impossible for the DNC to have functioned the past two years."

Shea, an attorney and professional fund-raiser, joined the Democratic National Committee in mid-1969. During the 1968 presidential campaign, he had been sent to New York to take a hand in financial operations in that vital center and later in Washington. Shea's first political expe-

rience, and one of which he remains most proud, is his service as vice chairman of the Democratic Farmer-Labor party in Bloomington, Minnesota. A native of that state, he graduated from St. Thomas College in St. Paul and took his law degree from George Washington University in Washington, D.C.

George L. Bristol

What does it take to raise a million dollars? No magic wand, says George L. Bristol, no glamor. "It's going to see people; it's getting on the phone; it's just plain keeping after it."

Bristol, Fund Raising Director of the 1972 Democratic National Convention and Assistant to the Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, has taken key roles in projects which have raised more than $2 million in the past three years. Sale of advertising for this convention program has been one of Bristol's biggest assignments; ads have brought in almost a million dollars to be applied against convention expenditures. Energetic salesmanship has produced some forty ads more than appeared in the 1968 convention program.

"A great many people in this country believe in the two-party system and are willing to back up that belief with cash," George Bristol says. "But they have to be asked."

He and a small staff of Treasurer's office salesmen are doing the asking; they have honed the technique to a high expertise. Says Bristol, "We just put it to them on the basis of whether this country is going to have a workable, viable two-party democratic system any more. We are appealing to the best that's in a company president."

In the course of his mission, Bristol has made thousands of telephone calls, traveled tens of thousands of miles and talked with countless leaders—in the party, labor and business. A year ago he played a major part in another million-dollar project, the Democratic fund-raiser of April, 1971.

Bristol came to the committee after serving as Southern and Border States Coordinator during the 1968 presidential campaign. Previously, he had been a management consultant in Austin for three years.

Edward E. Cubberley, Jr.

Ed Cubberley probably did more floor-pacing than the rest of the convention staff put together.

Four months before the convention opened, he was already walking off space in the vacant cavern that would be transformed into the setting for the Democratic presidential nomination. He blocked out the floor seating down to the last folding chair, measured off the imaginary aisles, sited the surrounding grandstands and the great platform, determined the locations of 500 in-hall telephones and countless batteries of lighting fixtures and plotted the false floor that would conceal the power cables.

Edward E. Cubberley, Jr., Assistant Director under Convention Manager Richard J. Murphy and an Assistant to Democratic National Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien, is in charge of the use and occupation of the Miami Beach convention hall by the Democratic party.

"Ed did an outstanding job organizing all the construction and electronics and physical arrangements connected with the hall," Convention Manager Murphy said of his second in command. "He's the one who really put the plans into action."

During the 1968 presidential campaign, Cubberley was an Assistant to Democratic National Chairman O'Brien. Earlier that year he had been assistant treasurer of the Robert F. Kennedy for President Committee. In 1971, Cubberley was treasurer for the campaign of the Reverend Channing Phillips for Washington, D. C., delegate to Congress. From 1965-68, Cubberley was an attorney in the Criminal Division of the Justice Department. A native of Trenton, New Jersey, he took his law degree in 1964 from Rutgers University where he was on the editorial board of the *Law Review*. He and his wife, Loretta, live in Washington, D. C. •

Andrew J. Shea

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West Virginia, Majority Whip

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

CARL ALBERT
Oklahoma, Speaker

HALE BOGGS
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William M. Colmer,
Mississippi

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George P. Miller,
California

Standards of Official Conduct
Melvin Price,
Illinois

Veterans' Affairs
Olin E. Teague,
Texas

Ways and Means
Wilbur D. Mills,
Arkansas

Great Democratic Legislation

Today's congressional leadership inherits and partakes the tradition of the great Democratic lawmakers who have given the United States its greatest legislation. The roll of achievements include the following acts, treaties, constitutional amendments and presidential declarations:

SECOND CONGRESS, 1791-93

Bill of Rights ■

THOMAS JEFFERSON, 1801-09

Seventh Congress / Tenth Congress

Louisiana Purchase ■ Twelfth Amendment on election of the President ■ Establishment of West Point ■ Non-Intercourse Act, first U. S. foreign affairs legislation ■ Embargo Acts, designed to keep U.S. out of war in Europe ■ Cumberland Road authorization ■ Appropriations for Lewis and Clark Expedition ■ Abolition of slave trade ■

JAMES MADISON, 1809-17

Eleventh Congress / Fourteenth Congress

Appropriation for a National Road ■ Macon's Bill, restoring trade with France and Britain ■ Tariff Act, to protect infant industries ■

JAMES MONROE, 1817-25

Fifteenth Congress / Eighteenth Congress

Treaty with Spain for acquisition of Florida ■ Permanent statute on design of flag and additions of new states ■ Monroe Doctrine, ending European colonization of American continents (presidential declaration) ■ Missouri Compromise ■

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, 1825-29

Nineteenth Congress / Twentieth Congress

Tariff Act ■

ANDREW JACKSON, 1829-37

Twenty-first Congress / Twenty-fourth Congress

Tariff of 1832 ■ Compromise Tariff of 1833 ■ Veto of the United States Bank Charter ■ Force Bill, prohibiting state nullification ■

MARTIN VAN BUREN, 1837-41

Twenty-fifth Congress / Twenty-sixth Congress

Mail contracts with railroads authorized ■ Independent Treasury Act ■ Ten-hour workday on federal contract jobs ■

JAMES K. POLK, 1845-49

Twenty-ninth Congress / Thirtieth Congress

Introduction of postage stamp ■ Annexation of Texas ■ Creation of Interior Department ■ Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, ceding California and Southwest to U. S. ■ Treaty establishing Oregon Boundary ■ Re-establishment of independent treasury system ■

FRANKLIN PIERCE, 1853-57

Thirty-third Congress / Thirty-fourth Congress

Gadsden Purchase, from Mexico adding territory to Arizona and New Mexico ■ Commodore Perry trade agreement with Japan ■

JAMES BUCHANAN, 1857-61

Thirty-fifth Congress / Thirty-sixth Congress

Tariff reduction ■

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS, 1881-83

Pendleton Civil Service Act ■

GROVER CLEVELAND, 1885-89, 1893-97

Forty-ninth Congress / Fiftieth Congress

Presidential Succession Act ■ Interstate Commerce Act ■ Wilson-Gorman Tariff ■ Cabinet status for Agriculture Department ■

SIXTY-SECOND CONGRESS, 1911-13

Pujo Committee report, exposing increasing concentration of wealth ■ Establishment of Department of Labor ■

WOODROW WILSON, 1913-21

Sixty-third Congress, 1913-15

Underwood tariff reduction and levying of income tax according to wealth ■ Federal Reserve Act ■ Establishment of Federal Trade Commission ■ Clayton Anti-Trust Act ■ Establishment of Coast Guard ■ Smith-Lever Act establishing agricultural extension service ■

Sixty-fourth Congress, 1915-17

Prohibition of interstate commerce in products of child labor ■ Adamson Act, eight-hour workday for interstate railway workers ■ Federal Farm Loan Act ■ Pure food law enforcement ■ Federal Highway Act ■ Smith-Hughes Act for vocational education facilities ■

Sixty-fifth Congress, 1917-19

Nineteenth Amendment, granting women's suffrage ■ Inauguration of air mail ■ Fourteen Points (presidential declaration) ■

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, 1933-45

Seventy-third Congress, 1933-34

Emergency Bank Acts ■ Agricultural Adjustment Act ■ Unemployment Relief Act ■ Tennessee Valley Authority ■ Gold Repeal Joint Resolution ■ Employment Service Act ■ Home Owners Loan Act ■ Farm Credit Act ■ Glass-Steagall Act, creating Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation ■ National Industrial Recovery Act ■ Truth in Securities Act ■ Twenty-first Amendment, repealing prohibition ■ Philippine Independence Act ■ Securities and Exchange Act ■ Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act ■ National Housing Act ■ Federal Farm Mortgage Act ■ Frazier-Lemke Farm Bankruptcy Act ■ Crime Control Acts ■ Federal Communications Act ■

Seventy-fourth Congress, 1935-36

National Labor Relations Act ■ Social Security Act ■ Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act ■ Rural Electrification Act ■ Revenue Acts, reforming corporate income tax ■ Walsh-Healy Act, requiring government contractors to pay prevailing wages ■

Seventy-fifth Congress, 1937-38

Establishment of Maritime Commission ■ United States Housing Authority Act ■ "Pump Priming" Act ■ Fair Labor Standards Act, setting minimum wages and maximum hours ■ Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act ■ Civil Aeronautics Act ■

Seventy-seventh Congress, 1941-42

Lend Lease Act ■ Emergency Price Control Act ■ Second War Powers Act ■

Seventy-eighth Congress, 1943-44

GI Bill of Rights ■ War Mobilization and Reconversion Act ■

HARRY S. TRUMAN, 1945-53

Seventy-ninth Congress, 1945-46

Bretton Woods Agreement Act, authorizing United States participation in International Monetary Fund and World Bank ■ Full Employment Act ■ Permanent authorization for school lunch programs ■ United Nations Participation Act ■ Authorization of British Loan Act ■ Atomic Energy Control Act ■ Legislative Reorganization Act ■ Veterans' Emergency Housing Act ■

Eightieth Congress, 1947-48

Greek-Turkish Aid Act ■ Foreign Relief Act ■ Presidential Succession Act ■ National Security Act, unifying armed forces ■ Foreign Aid Act ■ Displaced Persons Act ■

Eighty-first Congress, 1949-51

Foreign Economic Assistance Act, including Point Four program ■ National Science Foundation Act ■ Public Health Service Act, including Hill-Burton medical facilities construction program ■ Sweeping expansion of social security ■ National Housing Act ■ Fair Labor Standards Amendments, including minimum wage increase and extension of coverage ■

Eighty-second Congress, 1951-52

Defense Housing Act ■ Peace treaty with Japan ■ Mine Safety Act ■ Amendment to Taft-Hartley Act, validating union shops ■

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS, 1955-56

Social Security amendments for survivors and aged ■ Housing Act ■ Free polio vaccine program ■ International Finance Corporation participation ■ Increased minimum wage ■

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS, 1957-58

National Defense Education Act ■ Civil Rights Act ■ Creation of National Aeronautics and Space Administration ■

JOHN F. KENNEDY, 1961-63

Eighty-seventh Congress, 1961-62

Federal-Aid Highway Act ■ Social Security Amendments ■ Housing Act ■ Peace Corps ■ Public Welfare Amendments ■ Foreign Assistance Act ■ Omnibus Farm Program ■ Area Redevelopment Act, for depressed areas ■ Minimum wage increase and major extension of coverage ■ Mass transit improvement program ■ Community Health Facilities Act ■ Aid to dependent children ■ Small Business Investment Act and increased loan authorization ■ Establishment of U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency ■ Ratification of Treaty for Prevention of Pollution of the High Seas by Oil ■ Juvenile Delinquency Act ■ Manpower Development and Retraining Act ■ Communications Satellite Act ■ Public Works Acceleration Act ■ Consumer drug protection ■ Trade Expansion Act ■ Educational Television Act ■ Migrant farm workers' health clinics ■ Work Hours Act, requiring time and a half after eight hours ■ Senior Citizens Housing Act ■ Berlin Resolution ■ Cuba Resolution ■

Eighty-eighth Congress, 1963

Clean Air Act ■ Nuclear Test Ban Treaty ■ Medical Education Act ■ Mental Health and Mental Retardation Acts ■ Equal Pay Act, requiring equal pay for equal work regardless of sex ■ Mass Transit Act, funding research and development ■

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, 1963-69

Eighty-eighth Congress, 1963-64

College and Vocational Education Aid ■ Twenty-fourth Amendment, eliminating poll tax ■ Tax cut and reform ■ Civil Rights Act ■ Mass Transportation Act ■ Omnibus Poverty Program Act, establishing Office of Economic Opportunity, Job Corps, VISTA, public assistance ■ Wilderness system ■ Conservation fund ■ Omnibus Housing Act ■ Educational aid to impacted areas ■ Food stamp plan ■

Eighty-ninth Congress, 1965-66

Appalachia Regional Development Act ■ Elementary and Secondary Education Acts ■ Twenty-fifth Amendment on presidential succession and disability ■ Older Americans Act ■ Law Enforcement Assistance Act ■ Drug controls ■ Medicare ■ Voting Rights Act ■ Immigration Reform Act ■ Mental Health Research Facilities Act ■ Highway beauty ■ Clean air ■ Omnibus Housing Act ■ Creation of Department of Housing and Urban Development ■ Arts and humanities assistance ■ Water pollution control ■ Community health service ■ Creation of Department of Transportation ■ Truth in packaging ■ Teacher corps ■ Rent supplements ■ Model cities ■ Cold War GI Bill ■ Bail reform ■ Highway Safety Act ■ Urban Mass Transit Act ■ Mine Safety Act ■ Minimum wage increase ■ Parcel post reform ■ Freedom of Information Act ■

Ninetieth Congress, 1967-68

Education Act ■ Air pollution control ■ Social security increases ■ Outer space treaty ■ Public television broadcasting ■ Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty ■ Gun controls ■ Truth in lending ■ Fair Housing Act ■ Safe streets ■ Health Manpower Act ■ Vocational education assistance ■ Scenic rivers ■ Scenic trails ■

NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS, 1969-70

Water Quality Improvement Act, fixing liability for clean up of oil spills ■ Coal Mine Health and Safety Act ■ Tax revision ■ Selective Service modification, instituting draft by lottery ■ Child Protection and Toy Safety Acts ■ Crime Control Act ■ Legislative Reorganization Act ■ Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act ■ Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act ■ Federal-state unemployment compensation program ■ Social security increases ■ Clean Air Amendments, establishing deadline for reduction of auto emissions ■ Extension of Voting Rights Act ■ Extension of anti-poverty programs ■ New communities development funding ■ Funds for health, education and welfare (vetoed) ■ Extension of Hill-Burton hospital construction program (passed over veto) ■ Funds for elementary and secondary education, handicapped, vocational and adult education, student college loans and libraries (passed over veto) ■ Funds for urban renewal, water and sewerage facilities for smaller communities, and adequate medical care for Vietnam veterans (vetoed) ■ Equal broadcast time for candidates for public office and limits on television spending by candidates in national and gubernatorial elections (vetoed) ■ Grants to medical schools and hospitals for family medical training (pocket vetoed) ■ Employment and training opportunities for unemployed and underemployed (vetoed) ■

NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS, 1971-72

Twenty-sixth Amendment, granting eighteen-year-old vote ■ Accelerated Public Works Bill (vetoed) ■ Extension of Office of Economic Opportunity programs for two years and establishment of day care and child development program (vetoed) ■

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FLORIDA
CONVENTION STATE

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Apollo 8 blasts off Cape Kennedy headed for moon orbit.

NASA PHOTO

Miami Beach
CONVENTION CITY

Miami Beach remains devoted to a single purpose—the lodging, feeding and entertainment of visitors on a holiday. Every year an estimated two and a half million vacationing Americans and others stay in the 376 hotels and 3,000 apartment buildings offered by Miami Beach. Along the city's seven miles of Atlantic shore are ten beach parks reserving some two miles of sandy beach for public use. Visitors have a choice of three golf courses, including two eighteen-hole links, for a nominal greens fee. There are also a dozen playground parks including two tennis centers, handball courts and facilities for other games. Five community centers offer daily and evening programs designed for varying age groups. The city of Miami Beach spends more than $60,000 a year on its flower plantings and other landscaping, and it operates two swimming pools, a free fishing pier, and the Bass Museum of Art.

Four years ago Miami Beach completed a 232,000-square-foot addition to its convention hall, doubling the size of the building which will house the 1972 Democratic National Convention. The adjoining municipal auditorium, which will also house convention offices, has been the home of the Jackie Gleason television show. Annually, Miami Beach is host to some 800 conventions.

The city is no longer exclusively a resort community. Its mild climate, the seashore and its other amenities have brought Miami Beach a year-around population of 87,000.

The Democratic National Convention Committee would like to extend special thanks to the following people and organizations for their particular contribution to the 1972 Democratic National Convention.

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Jerry Sussman, President;
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The Reverend Jack Day
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DEMOCRATIC TICKET IN 1968, P. 111
BLACK CAUCUS, P. 170

FONTAINEBLEAU: HEADQUARTERS HOTEL, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Hotel Assignments

Presidential Candidates

Shirley Chisholm
U. S. Representative, New York
Headquartered at the DEAUVILLE

Hubert H. Humphrey
U. S. Senator, Minnesota
Headquartered at the CARILLON

Henry M. Jackson
U. S. Senator, Washington
Headquartered at the MONTMONTRE

Eugene J. McCarthy
Former U. S. Senator, Minnesota
Headquartered at the AMERICANA

George McGovern
U. S. Senator, South Dakota
Headquartered at the DORAL ON-THE-OCEAN; HARBOUR ISLAND SPA; HOLIDAY INN-NO. BAY VILLAGE; SUNSET MOTOR-NO. BAY VILLAGE

Wilbur D. Mills
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Edmund S. Muskie
U. S. Senator, Maine
Headquartered at the AMERICANA

Terry Sanford
Former Governor, North Carolina
Headquartered at the McALLISTER; DiLIDO

George C. Wallace
Governor of Alabama
Headquartered at the DUPONT PLAZA; SHERATON FOUR AMBASSADORS

Vice Presidential Candidate

Endicott Peabody
former Governor, Massachusetts
Headquartered at the DORAL ON-THE-OCEAN

State Delegations

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Waldman's
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Miami Beach
538-5731

ALASKA
Desert Inn
17201 Collins Avenue
Miami Beach
947-0621

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Hollywood
923-8111

ARKANSAS
Mimosa
4747 Collins Avenue
Miami Beach
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Miami Beach
888-3600

COLORADO
Versailles
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Holiday Inn—87th
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Miami Beach
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Bal Harbour
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Hallandale
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The Standing Committees

Patricia Roberts Harris

James G. O'Hara

Richard E. Neustadt

Three standing committees prepare the business of the Democratic National Convention: Credentials *must resolve all questions concerning the seating of delegates;* Rules *must recommend the rules of the convention, including those governing the nomination of presidential and vice presidential candidates, and this committee may propose an agenda and certain resolutions;* Platform *must draft the party's major policy statement. In each case, the convention remains the supreme authority and may accept, reject or modify the work of any committee. Each committee has 150 members apportioned among the states according to the sizes of their respective delegations, but each state has at least one member on each committee.*

Credentials

The Credentials Committee, under Patricia Roberts Harris, faced an unprecedented task: claims for every contested convention seat had to be measured against the new rules and new standards of 1972.

To do its work, the committee virtually established a special judicial system.

Thirty Democratic attorneys throughout the nation agreed to conduct hearings on challenges to delegates selected under the 1972 reform procedures (see "The New Delegate," p. 122). The attorneys served without compensation as hearing officers in the field, listening to challenge and defense and making findings of fact in individual cases. Burke Marshall, a Dean of the Yale Law School and former U. S. Assistant Attorney General, is chairman of the panel of hearing officers. Findings of fact by the hearing officers were transmitted to the full Credentials Committee which met in Washington shortly before the convention. Determinations of the Credentials Committee, in turn, will be submitted to the Democratic National Convention which has the final authority to decide who shall be seated at the convention.

Many challenges concerned women, minorities o youth; challenged delegates and state parties had to sho that affirmative efforts had been made to solicit and en courage the participation of these groups in the delegat selection process.

"There were few precedents and very little time," Mrs. Harris said, "but the hearing officers and committe staff did an outstanding job. They gave everyone con cerned an impartial hearing and a fairer chance to cha lenge or defend than ever before in the history of cre dentials challenges in any political party."

The Chairman of the Credentials Committee is practicing attorney in Washington, D.C., and under Presi dent Johnson was U.S. Ambassador to Luxembourg i 1965-67. She is a member of the Democratic Policy Coun cil, and she was a delegate to the 1964 convention. She was one of the original three Presidential electors of the District of Columbia in 1964. Mrs. Harris also served a alternate delegate to the United Nations General Assembly in 1967-68 and was a member of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence in 1968-69 Mrs Harris is former Dean of Howard University Law School.

Jerome F. Donovan, an attorney from Connecticu is Executive Director of the Credentials Committee Michael H. Cardozo, a Washington attorney, is Deput Director; James S. Campbell, also a Washington attorne is Special Counsel; Susan E. Eisen is Administrativ Assistant.

Rules

For Representative James G. O'Hara, acting chairman o the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, it ha been an opportunity to continue the work he began mor than two years ago.

The O'Hara panel is expected to propose a new code o rules to govern the conduct of all convention busines

including the presidential nominating procedure. The new code likely will be based upon the work of the Commission on Rules which O'Hara headed during its two years of investigations and drafting (see "The New Convention," p. 126).

The Rules Committee is also expected to clear for convention consideration a proposed new charter prescribing the functioning and organization of the Democratic party nationwide. A charter draft, adopted by the Commission on Rules and the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, was submitted to the Rules Committee.

O'Hara, an attorney from Utica, Michigan, has represented the Twelfth Congressional District since 1959. His colleagues in the House of Representatives recognize him as an outstanding parliamentary tactician and scholar. The draft charter provides as follows:

In even-numbered years not having a Democratic National Convention, some 3,300 Democrats—about one-third comprised of elected party officials and public office holders and two-thirds chosen from the grassroots—would meet in a *National Policy Conference*. This assembly would have authority to act on party policy and to elect the *Democratic National Chairman* to a full-time four-year term.

At the National Policy Conference, delegates would caucus by region, of which there are seven, for the purpose of electing a regional representative to the National Executive Committee and to carry out other business.

A new *Democratic National Committee*, a continuing body of about 350 members, would also be created with broad representation from all segments of the party. The committee may establish a budget, fill vacancies in the national chairmanship, apportion the states and territories among the seven regions and establish judicial procedures within the party. For its staff workers and other non-elected employees, the committee would be authorized to institute a merit system providing for continuity of employment, salary classification and dismissal only for just cause.

National party affairs would be the responsibility of the *National Executive Committee* which would consist of up to twenty-one members: the Democratic National Chairman, the Vice Chairman, the Democratic leader of the U. S. Senate, the Democratic leader of the House, seven regional representatives, five members elected by the Democratic National Committee and another five at-large members which could be chosen by the National Executive Committee itself.

Party finance would be charged to a *National Membership and Finance Council* to consist of one member from each state and up to twenty at-large members which would be added by the Democratic National Chairman. The Council will strongly urge membership fees, but to assure that party participation is truly open, no such fee may be required for membership. Any person may become a party member simply by annual enrollment as a national party member.

Howard G. Gamser, a Washington attorney and chief counsel for the Commission on Rules, is also chief counsel for the Rules Committee. Irving K. Kaler is executive director.

Platform

"This one is going to be the people's platform," said Richard E. Neustadt, Harvard professor of government, adviser to three Presidents, and head of the committee responsible for drafting the thirty-fourth presidential platform of the Democratic party.

Never have so many persons taken part in the preparation of the party's most important policy statement to the nation. Hundreds contributed their thoughts and opinions to party officials during the past three years. The regional hearings and the preliminary policy papers of the Democratic Policy Council set a precedent and established a pattern for the proceedings of the Platform Committee, the convention's official platform-drafting body (see "The Platform and the Policy Council," p. 129). Emulating the work of the Policy Council, the Platform Committee scheduled hearings in a number of major cities throughout the nation. That fresh testimony, together with the perspective of the Policy Council hearings, formed an important basis for the formulation of the proposed platform presented to delegates and alternates several days before the opening of the convention.

It is Neustadt's fourth assignment: he was White House liaison with the Platform Committee in 1952, a member of the committee staff in 1956, and a committee consultant in 1960. Neustadt, a member of the White House staff under President Truman, was from 1961-66 a consultant to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson on government organization and operations.

Neustadt won acclaim for his books, *Alliance Politics* and *Presidential Power*, the latter a basic reference on the presidency. He is associate dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard and Director of the School's Institute of Politics.

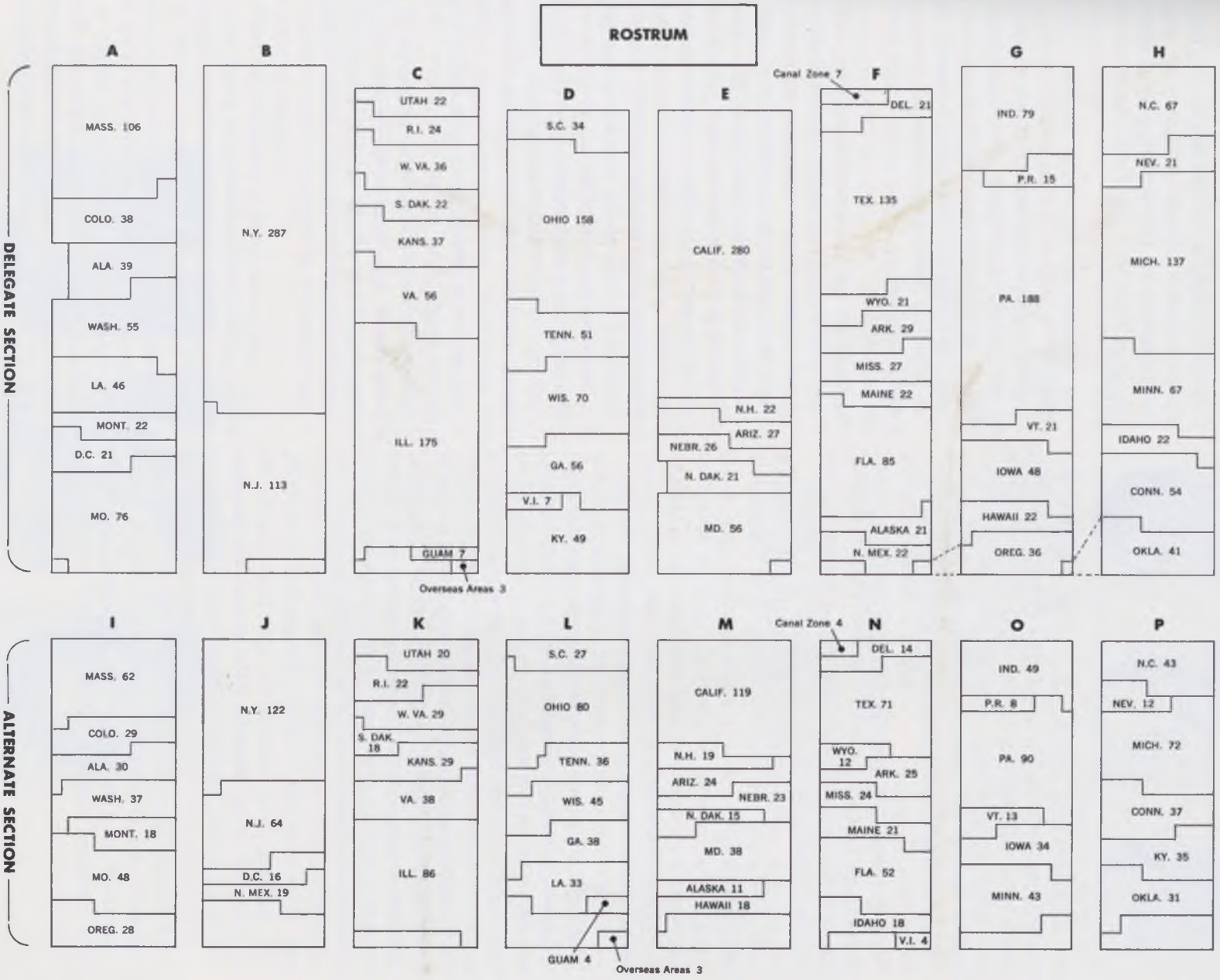
Heading the staff of the Platform Committee is Philip F. Zeidman, Washington attorney and former general counsel of the Small Business Administration. Other staff members: Clark Tyler, Deputy Executive Director; David Ginsburg, General Counsel; Marie Wernick, Administrative Assistant; Margaret E. Shannon, Staff Assistant. •

Jerome F. Donovan
Credentials
Executive Director

Howard G. Gamser
Rules
Chief Counsel

Philip F. Zeidman
Platform
Executive Director

Convention Floor Seating



Figures indicate number of seats, including those for pages, in each section of delegates and alternates. Seating of delegations is based upon a drawing held January 19, 1972, in Washington, D. C.

"The Challenge of the Twentieth Century Is the Challenge of Human Relations"

Harry S. Truman

President Truman once said: "The bravest thing Andrew Jackson ever did was to stand up and tell his own people to their faces that they were wrong." With the same kind of courage, President Truman told his people their responsibilities, the challenges that would demand action in this half of the Twentieth Century. He strove to develop the social consciousness of his people, to make national priorities of education, health, welfare, civil rights and conservation, to muster the national resources against inflation, disease, poverty, hunger, oppression of any kind. The President has lived long enough to see the vindication of many of the bold policies for which he fought. The following excerpts from the creed of Harry Truman remain as valid today as they were at mid-century, and they teach us once again that despite our vast accomplishments, much more remains to be done.

On the Election of the President
It isn't important who is ahead at one time or another in either an election or a horse race. It's the horse that comes in first at the finish that counts.—*October 17, 1948*

On the Rights of Man
We believe in the dignity of the individual. We believe that the function of the state is to preserve and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms. We believe that the state exists for the benefit of man, not man for the benefit of the state.—*March 3, 1947*

The challenge of the Twentieth Century is the challenge of human relations, and not of impersonal natural forces. The real dangers confronting us today have their origins in outmoded habits of thought, in the inertia of human nature, and in preoccupation with supposed national interests to the detriment of the common good.—*October 24, 1949*

On Youth
Our young people know a good deal more about everything than the people who are criticizing them.—*December 6, 1959*

On Ecology
We cannot afford to conserve in a haphazard or piecemeal manner. No part of our conservation program can be slighted if we want to make full use of our resources and have full protection against future emergencies.—*December 6, 1947*

On the National Health
We should resolve now that the health of this nation is a national concern; that financial barriers in the way of attaining health shall be removed; that the [illegible]h of all its citizens deserves the help of all the nation.—*November 19, 1945*

On Education
We must maintain and expand our schools or we shall surrender our liberties without even fighting for them.—*October 15, 1948*

On the Welfare of the People
This nation is no wiser than the education of its citizens. This nation is no stronger than the health of its citizens. This nation's security begins with the welfare of its citizens.—*October 15, 1948*

The only kind of war we seek is the good old fight against man's ancient enemies—poverty, disease, hunger and illiteracy.—*June 3, 1951*

The roots of democracy will not draw much nourishment in any nation from a soil of poverty and economic distress. —*April 6, 1946*

The farmer, the workingman and the businessman must prosper together, or they go down together.—*June 5, 1948*

On Civil Rights
I believe in the brotherhood of man, not merely the brotherhood of white men but the brotherhood of all men before law.—*June 15, 1940*

On the American Spirit
America was not built on fear. America was built on courage, on imagination and an unbeatable determination to do the job at hand.—*January 8, 1947*

We must live in the present and work for the future. As we seek to improve the social order, our policies must remain dynamic, ever sensitive to the impact of changing conditions.—*March 23, 1946*

On Neglect in the Face of the Foregoing
About the meanest thing you can say about a man is that he means well.—*May 10, 1950*

On Himself
I am not an elder statesman. I hate elder statesmen. I am a Democrat and a politician and I'm proud of it.—*April 15, 1956*

I'm Jo. Welcome to my home town.

Miami is the home of National Airlines. And we hope you'll feel at home here, too.

And after the Convention, I hope you'll fly me back to your own home. Or wherever you're flying. (For reservations see your hotel transportation desk or call National Airlines at 874-5000.)

Cheryl, Barbara, Carol, Linda and all of us at National Airlines wish you a successful and productive week.

Fly Jo. Fly National.

National honors American Express, BankAmericard, Carte Blanche, Diners Club, Master Charge/Interbank, UATP, our own card and cash.

"The Democratic Party Is the Instrument of Man"

Lyndon B. Johnson

My entire career as a public servant was based on a sense of the possible; on the firm belief that problems *can* be solved.

That belief is what made me a Democrat, for we truly have been the party of doers. My fondest—and most satisfying—memories of politics have come from those occasions when an almost evangelical mood of confidence and determination has swept through the ranks of the Democratic party; when men of vision and intellect and purpose have marched forward together in the cause of social justice or human opportunity.

It was much more than high rhetoric when Franklin Roosevelt told Americans they had a "rendezvous with destiny" . . . or when John Kennedy declared it was "time to get America moving again." In each case, it was a recognition of what *had* to be done and what *could* be done. It was a call to action.

Today, we are called to action once again—against the problems and inequities that plague our society. But today, that call goes unheeded by millions of our fellow citizens. And it is mocked by millions of others.

A dangerous mood of despair and defeatism has come over America. Many of our citizens have begun to ape the worn old cliches of reaction: "There just aren't solutions for some problems" . . . "The poor have always been with us—and they always will be" . . . "You can't legislate human understanding."

Until recently, people didn't buy that line; they knew it was just an excuse to block the social and economic reforms.

But something has happened in the past few years. Because all our problems did not immediately yield to our solutions (some of which were admittedly experimental) . . . because problems which were decades in the making did not scatter in full retreat the first time we attacked them, many Americans have begun to believe that solutions do not exist.

Many Americans have just given up.

But we cannot afford to give up. To assert that a problem cannot be solved—be it racial or economic or physical—is to deny the meaning of civilization. And to do that is to consign mankind to the role of hopeless pawns in a hostile world.

Where would we be today if our grandfathers had concluded that smallpox and yellow fever and polio were incurable? What kind of a society would we be living in if Americans had told themselves that there was no way to abolish child labor or the sweat shops—or the institution of slavery? What would America be like if our government hadn't thought there was a way to solve the problems of destitution and sickness in old age?

I believe that "man can."

I believe we *can* guarantee a decent standard of living for every man, woman and child in this land.

I believe we *can* overcome bigotry and relieve racial tensions.

I believe we *can* make our cities liveable again.

I believe we *can* save our planet from the ravages of Twentieth-Century civilization.

I believe we *can* conquer the last great killers of man: heart disease, cancer and stroke.

The only question in my mind today is whether we *want* to accomplish these things; whether we have grown too tired or too discouraged or too disinterested to make the sacrifices and pay the price that will be required of us. If we want to solve these problems badly enough, we will find a way.

That, to me, is the real meaning of the Democratic party. We are a party of activists . . . of doers. We believe that problems *can* be solved and we have devoted most of our energies to solving them. We have made some mistakes and we have made some false starts. But we have also helped transform the face of America and enrich the lives of its citizens.

We must continue in that tradition. We must not allow the mood of defeatism and cynicism to spread through our ranks.

We must look to the future in the firm belief that man is the master of his own destiny—and that in America, the Democratic party is the instrument of man. •

Cartier trusted the cleaving of a diamond now worth $125,00 to the ride that's steady as a rock. 1972 Mercury.

July 7, 1971. In an actual demonstration for a TV commercial, a rough diamond worth $50,000 put Mercury's ride to a critical test.

Mr. Josef Briffel of Cartier's, New York, is about to cleave the gem in the rear seat of a moving Mercury. Will the ride be steady enough?

We chose a rugged test site: Dyckman Street, where the road is rough, uneven. Our speed at the critical moment: 35 mph.

At 1:51 PM., the mallet strikes. Hit precisely, the diamond could more than double in value. The slightest mistake and it's worthless powder.

A perfect cleft! Two beautifully formed pieces are ready to be polished. The smaller is 4.75 cts. The larger gem an impressive 9.02 cts.

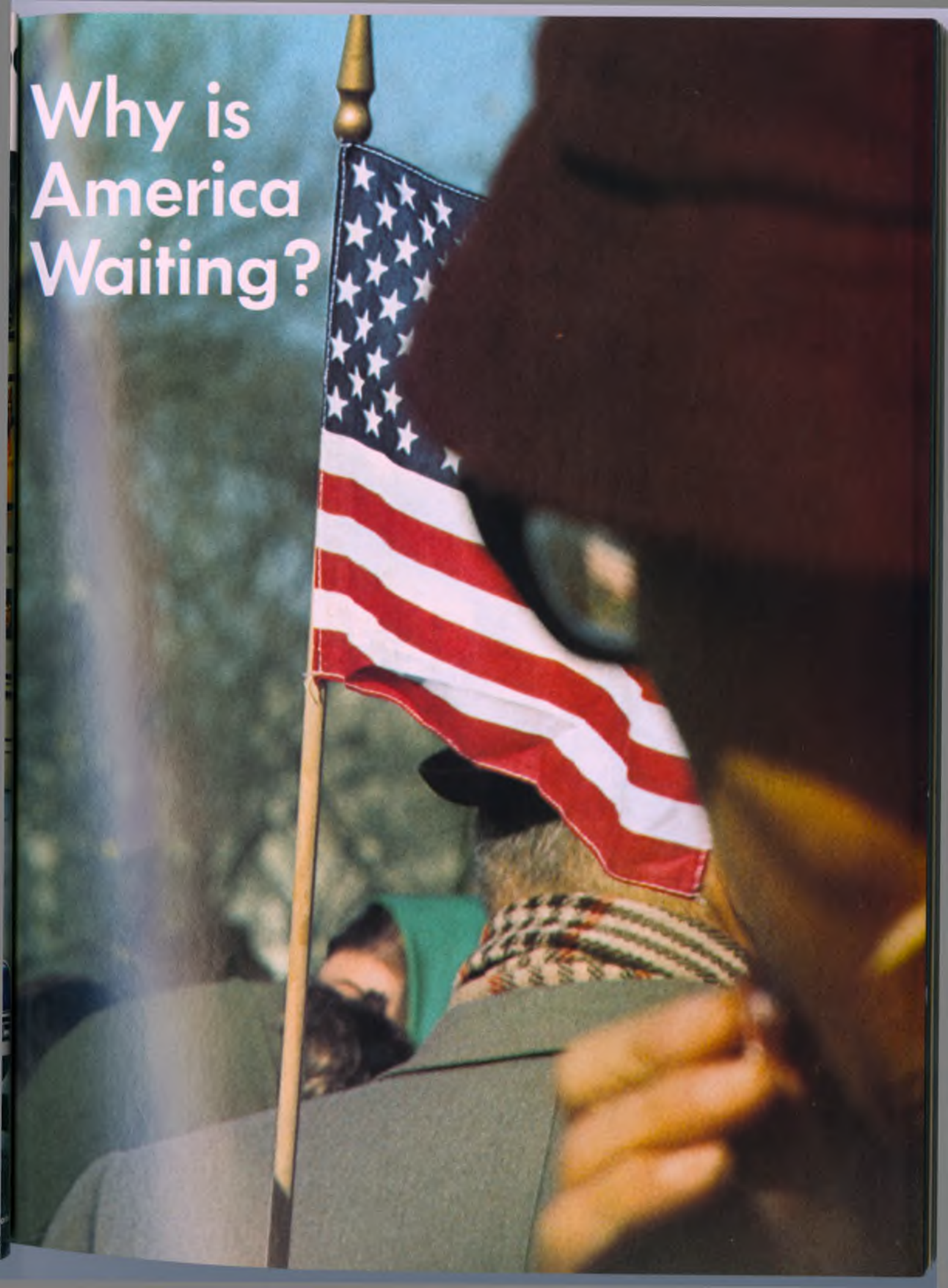
The finished jewel (actual size): this magnificent $125,000 Cartier diamond—an elegant reminder of Mercury's smooth, steady ride.

Better ideas make better cars.

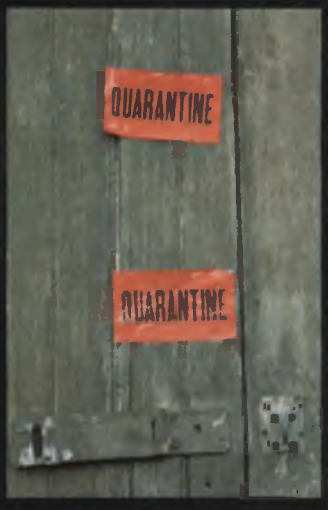
MERCURY

LINCOLN-MERCURY DIVISION Ford

Mercury Marquis Brougham. Hi-Back Twin-Comfort Lounge Seats and cornering lights (shown) are optio

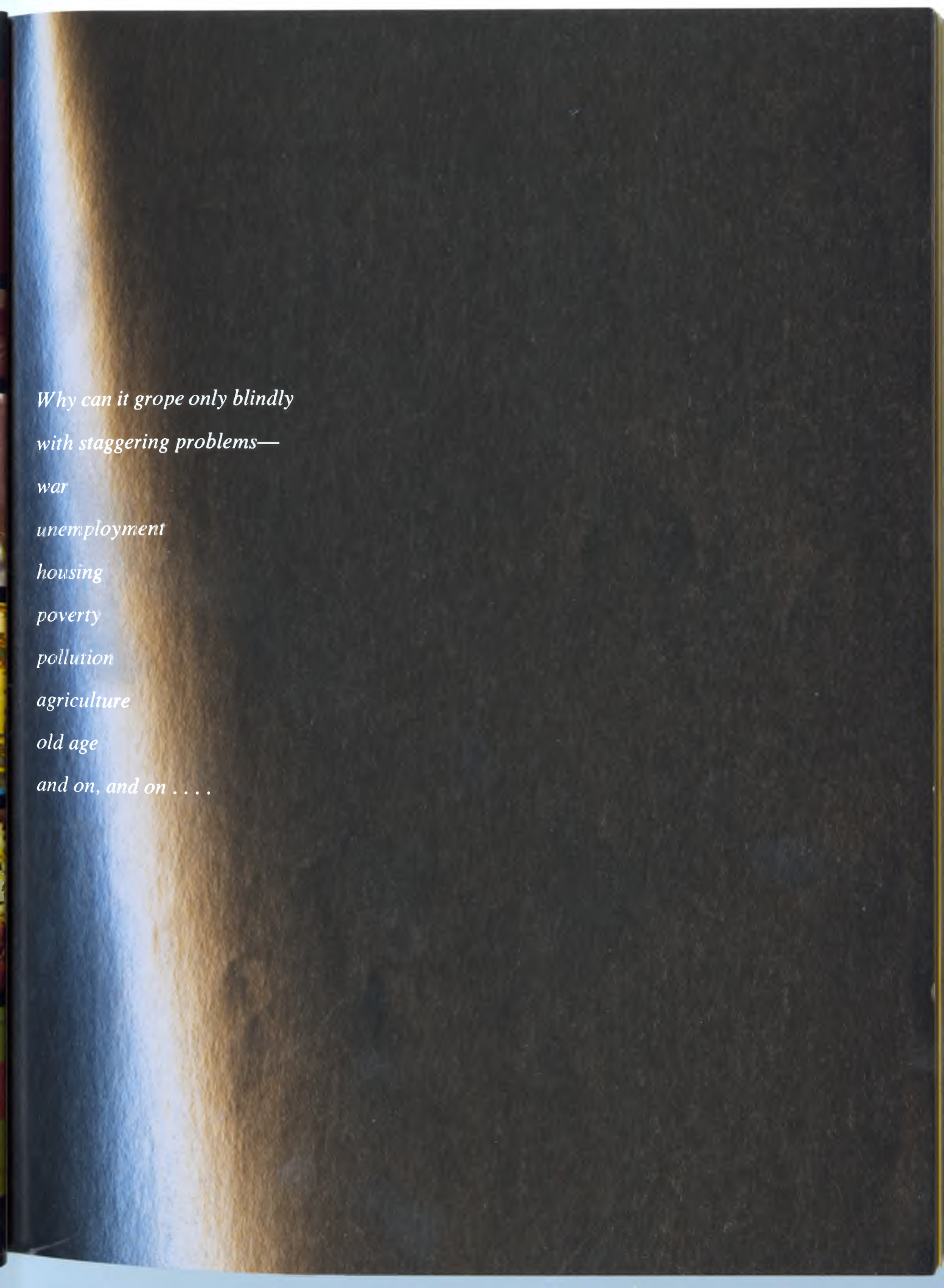

Why is
America
Waiting?


WAR
SPELLED BACKWARDS -
IS
RAW


QUARANTINE
QUARANTINE


FIRE


DANGER


Why can it grope only blindly
with staggering problems—
war
unemployment
housing
poverty
pollution
agriculture
old age
and on, and on . . . .





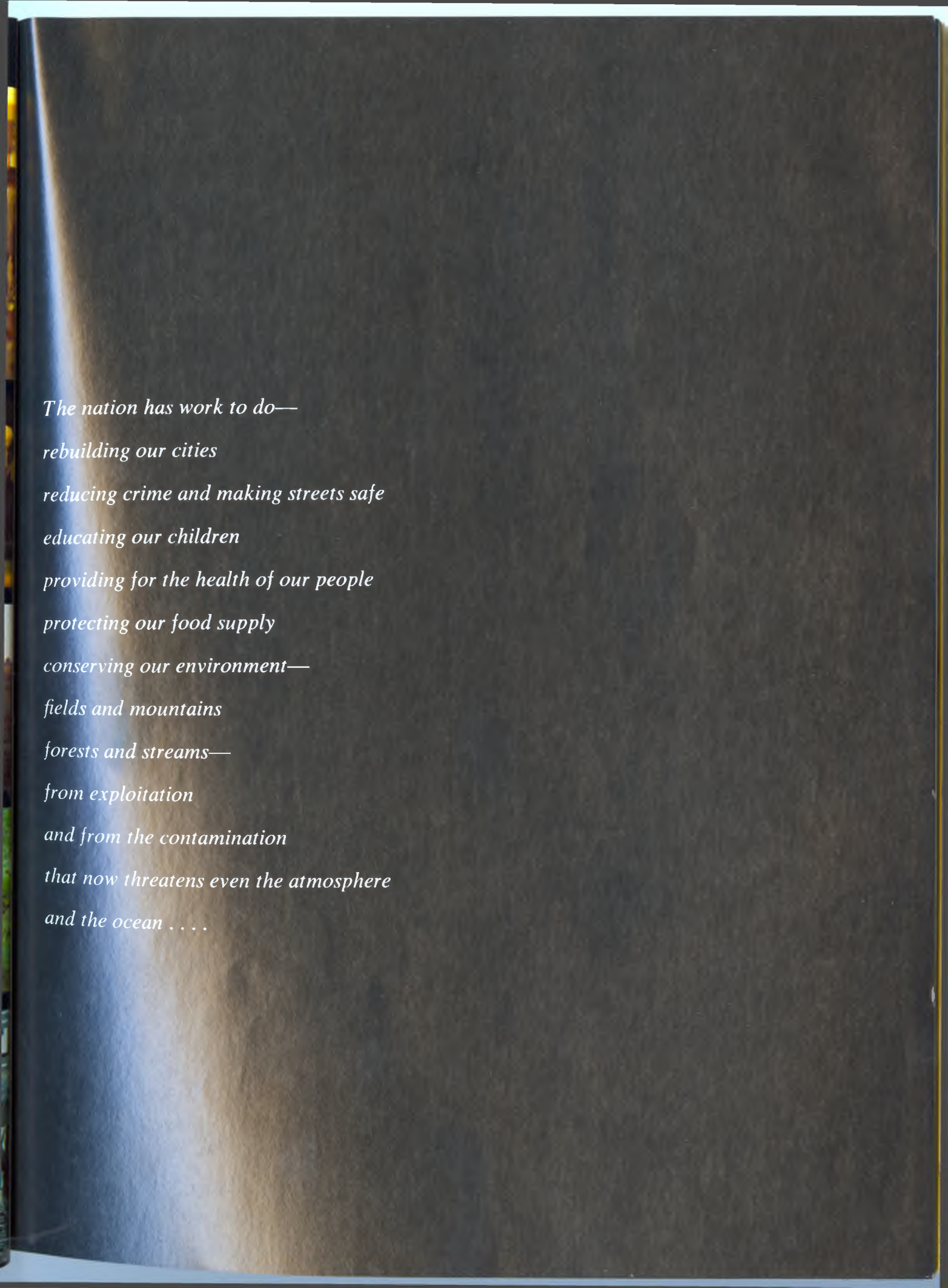


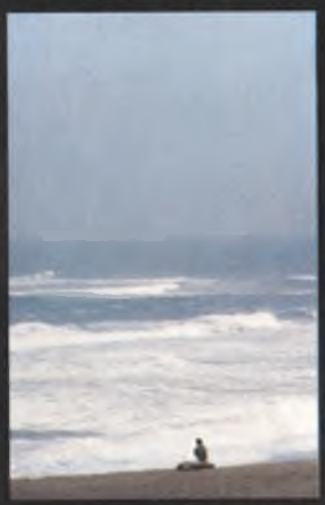


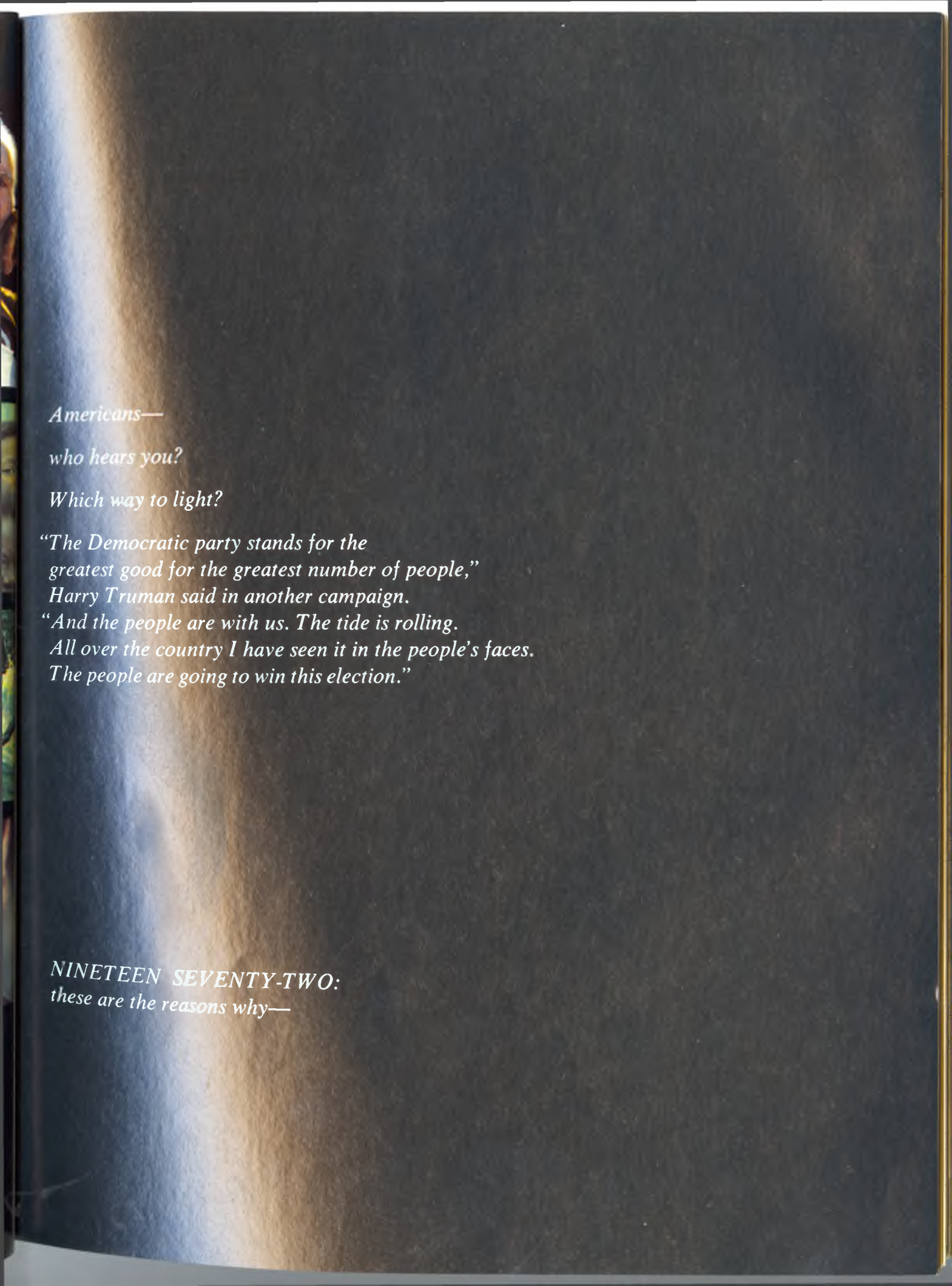







The nation has work to do—
rebuilding our cities
reducing crime and making streets safe
educating our children
providing for the health of our people
protecting our food supply
conserving our environment—
fields and mountains
forests and streams—
from exploitation
and from the contamination
that now threatens even the atmosphere
and the ocean . . . .





Americans—

who hears you?

Which way to light?

"The Democratic party stands for the
greatest good for the greatest number of people,"
Harry Truman said in another campaign.
"And the people are with us. The tide is rolling.
All over the country I have seen it in the people's faces.
The people are going to win this election."

NINETEEN SEVENTY-TWO:
these are the reasons why—

The Failure of the Nixon Foreign Policy

by
W. Averell Harriman

Today, three years after the Nixon Administration took office, our foreign policy is in disarray. Deceptive ambiguity undermines confidence in its reliability. Although we have withdrawn most of our ground forces, the war in Vietnam continues with our heavy air support and has been spread throughout Indochina. American servicemen still languish in North Vietnamese prisons and more are being added to their tragic ranks. Blunders in dealing with the Asian subcontinent have led to the estrangement of India, the world's largest democracy, to the alienation of the emerging country of Bangladesh and to increased Soviet influence in the area. There and elsewhere the Administration has given encouraging support to dictatorship.

Despite President Nixon's announcement early in his term that we were moving from an era of confrontation to one of negotiation, his negotiating record is one of lost opportunities and frustrated hopes. The possibility of an early, effective agreement to limit the nuclear arms race was missed. The Administration has been cool to West German Chancellor Brandt's Ostpolitik and other efforts to reduce tensions in Europe. It has been dilatory in pursuing the opportunity to negotiate a mutual, balanced re duction of forces, which is the best way to decrease ou troop strength in Europe. Latin America has been ignore while anti-Americanism there has reached new peaks. In difference has been displayed to the legitimate aspiration of blacks in southern Africa and to the development o that continent.

Failure to consult or even inform our closest allie before taking sudden significant steps affecting them ha weakened the bonds of alliance and led to widespread questioning of the reliability of the United States. Instead of steady, constructive foreign policy and steady, non dramatic flow of accurate information to the American people and the Congress, the Administration offers spo radic and deceptive briefings, sudden aboutfaces and series of pre-election televised spectaculars. Mini-summit with various friendly heads of governments have been held in a frantic attempt to remedy the damage done b unilateral American action. Then followed the highly dramatized Presidential journeys to Peking and Mosco

The war: a never-ending "ending"

During the 1968 campaign, candidate Nixon told th nation that he had a plan for peace in Vietnam. It re mains the best kept secret of his Administration. In 197 the war still grinds on. **Well before he completes his fou years of office, President Nixon will have been "ending" the war for longer than it took us to fight World War I.** While casualties are now sharply reduced, more than one of every three Americans who lost their lives in Indochin has done so under this Administration. Since Presiden Nixon took office, more than 20,000 Americans have die in Vietnam and more than 100,000 have been maime or otherwise wounded. South Vietnamese losses have bee far greater. More tons of bombs have been dropped i Indochina during President Nixon's three years of windi down the war than during the previous three years. In th last year alone, Indochina was blasted with one-half as many tons of bombs as we dropped in all theaters throug out World War II.

The end is not in sight. We are not told how muc longer American air and logistic support, advisors a residual troops will remain in Indochina. The Presiden

intermittently steps up the bombing of North Vietnam and threatens to do more. We have been given no estimate of the vast sums that will be needed for further military and economic aid to the Thieu regime if the policy of continuation of the war through Vietnamization is to go on. With its expansion of the war into Cambodia, the United States committed its prestige, plus new and substantial sums, to that country. Unless present policies are changed, the prospect is for conflict of indefinite duration.

There were and are realistic alternatives. Opportunities to bring this war to an end have been neglected. The overwhelming majority of the people of South Vietnam clearly desire peace. They demonstrated this in 1967 by casting more than sixty percent of their votes in the presidential election for civilian candidates who ran on some kind of peace platform and in 1971 by giving the most votes in the senatorial election to a slate which emphasized a compromise peaceful solution. But the Nixon Administration chose to let the unpopular, repressive Thieu government, which has no stake in a compromise resist moves toward the political accommodation which is the only way to end the fighting. Despite the Administration's contention to be fighting to protect the right of the South Vietnamese people to self-determination, it helped create and then excused the farce of the one-candidate Thieu election. That phony election makes a settlement far more difficult.

The Administration could have and should have ended our participation in the war on a bi-partisan basis by joining any of the numerous efforts by Senate Democrats to obtain a pullout by a fixed date with release of our prisoners. Instead, it chose to continue the war that bitterly divides our nation. As James Reston wrote in January: when President Nixon's "military and political terms are finally analyzed and widely understood, they may well be seen not as a means to peace but as a cause for continuing the war." All that we really know is that they have failed and without major shifts offer no likelihood of future success. The fighting will continue with continued American support. Despite Administration efforts to mislead, the simple fact is that in this, as in other wars, prisoners will be returned only when the war ends. So by this Administration's policies our prisoners are being condemned to remain in captivity. Ending the war was our most urgent problem when President Nixon assumed office. It remains our most urgent problem as his term draws to an end.

Arms race: a spur instead of a curb

The Administration took office at a moment that presented unique possibilities of curbing the arms race. By August 1968, President Johnson had arranged to meet Chairman Kosygin in Leningrad in September to begin strategic arms limitations talks. They were deferred when the Red Army invaded Czechoslovakia. After the November election, President Johnson thereafter unsuccessfully sought President-elect Nixon's approval for the start of these vital negotiations.

When President Nixon took office, we had not yet started construction of ABM complexes nor deployed MIRV's. Comparatively few Soviet SS-9's were in place. It should have been clear that delay in arms limitations talks would make success far more difficult.

President Kennedy seized the initiative in 1963 by announcing that the United States would not test in the atmosphere so long as the other side exercised similar restraint. This bold step rapidly led to the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. President Nixon lacked the vision and judgment to take similar action. His Administration ignored all suggestions to offer a moratorium on further testing and deployment of MIRV's and ABM's provided the Soviets exercised comparable restraint. Instead the SALT talks were cynically used to justify increases in our arsenal. The Administration urged more nuclear arms to strengthen our hand at the bargaining table by giving us additional "bargaining chips." Not unexpectedly, the Soviet Union also undertook to strengthen its hand. Before preliminary talks finally began in November 1969, more Soviet ICBM's, many of them SS-9's, had been built and the United States had proceeded with the development of ABM's and MIRV's. Just a week before the first substantive talks began in April 1970, the Administration announced that it would deploy MIRV's in June. The Soviets for their part expanded their ICBM deployment and the SALT negotiations became a spur rather than a brake to the arms race.

As I write, it appears likely that some sort of agreement will be signed with the Soviets prior to election day and perhaps during President Nixon's visit to Moscow. We cannot foretell what that agreement will cover. But we do know that it will come after the needless expenditure of billions of dollars that could have been spent on urgent domestic needs and too late to prevent the technological improvements introduced by both sides since 1968—developments which make effective arms control far more difficult.

But genuine control over the strategic arms race still remains possible. Nothing in the Nixon record, however, and nothing in the reports that emanate from Administration sources inspire confidence that effective strategic arms control is even being attempted. All that seems contemplated is numerical control over missiles. The negotiations appear to center not on whether ABM's will be banned but instead on how many more each side will deploy and where. An agreement limiting only the number of missiles will allow each side to continue the arms race through multiplication of warheads, greater accuracy and other technological improvements. Needless billions could still be spent without enhancing our security.

On Pakistan-India: elephantine blundering

The Administration's Pakistan-India record is one of incredible blunders that have not only dealt a severe blow

to the American position there but have added to a worldwide loss of confidence in American judgment and purpose.

On March 25, 1971, the national Pakistani military government both arrested Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, whose landslide victory in East Pakistan had put him in a position to become Prime Minister of all Pakistan, and started a massive repression that eventually resulted in the massacre of hundreds of thousands of helpless East Pakistanis and the flight of some ten million terrorized people into India. Not only did the Administration fail to condemn the savage use of arms America had supplied but, incredibly enough, United States' shipments of arms were not cut off at once although attempts were made to pretend this had been done. Before the butchery began Mujibur was not seeking secession for East Pakistan but only greater autonomy. By failing to exert all our moral and economic pressure to obtain Mujibur's freedom and end the slaughter, the possibilities of peaceful negotiation were lost.

When war broke out, the Administration continued to ignore West Pakistan's brutal repression and branded India the aggressor. The appropriate United States role was obviously to urge restraint on both sides, yet we openly sided with one—and made the worse choice at that. Whether viewed morally or with the cold calculation of power politics, it ill-behooved the United States to identify itself with the discredited Pakistani military regime which was predictably to lose the war in East Pakistan and to lose power in West Pakistan as well. We compounded the damage to our prestige by senselessly suspending development aid to India and moving a United States naval task force into the Bay of Bengal in a grotesque throwback to the days of gunboat diplomacy. The disparity between the official explanations and the facts disclosed by the Anderson papers added to the growing credibility chasm. If, as has been suggested, the Administration's unswerving support for Yahya Khan was in part motivated by his role in facilitating Dr. Kissinger's secret trip to Peking, the price paid was inexcusably high.

In Far East: the inscrutable Americans

A deeply disturbing characteristic of our foreign policy has been a systematic disregard of our allies' interests. While making up to our adversaries, we have virtually made war on our friends. The Japanese government was led to think it was engaged with us in a closely coordinated policy toward China but found to its shock that Dr. Kissinger had been in Peking and arranged for the presidential visit. By failing to give the Sato government any warning of his abrupt shift, the President severely undercut its position and awakened Japanese mistrust of America. Twenty-five years of careful development of a mutual confidence unique between victor and vanquished were disregarded. Even after the talks between President Nixon and Prime Minister Sato, the Japanese Ambassador to Washington spoke of the possibility that President Nixon's trip to China "could be the beginning of a process of unraveling our mutual security in the Far East" if the United States continued to disregard Japan. Other allies were similarly left in the dark.

The Administration's needless secrecy shows a willingness to give our national interests lower priority than the turning of a political profit through dramatic maneuvers. While the President's initiative with regard to China is commendable, it was also not necessary, except for domestic political reasons, for Mr. Nixon to explore the new relationship with China with a personal pilgrimage to Peking. The fear that intervening events might place his long-heralded journey in jeopardy may help explain the curious behavior of the Administration in joining China in support of the blood-stained military government of Pakistan.

Last August 15th, the New Economic Policy was unveiled, again without any warning to the allies drastically affected. By then, failures of the Administration's economic policy and the drain of continuing war had caused continuing inflation and was leading to the first adverse trade balance in this century. All this injuriously affected the value of the dollar and made agreement on forced devaluation necessary. But in the ensuing negotiations our allies were treated more as foes to be bullied rather than as essential partners in trade, world stability and security.

When the time came to vote on the admission of China to the United Nations, our allies could not even be sure of the Administration's real goal. The United States exerted heavy pressure for a vote which, in practical effect, would have kept Peking out, but at that very moment Dr. Kissinger's presence in China undercut, probably decisively, the ostensible American position. The United States became so isolated that despite our arm twisting, practically all our close NATO allies voted against us.

In Europe: stealing a bow

The most encouraging recent developments in Europe have been Chancellor Brandt's Ostpolitick and the Soviet response. Much has been accomplished in reducing tensions in Central Europe—the area where the cold war began. But Administration support has been grudging. It has seemed to prefer the status quo in Europe to those changes which could lead to a more normal situation and a lesser burden on the United States.

Yet, when the agreement on Berlin was finally reached among the four occupying powers and the German authorities, the Administration disingenuously grabbed for the acclaim. "The effort in the White House," commented a columnist of *The New York Times*, "to portray the historic new Berlin agreement as a personal triumph for President Nixon brings a wry smile to the lips of Western diplomats. White House skepticism during the 17-month Berlin negotiations was a continuous burden for West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, whose imag

inative initiatives paved the way for new accords."

In 1968, NATO called for mutual balanced reduction of forces in Europe. In March 1971 Secretary Brezhnev asked for negotiations for mutual reduction of forces. But the Administration has been dilatory in pursuing this opportunity for bringing American troops home without impairing our security.

Meanwhile, in Mid-East, Latin America, Africa . . .

In the Middle East, fitful progress has been checked by clumsy diplomacy. The initiative taken by Secretary Rogers brought about a most welcome cease-fire which now has lasted for more than a year-and-a-half. But subsequent heavy-handed Administration efforts to set the bargaining terms have even led to the impression of an imposed settlement formula. This has disserved the objective of transforming this cease-fire into a permanent peace. The "on/off" position with regard to the supply of Phantom jets has confused and troubled the Israelis. At the same time, the public furor caused by the Administration's handling of the matter made the eventual decision even more offensive to the Arab countries. The goal of our policy toward the Middle East should be to help create the climate in which the parties themselves will begin to negotiate an acceptable compromise. This will require supplying Israel with a steady flow of the arms needed to maintain the military balance. We can and should use our best efforts to prevent a renewal of the fighting, but we must avoid any appearance of seeking to dictate the solution either unilaterally or in concert with other outside powers. This could only undermine any chance of genuine negotiations by the parties directly concerned.

President Nixon has ignored Latin America for the most part. He began his administration with one objective for that neighboring area—to kill off the Alliance for Progress and cut the bonds of cooperative economic and social development, seemingly because the Alliance bore the imprint of John F. Kennedy. But he substituted nothing. In place of the Alliance, the present Administration has a policy of neglect interrupted by an occasional diplomatic disaster.

First came the Rockefeller tour, during which this personal representative of the President of the United States was barred from major countries, though embraced in Haiti by the late dictator Duvalier. Then the Administration made no proposals in Hemisphere councils on the great problems of poverty, disease and ignorance. Military governments were singled out for special favors and attention. This shabby record was climaxed in November when the President decided that the Hemisphere needed another tour. His new emissary proclaimed the Nixon neglect as a triumph of diplomacy while ridiculing the policies of Presidents Roosevelt and Kennedy, who throughout Latin America are the most respected and revered of our Presidents.

It is hardly surprising that anti-Americanism is more widespread in Latin America now than at any time in the last forty years. Our leadership has been traded away for a program of indifference mixed with nonsense.

The Nixon Administration has been dangerously short-sighted in its policy toward southern Africa. It has failed to recognize our long-range interests in an area of the world where white minorities dominate and exploit black majorities.

Presidential rhetoric claims that "the United States stands firmly for . . . racial equality and self-determination" in these areas. In practice, the President has abetted action that violates our United Nations commitments and aids the minority government of Rhodesia and most recently in his massive new program of aid to Portugal he failed to show any concern for the human rights of twelve million Africans in Angola and Mozambique. Furthermore, the developmental needs of the young African nations are being neglected.

And at home: a willingness to mislead

A hallmark of the Administration's conduct of foreign affairs has been its persistent willingness to mislead the American people. Vietnamization which perpetuates the war is presented as a plan to end the war. The Administration proclaims the goal of obtaining the release of our prisoners while following a policy that condemns them to continuing captivity. A debacle in Laos is presented as a victory. We are told arms shipments to Pakistan have been cut off while they continue. The Anderson papers further exposed Administration deceits. Understandably, what was a credibility gap has widened to a chasm. Foreign policy can only be successful if it has the confidence of the American people; the habitual, almost compulsive evasiveness which has been a trademark of this Administration is not only wrong but self-defeating since it can only undermine popular support.

The Administration, which does not trust the American people, also fails to treat Congress as its constitutional partner. After War War II, during the most creative period of American diplomacy, President Truman and Republican Senator Vandenburg together forged what the Senator termed an "unpartisan" foreign policy based on give and take between the President and an informed Congress. Now Congress is generally left as ill-informed as the public on key aspects of Administration policy. Congress cannot be asked blindly to support policies in the formation of which it plays no role.

Talk of a "generation of peace" will not conceal from the American people the fact that President Nixon has failed to end the war in Vietnam. The Democratic president who will be elected in 1972 will, I am certain, speedily bring that war to an end, obtain the release of our POW's. Remaining true to America's highest principles, he will adopt an honest steady, coherent foreign policy based on full and candid communication with the Congress and the people. Thus will he restore worldwide confidence in our reliability and judgment. •

Social Welfare Priorities for 1973 and Beyond

by Wilbur J. Cohen

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1968-69

This is a most critical time in our nation's history. Growing divisiveness and frustration continue to grip the nation. There is a lack of understanding in the Nixon Administration of our urgent needs and priorities; there is a lack of courageous leadership; there is often rhetoric when it is least helpful.

The gigantic problems facing us mount: the war, poverty, race relations, the cities, slums, unemployment, inflation, pollution; in the face of affluence and the great capacity of the country for meeting the basic needs of all its people, there are inequalities and inequities.

We need vigorous leadership and intelligent action to end the war; not only this war, but all wars. Escalation of military expenditures must be ended.

But it is clear that the withdrawal and reduction of armed forces will not solve our domestic problems automatically. To redirect our priorities will take time, effort and statesmanship. We must begin this task immediately. A council of social advisers should be established to define our social goals and priorities.

Unfortunately, there are still among our fellow citizens many who believe that poverty is an inevitable condition of mankind, that segregation is desirable, that unemployment is a spur to work, that poor people are lazy, that long hair is a sign of radicalism, and that problems on the college campus can be solved by replacing the college president. There are those who believe that all taxes paid in the public sector are bad, but any price paid in the private sector is acceptable and that the federal government is an evil worse than any foreign totalitarianism.

We must continue to point out that these simplistic notions are out of date in a complex modern economy. Most of all, we must strive to elect to public office Democrats who have the insight and the courage to counter these views which retard our progress and inhibit the reordering of priorities to meet the needs of our people.

The right to vote is an inalienable right and should be guaranteed and protected. Residence laws for receipt of welfare payments have been held invalid by the Supreme Court of the United States. Residence requirements

for voting in national elections are equally unsound. Every otherwise eligible individual should be entitled to vote in national elections for congressmen, senators, and the President. And we must encourage everyone to do so.

Striving for human dignity

The right to education, medical services, and job, and a home, without regard to race, creed, color, or sex must be assured. There is no ethical distinction that can be justified between *de jure* and *de facto* segregation or discrimination. Our leaders must not hide behind technicalities but must take the moral leadership to help eradicate the cancer of discrimination and racism from the body politic. The elimination of racial and sex discrimination could increase incomes by some $25 billion a year and would aid in the reduction of poverty and in the enhancement of individual dignity and self-reliance. Discrimination of any kind must be abolished.

Poverty is a blight upon our nation. It is clear that we could eradicate poverty from the length and breadth of this land of ours. We have the resources. We have the institutional mechanisms. But there is a lack of insight, determination, and leadership in the Nixon Administration.

Yet, much has happened in the last several years to give us some hope that we could reduce the extent of poverty. The report of the Commission on Income Maintenance Programs, headed by Ben Heineman, and the report on public welfare of the Committee on Economic Development show an increasing awareness of business and community leaders that we can and must conquer poverty. We should make the elimination of poverty one of our urgent national goals—now.

A broad and comprehensive income-supplement program is necessary. It must be broader and much more adequate than the family assistance program proposed by the Nixon Administration. Not only must the levels of payment be increased, but a commitment must be made that the federal government will finance and administer the system one hundred percent.

Social security benefits should be substantially increased. An increase in social security payments will benefit not only the aged, but the disabled, widows, and dependent children. The disabled and the widows and children who receive social security benefits should be included in the Medicare program. Their incomes are low and their needs are great. They should have health insurance protection, which should include coverage of prescription drugs for them as well as for the aged.

Extending health insurance

There are some forty million persons in the United States who have no health insurance coverage whatsoever. Millions of others have incomplete or inadequate coverage. A national health insurance program covering everyone in the nation is necessary—and inevitable.

There are some persons who believe that we must wait for a complete restructuring of our health system before we extend health insurance to the millions who have no protection. Certainly, we need a basic reorganization of our health services. We need incentives to economical and efficient delivery of services. But the poor and the disadvantaged should not be asked to wait for full access to health services until the perfect solution of a national health delivery system is in effect.

We can and we must take some steps now in the direction of both the extension of health insurance coverage and the reorganization of health services. Neighborhood health centers should be established in all major metropolitan areas; maternal and child health services, including family-planning services on a voluntary basis, should be available to inner-city residents; and a broad training program should be carried out to facilitate new careers in medical care for persons living in the inner cities.

We must take steps to eradicate hunger and malnutrition in the nation. We need a comprehensive program of nutrition and health education which will adequately inform individuals of the ways in which they can prevent malnutrition and ill-health.

Our unemployment insurance system requires major improvement. While many unemployed individuals receive inadequate weekly payments and other unemployed

individuals exhaust their benefits, there is $10 billion in the unemployment insurance reserves. It is clear that the funds are actually available to improve substantially the amount of benefits and to extend the benefit period.

It is a striking anomaly that the welfare reform legislation providing for minimum federal benefit standards is endorsed by the Administration but minimum federal benefit standards are opposed so far as unemployment insurance is concerned. There is no difference in principle. We must continue to press for federal minimum benefit standards for the amount and duration of unemployment insurance.

Farm employees should be covered under unemployment insurance. Moreover, farm employees should be covered under the National Labor Relations Act so that they will have the right and protection to bargain collectively.

Public employment must be expanded to assure individuals of employment in public service jobs irrespective of their education, background, or experience. Training programs should be related to employment assurance. The need for personnel in hospitals, nursing homes, libraries, schools, recreation facilities, and other community facilities should be given priority.

Several recent Supreme Court decisions have clearly established the applicability of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution to welfare payments and procedures. The constitutional guarantees of equal protection of the laws and due process must be assured to every person, rich or poor, black or white, brown or yellow, student or adult, child or senior citizen. Continued support should be given to the program of legal aid to the poor, and lawyers should be encouraged to handle cases which contest the validity of any law which transgresses the constitutional guarantees.

We must have more effective programs to deal with alcoholism, drug abuse, and child neglect.

Financing improved education

To expand education and to provide the disadvantaged with appropriate educational services, there must be a significant increase in funds for education during the decade of the seventies. The property tax on homes which is a basic source of revenue for elementary and secondary education is no longer a sound and dynamic source for the financing of schools. The property tax on homes must be reduced, and eventually eliminated, as a basis for financing schools. State and federal income taxes must provide the major sources of revenues for the schools of the future.

Our educational system must be made more relevant to the needs and aspirations of our young people. Vocational education should be broadened and extended. Early childhood education should be available in every community. The advantages of the Head Start program should be available to all children. Parents and the community should be involved in the educational system. The teacher certification system should be reexamined and modified to enable more individuals from minority groups to become teachers. Student financial aid, institutional aid for tutorial services and for expansion of recruitment and job placement must be provided to attain greater minority enrollment.

We view with great concern the failure of the Administration to recommend adequate federal appropriations for the nation's education and health programs. We need affirmative and prompt action to increase the appropriations for programs for the disadvantaged, the poor, and minority groups. Federal support of medical research, mental health, and medical manpower should be expanded.

There is much that the private sector can and must do, and we should bend every effort to make the private sector take a more effective role in promoting human welfare. Among the significant steps that could be taken are: elimination of any kind of discrimination in employment or promotion; on-the-job training for the disadvantaged, with emphasis on new careers; extension of credit to welfare recipients; and appointment of minority group representatives to boards of directors of corporations, foundations, and educational institutions.

Important modifications are necessary in our economic, political, and social system. Our political system permits improvements to be made in a way which the establishment can and will accept, namely, through the ballot box. Let us as Democrats work toward changes which will be constructive and useful. Let us as Democrats not be among those who advocate a "benign neglect" of our major problems.

Changes in social policy first develop in the hearts and minds of men and women. Social action first requires an understanding of new needs and a willingness to modify attitudes and institutions to meet these needs. There are those critics who say talk is meaningless and ineffective. But any change in social policy first must be built upon talk and a meaningful dialogue among all those who play a role in a democratic society.

We need at this moment in history the determination to make modifications and to chart a course in a new direction of social policy. We can do so if we work together and elect a Democratic President.

As a result of three and a half years of a Republican Administration some people are frustrated, alienated, and depressed about our ability to move ahead in a constructive manner. We Democrats do not share this view. There are vast opportunities today for men and women of good will to lead the way to improving our institutions. There are opportunities all around if we would but take advantage of them—in our neighborhoods, in our communities, at the city and state level and in Congress.

We have had grave crises in our national life before. We will have others in the future. Let us show a determination now to move ahead. I believe we can and must chart new priorities for 1973.

Four Years: As Crime Rises, Leadership Declines

by
Claude Pepper
Chairman
House Select Committee on Crime

It has long been established that the first duty of government is the safety and security of its people. This principle traces its origin to the earliest forms of civilization. In our constitution, this fundamental principle is appropriately stated in the mandate to "secure domestic tranquility." A careful evaluation of the present administration's policies can only concede absolute failure in this area. Our country knows neither safety nor security. We have become a nation locked, chained, and bolted apart.

We are presently in the midst of a devastating crime epidemic which is unsurpassed in the history of this nation. We can be certain that by the end of the present Nixon administration more than twenty million Americans will have been the victims of serious crimes in that four-year period. No other administration in our entire national experience has been so ineffective in coping with the problem of crime. In the first two years of the Nixon regime (the only period for which statistics are presently available), the number of citizens who have lost their lives as a result of murder has increased 16 per cent. If the present trend continues, as surely it can be anticipated, there will be more than a 30 per cent increase of Americans losing their lives due to murderous attacks during this administration.

As appalling as the murder statistics are, the robbery picture causes even greater alarm. Robbery, which includes serious muggings and armed hold-ups, is the key indicator for violent street crimes. The continuation of such a trend will result in a 50 per cent increase in violent street crimes during the Nixon years.

Though murder and robbery have been specifically mentioned, the deplorable state of other violent crime is identical. The outrageous and reprehensible crime of forcible rape has increased 20 per cent of the first two years of this administration. Aggravated assaults involving serious personal injury to victims have increased 17 per cent. Burglaries, involving the invasion of the sanctuary of people's homes and the theft of their most valuable possessions, have increased 10 per cent. Overall violent crime has risen by 24 per cent. Although less serious in relation to personal safety and security, it should be noted that larcenies have leaped 37 per cent and auto thefts 18 per cent in the initial Nixon years.

However disturbing these statistics, it is essential to note that they reflect only the first two years of the present administration. Each of these incredible increases must be doubled to truly reflect the epidemic of crime, especially in these last four years.

Those not the immediate victim of the recent epidemic in crime have, nevertheless, suffered dearly. These individuals are affected not only by deep sympathy for the victims of crime, but by the constant fear that they, too, will fall victim to the ever-increasing rate of crime.

The fear of which I speak is constantly with us; it permeates our entire lives. The feeling of safety and security so cherished in this country no longer exists in major areas of the nation. A feeling of fear pervades our major cities, suburbs and rural areas alike.

The elderly, who have dedicated their lives to building this nation, are at the very minimum entitled to personal safety in their autumn years, but presently cannot freely walk the streets of our cities after dark. A tragic commentary on the state of the nation came to light in a recent national survey showing 80 per cent of all Americans always keep their doors locked for fear of crime. Women of all ages are afraid to ride elevators in their own buildings. People returning home from work at night are fearful that they will not get from the subway or bus to their doors without being assaulted. Even once-secure farms are now regularly bolted fearing they, too, will be touched by the national epidemic of crime.

Crime has become so prevalent that even our business institutions have been forced to change. Merchants in downtown business districts have been forced to hire private guards and install intricate safe-keeping devices. All customers have become subject to careful scrutiny. The current robberies have forced bus drivers in our major cities to no longer provide change to riders.

Fear of crime has been a substantial factor in the decision of millions of Americans to flee our cities in order

to seek safety for their families in surrounding suburbs. Unfortunately, even relocation has not provided a safe haven from crime—the incidence of crime in our suburbs is now rising twice as fast in our central cities.

These Nixon crime statistics and the enormous fear that these crimes have justifiably engendered reflect a deplorable and depressing state of affairs in our nation today. The administration can no longer disguise the bankruptcy of its crime program. The evidence indisputably demonstrates a substantial increase in crime. Nevertheless, the administration attempts to obfuscate and manipulate the alarming rise in crime statistics. For many years, in its annual report, the FBI fairly and honestly reported the crime statistics in this country. The first page of the annual FBI report traditionally provided an intelligent summary of how crime had increased in that year. In order to hide and disguise the soaring increase in crime which has occurred, the administration has prevented the FBI from performing this service. The interference with the Bureau's normal and customary function of informing the public fully and openly about crime is another clear example of this administration's efforts to conceal the actual facts from public view.

Most alarming is the present absence of leadership to wage the fight against crime. The administration's lack of leadership is compounded by its insensitivity to basic human rights. The President's approval of indiscriminate arrests of demonstrators and bystanders is an example of total disregard for the criminal process.

A number of other examples of insensitivity and inefficiency come readily to mind. Our local police, courts and prisons are desperately in need of financial aid, while 90 per cent of federal funds for law enforcement are tied up by an ineffective Justice Department. The inability of the Nixon administration to move these funds to the places where they are vitally needed is a classic demonstration of mismanagement.

Even more terrifying than the fact that arrests for crimes involving drugs have now reached more than 400,000 a year, is that our high schools and even elementary schools are rapidly becoming havens for drug pushers. Parents are justifiably terrified with the prospect that their children will become unwittingly involved with readily accessible drugs. After three years of an avowed attack on international narcotic violations, more drugs are presently coming into the country than ever before. After the dismal failure of that program, the President has announced a new election-year plan designed to apprehend the lowly street pusher of narcotics. One can only surmise why the President waited three years after coming into office to announce a project to apprehend these parasitic individuals. This program, moreover, has no budget for increased staffs of narcotic investigators. Incredulously, the manpower assigned to operate the program will be transferred from other important areas of narcotics law enforcement. In describing the President's new program, New York City's Police Commissioner commented: "Nothing, in my view, could be more wasteful. We have tried this (program). We know it doesn't work." Obviously, programs are conceived in ignorance by public-relations specialists attempting to project the image that the President is doing something about crime.

A final example of another wasteful and belated election-year program is called the "high impact anti-crime program." Announced as an action program for eight selected cities, it was not even in the planning stage when heralded in January of this year. According to the Attorney General, the ten largest cities with the greatest crime problems were purposely omitted from the proposed program because insufficient funds existed to include them. Earlier the same year, the Attorney General had appeared before Congress and testified against additional appropriations for that program. When Democratic Members of the Congress called for additional funds to fight crime, the Attorney General, at that time, insisted that the funds requested by the Nixon administration were sufficient to do the job.

On the basis of my experience as Chairman of the House of Representatives Select Committee on Crime, I can assure you that no more difficult problem exists in the nation today than that of crime. I can also share with you my deep conviction that the crime problem can be solved if we, as a nation, directly focus our best intellects, our extensive energies, and resources on the problem.

I believe that there is a principal distinction between the national parties in their attitude toward crime. The Democratic party has long been convinced that any viable long-range solution to crime must attack the root causes of that crime. The root causes have been manifest to us throughout the years.

There is no single cause for the national crime crisis we now face. Poverty, drug addiction, inadequate education, lack of jobs for young people, and deplorable rehabilitation facilities for the youthful offenders are all important factors contributing to the intolerably high crime rate. The Democratic party has always been in the forefront of the attack on these wrongs. Our opposition has persistently opposed vitally needed social and educational programs which would have significantly reduced crime.

Let us not forget that it was a Democratic President who proposed and a Democratic Congress that passed the Omnibus Crime Control Act. Had a Democratic President continued in the White House, that program would be a meaningful reality today, but instead our cities are today rampant with crime. Democratic leadership would have provided effective treatment and rehabilitation for the drug addicts who wander through our streets in search of crime to pay for their habit. We most surely would never have turned our backs on the youth of our nation, forcing them to cope with the drug culture that pervades our country and shakes the very foundation of our society.

The Democratic party has always stood for improving the lot of all our people, affording educational and training programs for all eligible. We have always striven

to achieve a wholesome environment in which our young could grow and prosper. We have relentlessly sought to open doors of opportunity so that all may share the bounty of this great nation, and in so doing, struck at the very root of crime.

We are now meeting in convention to select the standard bearer of our party and to adopt a platform for the election campaign ahead. The great genius of the American system is the ability of its people to counsel together about the problems confronting the nation and to propose solutions to those difficulties. Our convention is a singular opportunity to marshal the resources of the nation in a concerted effort to reduce crime.

This convention can commit the nation to decisive programs which will substantially reduce street crime and give comfort and renewed hope to our law-abiding citizenry. Heroin addicts, who will adopt almost any criminal means to support their drug habit, account for an estimated 35 to 50 per cent of our violent crimes. We must make every effort to identify and enroll these addicts in a rehabilitation program within the next two years. Concurrently, we must establish federally financed drug addiction clinics in every city of the country in order to rehabilitate these addicts. Such a program affords us an excellent opportunity to turn the tide of crime. A successful national drug program would have a revolutionary and almost immediate effect on violence and crime in this country. It would also have the enormous corollary effect of diminishing court backlogs and reducing prison congestion.

Another critical factor in violent street crime is the availability of weapons. A national program to control the distribution of guns to criminals while preserving the rights of the average citizen and sportsman to possess weapons must be of high priority.

Another consideration which requires our immediate attention is compensation for victims of violent crime. A serious criminal assault resulting in death can leave a family without a breadwinner—impoverished and destitute. Likewise, such an assault can cause long and expensive periods of hospitalization and loss of job and income. We must assure the victims of violent crime that they will receive the needed financial assistance in this tragic period of their lives.

In addition to street crime, court delays are a critical aspect of the criminal justice problem today, which must be quickly remedied. If we are to have an impact on crime, we must promulgate a policy providing for speedy justice in our courts. All of us are keenly aware of and concerned about the delays that are attendant in the present prosecution of crime. Federal, state and local governments must make every effort to provide an effective and fair criminal justice system.

We must help the states, the cities, and the local communities of America to provide better pay, more effective training, greater security, and, especially, more respect and recognition for the peace officers of this nation who are constantly on the firing line of a lawful society.

Still another major problem which commands our attention is the deplorable state of our correctional institutions. Today it is generally agreed that two thirds of those released from our penal institutions soon commit additional crimes and are back in such institutions.

The President has called our correctional system of today "colleges of crime." Yet the Nixon administration has done pitifully little to improve the correctional system in our country. These institutions neither deter crime nor rehabilitate the criminal. The first offenders are incarcerated with the toughest of the veteran criminals.

As at Attica, most facilities are too large, overcrowded, remotely located, staffed by inadequately trained correctional personnel, with little or no recreational, educational, and training programs. In most, the prisoners spend the majority of their time in their cells, often harboring their bitterness. They go into a society where they are barred from many, if not most, jobs, and usually without even their civil rights restored.

A Democratic administration would determine that the correctional system of this country must be modernized and competently operated; not only because it is the humane thing to do but as the best approach toward the prevention of crime. A Democratic administration would launch a full-scale and federally-led program providing not only fair punishment but, primarily, effective rehabilitation as the realizable objective of the correctional institutions of the nation.

We Democrats will not accept the degrading assumption that large scale crime is inevitable in this great America, and that our citizens must forever live in fear of the loss of their lives or their property.

Complex as is the problem of crime, it can be solved by a free, dynamic society with effective leadership determined to root it out. We can, and Democratic administrations will, dispel the hopelessness and the frustration which encourage so many of the commission of crime.

We can, and we will, provide a society where there are decent jobs for all and adequate education and training of our people to fill those jobs. We can treat drug addiction, alcoholism, and other causes of crime as primarily diseases, the victims of which can be cured.

We can, and we will, provide better law enforcement, more effective court procedures, more adequate treatment and rehabilitation programs, more preventive measures against the commission of crime.

We can, and we will, give effective federal aid to the cities and the communities, to fight crime where the crime is.

We can, and we will, offer a new quality of life, and the inspiration of new hope to the young; indeed to all of our people. For it has ever been the role of the Democratic party to provide a richer and fuller life for all Americans. •

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Wanted: A Chief of State Who Works with the States

by Marvin Mandel

Governor of Maryland
Chairman, Democratic Governors Conference

The nation's Democratic Governors reacted with prompt, predictable uproar to a recent suggestion that a few States be singled out for special attention by the eventual Democratic presidential nominee.

Riled Governors made it plain that not a single one was going to write off his State to a Republican victory; to a man, the heads of States were ready to help lead the fight to give the nation a Democratic President in 1972.

In the long view, the furor was one of the most exhilarating experiences I have had since becoming chairman of the National Democratic Governors' Conference. For in that moment, the nation's Democratic Governors coalesced into a cohesive force—members of a nationa party united by a single-minded determination to prov the pundit wrong.

Regional considerations faded. Old shibboleths van ished. Remorse for past failures and aberrations was no where in evidence as the concerned Governors blende into a single voice to adopt a resolution declaring tha "We, the Democratic Governors, strongly urge that ou party's candidate for President in 1972 adopt a nationa strategy to capture the hearts, minds and the votes o people in every State . . . There is no reason to believ that there is any region of our nation or sector of ou society that will not respond to an appeal to reason an to the best in the American tradition."

I relate this incident not for mere story-telling, bu to underscore the concern of the Democratic Governor of this nation. For ultimately, it is the Governors and th States who are caught in the merciless squeeze betwee the callous indifference of the incumbent Republican Ad ministration and the needs of the people they serve.

The Democratic Governors recognize that this yea their party has an opportunity to renew the great Amer can struggle that began nearly two centuries ago—th continuing crusade for the enlargement of freedom for ou nation and for us as individuals. Woodrow Wilson, Governor elected President, wisely observed that "Th ear of the leader must ring with the voices of the people Never will that truth be more apparent than at the Demo cratic National Convention in July.

Never has such effort been expended to make a na tional nominating convention, or any gathering of Amer cans, more truly representative of the best our system ha to offer. The openness and fairness of our new delega selection procedures are a tribute to our party's det

mination to capture the confidence of the American people and the leadership of this nation.

Contrast our convention with another meeting that will be taking place across the continent only a few weeks later. The difference is striking enough to underscore why the Democratic Governors are confident they will triumph in one of the great struggles of our time—the struggle to restore the delicate balance between the States and the federal government by banishing the Republican Administration which has stubbornly resisted their appeals for decency and concern with the needs of the States.

That gathering in San Diego will not be a convention in the true sense of the word; it will be merely an extension of the indifference we have endured for the past four years from an Administration that isolated and insulated itself from the real problems of America. Its record is not one of accomplishment and progress but one of political low-jinks and television theatrics—a calculated cover-up for failure, mediocrity and deception. Carefully hidden behind the artificial solemnity and the stage-managed calm of the occasion will be four years of bitter defeats and outright rejection of its negative policies. Let us remind ourselves of a few Administration actions that will be conveniently pushed aside in the contrived convention atmosphere that surely will take place.

- The Republican Administration has produced a three-year budget deficit of $90 billion, with a deficit of $45 billion alone in 1972.
- The Republican Administration has managed the first adverse balance-of-trade in this century.
- The Republican Administration had two of its Supreme Court nominees judged unqualified because they lacked the legal and ethical standards Americans demand of their highest judicial tribunal.
- The Republican Administration made repeated attempts to demonstrate thrift by taking food out of the mouths of hungry school children.
- The Republican Administration encouraged by its policies nearly a doubling of the unemployment rate, from 3.4 percent to six percent of the nation's work force, while unchecked inflation robbed the pay checks of those who were employed.
- The Republican Administration impounded billions of dollars appropriated by the Congress to meet urgent domestic needs.
- The Republican Administration has thwarted innumerable State programs in a bureaucratic shell game that not only drains the precious resources of the States but denies elected officials the courtesy of even rudimentary information about vital programs.

During the past three years, our ears have been numbed by the fulsome rhetoric of a new partnership between the federal government and the States. Yet the States have been shunted to a silent partnership. During the past three years, the States have sustained themselves on promises of revenue sharing, of welfare reform, and of government reorganization. Yet the harsh lesson we have learned is that government by news release produces headlines and not action.

We have been entertained by catch-phrases such as "power to the people." Yet the needs of the people remain neglected and unmet. When Phase One grew up and became Phase Two, we were led to believe the confusion would end. Yet the confusion persists.

Television theatrics and cast-away speeches have not repaired our ailing economy, but rather have only added to the bitter division in our nation that many suspect was created deliberately.

This is merely a partial list of the Republican Administration's documented failures. Yet who can forget that four years ago in Miami Beach convention hall a candidate for President of the United States promised the nation he would "bring us together," that he would provide the leadership Americans have come to expect of their Presidents.

Instead, the Republican Administration has been notable for its persistent attempts to exploit tensions and divisions that exist within our society by appealing to the baser human instincts.

For nearly four years, the Republican party has been preaching that those who live in the suburbs are different from those who live in the cities.

For nearly four years, the Republican party has been trying to convince us that those who work in our plants and factories are different from those who work in our offices.

For nearly four years, the Republican party has been telling us that those who are content with the present are different from those who are concerned with the future.

This is the politics of deliberate division, the politics of desperation which the American voters repudiated in 1970 when the Republican party failed miserably to elect candidates by exploiting fears. That year, the number of Democratic Governors increased to thirty from the previous year's nineteen.

America and the times demand strong moral leadership, and the experience of 1970 supports the historical trend that in times of national need the voters of this nation have turned to the Democratic party.

The Democratic party's commitment is a commitment to people—whether they are black or white, whether they wear blue collars or white collars, whether they are rich or poor, whether they are city-dwellers or suburbanites, whether they are young or old.

I join with the other Democratic Governors of this nation in their pledge to serve as one of the vital links between the national Democratic party and the people of America to restore the leadership this nation needs so desperately.

We look forward to working with a Democratic President on programs and policies that will benefit all Americans who live in all the States. •

Needed: A President Concerned About the Cities

by Henry W. Maier

Mayor of Milwaukee
President, U.S. Conference of Mayors

Throughout history, the rise and fall of cities have sym bolized the rise and fall of nations, and the greatness nations has been reflected most radiantly in the greatne of their cities.

At a time when our cities should stand as a measu of America's greatness, the national neglect of the citi is the shame of America.

At a time when we have become an urbanized n tion, the problems of our cities have become a sympto of what's wrong with American society as a whole. B cause our society is most compacted in the cities, it is the cities that those symptoms are likely to be the mo explosive, the most dangerous, and the most in need treatment and cure of their deep-rooted causes.

Every mayor of a major city has seen the effects the national neglect of the urban crisis. He has seen C Hall become the lightning rod of the urban storm an confrontations and non-negotiable demands, of the re lution of rising expectations while local resources ha been sadly lacking to meet changing needs.

He has watched two caravans pass on the urb highway: the Cadillacs of the rich heading for the gre fields of suburbia; the jalopies of the poor heading the hand-me-down housing of the older parts of the ci He has seen money leave the city and the problems poverty pile up within the city as the poor are barr from the rest of the metropolitan area by restrictive pr tices such as exclusionary zoning.

He has had to fight his battles not only at City H but also in his state capital and in his national capital Washington, as his city's finances have gone from bad impossible.

He has seen more and more burdens placed on back of the local property taxpayer—a crushing bur on the elderly, the workingman and woman, all those ing on fixed incomes, those who rent or own their mo homes.

He has seen the local property tax forced to take on more and more burdens for which it was never intended —health, welfare, the high costs of poverty, special school costs, national problems that just happen to be located within the city limits.

He has shared the sometime successes and oftentime frustrations of all those mayors who still strive to build the great city, a city rich in opportunity, openness, freedom, beauty, health and safety, a city so functionally adequate that each person has a chance to live the good life.

He has been frustrated as time after time he has seen the money shunted away from the cities to go to other areas to which a Republican administration assigns greater priority—money to agri-business, money to roads, money to rockets, money to the moon.

He has been frustrated because the United States of America does not have a national policy which relates to our number one domestic problem—the plight of our cities.

He has seen highway programs which provided freeways for cars at the cost of housing for the cities—because there was no policy.

He has seen federal programs that built up suburbia for the well-to-do but left the poor and the relatively poor to struggle with scarce resources within the city.

Again and again, he has seen the cities forced to take a seat in the back of the bus while the nation put other priorities in the driver's seat.

During the Democratic administrations of the sixties, a beginning was made to explore the lost world of urban America and to bring its problems out into the light. There was a concern for the problems of the cities and national attention was turned on them.

For the first time the cities were given a cabinet voice with the creation of a Department of Housing and Urban Development. There was active concern about jobs for the people of the cities, about their schools, about their neighborhoods, about the problems of poverty, about their health and welfare.

But during the past four years, the people of the central cities have once again become the forgotten Americans. They are the have-nots of America, while attention has been turned to the haves.

Our cities are in worse shape than they were four years ago. They are in greater need of financial help, more in need of rejuvenation, and they are more neglected.

It is time that we as a nation recognized that the plight of our cities is our number one domestic problem and that help for the cities should be our number one national priority.

We need a national policy that recognizes the relationships between poverty in the city and poverty in the countryside, between the crowding of the poor inside the central city and the lack of low income housing in the suburbs, between the inadequacies of health and education for the school child wherever he may grow up and his ability to lead a good life as a citizen wherever he may later live and work.

It needs to recognize the relationship between the federal government's overriding revenue raising ability and the lack of revenues in the city.

We need a policy which recognizes the relationship between the lack of federal responsibility to meet national problems that happen to be located in our cities, and the growth of the local property tax which has become the most unpopular and most unfair tax in the nation, a tax which has confiscated the homes of many of the elderly and taxes the roof over the family's head at a higher rate than the tax on any other necessity.

We need a policy that recognizes and responds to the very important relationship between the cities and the greatness of our nation.

Quest

The Democrats in History

Based on the original researches and writing of Dr. Jasper B. Shannon, Professor of Political Science, The University of Nebraska

American party politics are governed by no written code. They arise spontaneously from the need of the people for collective action to deal with political, social and economic forces beyond the control of any individual. A political party is a forum for a vast multitude of opinions, a place for deliberation of every great issue of humankind. The party tends always toward accommodation; it seeks to consolidate disparate energies into a living alliance empowered by its constitutents to act for the universal good. The broader a party's representation, the greater its mandate to seek that popular majority which confers the right to govern.

BIRTH

The challenge of 1787 was to create a government that would preserve American liberties but would centralize enough authority for effective rule. The framers of the Constitution, seeking a balance between absolute monarchy and the ineffectual Articles of Confederation, provided for a system of frequent elections by which the people would continually pass judgment upon their government. A peaceful revolution might be imposed upon the House of Representatives and upon one third of the Senate every two years and upon the presidency every fourth year. To this day, the system provides for an orderly process of change and preserves the right of the people to choose their leaders.

The Federalists—the nation's first political party—had arisen from the campaign for adoption of the Constitution. The Federalists were led by Alexander Hamilton whose personal rivalry with Thomas Jefferson was to shape the institutions of the new government and to give birth to the two-party system. As the Secretary of State in Washington's first Cabinet, Jefferson felt obliged to counter the policies of Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton. Jefferson believed that Hamilton's proposed United States Bank and his monetary, trade and manufacturing policies were weighed too heavily in favor of the privileged classes.

Jefferson envisioned America as a nation of small towns and settlements, of farmers and craftsmen and small businessmen, a society of free men economically independent and politically equal, impeded as little as possible by government. Hamilton felt that a prosperous elite was necessary to foster the nation's industrial and mercantile interests and that such a class should be reserved a definite and perpetual share in the government. Two centuries of national development have altered Jefferson's concept of a rural, agrarian nation, but his principles of universal liberty, freedom of the mind, equality for all men, and, most importantly, his trust in the people have remained the philosophy which guided the great Democrats who followed him. Jeffersonian beliefs have inspired such men as Andrew Jackson, Grover Cleveland, William Jennings Bryan, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Adlai E. Stevenson, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey.

Thomas Jefferson
Father of the Democratic party

Bust, now at Monticello, by Jean-Antoine Houdon

JEFFERSON

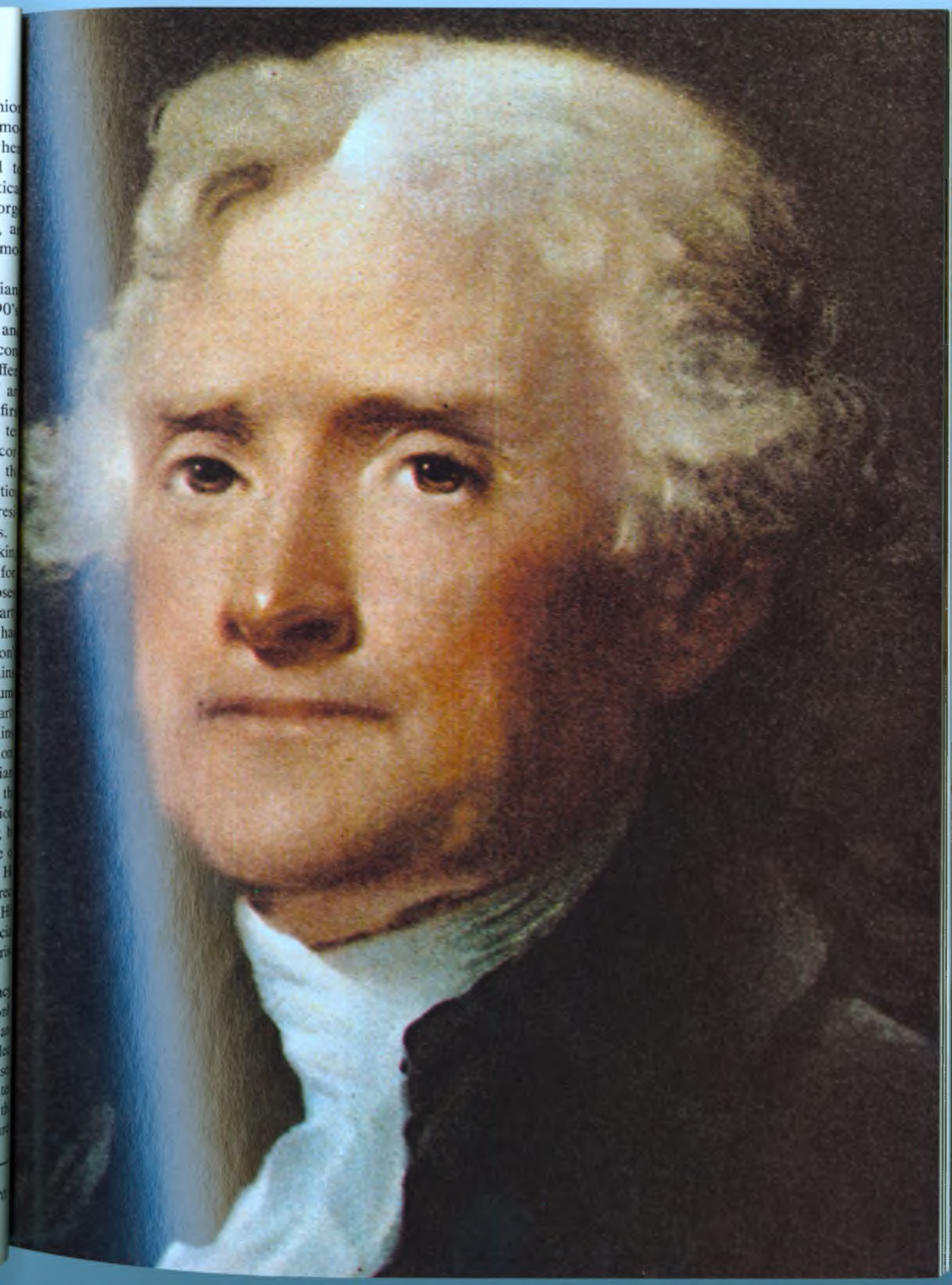
It is difficult to say when Jefferson's difference of opinio with Hamilton crystalized into the origin of the Demo cratic party, but perhaps the best date is mid-1791 whe Jefferson and his friend, James Madison, journeyed t Hamilton's home state of New York in search of politica assistance. They won the partnership of Governor Georg Clinton in the first South with urban North coalition, a alliance which would become an enduring fount of Demo cratic strength.

Simply Anti-Federalists at first, the Jeffersonian were called Democratic-Republicans by the late 1790's the title was eventually abbreviated to Republicans, an that label lasted until the Jacksonian reorganization con ferred the name Democrats. The first cause of the Jeffe sonians was the Bill of Rights, and in Madison, chief a chitect of the Constitution and leader in the fir Congresses, Jefferson had an invaluable ally. The first te amendments, guaranteeing individual liberties, were inco porated into the Constitution in 1791. The next year th Anti-Federalists launched their first campaign: oppositio to the re-election of Vice President John Adams. Pres dent Washington himself was supported by both sides.

The Jefferson-Madison partnership was the workin nucleus of the new party. That kinetic combination fo mulated the group's first policies and defined its purpos establishing a framework that would sustain the par through the first quarter of the new century. Madison ha organized the first congressional opposition to Hamilton economic policies, including an unsuccessful stand again Hamilton's proposal that the federal government assu the pre-Constitution debts of the states. The national par division had begun curiously enough by pitting again each other the two leading advocates of the Constitutio Madison and Hamilton had collaborated on the brilli *Federalist* papers that explained the Constitution to th public and rallied popular support for its ratificati Madison was more a political scientist than Jefferson; h anticipated Karl Marx in his appraisal of the influence economic interests on the political behavior of men. H foresaw the conflicting forces that would have to be re onciled if the nation were to be successfully governed. H contributions to *The Federalist* delineated the soci forces whose clash would spawn factions and spur the ri of political parties.

The concept of the popular vote was in its infan the more affluent, better educated classes of America on slowly admitted the common man to a meaningful fra chise. The Constitution itself provided for popular ele tion only of Representatives; Senators were to be chos by state legislatures, and the President was to be elect by a handful of persons chosen in any manner that t state legislatures directed. And of course those legislatur

Painting of the President by Gilbert Stuart in 18



were controlled by landed, propertied, better educated citizens. For the first presidential election in 1789, only three of eleven states held a popular vote; in most cases, legislatures themselves appointed the presidential electors. During the ensuing decades, the states shifted one by one to the system of popular balloting. South Carolina held out longest; its legislature picked electors for the last time in 1860.

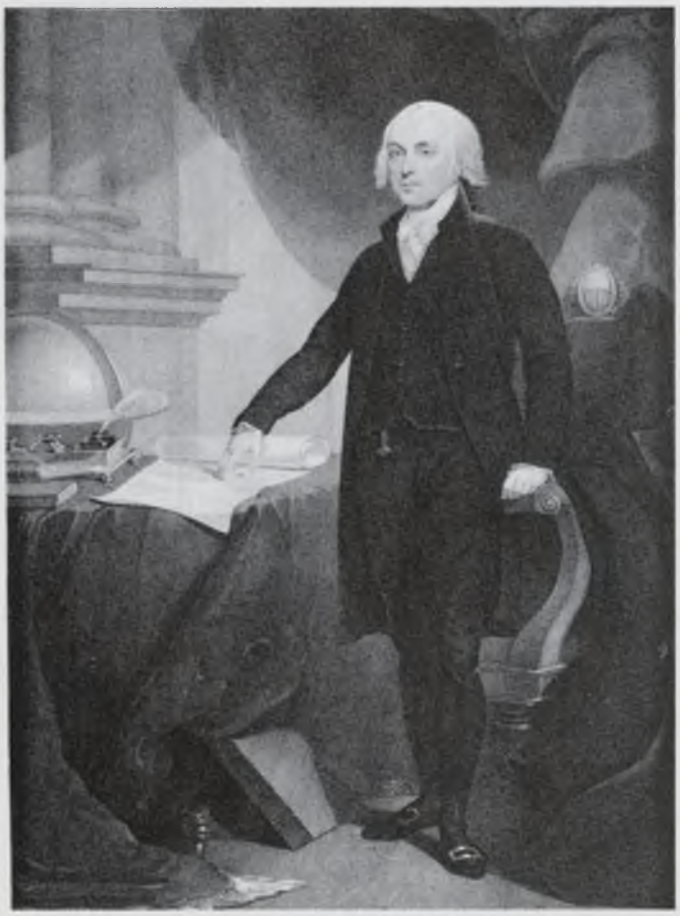
The growing importance of the popular franchise engendered the need for mass vote-winning techniques, and an early and apt student of the intriguing new science was Aaron Burr, member of the New York legislature. Burr had won national attention by securng passage of a bill enabling him to open the Manhattan Bank as a rival to the United States Bank.

Jefferson had taken the field as party leader in 1796 when he ran unsuccessfully against John Adams for the presidency. Now in 1800 he prepared to run again, but neither he nor Madison had taste or aptitude for mass-vote politicking, and so they recruited Burr. The New Yorker's management of city voters produced a Republican state legislature which in turn appointed Republican presidential electors. But Burr had helped too well. The New York vote denied re-election to Adams, but it also produced a tie in the electoral college between Jefferson and Burr, ostensibly a vice presidential candidate. The election went to the House of Representatives which awarded the presidency to Jefferson. Hamilton's influence was decisive; his distrust of Burr made him put aside hi personal rivalry with Jefferson, and he threw his suppor to the Virginian.

In his inaugural address, Jefferson set a precedent b appealing for unity between opposing political forces. "W are all Federalists," he said. "We are all Republicans."

His administration introduced a major new perio of territorial expansion for the United States and estab lished a broad new political consensus. He allowed th hated Alien and Sedition Acts to expire. In 1803, h purchased the Louisiana Territory and the next year dis patched Lewis and Clark to explore the vast new domai of the West. The Louisiana purchase doubled the siz of the United States and set the precedent for continenta expansion which under later Democratic Presidents woul extend the nation's boundaries to the Pacific. One of th earliest and most prominent adversaries of slavery, Je ferson freed his own slaves, sought to assure that ther would be no slavery in the Northwest Territory, and durin his presidency signed the law which in 1808 abolished th slave trade.

He had urged free education for the Northwest Ter ritory, and after he left the presidency, he founded th University of Virginia. In his epitaph, he listed three role for which he most wanted to be remembered: "Autho of the Declaration of American Independence, and o the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and fathe of the University of Virginia."



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REPUBLICANS

In politics there is such a thing as too big a majority. That was the state to which the Republican party matured during Jefferson's lifetime.

The Louisiana Purchase, the general prosperity and his personal popularity had assured Jefferson's easy re-election in 1804. Borne with him into office was George Clinton of New York who joined Jefferson on the party's first national ticket. Creation of a team of candidates was made possible by the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution ratified in 1804. It was designed to prevent another tie as in 1800. The amendment provided that electors would vote separately for President and Vice President; abolished was the system of a unified vote in which the number two man became Vice President. That arrangement had made Jefferson Vice President to John Adams in 1796, the only time that the nation's two top officials were of different political parties.

Jefferson retired to Monticello in 1809, leaving the presidential succession to Madison and James Monroe, his friends, neighbors and fellow patricians. The death of Hamilton in his duel with Burr in 1804 presaged the end of the Federalists; the party fielded Rufus King of New York as its last presidential candidate in 1816. As effective opposition dwindled, the Republican party became the only home available to political partisans of whatever philosophy. It made for an uncomfortably broad diversity. Already in 1812 the party showed signs of supersaturation: dissident New York Republicans, opposed to the new war with England, nominated New York City Mayor DeWitt Clinton for the presidency. He drew considerable Federalist support, and he came within the one state—Pennsylvania—of upsetting Madison's bid for re-election.

James Monroe's presidency inaugurated a peaceful, prosperous period dubbed the "era of good feelings," and he rode its crest when he signed the Missouri Compromise in 1820. That year such political concord prevailed that Monroe's re-election carried all twenty-four states and every electoral vote except one. Following Jefferson's example, President Monroe purchased Florida from Spain in 1819; four years later he enunciated his doctrine warning European powers that the Americas were sovereign and no longer subject to colonization.

But the West was growing restive. Frontiersmen no longer, more populous and more sophisticated than their elders, a new generation of voters beyond the Alleghenies claimed its share of the government. Among other things, the common man was demanding a voice in the nomination of candidates. In 1816 Henry Clay of Kentucky, spokesman of the West, had told the Republican nominating caucus that its function was "inexpedient." Caucuses, open only to party elite, had chosen presidential candidates since the time of Washington. Clay condemned the system; he said it tended to perpetuate the dynasty of the Eastern merchant and the Southern aristocrat and to preclude the ordinary citizen from consideration for President.

THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

from left

James Madison,
fourth President,
with proprietary fingers
on the Constitution he molded.

James Monroe,
fifth President,
last of the Virginia dynasty.
As Jefferson's special envoy to Paris,
he negotiated the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.

John Quincy Adams,
sixth President,
tough minded, independent—
a difficult Democrat.
Daguerreotype taken in 1848,
year of his death.

JACKSON

The common man whom the common man had in mind was Andrew Jackson, frontiersman, soldier, hero of the War of 1812, and Senator from Tennessee.

The closed nominating system reached a crisis in 1824 when the Republicans, by then the nation's only major political party, cast up four candidates for the presidency. Jackson won the popular vote and received ninety-nine electoral votes to eighty-four for John Quincy Adams, forty-one for William H. Crawford of Georgia and thirty-seven for Henry Clay. There was no majority, and the House of Representatives again had to decide; it chose Adams over Jackson. The defeat angered Jackson and his followers who charged "bargain and corruption" between Adams and Clay. The old soldier returned to Tennessee in 1825 to launch a three-year campaign for the presidency. He was nominated by the state legislature, and he spent his time seeking support from newspapers and from friends by an extensive letter-writing campaign. Joining him was Senator Martin Van Buren of New York who had managed Crawford's presidential bid in 1824 and who now helped forge a renewed Democratic alliance between the Southwest frontier farmers and the growing metropolis of New York with its expanding population of craftsmen and businessmen. New York was becoming a pivotal center of Democratic power, and for generations the alliance with the South would be a mighty axis of Democratic strength. With Van Buren's assistance, Jackson united the Calhoun and Crawford forces with his own into a solid foundation for a reorganized and revitalized Republican party. It took a new name: Democratic.

A major segment of the old Republicans split away to become the nucleus of a new political opposition called the National Republicans. By the mid-1830's, under the leadership of Henry Clay, they had become the Whigs.

Jackson's election to the presidency in 1828 was the victory of the Westerner, the settler, the frontier trader, the farmer, the small shopkeeper. It ended forever the system of party or congressional caucus as a means of nominating presidential candidates, and it fostered the re-emergence of two-party government in America. Jefferson and Madison had provided the Democratic party its intellectual tradition; Jackson developed its practical approach to the problems of rule. He extended the dimensions of government and showed how to wield power in behalf of a coalition of popular interests. The new President introduced a more direct exercise of executive power and used appointments for personal and partisan political purposes. He transformed the executive authority into an instrument for formulating national policy and used that power to implement party policies.

Andrew Jackson

1836 portrait by Ralph Earl harks back to the President's days as military hero.

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Old Hickory: the strong-willed Jackson vastly enlarged the powers of the presidency. Daguerreotype was taken by Mathew Brady in 1845 shortly before Jackson's death. Below, the common man: Jackson was depicted as taking the mail stage to Washington when he assumed the presidency in 1829.

CULVER PICTURES

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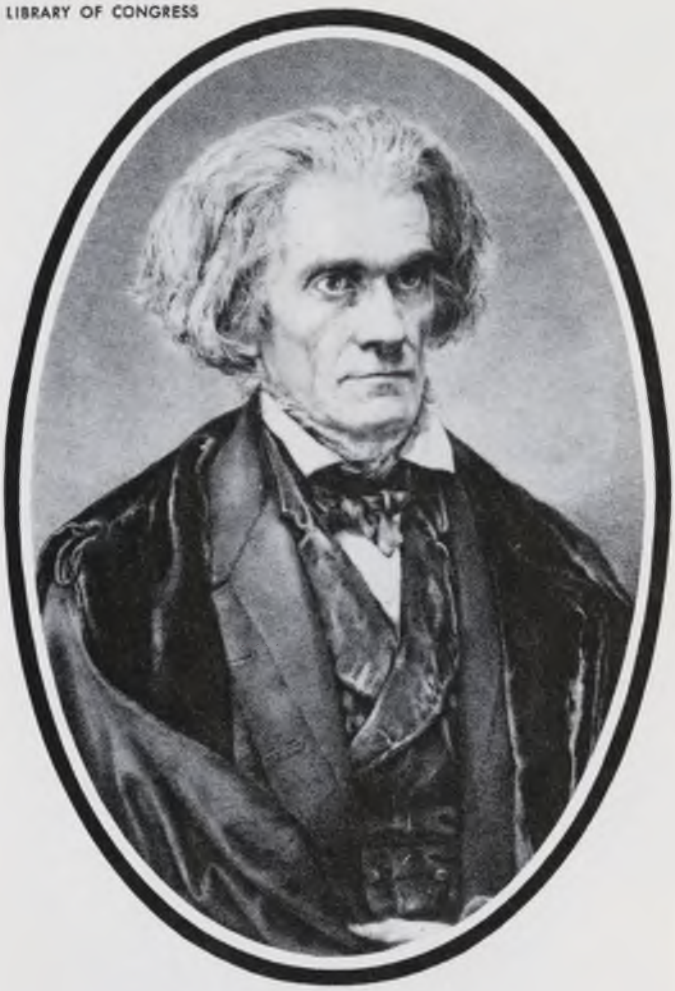

John C. Calhoun
resolute spokesman of the South,
author of the doctrine of states' rights

Two great adversaries of Calhoun were Martin Van Buren and Thomas Hart Benton. Van Buren, who became eighth President, was the political partner and heir of Jackson. The indomitable Benton, Senator from Missouri for the state's first thirty years, staunchly defended the Union. Daguerreotype of Benton was taken in the late 1840's or early 1850's; that of Van Buren about 1848, year of his third presidential candidacy, when he ran as an anti-slavery Free Soiler.

Jackson's fight against the United States Bank, which had been chartered despite Jefferson's opposition, established the Democratic party's historical hostility to political domination by banking interests. A hard-money man, Jackson was the only President to see the national debt paid off. As the first Western President, he gave the party its nationalism and brought Western interests into the consideration of national policy. In the states, the President's followers wrought the transformation to Jacksonian democracy: they worked to achieve broader popular political participation, fought for the secret ballot and abolition of property qualifications for voters and advocated free education and the right of labor to organize. They demanded state regulation of banks.

As a party leader, Jackson developed the technique of mass appeal through the press; his supporters learned to court public opinion and to enforce party discipline. Finally, by assertion of federal authority against the states' rights doctrine of John C. Calhoun, Jackson established his party's loyalty to the Union.

Calhoun, elected to the House from South Carolina in 1811, was until his death in 1850 the Southern Democrats' leading spokesman for slave-holding interests. He articulated the philosophy of states' rights and enunciated nullification and concurrent majority, devices which would empower a state to ignore any federal law it deemed harmful to its interests. Calhoun served as Vice President under Adams and then Jackson, entertaining hope of the presidency thereafter. But he broke with Old Hickory over the nullification issue, lost his place on the ticket to Van Buren in 1832 and then resigned the vice presidency when South Carolina elected him to the Senate. Van Buren had won additional appreciation from Jackson for tactfully aiding the President's efforts to make Washington society accept Peggy Eaton, lady with a rumor-ridden past before she married the Secretary of War.

In 1832 Jackson became the first President ever nominated by a national political convention. Called as an alternative to the discredited system of party caucus, the assembly opened in Baltimore on May 21 for the purpose of nominating a Vice President, but it also concurred in the "repeated nominations" which President Jackson had received "in various parts of the Union." The first convention bequeathed to political posterity two institutions which troubled the Democratic party well into the Twentieth Century: the two-thirds rule (requiring the majority for nomination) and the unit rule (requiring a delegate to vote as the majority of his delegation directs). The procedures were established by Jackson who thereby assured the nomination of his friend, Van Buren, as Vice President and political heir. Jackson called the second convention for 1835, eighteen months before the election, so that Van Buren could lock up the presidential nomination before other candidates entered the field.

It had been an auspicious combination: the American frontier hero whose natural leadership commanded a large personal following, and the organization

wizard from New York who helped harness the burgeoning electorate into an effective constituency able to provide the party and the presidency with the mandate they required. The conjunction gave a new cast to American party behavior and to the Democratic party tradition.

But disquiet already stalked the land. Were the old Jeffersonian ideals being eclipsed in favor of self-interest? Did the party stand for liberty or for property? The coalition of plain people and planters evaded the question of property in human beings. In the next twenty years the issue would rend the Democratic party and the nation.

DIALOGUE

As President, Martin Van Buren made important contributions to labor and the security of government funds: he established a maximum ten-hour day for workers on federal projects, and he set up an independent subtreasury system, the basis of the nation's financial network (except for 1841-46) until the Civil War. The system provided depositories for United States funds, safe from local speculation and exploitation by private political interests. But he would serve only one term; the Panic of 1837, generated during Jackson's administration, and Van Buren's opposition to slavery assured the Little Magician's defeat in 1840.

William Henry Harrison, the victorious Whig, died a month after taking office, and John Tyler became the first Vice President to accede to the presidency. The Whigs had ridden their man into office on the tide of a brand new, lively, noisy kind of campaign with parades, slogans and ballyhoo aimed squarely at the mass vote. It became known as the Log Cabin-Hard Cider campaign, clamoring for the election of Tippecanoe and Tyler Too, and it would set a precedent for raucous campaigning which would descend to the Twentieth Century.

The Democratic party of the 1840's and 1850's consisted of ill-assorted groups searching vainly for a vigorous new leader. Within the party there were coalitions against the growing importance of the commercial and industrial East, factions of city workers against the mercantile elite, a core of Southern aristocrats persevering in their support of slavery. South Carolina's John C. Calhoun, for three decades the strongest intellectual force in the Democratic party, sacrificed any hope of national leadership in favor of the slavery interests. He was the South's most influential political theorist since Jefferson, and his sectionalism severely challenged Jackson's nationalism.

Against Calhoun in the Senate rose the eloquent and commanding Whigs, Henry Clay of Kentucky and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, offering compromise instead of secession. With them was the towering Democrat, Thomas Hart Benton, from the slaveholding state of Missouri, who stood for the Union and steadfastly opposed Calhoun's policies until the Missouri legislature in exasperation turned him out after thirty years in the Senate. But for the slavery issue, Benton might have been President. The tall, rugged Missourian had taken on the di-

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Martin Van Buren

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Thomas Hart Benton

mension of folk hero among his people. In his blunt and florid style, he had knit the ideology and policies of the rural Jacksonian party into the fabric of the West. Like Jefferson, he believed in the small landholder as the backbone of democracy, and he held the physiocratic view that only farmers are productive and that banks and paper money are parasites upon agriculture. He was a slaveholder who understood the contradiction between slavery and a republic of free labor, and his influence helped link the interests of Western farmers and Eastern workingmen. John F. Kennedy evaluated his contribution in *Profiles In Courage:* "That the key border state of Missouri did not join the Confederacy in 1861 was due in good measure to the memory of its former Senator Thomas Hart Benton."

SCHISM

Texas annexation, the issue of westward expansion and a third-party candidate brought the Democrats back to power in 1844.

Van Buren, in search of his third nomination, foundered because of his stand against Texas; the convention—split between him and Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan—turned to dark horse James K. Polk of Tennessee.

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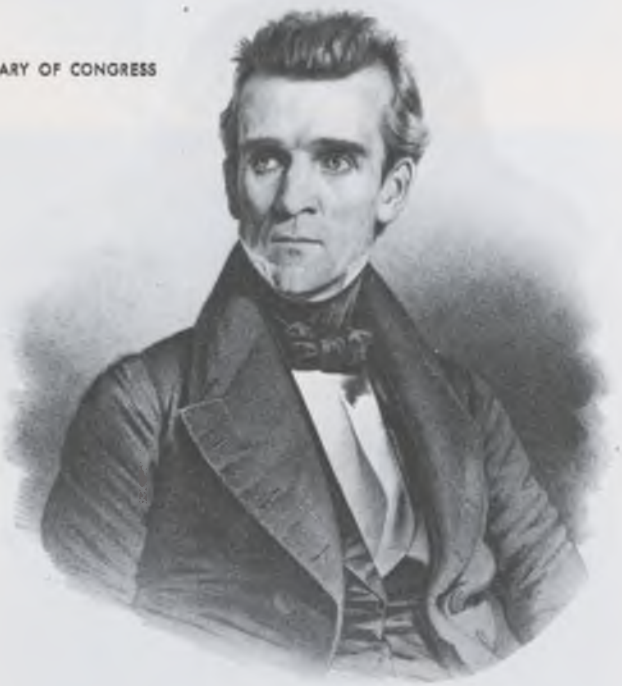

James K. Polk
eleventh President; he increased the land area of the United States by half.

He ran against Henry Clay, the biggest Whig, who would have become President if the Abolitionist candidate had not diverted enough votes in New York to give the election to Polk. The dark horse was the last of the Jacksonians; he became the most successful President between Jackson and Lincoln. He realized virtually all his campaign goals, re-establishing the independent subtreasury

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Mission Santa Barbara typified Spanish heritage of the vast territory acquired by Polk after the Mexican War.

system which had been abolished by the Whigs, reduci the tariff, settling the Oregon boundary dispute with Br ain, annexing Texas, and as a result of the Mexican W acquiring the vast southwestern expanse from Texas California.

Almost in reciprocity, the Democrats, splitting f the second time in twenty years, returned the Whigs a Zachary Taylor to the White House in 1848. The Dem crats defeated themselves by dividing their votes betw Lewis Cass, nominated by the regular convention at Ba more, and Van Buren, tapped at Utica, New York, anti-slavery elements who took the name Free Soil That year the Baltimore convention created the Dem cratic National Committee with Benjamin F. Hallett Massachusetts its first chairman.

The mantle of Democratic leadership attracted a n claimant from the West during the 1850's. Senator Step A. Douglas, the Little Giant from Illinois, was a pre cious and ambitious politician who advocated states' rig and squatter sovereignty. Three times he was to reach the presidency and three times fail, and he was to achi his greatest renown as the springboard from wh Abraham Lincoln catapulted into power. Douglas touc off a political earthquake by introducing the Kan Nebraska Bill in 1854; probably no other single act American history has had such far-reaching effect American political parties. The bill authorized the territories to determine for themselves whether they wo be slave or free. In Kansas the issue touched off a blo struggle which became a preliminary skirmish for Civil War. Within the Democratic party, the bill sp disruption and ignited factional fighting which drained party's strength, made a mockery of its ideology, ru its organization and precipitated the founding of the publican party.

After a preliminary meeting at Ripon, Wisconsi 1854, the new Republican organization swiftly attra Free Soilers, anti-slave Whigs, and Democrats oppose the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The new party fielded Joh Frémont as its first presidential candidate in 1856.

The controversial Douglas was denied the De

cratic nomination in 1852 and 1856 in favor first of Franklin Pierce and then of James Buchanan, compromise candidates who went on to win their elections. Pierce's victory and the deaths of Clay and Webster spelled the end of the Whigs; Buchanan achieved the White House on a platform which won North-South support by pledging not to bring up the slavery question again. Ironically, the Democratic platform of 1856 proclaimed tolerance and welcome for another group—the new wave of immigrants rolling into America. In the preceding decade more than three million Irish Catholics, Germans, and other European poor had fled political upheaval and famine, had flocked to the new opportunity of America and, overwhelmingly, to the Democratic party. The recognition extended by the Democrats was a specific repudiation of the intolerance of the Native American or Know-Nothing party organized to combat the newcomers' entry into America. Buchanan's would be an uneasy administration; he would be the last Democrat to sit in the White House for twenty-four years.

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Idyllic home on the Mississippi in the ante-bellum South is depicted by Currier & Ives; the era, with its gentry and its slavery, would be extinguished by the Civil War.

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from left

Franklin Pierce, fourteenth President, elected as a North-South compromise candidate. His administration opened Japan and negotiated the Gadsden Purchase.

James Buchanan, fifteenth President, strove to preserve peace by maintaining a delicate balance between North and South. Photograph reveals a crack in the glass plate negative.

Stephen A. Douglas at last achieved the nomination he had so coveted but at the cost of the fourth great split in Democratic ranks. In April, 1860, a badly divided, strife-ridden party had assembled in convention at Charleston, South Carolina. The slavery issue sundered it; a number of inflexible Southerners walked out, and the convention adjourned in stalemate. A rump session reassembled in Baltimore in June and, after another Southern walkout, nominated Douglas. Angry Southern delegates reconvened in Charleston and nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky on a slavery platform. The two Democrats and a splinter-party candidate divided the vote and guaranteed the election of Abraham Lincoln. By the time the new President took office, seven states had seceded and precipitated the nation toward war. The Democratic schism had cost the party more than the election; its North-South axis shattered, its components quarreling bitterly, the party was doomed to minority status for a quarter of a century—weak, leaderless, a tool of conservatism, servant to the uses of property, a captive of the establishment. Gone were the Jeffersonian ideals; vanished was the dedication to human liberty.

WILDERNESS

The Democrats' years in the wilderness extended from th grim, bitter era of Reconstruction to the superficial sple dor of the Gilded Age.

The assassination of Abraham Lincoln and the lac of effective Democratic opposition delivered national lead ership to the Radical Republicans in Congress under Re resentative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and Senat Charles Sumner of Massachusetts—devoted anti-slaver men who imposed a harsh, punitive Reconstruction o the beaten and ruined South. Carpetbaggers, bayon ruled and the indignity of occupying troops fed Souther rancor. White supremacy germinated and spread. Repub lican rule incurred bitter enmity. A Solid South patter of Democratic voting emerged, and it would persist int the mid-Twentieth Century.

In the North, business boomed. Entrepreneu turned war-time profits into the foundations of a vast ca italistic empire which would taint six consecutive Republ can administrations with scandal and corruption. The b money supported General Grant's two successful cam paigns for the presidency and would have had him try f

Stephen A. Douglas, voice of the West, author of the Kansas-Nebraska Act which split the Democrats and spawned the Republicans. He was nominated for the presidency by Northern Democrats in 1860.

Cataclysmic convention of 1860 had begun in Charleston. After a tumultuous struggle, Southerners walked out and later nominated their own pro-slavery candidate who won more electoral votes than Douglas.

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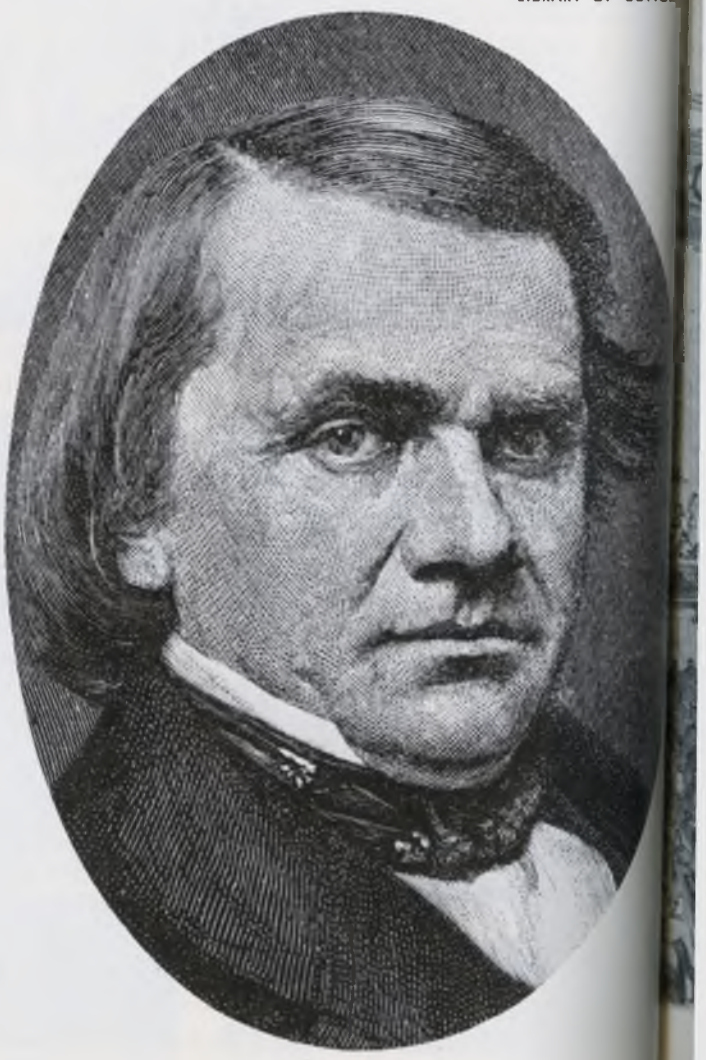

third. Good reason: shrewd men capitalized—literally—on his political naiveté and ignorance of business and economics. Financiers Jay Gould and Jim Fiske were able to corner the gold market for a few days, long enough to reap a fortune; a Congressman distributed Crédit Mobilier railroad construction stock to other members of Congress to influence the 1872 election; the New York customs house extorted tribute from shippers; patronage in customs, postal and other federal appointments was flagrant. It was the era of a vicious capitalism that rolled up fortunes which smothered competition which created monopolies which locked themselves into avaricious and predatory trusts. Carnegie dominated steel; Rockefeller sought monopoly in oil; Vanderbilt consolidated the eastern railroads; closed financial interests controlled meat packing, minerals, manufacturing and most other organs of the economic metabolism.

The Republicans abetted the magnates, most importantly by sponsoring a series of high, then higher tariffs on imported goods which protected American manufacturers from international competition. The result was a higher cost of living and indifference to product quality. The public was hostage. For the elite, the age created opulence, undreamed extravagance, a tinsel grandeur and ornament that were garish in their bad taste. It was sybaritic and parasitic prosperity. Underneath lay the laborer who worked long hours for a pittance, immigrants exploited mercilessly, the shame of women's sweatshops and child labor and the stranglehold on all these little people who as consumers and workers paid twice for the magnificence of a few. Government became a plutocracy.

Against such an establishment the leaderless Democrats could offer only such indifferent political entities as Horatio Seymour, former governor of New York; Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*; and General Winfield Hancock, a Civil War hero of the second magnitude. Greeley was nominated in 1872 by Liberal Republicans disgusted with the corruption of the Grant administration; the Democratic convention also picked the Republican Greeley as a reform candidate although a wing of "Straight Democrats" split and nominated a third candidate. The regular Republican ticket headed by Grant won easily.

The Fifteenth Amendment, guaranteeing blacks the

THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

right to vote, was ratified as the third and last Reconstruction amendment in 1870, but in the ensuing years Black Codes, poll taxes and literacy tests were to make a mockery of it. In 1868 Susan B. Anthony had sent the Democratic convention a letter demanding women's suffrage. It got a good laugh.

In 1876, seizing upon the growing clamor for reform, the Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden, reform governor of New York, who had sent to prison Boss Tweed, corrupt leader of New York's Tammany Hall. Tilden, political heir of Martin Van Buren, won the popular vote, and went to bed on election night thinking he would be President. But contested votes in a few Southern states were decided in favor of Rutherford B. Hayes by a Republican-dominated electoral commission; all twenty electoral votes held by the contested states were diverted to Hayes, giving him the majority by one vote.

But reform had begun to sweep the country. Farmers organized the Grange movement. Railroad strikes in 1877 proclaimed labor's discontent. Workingmen began to organize into such groups as the Knights of Labor and, in 1886, as the bellwether American Federation of Labor under Samuel Gompers. The beginnings of the Socialist and Populist movements emerged. In 1883 Democrats combined with reform Republicans to pass the civil service reform act introduced by Congressman George H. Pendleton of Ohio who had almost won the Democratic presidential nomination fifteen years before. Third parties began to spring up, among them the Greenbackers and anti-monopolistic, devoted to simple and narrow solutions to the nation's ills. They regularly received two to three percent of the vote, preventing any popular majority in the presidential elections from 1880 to 1892. But, alone, third parties could realize only limited goals. The nation was ready to summon the Democrats back to power.

CLEVELAND

Grover Cleveland, reform governor of New York, was the strongest Democrat to take charge of the presidency since Andrew Jackson half of a century earlier. No man in American political life has risen so swiftly as Cleveland who in four years ascended from comfortable obscurity as a lawyer in Buffalo to the presidency. Cleveland's appeal to the Democrats of 1884 stemmed from his courageous willingness to use power and brave the consequences. As a governor, he had challenged Tammany Hall, largest political organization within the Democratic party.

The prestige and authority of the presidency had languished since the Civil War, and the new chief executive strove to revive it. Cleveland exercised his veto frequently and fearlessly, defended the presidential right of appointment from the encroachment of senatorial courtesy, fought successful battles to strengthen and extend the civil service system. In 1887 Cleveland overcame personal misgivings to sign the Interstate Commerce Act passed by a Democratic Congress bent on controlling the railroad magnates. But he was not an innovator. He considered himself a guardian of the public welfare and honestly and even-handedly struck at privilege and unfair advantage wherever he found it. He vetoed pork barrel appropriations, fought off pension grabs by the Grand Army of the Republic and recovered from the railroads more than eighty million acres of public lands.

Up for re-election in 1888, he vigorously opposed the exorbitant tariff of the business interests, lost New York state and with it the presidency. For the second time in a dozen years, the Democratic candidate was denied the White House although he won the popular vote, this time by a plurality of 100,000.

Four uncertain and extravagant years under Benjamin Harrison enabled reformers and hard-money men to return Cleveland to the White House in 1892. He strove to reduce the tariff, pushed to new heights by the McKinley Act of 1890, but the Eastern money interests rebuffed him. The gold standard tightened the economic pinch which became outright distress with the severe Panic of 1893. Discontented Americans agitated for cheaper money and, implicitly, economic opportunity for the ordinary citizen. The Populist party, sprung up in 1890, attracted a million votes and carried five states in the presidential election of 1892. Now, from the West, gathered a new liberal tide challenging Cleveland's leadership and reaching for the reins of the Democratic party.

Cleveland was a decent, honest man in an age of corruption and graft, but he was not a social reformer. He had reaffirmed the traditional doctrines of the Democratic party, but he had resisted change. He did not grasp the necessity or the urgency of the Democratic party's internal struggle to remake itself, and he could not see that the upheaval would redefine and renew the two-party system. All his party victories merely advanced his adversary, inevitably raising up as the young new party leader the eloquent and magnetic William Jennings Bryan.

Black troops fought bravely for both sides during the Civil War; this company of Union infantry was photographed at Fort Lincoln in 186

Spotsylvania witnessed one of the war's bloodiest struggles in 1864; Lee held, but Grant continued to pound in the summer-long Wilderness campaign that wore down the South

Samuel J. Tilden, first Democrat who seriously challenged Republican hegemony during Reconstruction had the presidency wrested from him by Republican maneuvering after the election of 187

Railroads grew rapidly in the post-war era, developing into vital national transportation systems that reaped fortunes for the exclusive groups of men who controlled them

Grover Cleveland finally led the Democrats back to the White House in 1885; an honest man in an age of corruption, he made himself watchdog of the public funds and the public

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BRYAN

The Great Commoner was destined never to become President, but the party that he reshaped and rededicated still bears his imprint.

William Jennings Bryan championed the ordinary citizen; he revised the whole course of the Democratic party and endowed it with the liberalism that has pervaded it ever since. Beginning with the revolutionary platform of 1896, he aligned the party firmly on the side of the people against privilege and wealth and vested interests and gave the American electorate a true alternative within the framework of the two-party system.

Free silver was the central issue of 1896, and with the help of John Peter Altgeld, great liberal governor of Illinois, William Jennings Bryan employed it to win the Democratic presidential nomination. Vast numbers of Americans wanted more money in circulation than the restrictive gold standard would allow, and Bryan proposed to give it to them by allowing the unlimited coinage of silver. Bryan had gained entry to the Chicago convention as a member of a Nebraska rump delegation, and he rose as a member of the resolutions committee to address the Democrats. He appealed to the party to become the champion of the masses.

> Upon which side will the Democratic party fight, [Bryan demanded], upon the side of the "idle holders of idle capital" or upon the side of "the struggling masses?" The sympathies of the Democratic party, as shown by the platform, are on the side of the struggling masses who have ever been the foundation of the Democratic party. There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that if you will only legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous, their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea, however, has been that if you make the masses prosperous, their prosperity will find its way up through every class which rests upon them.

Bryan wanted to unite them all—the dissatisfied farmers, the urban workers, the small-town businessman, Everyman—into a coherent working majority like those which had rallied behind his predecessors, Jefferson and Jackson. The "boy orator of the Platte" rose to an impassioned crescendo, one of the most famous exhortations in American history:

> Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.

In a very real sense Bryan's campaign was a crusade to demonstrate that the traditional form of two-party democracy could adapt to new times, could respond to new needs and give effective expression to the universal wish for liberty and equality in an increasingly urban, industrialized, technological age.

He made his case for the common man, but he lost the election. He lost to the big money men who spent millions of dollars against the Democrats' few hundred

William Jennings Bryan

He reconstituted a listless, dispirited party and rededicated it to the people in the tradition of Jefferson and Jackson; Bryan launched the Democrats, liberalized and galvanized, into the Twentieth Century.

He is, below, the idealistic thirty-six year-old Cross-of-Gold presidential candidate in 1896; at right, the nominee of 1900 sitting for a portrait; at far right, the orator in characteristic pose during his third campaign in 1908; and, below right, the elder statesman in the twilight of his career after 1920.

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American milieu at the turn of the century reflected the converging forces of change. Technology reached farm and factor above, a combine harvester drawn by thirty horses on a Moro, Oregon, wheat ranch; below left, power-driven looms typic of the machinery that revolutionized the worker's role and spurred union growth. Muckrakers documented the plight of t poverty stricken, like the immigrant mother and child, below right, photographed by Jacob A. Riis, Danish-born social r former and author of How the Other Half Lives.

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CULVER PICTURES

Immigrants in New York's lower East Side, above, and elsewhere lived under crowded, unhealthful conditions which, like the rest of the era, cried out for reform.

thousand to elect William McKinley, author of the highest tariff in history and former governor of Ohio who stayed at home in Canton where campaign manager Mark Hanna brought audiences to his front door. Bryan was defeated by fear among those who felt that the Populist endorsement identified him with anarchy and revolution; he lost to workers who had felt political pressure from their employers and to the growing middle class who felt that free silver might decrease the value of their savings.

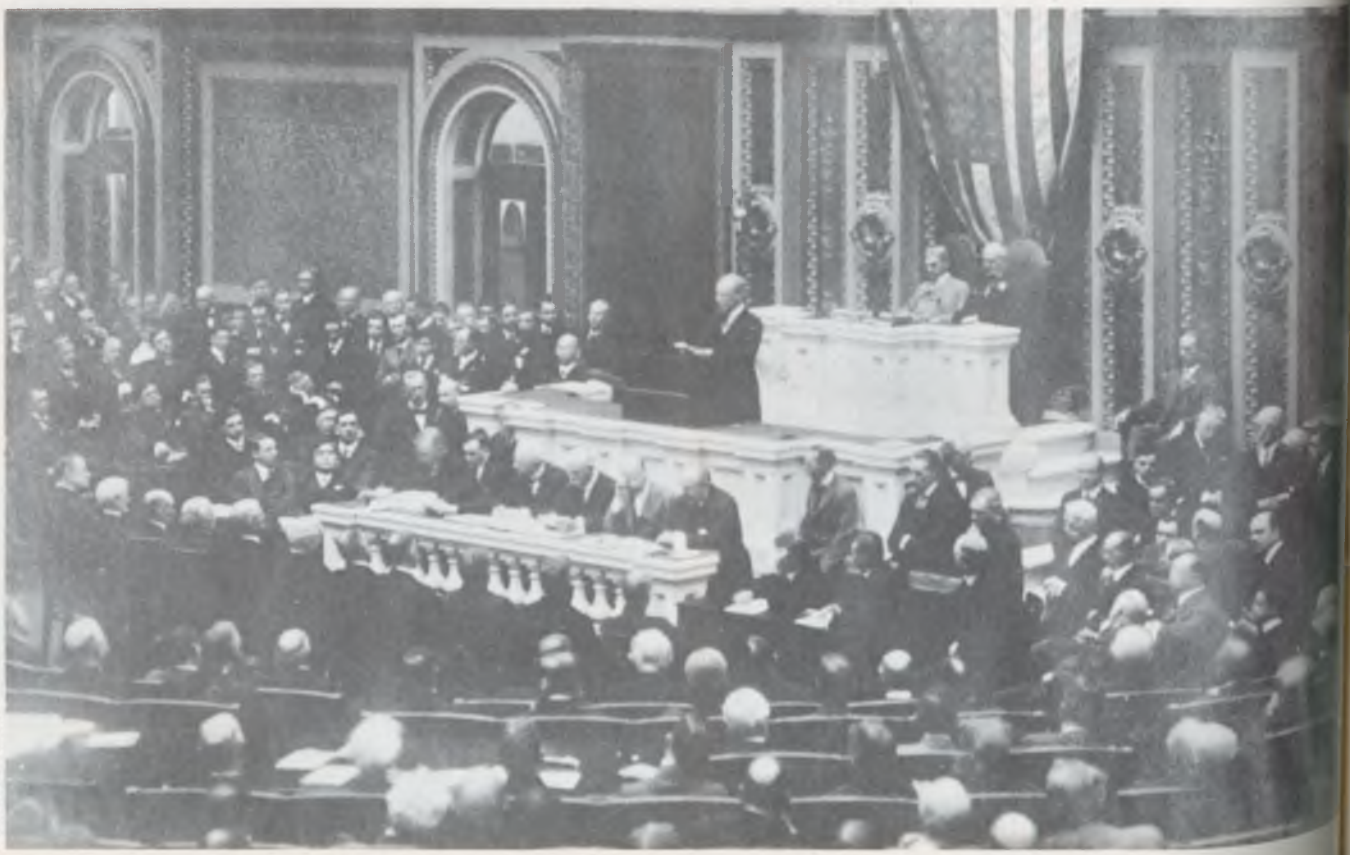
Yet Bryan lived to see the vindication of his causes; most were enacted into law during the Republican presidency of Theodore Roosevelt or under Woodrow Wilson. Bryan had advocated a graduated income tax, regulation of the trusts and railroads, limitations on the use of injunctions against labor, exemption of labor from anti-trust laws, an eight-hour day for government workers, establishment of a Cabinet-level Department of Labor, voting rights for women, abolition of child labor, government control of banking, conservation measures, a public health bureau, a rural credits system and other farm legislation, direct election of Senators, recall and referendum, and home rule for Alaska and Puerto Rico. He denounced the funding of Republican campaigns by corporations which considered their gifts a license to prey upon the public.

Nominated again in 1900, the Great Commoner eloquently decried the imperialism of the McKinley administration which annexed Hawaii and after the Spanish-American War took Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines from Spain. "The growth of the principle of self-government, planted on American soil, has been the overshadowing political fact of the Nineteenth Century," Bryan said. "I would not exchange the glory of this Republic for the glory of all the empires that have risen and fallen since time began." Prosperity defeated Bryan that year, and in 1908 he lost again to Theodore Roosevelt's immense personal popularity which secured the presidency for his chosen successor, William Howard Taft.

Bryan waged his last great political fight at the Democratic convention in Baltimore in 1912. It was a close, tight struggle among a handful of contenders. Eager to draw sharply and cleanly the issue between liberal and conservative forces, Bryan announced that he would not support any candidate endorsed by Tammany. The voting began to shift. House Speaker Champ Clark had attained a majority but not the necessary two-thirds, and on successive roll calls, more and more votes went to a newcomer to national politics, a conservative turned liberal governor of New Jersey who enjoyed Progressive support, and on the forty-sixth ballot the Democrats nominated the scholarly and austere Woodrow Wilson.

CULVER PICTURES

Straw-hatted spectators, above, await admission to the 1912 Baltimore convention where after a long difficult contest Woo row Wilson was nominated for President. Below, the President delivers his war message to Congress on April 6, 1917; G many's submarine warfare and proposed alliance with Mexico forced the United States to enter World War I.



CULVER PICTURES

The President and his lady, Edith Galt Wilson, attend a sporting event; below, Wilson arrives in Paris in 1919 to begin peace talks.

WILSON

The candidate had first won public attention as the Democratic reform governor of New Jersey who had secured passage of a direct primary law, a corrupt practices act and regulation of business. Views like these, shared also by Progressives, would be incorporated into the Democratic party when Woodrow Wilson became its leader.

Nineteen-twelve was the pinnacle of the Progressive achievement. The demand for social progress had sprung from many sources and had taken many forms. It had germinated in the 1890's in the increasingly crowded cities, in the immigrant tenements, in the farmlands, in the factories and in the middle class, and by the first decade of the new century the surge was so powerful that it affected both major political parties. The Progressives looked upon the new wealth of the Nineteenth Century and the technological miracles that had made it possible; they marked the abuses and the excesses of those who wielded the wealth and the power, and they turned to the fresh promise of the Twentieth Century, resolved that new opportunities should be shared equitably and that the new capabilities should be used to elevate and improve the universal condition of mankind. They demanded political reform, an end to corruption in city hall, and a restraint on the influence of money at the state and federal levels; they sought direct primaries to nominate candidates, direct election of Senators, an income tax to distribute wealth more evenly, control of business, and prohibition to improve the nation's morals; they advocated legislation to clear the slums, to protect women and child laborers, to establish decent working hours and conditions and injury insurance for the working man, to reform the railroads, to liberalize credit, to reduce the tariff and to give women at last the right to vote. The Progressives

THE WILSON CABINET, *1913: from left around table: the President; William Gibbs McAdoo, Secretary of Treasury; James Clark McReynolds, Attorney General; Josephus Daniels, Secretary of Navy; David Franklin Houston, Secretary of Agriculture; William Bauchop Wilson, Secretary of Labor; William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce; Franklin Knight Lane, Secretary of Interior; Albert Sidney Burleson, Postmaster General; Lindley M. Garrison, Secretary of War; and William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State.*

CULVER PICTURES

The cry for liberation intensified. Actresses clowning in the 1916 Mack Sennett comedy, "Whose Little Wife Are You?" were one harbinger of the movement for feminine equality. "Movie girls" were undertaking highly visible careers and their daring bathing costumes struck a blow for freer female dress. Another aspect of women's liberation is offered by the more properly dressed ladies of the League of Women Voters, below. In 1920 after the achievement of suffrage, the League addressed platform demands to the Democratic convention. First president of the League was Maud Parks, seated center, with large white collar.

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THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

Blacks strove bravely for equal rights during the early years of the century; here, a legion of prominent black citizens marches down New York's Fifth Avenue in 1912. Banner in foreground quotes Declaration of Independence and adds disclaimer: "IF OF AFRICAN DESCENT TEAR OFF THIS CORNER."

helped elect a number of city and state officials, perhaps most notably Wilson and Governor Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin, and they raised up strong and effective constituencies within the Republican and Democratic parties, which adopted and achieved many Progressive objectives.

But alone the Progressives could not be a viable national third party; Theodore Roosevelt demonstrated that when he defected from his party with the Progressive wing, leading a Bull Moose campaign which split the Republican vote in 1912 and made Woodrow Wilson the first Democratic President in sixteen years. Wilson had promised the nation a New Freedom in its quest for political equality and social justice. With Bryan's support and the assistance of LaFollette, a U.S. Senator since 1906, the new President won enactment of a sweeping legislative program: the Underwood Act lowering the tariff and instituting an income tax; the Federal Reserve Act extending federal control over the nation's credit system; the Clayton Anti-Trust Act to preserve competition among businesses; the Federal Trade Commission Act to prevent unfair trade practices; and the Adamson Act setting an eight-hour day for interstate railway workers. Women's suffrage, a plank in the 1916 Democratic platform, was finally achieved by the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

World War I made Wilson the spokesman of liberal democracy not only in the nation but in the western world. He had entered the war in 1917 only reluctantly and after extreme provocation, but thereafter he resolutely abandoned isolationism and introduced the nation to its obligations in the world community. His leadership added a vast new dimension to the Democratic party, identifying it with the spirit of internationalism, giving it a new scope and a new vision of responsibility that would distinguish it from Republican conservatism for three decades. Wilson was denied his greatest dream of international amity. He had personally led the United States delegation to the Paris peace talks in 1919 and helped frame the charter of the League of Nations as an instrument of worldwide peace, but in one of the bitterest personal feuds in political history, the Senate prevented the United States from entering the League and so condemned it to failure. Wilson himself, campaigning for popular support for the League, suffered a paralytic stroke that left him an invalid for the last eighteen months of his presidency.

The accumulated grievances of two years of war and one of reconstruction, a severe drop in agricultural prices, and the lack of a clear successor to Wilson staggered the Democratic cause. The 1920 convention in San Francisco took forty-four ballots to nominate Ohio Governor James M. Cox, picking Franklin D. Roosevelt for Vice President. They campaigned strongly for the League of Nations, but the ticket lost resoundingly to Ohio Senator Warren G. Harding and the Republican promise to get the country back to normal. The Democrats would not return to the White House until the nation faced another great period of crisis.

TWENTIES

The Democratic Party controlled no branch of the federal government during the 1920's, an era that brought the return of protective tariffs, reduction of taxes for the higher

income brackets, hard times for the farmer, judicial supremacy, and government use of court injunctions to thwart labor.

Even in 1924, as the scandals of the Harding administration offered the Democrats a ready-made issue, the party allowed internal differences to divide its forces and to consume its strength. In New York, at the longest convention in history and the last attended by Bryan, rural and urban wings battled over William G. McAdoo, Wilson's son-in-law, and New York Governor Alfred E. Smith for fourteen days before turning finally on the one-hundred-and-third ballot to compromise candidate John W. Davis, a New York lawyer who had been Wilson's Solicitor General. Many disenchanted Democrats defected to a third party—a last gasp Progressive party led by the old reformer LaFollette. His candidacy diverted almost five million votes, guaranteeing the Republican victory, and allotting the Democrats their lowest popular percentage in history—28.8.

Smith captured the Democratic nomination in 1928 and campaigned like the vigorous, popular Happy Warrior that he was, but his Roman Catholic faith and a temporary Republican prosperity awarded a comfortable victory to Herbert Hoover. The crash shattered any illusions of prosperity. The money problems which had pestered the farmer were suddenly raging rampant in the cities and finally throughout the world in the greatest economic collapse in history. The entire structure of credit and finance had been extended far beyond its capacity to produce; speculation and manipulation finally brought down the New York stock market and with it came economic catastrophe. Prices fell; savings vanished; laborers were thrown out of work; consumer demand dried up.

Alarmed Americans put the Democrats in control of both houses of Congress in 1930 and, as things continued to get worse, looked grimly and desperately to the presidential elections of 1932. Smith was available again, but so too was the man who had nominated him in 1928 and who, at his urging, had followed him into the governorship of New York, there to make himself a national reputation for his vigorous and effective leadership.

ROOSEVELT

Franklin Delano Roosevelt won the nomination in a skillfully managed bid that brought the professional politician to new prominence. Among his political advisers was James A. Farley who would become a close counselor as Roosevelt's Postmaster General and then Chairman of the Democratic National Committee before the men split on the issue of the third term in 1940.

Roosevelt, who would be elected President four times, was to become one of the greatest leaders of his country and his party. When he took office in 1933, his mandate was clear; it had been the most decisive Democratic victory since Andrew Jackson's in 1832. The people wanted action. He responded with a broad attack on the Depression. He brought to Washington a "brain trust"

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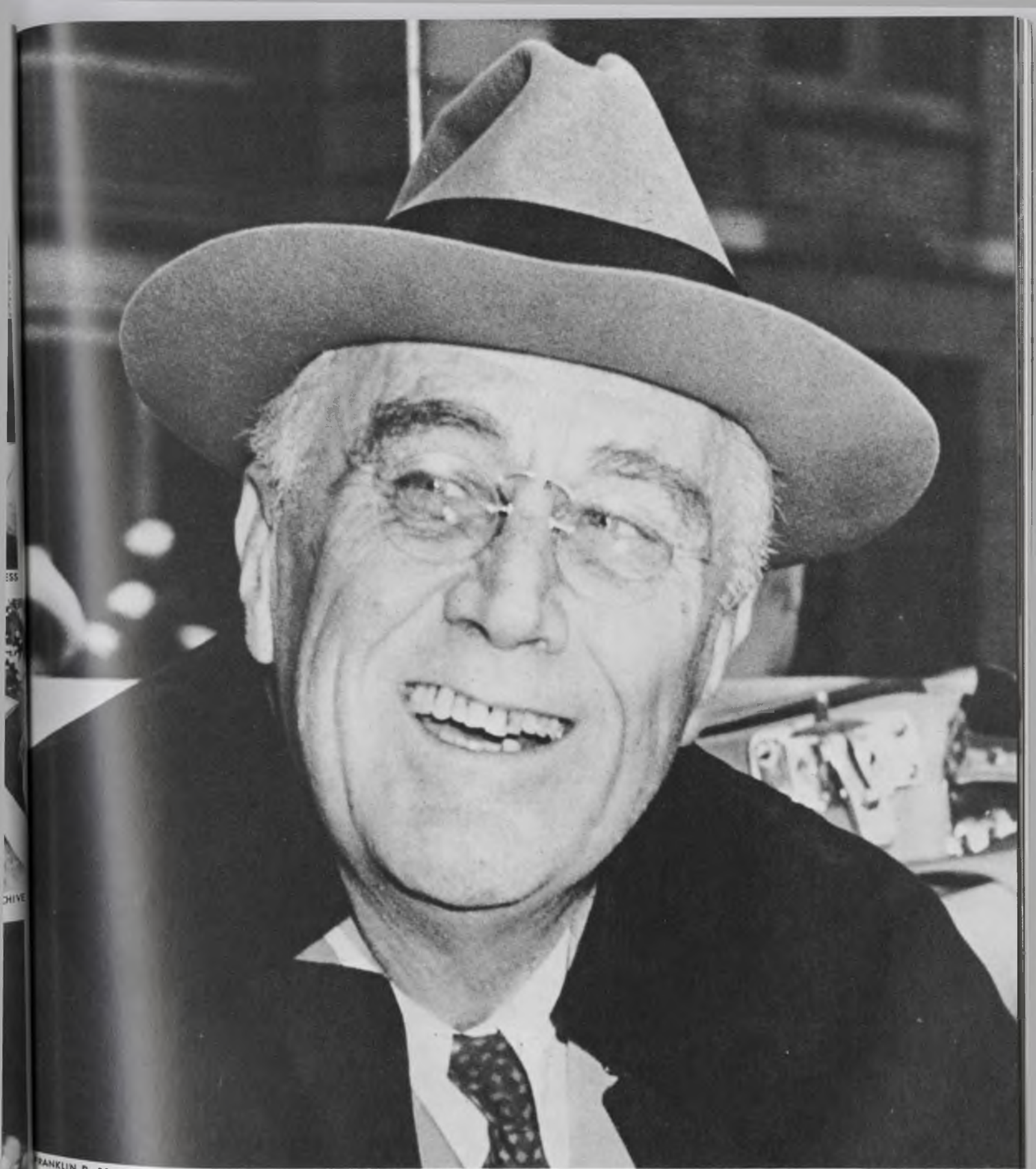

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FDR, in traditional campaign hat, Philadelphia Navy Yard, October 27, 1944

The Roarin' Twenties with their false prosperity were a prelude to the Roosevelt Era. Top left, an enthusiastic federal agent enforces prohibition in 1924. Center, radio touched off a revolution in mass communications; presidential election returns had been broadcast for the first time in 1920 and Roosevelt would later use the air waves for his fireside chats; here, a contented trio shares a one-tube, battery operated model in 1923. Bottom, Al Smith, the first nominee of the Catholic faith, campaigns for the presidency in 1928.

to study and unravel the complexities of the economic snarl; in the fury of his hundred days, he stormed Congress with a bold, bewildering array of legislation designed to bring comfort and relief to a dispirited nation, to put people back to work, to soothe their fears and to lift their morale. He mobilized every resource of the federal government, inventing new ones as he needed them, and directed them against the economic epidemic.

The National Recovery Administration was designed to help business while balancing the demands of labor; the Agricultural Adjustment Act was intended to increase the purchasing power of farmers; the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Public Works Administration and the Works Progress Administration provided useful employment for the jobless; the Tennessee Valley Authority was an experiment in public electrical power as a means of improving living standards and rehabilitating an economically depressed region. The Rural Electrification Administration helped finance cheap electricity for rural areas; the Social Security Act would succor the elderly and establish the precedent of government responsibility for the security and well-being of the individual. The Wagner Act chartered the labor movement, recognizing the right of workingmen to organize and to bargain collectively. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 fixed minimum wages and maximum hours; the Social Security Act set up unemployment insurance. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation was created to guarantee bank deposits, and the Securities and Exchange Commission to regulate the stock market.

The New Deal was the incarnation of Roosevelt's philosophy of an active, benevolent government, the transformation of Democratic party policy into national institutions. As a party leader, he made a lasting contribution by his introduction of mass political education; indeed, he defined his concept of the politican's task as primarily educational. His fireside chats, broadcast by radio, calmed and encouraged troubled millions:

> Democracy is a quest, a never-ending seeking for better things, and in the seeking for these things and the striving for them, there are many roads to follow.

He harkened back to Jeffersonian ideals:

> Faith in America, faith in our tradition of personal responsibility, faith in our institutions, faith in ourselves demand that we recognize the new terms of the old social contract. We shall fulfill them. . . . We must do so, lest the rising tide of misery, engendered by our common failure, engulf us all. But failure is not an American habit; and in the strength of great hope we must all shoulder our common load.

In this manner Roosevelt formulated a creed for the Democratic party in an age of industrialism, urbanism and corporate giants. The common man responded. The new pattern of the Democratic party would be labor-oriented in an industrial society, a coalition of workers, farmers, minorities and the poor, combined with the traditional Democratic base in the South. The Roosevelt landslide of 1936 prompted the President to take on the Supreme Court, which during his first term had regularly struck down his New Deal legislation. He wanted to expand the membership, to shift the balance of power to the liberals. The scheme caused a national uproar, opened a rift in party ranks and ultimately failed, but a realigned Supreme Court began to take a broader view of the recovery laws.

One factor that helped Roosevelt win a third nomination in 1940 was the convention compromise of 1936 which had eliminated the two-thirds rule first used by Andrew Jackson in 1832. Henceforth, nomination would require only a simple majority. The South lost its veto

Thirty-one-year-old Roosevelt was a not-too-well-known Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1913.

CULVER PICTURES

Day after the Day of Infamy, December 8, 1941: joint congressional resolution of war is signed by the President. Looking on, from left: Senator Alben W. Barkley, Senator Carter Glass, House Minority Leader Joseph W. Martin, Jr., and Senator Thomas T. Connally.

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over candidates in exchange for a delegate apportionment formula which would reflect a state's Democratic vote-producing strength in the previous election. The Depression, recovery and all other domestic issues were swallowed up in the holocaust of World War II for which Roosevelt had tried desperately to prepare America. Roosevelt achieved his greatest fame and, in 1944, his fourth election, as the nation's courageous and compassionate war leader, the "father of the United Nations" and the author of the Four Freedoms. He had abandoned his Vice President, Henry A. Wallace, in favor of Missouri Senator Harry Truman, and it was to Truman that the presidency fell in April, 1945.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was to the Democratic party in the Twentieth Century what Jefferson had been in the Nineteenth—the great pathfinder in social, economic and world affairs and an almost magical figure in the renaissance of the party. His triumph over personal disability, his crusades against Depression and Hitlerism endowed the Democratic party with a new tradition of courage, innovation and progress. He had made the party the voice of the forgotten masses.

CULVER PICTURES

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Left, the President in a playful mood, about the time of his second term. Nominated for the third time in 1940, he visited Philadelphia accompanied by Mrs. Roosevelt, Senator Joseph F. Guffey and, in forward seat, city Democratic chairman John B. Kelly, father of Princess Grace of Monaco.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

THE ROOSEVELT CABINET, 1941, from left around table: Claude R. Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture; Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor; Vice President Henry A. Wallace; Jesse H. Jones, Secretary of Commerce; Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of Interior; Frank C. Walker, Postmaster General; Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War; Cordell Hull, Secretary of State; the President; Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of Treasury; Francis Biddle, Attorney General; Frank Knox, Secretary of Navy.

TRUMAN

The atomic bomb exploded truths that mankind had clung to for centuries; its shadow darkened the world with a lowering, primitive fear. The specter of might which could destroy a city and spew the contagion of fallout abrogated the traditional security of time and space, threatened imminently the home and family. It made people question religious belief and the validity of their own existence; they asked whether their children would have the opportunity to grow up. The fissioned atom haunted them like some malignant sorcery.

As William Faulkner described the lurking malaise in 1950: "Our tragedy today is a general and universal physical fear so long sustained by now that we can even bear it. There are no longer problems of the spirit. There is only the question: when will I be blown up?"

Harry Truman, who had made the decision to use nuclear weapons to end the war in Asia, set about the task of restoring confidence to a post-war world. A continuer of Roosevelt's policies at first, Truman steadily and forcefully left his predecessor's shadow and made himself President in his own right. Conversion to a peacetime economy generated most of Truman's problems: continuation of wage-price controls, a housing shortage, the resolution of a railroad strike in 1946 and a cold war with Russia. The Congressional elections of 1946 were a Democratic disaster, but Truman prudently avoided Wilson's mistake and made the establishment of the United Nations a non-partisan matter. Still, popular unrest was so great that the Republicans presumed upon an inevitable return to the White House in 1949 and confidently nominated Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York.

The 1948 Democratic convention was particularly important for its recognition of the plight of black Americans. Led by Hubert H. Humphrey, youthful mayor of Minneapolis, the Northern liberal wing won a bitter floor fight to insert a civil rights plank into the platform. Southerners walked out and created a States Rights or Dixiecrats party with South Carolina Governor Strom Thurmond as its candidate. Earlier, the disenchanted left had formed a Progressive party and nominated former Vice President Henry A. Wallace. Divided as they were, the Democrats were roused by two fighting speeches: Kentucky Senator Alben W. Barkley rallied them to fight for New Deal achievements, and Harry Truman electrified the convention with an angry, fiery battle cry in which he denounced the Republicans and blamed their Congress as the cause of the nation's ills. He called the Eightieth Congress back into special session, sent it a package of urgent social legislation and when it failed to act, condemned it as the worst Congress the nation ever had had. He whistle-stopped across the nation, campaigning with the same vigor and determination, put his faith in the people when the polls said he would lose, and ultimately brought off one of the greatest upsets in the history of presidential elections.

President Truman was the first chief executive to make civil rights a major issue; he had risked his election by an unyielding stand that cost him the traditional electoral support of the South, and he became the first President to seek permanent civil rights legislation although Roosevelt had established a wartime Fair Employment Practices Committee. Truman launched other causes that would influence politics for decades: he proposed national health insurance and federal aid to primary and secondary education, and he fought successfully for a housing bill from Congress.

Politics in the atomic age had become irrevocably international, as Woodrow Wilson had foreseen almost thirty years before. Harry Truman shaped the new poli-

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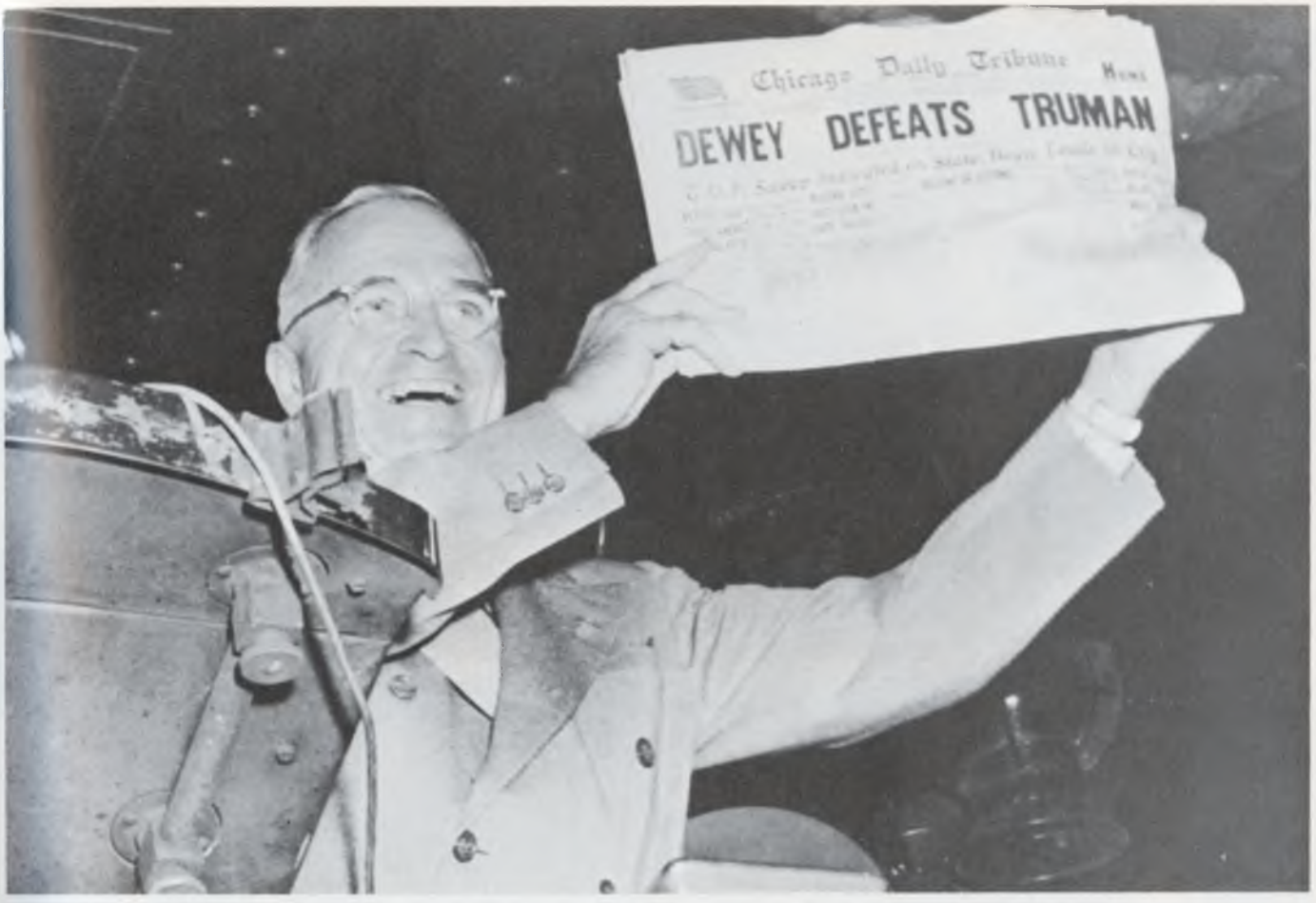
Hours after the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt on April 12, 1945, grim-faced Cabinet officers and congressional leaders crowded into the White House Cabinet room to watch Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone administer the presidential oath to Harry S. Truman. Bess Truman and daughter Margaret are at center.



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"One for the books!" beamed the President, brandishing the dead-wrong Daily Tribune on the day after his dramatic upset victory in the 1948 elections; the people had reversed the over-confident predictions of press, pollsters and presumptuous Republicans. Below, the President and Vice President-elect Barkley ride to inauguration ceremonies on January 20, 1949.

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THE TRUMAN CABINET, 1949: from left around table: Julius A. Krug, Secretary of Interior; Charles Sawyer, Secretary of Commerce; Vice President Alben W. Barkley; Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary of Labor; Charles F. Brannan, Secretary of Agriculture; Jesse M. Donaldson, Postmaster General; James V. Forrestal, Secretary of Defense; Dean Acheson, Secretary of State; the President; John W. Snyder, Secretary of Treasury; Tom C. Clark, Attorney General.

Adlai E. Stevenson, drafted for the 1952 presidential nomination, leaves Springfield, Illinois, Airport on a campaign hop, with him are sons Adlai III, left, now U.S. Senator from Illinois, and Borden.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Stevenson, urbane and intellectual, perceptively delineated the great national problems which, ignored in the 1950's, would erupt in the 1960's. Right, Eleanor Roosevelt, who firmly supported Stevenson, and former President Truman, who favored W. Averell Harriman, were friendly foes in the 1956 convention.

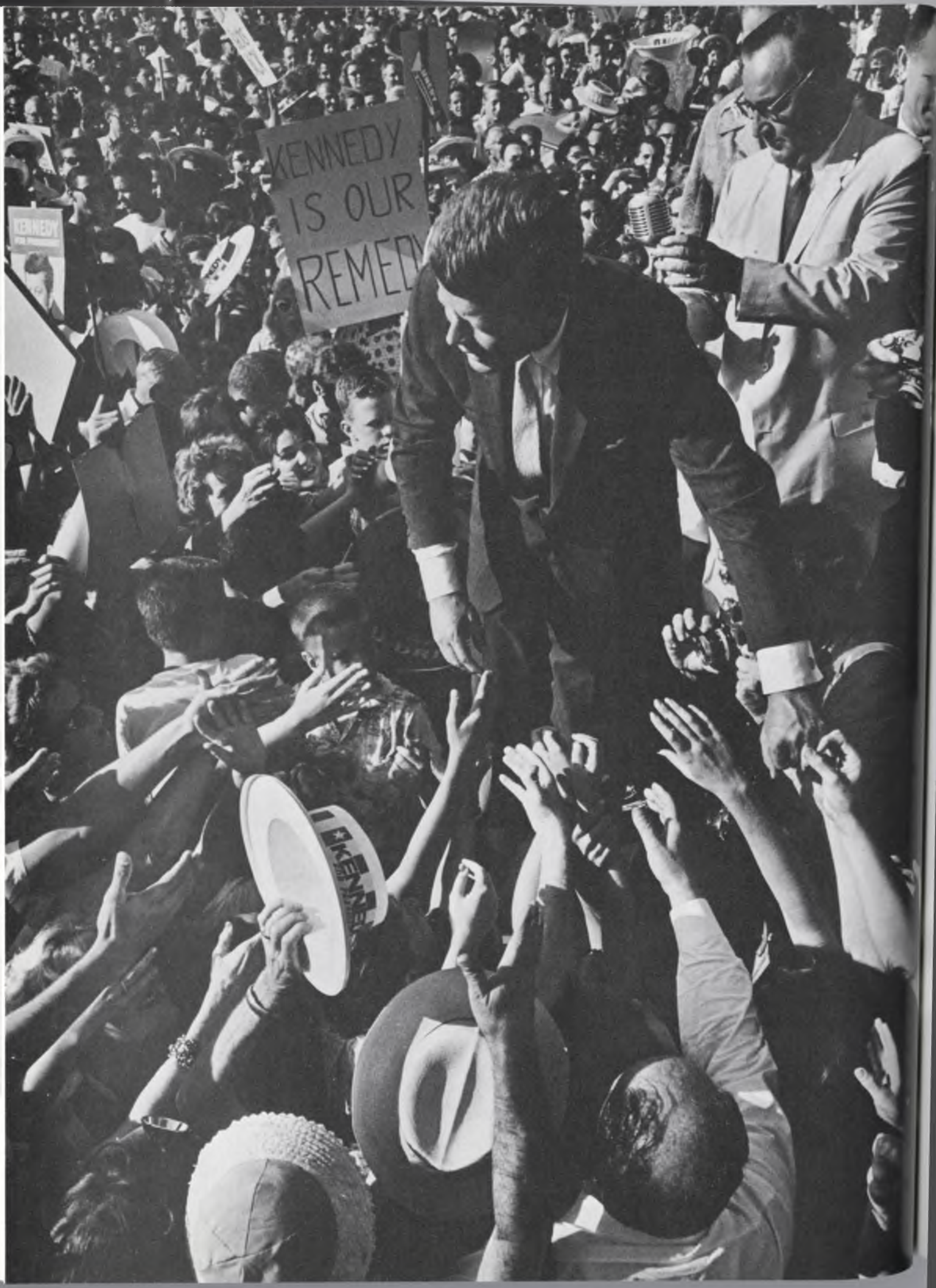
tics of foreign affairs, set the precedents of a vigorous and active peacetime foreign policy: the United Nations, the Marshall plan for the rebuilding of Europe, the Point Four program of assistance to underdeveloped nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for collective security, the Truman Doctrine of aid to nations fighting communism. In 1950 he sent troops to Korea in response to a United Nations resolution to resist the partition of the Asian nation. At home the uneasy atomic era, agitated by fear of the Soviet Union as a newly emerged nuclear power, caused him to establish a security program within the government. Both acts became issues in 1952.

STEVENSON

Twenty years of defeat had turned desperate Republicans to furor as a means of challenging Democratic ascendancy. Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin and Richard M. Nixon of California appointed themselves investigators, announced that Communists pervaded the federal government and hinted that the Reds were associated with the Democratic administration. Their charges spread suspicion throughout the nation and successfully dissolved the Democratic coalitions of the New Deal and the Fair Deal. Truman's dramatic announcement that he would not seek re-election and labor's objections to Vice President Barkley threw open the Democratic nomination, and the Chicago convention of 1952 drafted the eloquent, intellectual and reluctant Adlai E. Stevenson, governor of Illinois.

He was arrayed against the immense personal popularity of war hero Dwight D. Eisenhower, and he was obliged to defend the Truman administration against smear communism and corruption charges. Stevenson was further handicapped by the unpopular Korean conflict and by internal party strife. Eisenhower won handily. In 1956, no longer the reluctant candidate, Stevenson fought for the Democratic nomination and won it only to lose again to Eisenhower's popularity and to national misgivings about Stevenson's foreign policy proposals. Among other things, Stevenson had advocated a halt to atomic testing, but at the time the public was gripped by the Hungarian revolt against Soviet domination and by the Suez crisis.

A major contribution of the Stevenson candidacies was the club movement, the attraction to the Democratic cause of a new kind of volunteer worker: suburbanites, professionals, better educated persons in higher income brackets who had more time, talent and varied capabilities to devote to party purposes. During his campaigns the nominee gave voice eloquently to the problems that would beset the America of the future: the quest for racial equality, the need to end the draft, the necessity for reviving the cities, the crisis in education, the urge for a relaxation of international tensions. In 1956 he issued five eloquent and far sighted campaign papers dealing with the problems of the aged, education, health care, economy and natural resources. Stevenson would never be President, but he prepared the American mind for someone who would envision and accept the nation's challenge as one of unfulfilled but potential greatness.


KENNEDY
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One of the great achievements of the Kennedy Administration was the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty which the President signed in the presence of Vice President Johnson and congressional leaders on October 7, 1963.

KENNEDY

Democratic chances for 1960 were enhanced by two developments of the late fifties: Sputnik and recession. The first Earth satellite orbited by man stirred cold war tensions, and the fact that the satellite was Russian, not American, sapped the nation's confidence in its Republican administration. The people's trust reeled again under the sharp, painful economic recession of 1958 which knocked down farm prices and threw countless Americans out of work. That year Democrats made their greatest gains in congressional elections in two decades.

John F. Kennedy had set his sights on the presidency from the time of his dramatic and narrow defeat for the vice presidential nomination in 1956. Four years later a well-financed, well-organized, expertly mobilized campaign swept the young Massachusetts Senator to victory after victory in the primaries, including a decisive triumph in West Virginia which demonstrated convincingly that a Roman Catholic could be elected President.

Nominated in Los Angeles, Kennedy asked his principal opponent, Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, Majority Leader of the Senate, to run as Vice President. It was a courageous offer and an equally courageous acceptance. Both men suffered from prejudice—Kennedy of religion and Johnson of region—and their merger into a Boston-Austin coalition was an act of political daring that in the end commanded victory.

Television demonstrated in 1960 that henceforth it would be the single most important consideration in the election of a President. Kennedy had used it well during his primary contests, and in a celebrated and novel confrontation before an audience of millions, he engaged his Republican opponent, Richard Nixon, in a series of crucial debates in which Kennedy convincingly demonstrated his leadership ability and his qualifications to be President of the United States. The victory margin was only one-tenth of one percent, but in electing a Roman Catholic

The candidate on the campaign trail North Hollywood, California; September, 1960

photographed by Stanley Tretick

and a Southerner, the Democrats had destroyed long traditional barriers to the presidency. The New Frontier to which Kennedy led America was one of civility and hope.

The Peace Corps sent talented and idealistic young persons to help developing nations learn how to support themselves. Food for Peace undertook to diminish agricultural surpluses and to feed the hungry abroad while at home, far reaching and highly significant agricultural measures were launched. Meaningful new civil rights measures were designed to make the federal government the guarantor of minority rights against encroachment by individuals or government. A deliberately unbalanced budget was designed to spur the economy; it encouraged lower interest rates and inspired an improved business cycle that soon won the confidence of labor and management. Kennedy's rollback of steel price increases in 1962 was a new assertion of executive firmness in behalf of the national economic welfare. He achieved record peacetime prosperity, an unprecedented thirty-five consecutive months of economic growth.

In foreign affairs, the President recovered quickly from the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion and from a sobering encounter in Vienna with Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev in 1961; his steady nerve and his firmness during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis united the nation behind him and won him international admiration. The next year the signing of the nuclear test ban treaty earned him gratitude and even greater respect. Vietnam, however, appeared to him to present a growing danger, and he felt that an increased commitment of military advisers by the United States was becoming necessary.

It ended tragically—the youth, vigor, grace, intellect, and courage—extinguished on November 22, 1963, in an assassination that devastated the nation. The awesome burdens of the presidency devolved upon Lyndon Baines Johnson.

JOHN F. KENNEDY LIBRARY

Former President Truman visited the White House for the first-anniversary celebration of President Kennedy's inauguration; joining in a tripartite handclasp was Lyndon B. Johnson who would himself become President in twenty-two months.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

THE KENNEDY CABINET, 1961: from left: Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; C. Douglas Dillon, Secretary of Treasury; Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense; Robert F. Kennedy, Attorney General; J. Edward Day, Postmaster General; Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of Interior; Mrs. Kennedy; the President; Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture; Luther H. Hodges, Secretary of Commerce; Arthur J. Goldberg, Secretary of Labor; Abraham A. Ribicoff, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. Chief Justice Earl Warren swore in the Cabinet.

GEORGE TAMES, THE NEW YORK TIMES

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As Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy directed the government's civil rights efforts in the early 1960's; he served as a key adviser during the Cuba missile crisis of October, 1962, and throughout that brief administration was his brother's closest aide. Elected Senator from New York in 1966, Kennedy bore his idealism and humanitarian instincts into a 1968 bid for the presidency that was to end with tragedy.

The burdens of the presidency

The Kennedy Aura

photographed by Stanley Tretick

The President speaks in front of Cleveland's city hall during a campaign tour preceding the congressional elections of 1962; the trip was cut short by the development of the Cuba missile crisis. Far right, golf-carting in Hyannisport, August, 1961

JOHNSON

He took the oath of office in a tight, crowded compartment of Air Force One, the presidential aircraft. His first task was to steady the people and to lead them through the traumatic transition of power. Then he would take up and see through to enactment most of the unfinished legislation of the Kennedy administration, and finally he would create his own presidency with its own vision of a Great Society.

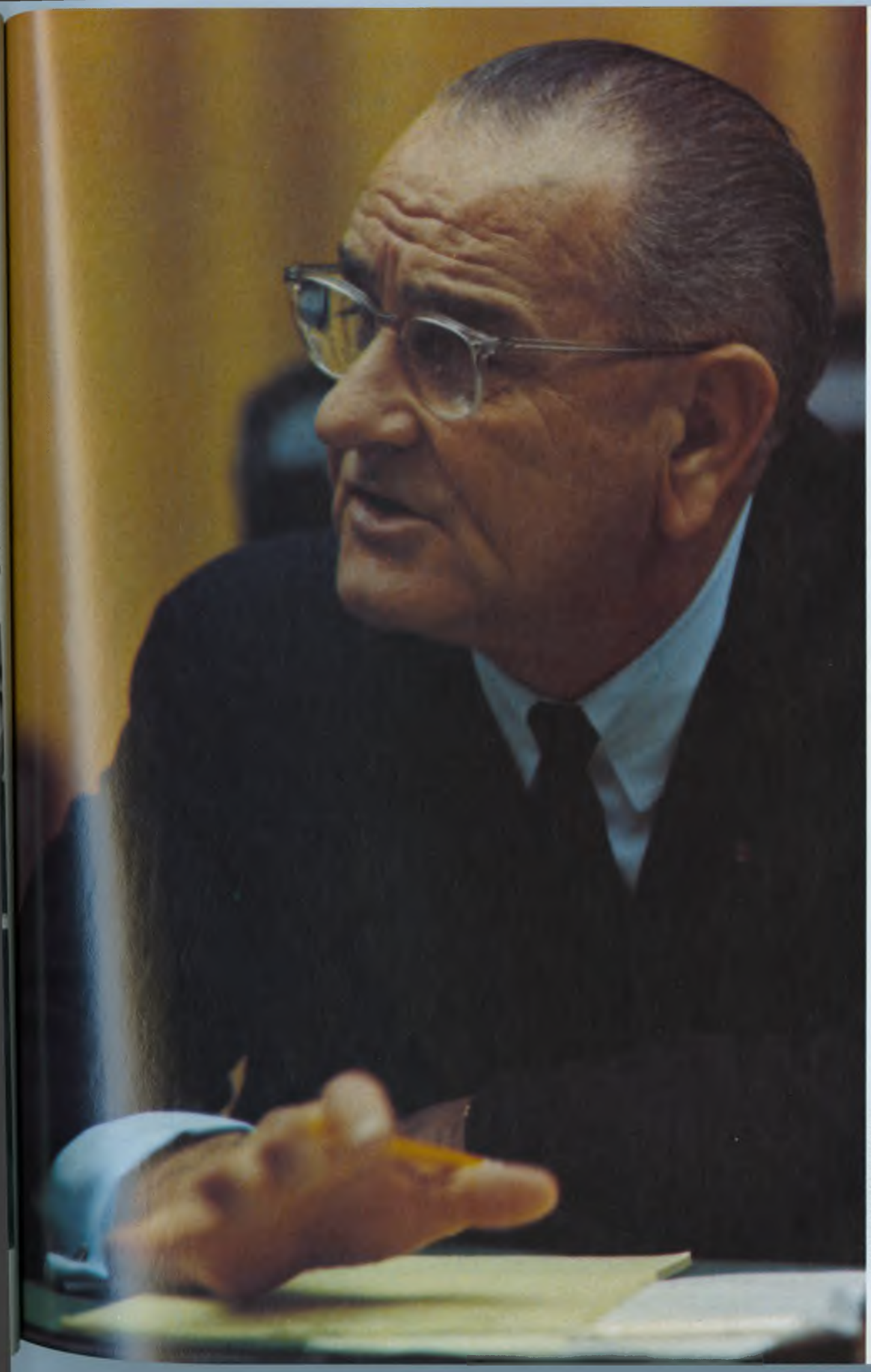
Lyndon Johnson was the most politically experienced President and party leader in the Democrats' long history. He would need all his skills: as a Southerner, or Westerner, as he called himself, he headed a Northern, liberal, urban worker, black coalition joined with the traditional base of the South. A specialist in "the art of the possible," as he called it, he understood intimately the subtleties of guiding legislation through Congress, and he achieved one of the most outstanding legislative records in the history of the presidency. In 1964 he secured passage of a revolutionary tax reduction bill designed to spur the economy, and with the congressional leadership of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, he won the strongest civil rights bill in history, a remarkable feat, achieved after cloture killed a Southern filibuster.

Republican intraparty warfare boosted Johnson to a staggering majority in the 1964 election. He had chosen Senator Humphrey as his Vice President, and the ticket amassed sixty-one percent of the popular vote and a plurality of sixteen million. The Democratic tide swept to two-thirds of the membership of both houses of Congress.

Early in 1965 President Johnson embarked upon the most comprehensive social legislation program since the New Deal. He achieved manpower training for the unemployed, Medicare for the elderly, increased social security benefits, economic development assistance for Appalachia and other depressed areas, low-cost housing and fair housing for minorities and aid to primary and secondary education. He raised important new issues which will affect politics for years to come: consumer protection with its concern for interest rates, food and product quality and other matters affecting the average American; environmental improvement which struck at pollution and, with the guidance of Mrs. Johnson, encouraged natural beauty, an anti-poverty crusade which lifted millions above the poverty line. Closely identified with the space program since his earliest days in the vice presidency, President Johnson oversaw the man-in-space achievements of Project Gemini and the preparatory Apollo flights which

LYNDON B. JOHNSON LIBRARY

2:40 p.m. CST; November 22, 1963



President Johnson's social welfare achievements benefit millions today and will continue to improve the quality of American life well into the Twenty-First Century.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON LIBRARY

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Monumental civil rights laws, the greatest invocation of human rights since the Civil War, were achieved by President Johnson after he directed an epic legislative struggle. Congressional and administration leaders filled the East Room of the White House on July 2, 1964, to watch the President sign the Civil Rights Act. Below, Johnson passes out the pens with which he signed the Voting Rights Act on August 6, 1965. Civil rights leaders, from left, are Ralph D. Abernathy, Martin Luther King, Jr., Clarence Mitchell and Patricia Roberts Harris. "At long last," said the President, "the legal rights of American citizens—the right to vote, to hold a job, to enter a public place, to go to school—were given concrete protection."

Medicare made a book-length law and an epic feat in the history of human health care. Former President Truman, who proposed national health insurance in 1948, triumphantly waves pens with which President Johnson finally signed such a program into law. Witnessing the July 30, 1965, signing ceremony in Independence, Missouri, were Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Truman and Vice President Humphrey. Right, the President visits a missile assembly plant with NASA Director James E. Webb in 1967. Johnson had shepherded the nation's space program since his earliest days in the vice presidency.

THE JOHNSON CABINET, 1967: from left around table: Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense; Lawrence F. O'Brien, Postmaster General; Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture; W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor; Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; Alan S. Boyd, Secretary of Transportation; John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; Alexander B. Trowbridge, Secretary of Commerce; Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of Interior; Ramsey Clark, Attorney General; Henry H. Fowler, Secretary of Treasury; the President.

readied man for the moon landing of July, 1969. His administration achieved the first meaningful reform of immigration laws in decades, winning congressional enactment of a fairer system to replace the discriminatory national origins quota system.

Vietnam and riots in the cities obscured for some persons the solid accomplishments of the Johnson administration, threatened to eclipse the fundamental and radical social reforms the President had wrought into the fabric of the United States. He had inherited the Southeast Asia dilemma from the Eisenhower administration and the brinkmanship of John Foster Dulles. By the mid-sixties, involvement had become a raw wound in the nation's soul. The escalation of 1965-66, widely supported at the time by both parties, failed to resolve the issue: it was not sufficient to end the war by military means, and although it prevented the Communist objective of taking over Southeast Asia, it had not taken into account a changing, growing anti-war mood within the United States. In an effort to be completely free of political considerations, Johnson announced on March 31, 1968, that he would not seek re-election in order to devote his full efforts to unifying the country and seeking peace.

The Democratic ticket in 1968—the Vice President and Mrs. Hubert H. Humphrey; Senator and Mrs. Edmund S. Muskie

HUMPHREY

Hubert H. Humphrey, one of the nation's foremost liberal leaders, had risen from humble beginnings to achieve his party's nomination for President of the United States. A small-town boy from South Dakota, he gave up an early career as a pharmacist in his father's drug store to embark upon a political career that took him from Minneapolis to Washington. In 1944 he engineered a merger of the Democratic and Farmer-Labor Parties into a coalition which successfully elected him reform mayor of Minneapolis. At the 1948 National Convention he was a key leader in the Northern liberal struggle that produced the strongest Democratic civil rights plank since Reconstruction.

Elected to the Senate the same year, Humphrey began a long, energetic struggle which made him one of its most influential members. He gained national recognition in 1958 for his historic eight-and-a-half-hour meeting with Nikita Khrushchev at the Kremlin. An unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1960, Humphrey returned to the Senate to fight for passage of some of the century's most important legislation. Of his accomplishments, he was especially proud of his part in the ratification of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the establishment of the Peace Corps and the Food for Peace program, and his floor leadership in behalf of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964, strongest in a hundred years.

Nominated for Vice President, he ran with Lyndon Johnson in the Democratic sweep of 1964, and as the nation's second official, Humphrey took charge of the new youth opportunity program and assisted the President in advancing other administration programs. The 1968 convention in Chicago nominated Humphrey for the presidency on the first ballot, and with his support, Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine was chosen for Vice President. The candidates faced an enormous task; the convention had been held late in August, and the campaign was to begin the next week. Humphrey appointed Lawrence F. O'Brien his Democratic National Chairman and campaign director, and in a swiftly but skillfully fashioned drive, Humphrey and Muskie campaigned vigorously and courageously on a liberal platform. Most difficult for Humphrey had been the Vietnam issue and the need for delicacy to avoid damaging Lyndon Johnson's peace initiative, but at Salt Lake City Humphrey made a courageous speech separating himself from the President and establishing his own position on ending the war. The campaign had brought the party from hopelessness to within sight of victory. But the Democrats suffered, however unfairly, from the mood of the nation. The people had been surfeited by violence—the war, the riots, the rising tide of crime in the streets, the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Senator Robert F. Kennedy. When raging street battles between youth and police erupted during the Democratic convention in Chicago, the stigma had descended unfairly upon Humphrey. Richard Nixon, defeated by Kennedy eight years before,

held together 43.4 percent of the popular vote, enough in the three-way race of 1968 to make him minority President of the United States.

The Republican candidate had promised to stop the war, end inflation, deal with crime in the streets, maintain prosperity, and "bring us together." After three years under President Nixon, inflation was at its worst in twenty years, crime rates were higher than ever, violence on campus reached record levels, a recession threw hundreds of thousands out of work, Vietnam had claimed tens of thousands more of our young men, dead or injured, and relations between young and old, black and white were more fragmented than ever.

TOMORROW

Appalled by the street violence in Chicago and the internal dissension among delegates, the Democratic National Convention in 1968 ordered a searching examination of the party, its functions and its constituency. The convention launched reform by abolishing the one-hundred-thirty-six-year-old unit rule which undemocratically bound delegates' votes. The convention adopted a Rules-Committee minority report whose sweeping reform recommendations were based largely upon the work of a pre-convention ad hoc group organized by Governor, now Senator, Harold E. Hughes of Iowa. Its report on the *Democratic Selection of Presidential Candidates* was the first serious study by any party of its delegate selection procedures.

A reform commission on delegate selection headed by Senator George McGovern of South Dakota and a commission on rules revision under Representative James G. O'Hara of Michigan laid the foundation for the most important and far-reaching reform since the Jackson-Van Buren reorganization of the late 1820's. The commissions, reporting in 1970 and 1971, recommended new procedures designed to grant fairer recognition to women, minorities, youth and lower income groups. The age qualification was liberalized in accord with the Amendment, sponsored by Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, which gave eighteen-year-olds the right to vote. The action recognized the social and economic contributions of eleven and a half million young persons who already enjoy the nation's confidence as taxpayers, workers, consumers and soldiers.

The Democratic National Committee made all party reforms mandatory for 1972 and cleared the way for the most streamlined, most representative and most democratic convention in Democratic history. A new, revitalized Democratic party had been created. •

The vote: One in 130 million

More than 130 million citizens will be old enough to vote for President next November 7, but forty to forty-five million of them are expected to default. Some will be in prison; others will be mentally incompetent. More will not have registered or will be absent from polling places without having obtained absentee ballots. And unknown numbers of Americans will abstain simply because they feel that a single ballot is lost among an electorate of 130 million. The last attitude is particularly ironic since

JOHN DAUGHTRY

Willie Young gets the message across.

persons who so undervalue their own votes, in fact, help to overvalue the votes that are cast. If only sixty-five percent of the electorate votes this year, each person will in effect cast a weighted ballot worth one and a half times its rightful share of the franchise.

Progress toward universal suffrage has been the manifest destiny of America since Thomas Jefferson enunciated the principle of governments "deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed." Two centuries later, the development and the expansion of suffrage in America is so far advanced that the popular vote can be misperceived as commonplace and its worth misjudged as negligible. In fact, the vote remains the only alternative to violent revolution; it is the instrument of power among a free people, and the greater the consensus the more effective is the vote as an instrument of democracy. A broad electorate contributes to a freer vote by making it more difficult for any clique—whether political bosses or wealthy aristocracy—to manipulate voters.

In medieval times the vote was the exclusive and jealously guarded prerogative of princes and prelates, and a thousand years of social development, involving untold bloodshed and strife, were required to confer the franchise upon the common citizen. Beginning in 919 the German emperor was elected by the votes of just six men—three nobles and three archbishops; in the same century Viking kings were chosen by nobles alone, and by 1282 clergy had joined nobles in electing their first Danish king. Property and prosperity were responsible for the first major extension of the franchise—to the townspeople of the late middle ages who were earning the money which kings needed to finance their governments and their wars. Christian Europe's first government council representing businessmen as well as nobles and clergy was Spain's Cortes of Leon which met in 1188, more than a century before England's Model Parliament of 1295 or France's Estates-General of 1302. The property qualification became law in 1430 when Parliament limited the vote to freeholders possessing land worth an annual income of forty shillings. That requirement prevailed in Britain until the reform act of 1832.

In the meantime, the precedent had been transplanted to the American colonies whose aristocratic leaders used it as one means of bridling the populace; early laws also limited suffrage by imposing taxpaying qualifications, residence requirements, in some cases religious tests, and of course by prohibiting the vote to women, slaves and Indians. The monied classes were wary of the voting power of men who had no property to protect, and they distrusted the judgment of unsophisticated, largely uneducated and poorly informed citizenry. So prickly was this question of limiting the electorate that the framers of the Constitution dared not intervene for fear that the states would reject the Constitution. So the federal charter left voter qualifications entirely to the states and provided popular election only for the House of Representatives. Senators were to be named by the establishment state legislatures, and the President himself was to be chosen through the curious mechanism of the electoral college. At the time of the Constitutional Convention, the principle of the electoral college—in which an exclusive minority elects the head of a given constituency—had two conspicuous examples: the College of Cardinals which since 1057 had elected the Pope and the electoral college of the Holy Roman Empire whose seven, eventually thirteen, members so prized their status that they took the title Elector as a princely dignity.

James Madison, father of the Constitution, said that the Constitutional Convention created the electoral college because simpler schemes like direct popular election o

COURTESY KENNETH M. NEWMAN, OLD PRINT SHOP, N.Y.C.

County Election, *upstate New York, by G. C. Bingham, 1854*

the President or election by Congress had been debated to deadlock. Madison admitted that the framers had been somewhat rushed. He wrote: ". . . As the final arrangement took place in the latter stages of the session, it was not exempt from a degree of the hurrying influence produced by fatigue and impatience in all such bodies; tho' the degree was much less than usually prevails in them." Intended, Madison said, was that states should appoint their most capable men who in turn would elect as President the most illustrious American. The system worked as intended only in the first two elections when the pre-eminent George Washington was the candidate.

The Constitutional Convention had not been able to agree on a way to choose presidential electors, and so to this day the matter is left to the states by constitutional grant: "Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors. . . ."

The number is equal to the sum of Senators and Representatives to which the state is entitled in Congress —a total nationally of 538. The method of "appointing" electors is the general election every fourth November ordained by the legislature of each state. Electors usually are party workers nominated by state conventions or state committees as a reward for service to the party. In many instances, their names do not appear on the presidential ballot. Those chosen in the November general election meet in their respective states on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December and cast their votes for President and Vice President. Certified tallys are then sent to Washington where they are counted before a joint session of Congress on January 6, and the candidate with a majority of the 538 votes is declared President-elect. If there is no majority, the House of Representatives, on the non-representative basis of one vote per state, must elect the President from among the top three candidates.

Chances of misfire are considerable. The electoral-college system has produced three Presidents who lost the popular vote: John Quincy Adams in 1824, Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876 and Benjamin Harrison in 1888. In fourteen other elections, shifts of less than two percent in the popular vote, magnified and distorted by the electoral college process, would have reversed the outcome of the election. On five other occasions still—most recently 1968, 1960 and 1948—slight shifts in the popular vote would have thrown the election into the House; twice, in 1800 and 1824, the House has elected the President. And to complicate things a bit more, maverick electors have on a few occasions broken their promises and voted for some person to whom they were not pledged.

But the greatest question is whether state legislatures should continue to control the right of the people to vote for President. No legislature has appointed electors since 1876 in the newly admitted state of Colorado, 1868 in the recently reconstructed state of Florida and 1860 in South Carolina. But to this day each legislature retains the authority to call off the popular vote and to name the electors itself. In addition, states continue to interfere with the popular vote by sanctioning winner-take-all elections: the winning presidential candidate gets all the electoral votes, and the popular vote of the minority cannot be credited to the candidate of its choice. Purpose of such unit rules is to concentrate a state's strength in the electoral college.

In 1972 one state will attempt to remedy this disparity. Maine voters will choose the state's four presidential electors by district: one elector from each of the two congressional districts and two electors, corresponding to the Senators, on a statewide basis. The law establishing the district system was sponsored in 1969 by Democratic State Representative S. Glenn Starbird, Jr., now a state executive. Mr. Starbird, a strong supporter of the electoral college, says that electors by district "while retaining the electoral system with the balance of powers between the states fundamental in our Constitution, still allows the will of the people to be expressed." Originally, he had proposed that Maine create four special districts of equal population, each to choose one elector, but a committee of the Legislature substituted congressional and senatorial constituencies for the electors. Mr. Starbird wrote into the law a provision that attempts to bind each elector according to the popular vote in the constituency that elected him; the Constitution does not bind electors. Says Mr. Starbird: "I think Maine has taken the right road toward a solution of our presidential elector problems, and I hope its example will be followed by other states, so that in time Maine's reform will become truly a national reform."

Maine's will be the first district election since 1892 when Michigan Democrats, in temporary control of the legislature, instituted the system in an effort to win some of the state's electoral votes. The strategy had some success, gaining five of the state's fourteen electoral votes for Grover Cleveland, elected that year to his second term. James Madison, thirty-six years after the Constitutional Convention, said that the system of district election

"was mostly, if not exclusively, in view when the Constitution was framed and adopted." That was the way James Wilson of Pennsylvania had first presented the electoral college proposal to the convention on June 2, 1787. Indeed, in the early elections, many states had on their own authority instituted district elections; the first were Maryland and Virginia in 1789. Six states used the system as late as 1820. But more and more states were adopting the winner-take-all system to increase their importance in the electoral college, and after 1832 the district system was abandoned by all states and did not reappear until the Michigan incident of 1892.

The electoral college has proved itself as surely an impediment to popular voting as property qualifications and other devices to limit the electorate. During the struggle in the 1820's to widen the popular franchise, the property requirement and the system of nominating presidential candidates by caucus became primary targets of the Jacksonian Democrats who succeeded eventually in abolishing both.

The framers of the Constitution had voted specifically to keep the election of the President out of the hands of Congress, and few framers had foreseen the rise of political parties. But when parties began to appear, Congress is where the important presidential nominating function developed. In the first Congresses, the rival Jeffersonians and Hamiltonians both used caucuses to establish party policy and plan legislative strategy. By 1796 when Jefferson was ready to seek the presidency, it was a logical extension of the party congressional caucus to nominate him. In succeeding presidential years, nominating caucuses came under attack as exclusive, undemocratic and closed to the common man. By 1820, although the Democrats had invited partisans of all political faiths, the caucus was so poorly attended that it made no nominations, and President Monroe and Vice President Daniel D. Tompkins were merely considered candidates for reelection by common consent. By 1824, when the eighth and last caucus met and nominated the ailing William H. Crawford, state legislatures and party conventions in

THE ELECTIONS: 1789-1968

Year	Candidate		Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
1789	George Washington		Not Available	69
	John Adams			34
	John Jay			9
	Others			26
	Not Voted			12
1792	George Washington	(F)		132
	John Adams	(F)		77
	George Clinton	(DR)		50
	Others			5
1796	John Adams	(F)		71
	Thomas Jefferson	(DR)		68
	Thomas Pinckney	(F)		59
	Aaron Burr	(DR)		30
	Others			48
1800	Thomas Jefferson	(DR)		73
	Aaron Burr	(DR)		73
	John Adams	(F)		65
	Others			65
1804	Thomas Jefferson	(DR)		162
	Charles C. Pinckney	(F)		14
1808	James Madison	(DR)		122
	Charles C. Pinckney	(F)		47
	George Clinton	(DR)		6
	Not Voted			1
1812	James Madison	(DR)		128
	De Witt Clinton	(DR)		89
	Not Voted			1
1816	James Monroe	(DR)		183
	Rufus King	(F)		34
	Not Voted			4
1820	James Monroe	(DR)		231
	John Quincy Adams	(DR)		1
	Not Voted			3
1824	John Quincy Adams	(DR)	108,740	84
	Andrew Jackson	(DR)	153,544	99
	William H. Crawford	(DR)	46,618	41
	Henry Clay	(DR)	47,136	37
1828	Andrew Jackson	(D)	647,286	178
	John Quincy Adams	(NR)	508,064	83
1832	Andrew Jackson	(D)	687,502	219
	Henry Clay	(NR)	530,189	49
	Others		Not Available	18
	Not Voted			2
1836	Martin Van Buren	(D)	765,483	170
	William Henry Harrison	(W)	549,508	73
	Others		186,639	51

Year	Candidate		Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
1840	William Henry Harrison	(W)	1,274,624	234
	Martin Van Buren	(D)	1,127,781	60
1844	James K. Polk	(D)	1,338,464	170
	Henry Clay	(W)	1,300,097	105
	Others		62,300	—
1848	Zachary Taylor	(W)	1,360,967	163
	Lewis Cass	(D)	1,222,342	127
	Martin Van Buren	(FS)	291,263	—
1852	Franklin Pierce	(D)	1,601,117	254
	Winfield Scott	(W)	1,385,453	42
	John P. Hale	(FS)	155,825	—
	Others		12,445	—
1856	James Buchanan	(D)	1,832,955	174
	John C. Frémont	(R)	1,339,932	114
	Millard Fillmore	(W)	871,731	8
1860	Abraham Lincoln	(R)	1,865,593	180
	Stephen A. Douglas	(D)	1,382,713	12
	John C. Breckinridge	(SD)	848,356	72
	John Bell	(CU)	592,906	39
1864	Abraham Lincoln	(R)	2,206,938	212
	George McClellan	(D)	1,803,787	21
	Not Voted			81
1868	Ulysses S. Grant	(R)	3,013,421	214
	Horatio Seymour	(D)	2,706,829	80
	Not Voted			23
1872	Ulysses S. Grant	(R)	3,596,745	286
	Horace Greeley	(D)	2,843,446	*
	Charles O'Conor	(SrD)	29,489	—
1876	Rutherford B. Hayes	(R)	4,036,572	185
	Samuel J. Tilden	(D)	4,284,020	184
	Others		94,935	—
1880	James A. Garfield	(R)	4,453,295	214
	Winfield S. Hancock	(D)	4,414,082	155
	Others		318,883	—
1884	Grover Cleveland	(D)	4,879,507	219
	James G. Blaine	(R)	4,850,293	182
	Others		325,739	—
1888	Benjamin Harrison	(R)	5,447,129	233
	Grover Cleveland	(D)	5,537,857	168
	Others		396,441	—
1892	Grover Cleveland	(D)	5,555,426	277
	Benjamin Harrison	(R)	5,182,690	145
	James B. Weaver	(PP)	1,029,846	22
	Others		296,672	—

the states began naming their own nominees: Andrew Jackson by the Tennessee lower house, John Quincy Adams by a Boston meeting, John C. Calhoun by the South Carolina legislature. Calhoun gave up his attempt at the presidency, obtained the vice presidential nomination from a Philadelphia convention and was elected to serve under Adams. The candidates of 1828 were produced by the same welter of nominating systems; so in 1832 President Jackson put an end to the chaos by calling a national nominating convention that was attended by representatives from all states but one. Jackson's decisive action in behalf of a major political party breached another barrier to popular participation in the election of the President.

There remained the struggle to extend the suffrage, an effort which continues today. Women received the right to vote in 1920, and although fewer than half those eligible went to the polls that year, they helped boost the turnout by 8.3 million to a record national total of 26.8 million. Black suffrage received new impetus from the anti-poll tax amendment of 1964, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Supreme Court reapportionment decisions of 1962 and 1964 enunciated the one man, one vote principle in an effort to equalize voting power. In 1971 congressional Democrats sponsored the amendment enfranchising 11.5 million eighteen-to-twenty-year-olds, increasing the electorate by twelve percent. Perhaps the most serious remaining inhibitions to an unfettered popular vote are residence requirements and the electoral college itself. The most recent effort at electoral-college reform failed in 1970 when a Senate filibuster killed a proposed constitutional amendment which would have abolished the college in favor of direct election by popular vote. The bill had passed the House 339-70 on September 18, 1969. So long as the popular vote, which in 1972 will approach eighty-five or ninety million, must be forced through the 538-hole strainer of the electoral college, the chance remains that the electoral elixir may spurt awry and there would be no telling whom it might anoint. •

Year	Candidate		Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
1896	William McKinley	(R)	7,102,246	271
	William Jennings Bryan	(D)	6,492,559	176
	Others		315,398	—
1900	William McKinley	(R)	7,218,491	292
	William Jennings Bryan	(D)	6,356,734	155
	Others		396,200	—
1904	Theodore Roosevelt	(R)	7,628,461	336
	Alton B. Parker	(D)	5,084,223	140
	Eugene V. Debs	(S)	402,283	—
	Others		406,968	—
1908	William H. Taft	(R)	7,675,320	321
	William Jennings Bryan	(D)	6,412,294	162
	Eugene V. Debs	(S)	420,793	—
	Others		379,833	—
1912	Woodrow Wilson	(D)	6,296,547	435
	Theodore Roosevelt	(Pr)	4,118,571	88
	William H. Taft	(R)	3,486,720	8
	Eugene V. Debs	(S)	900,672	—
	Others		235,025	—
1916	Woodrow Wilson	(D)	9,127,695	277
	Charles Evans Hughes	(R)	8,533,507	254
	Others		819,022	—
1920	Warren G. Harding	(R)	16,153,115	404
	James M. Cox	(D)	9,133,092	127
	Eugene V. Debs	(S)	915,490	—
	Others		566,916	—
1924	Calvin Coolidge	(R)	15,719,921	382
	John W. Davis	(D)	8,386,704	136
	Robert M. LaFollette	(Pr)	4,832,532	13
	Others		155,866	—
1928	Herbert C. Hoover	(R)	21,437,277	444
	Alfred E. Smith	(D)	15,007,698	87
	Others		360,976	—
1932	Franklin D. Roosevelt	(D)	22,829,501	472
	Herbert C. Hoover	(R)	15,760,684	59
	Norman Thomas	(S)	884,649	—
	Others		283,925	—
1936	Franklin D. Roosevelt	(D)	27,757,333	523
	Alfred M. Landon	(R)	16,684,231	8
	Others		1,213,199	—
1940	Franklin D. Roosevelt	(D)	27,313,041	449
	Wendell Willkie	(R)	22,348,480	82
	Others		238,897	—
1944	Franklin D. Roosevelt	(D)	25,612,610	432
	Thomas E. Dewey	(R)	22,017,617	99
	Others		346,443	—
1948	Harry S. Truman	(D)	24,179,345	303
	Thomas E. Dewey	(R)	21,991,291	189
	Strom Thurmond	(SR)	1,176,125	39
	Henry A. Wallace	(Pr)	1,157,326	—
	Others		286,327	—
1952	Dwight D. Eisenhower	(R)	33,936,234	442
	Adlai E. Stevenson	(D)	27,314,992	89
	Others		299,692	—
1956	Dwight D. Eisenhower	(R)	35,590,472	457
	Adlai E. Stevenson	(D)	26,022,752	73
	Others		413,684	1
1960	John F. Kennedy	(D)	34,226,731	303
	Richard M. Nixon	(R)	34,108,157	219
	Others		503,331	15
1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	(D)	43,129,484	486
	Barry M. Goldwater	(R)	27,178,188	52
	Others		336,838	—
1968	Richard M. Nixon	(R)	31,785,480	301
	Hubert H. Humphrey	(D)	31,275,166	191
	George Wallace	(AIP)	9,906,473	46
	Others		244,756	—

Several states held popular presidential elections before 1824, but records of such votes have not survived.

House of Representatives elected Jefferson in 1800, Adams in 1824.

* Horace Greeley died after the popular vote of 1872 but before the electoral college met. His electoral votes were cast as follows: Thomas A. Hendricks, 42; B. Gratz Brown, 18; Charles J. Jenkins, 2; David Davis, 1; not voted, 17.

Code for party affiliation:

F	Federalist	SD	Southern Democratic
DR	Democratic-Republican (evolved into Democratic party about 1828)	CU	Constitutional Union
		SrD	Straight Democratic
		PP	People's Party
D	Democratic	S	Socialist
NR	National Republican	Pr	Progressive
W	Whig	SR	States Rights
FS	Free Soil	AIP	American Independent Party
R	Republican		

SOURCE: Statistics for 1789-1916: *Historical Statistics of the United States*, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960. Statistics for 1920-1968: *America at the Polls*, compiled and edited by Richard M. Scammon; Governmental Affairs Institute; University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965.

The Electoral College in 1972

California becomes electoral-college heavyweight this year, dislodging New York from the position it has held since 1812. The Golden State will cast forty-five votes when the electoral college meets next December 18 to solemnize the nation's forty-seventh presidential election.

Reapportionment after the 1970 census transferred five votes to California and took two from New York which is left now with forty-one electors. The Empire State had been at the head of the electoral roll since it outstripped Virginia by leaping from nineteen votes to twenty-nine after the 1810 census. That spurt remains the biggest gain for any state from one presidential year to the next. Virginia held the largest voting bloc during the nation's first six presidential elections. The Constitution granted the Old Dominion twelve electors in the first college, although only ten voted; and the first census in 1790 awarded Virginia nine votes more. In relative terms, the charter states controlled a larger share of the franchise in the smaller electoral colleges of the nation's early years. Virginia held more than sixteen percent of the votes in 1789, and New York had more than thirteen percent in 1812. This year California's entitlement constitutes little more than eight percent of electoral-college membership.

Reapportionment made fourteen changes in college representation for 1972. Florida gained three electors, bringing its total to seventeen; Arizona, Colorado and Texas each added one. Besides New York, Pennsylvania also lost two seats; and Alabama, Iowa, North Dakota, Ohio, Tennessee, West Virginia and Wisconsin gave up one elector each. California's bloc of forty-five votes is the second largest ever controlled by one state. New York cast forty-seven from 1932 through 1948 and forty-five from 1912-28 and 1952-60. The west coast state, assigned four electors when it entered the Union in 1850, has experienced staggering population growth and corresponding increases in congressional and electoral representation. From thirteen electoral votes in 1912, California jumped to twenty-two in 1932, climbed to twenty-five in 1944, thirty-two in 1952 and forty in 1964. Following is a table showing electoral college apportionment for 1972 with changes in parentheses.

Alabama	9(−1)	Illinois	26	Montana	4	Rhode Island	4
Alaska	3	Indiana	13	Nebraska	5	South Carolina	8
Arizona	6(+1)	Iowa	8(−1)	Nevada	3	South Dakota	4
Arkansas	6	Kansas	7	New Hampshire	4	Tennessee	10(−1)
California	45(+5)	Kentucky	9	New Jersey	17	Texas	26(+1)
Colorado	7(+1)	Louisiana	10	New Mexico	4	Utah	4
Connecticut	8	Maine	4	New York	41(−2)	Vermont	3
Delaware	3	Maryland	10	North Carolina	13	Virginia	12
District of Columbia	3	Massachusetts	14	North Dakota	3(−1)	Washington	9
Florida	17(+3)	Michigan	21	Ohio	25(−1)	West Virginia	6(−1)
Georgia	12	Minnesota	10	Oklahoma	8	Wisconsin	11(−1)
Hawaii	4	Mississippi	7	Oregon	6	Wyoming	3
Idaho	4	Missouri	12	Pennsylvania	27(−2)	Total	538

(needed for election: 270)

Democratic Nominees

CAUCUS ERA

Candidates listed in **boldface** were elected.

Year	for President	for Vice President	How nominated
1792		George Clinton, N. Y.	Party Agreement
1796	Thomas Jefferson, Va.	Aaron Burr, N. Y.	Congressional Caucus
1800	**Thomas Jefferson, Va.**	**Aaron Burr, N. Y.**	**Congressional Caucus**
1804	**Thomas Jefferson, Va.**	**George Clinton, N. Y.**	**Congressional Caucus**
1808	**James Madison, Va.**	**George Clinton, N. Y.**	**Congressional Caucus**
1812	**James Madison, Va.** De Witt Clinton, N. Y.	**Elbridge Gerry, Mass.**	**Congressional Caucus** New York Legislature Caucus
1816	**James Monroe, Va.**	**Daniel D. Tompkins, N. Y.**	**Congressional Caucus**
1820	**James Monroe, Va.**	**Daniel D. Tompkins, N. Y.**	**Common Consent**
1824	William H. Crawford, Ga. **John Quincy Adams, Mass.** Henry Clay, Ky. Andrew Jackson, Tenn.	Albert Gallatin, Pa. **John C. Calhoun, S. C.**	Congressional Caucus **Boston Party Convention** Kentucky Legislature Tennessee Legislature Lower House **Pennsylvania Party Convention**
1828	**Andrew Jackson, Tenn.**	**John C. Calhoun, S. C.**	**Tennessee Legislature** **State Party Conventions**

Democratic Nominees

CONVENTION ERA

Candidates listed in **boldface** were elected.

Year	for President	Ballots	for Vice President	Ballots	Place	Days
1832	**Andrew Jackson, Tenn.**	**A**	**Martin Van Buren, N. Y.**	**1**	**Baltimore**	**3**
1836	**Martin Van Buren, N. Y.**	**1**	**Richard M. Johnson, Ky.**	**1**	**Baltimore**	**3**
1840	Martin Van Buren, N. Y.	A			Baltimore	3
1844	**James K. Polk, Tenn.**	**4**	**George M. Dallas, Pa.**	**2**	**Baltimore**	**3**
1848	Lewis Cass, Mich.	4	William O. Butler, Ky.	2	Baltimore	5
1852	**Franklin Pierce, N. H.**	**49**	**William R. King, Ala.**	**2**	**Baltimore**	**5**
1856	**James Buchanan, Pa.**	**17**	**John C. Breckinridge, Ky.**	**2**	**Cincinnati**	**5**
1860		57			Charleston	10
	Stephen A. Douglas, Ill.	2	Herschel V. Johnson, Ga.	5	Baltimore	6
1864	George B. McClellan, N. J.	1	George H. Pendleton, Ohio	1	Chicago	3
1868	Horatio Seymour, N. Y.	22	Francis P. Blair, Mo.	1	New York	5
1872	Horace Greeley, N. Y.	1	B. Gratz Brown, Mo.	1	Baltimore	2
1876	Samuel J. Tilden, N. Y.	2	Thomas A. Hendricks, Ind.	1	St. Louis	3
1880	Winfield S. Hancock, Pa.	2	William H. English, Ind.	1	Cincinnati	3
1884	**Grover Cleveland, N. Y.**	**2**	**Thomas A. Hendricks, Ind.**	**1**	**Chicago**	**4**
1888	Grover Cleveland, N. Y.	A	Allen G. Thurman, Ohio	1	St. Louis	3
1892	**Grover Cleveland, N. Y.**	**1**	**Adlai E. Stevenson, Ill.**	**1**	**Chicago**	**3**
1896	William Jennings Bryan, Nebr.	1	Arthur Sewall, Me.	5	Chicago	5
1900	William Jennings Bryan, Nebr.	1	Adlai E. Stevenson, Ill.	1	Kansas City	3
1904	Alton B. Parker, N. Y.	1	Henry G. Davis, W. Va.	1	St. Louis	4
1908	William Jennings Bryan, Nebr.	1	John W. Kern, Ind.	A	Denver	4
1912	**Woodrow Wilson, N. J.**	**46**	**Thomas R. Marshall, Ind.**	**2**	**Baltimore**	**9**
1916	**Woodrow Wilson, N. J.**	**A**	**Thomas R. Marshall, Ind.**	**A**	**St. Louis**	**3**
1920	James M. Cox, Ohio	44	Franklin D. Roosevelt, N. Y.	A	San Francisco	8
1924	John W. Davis, W. Va.	103	Charles W. Bryan, Nebr.	1	New York	14
1928	Alfred E. Smith, N. Y.	1	Joseph T. Robinson, Ark.	1	Houston	4
1932	**Franklin D. Roosevelt, N. Y.**	**4**	**John Nance Garner, Tex.**	**A**	**Chicago**	**6**
1936	**Franklin D. Roosevelt, N. Y.**	**A**	**John Nance Garner, Tex.**	**A**	**Philadelphia**	**4**
1940	**Franklin D. Roosevelt, N. Y.**	**A**	**Henry A. Wallace, Iowa**	**1**	**Chicago**	**4**
1944	**Franklin D. Roosevelt, N. Y.**	**A**	**Harry S. Truman, Mo.**	**2**	**Chicago**	**3**
1948	**Harry S. Truman, Mo.**	**1**	**Alben W. Barkley, Ky.**	**A**	**Philadelphia**	**3**
1952	Adlai E. Stevenson, Ill.	3	John J. Sparkman, Ala.	A	Chicago	6
1956	Adlai E. Stevenson, Ill.	1	Estes Kefauver, Tenn.	2	Chicago	5
1960	**John F. Kennedy, Mass.**	**1**	**Lyndon B. Johnson, Tex.**	**A**	**Los Angeles**	**5**
1964	**Lyndon B. Johnson, Tex.**	**1**	**Hubert H. Humphrey, Minn.**	**A**	**Atlantic City**	**4**
1968	Hubert H. Humphrey, Minn.	1	Edmund S. Muskie, Me.	1	Chicago	4
1972					**Miami Beach**	

A—acclamation

1840: Vice President Richard M. Johnson was denied renomination because of objections to his personal life.

1860: Democrats split on the slavery issue at the Charleston convention in April. After many Southerners walked out, remaining delegates balloted fifty-seven times without nominating. Douglas finally achieved nomination in June when the convention reassembled in Baltimore. Southern Democrats, calling themselves the National Democratic Party, reconvened in Charleston and nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky for President and Joseph Lane of Oregon for Vice President.

1872: Horace Greeley was a lifelong Republican, and so-called Straight Democrats, who could not support him, split and nominated Charles O'Conor of New York for President and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for Vice President. Greeley died before the electoral college met, and most of his electoral votes were cast for Hendricks.

1896: Gold Democrats, calling themselves the National Democratic Party, would not support Bryan's silver platform and split; they nominated John M. Palmer of Illinois for President and Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky for Vice President.

Summary of convention sites:

Chicago	10	Kansas City	1
Baltimore	9	Denver	1
St. Louis	4	San Francisco	1
Cincinnati	2	Houston	1
New York	2	Los Angeles	1
Philadelphia	2	Atlantic City	1
Charleston	1	Miami Beach	1

How to get your kids to brush.

Truth, not tricks.

Little people are very smart people. Smart, and curious, and enthralled with the answers to "why." So, rather than offering them money or something for each time they brush, which doesn't tell them the answer to "why," offer them the truth.

Tell them all about their teeth and how they're living things (kind of like toes, or eyes, or skin) and can be hurt. That there are many shapes of teeth, some for chewing, some for biting, some for grinding.

Tell them that even though food is good for their bodies, some food, particularly if it's sweet, can cause cavities if it stays on their teeth very long. But if they brush their teeth soon after eating, brush well, up and down, back and around, they can remove the food. And take care of those teeth that are alive and belong to them.

Explain what cavities are. (Holes in teeth might be enough of an explanation.)

And by all means, let them see you brush, too. What you do is more believable than what you say.

A little help from your friends.

If your kids are going to do their job (brushing after every meal), the toothpaste they use ought to do its job. And Crest with fluoride does.

Crest fights cavities. Crest is accepted by the American Dental Association.*

And, on top of all that, it tastes good. Regular flavor tastes a little like bubble gum, and mint tastes a lot like mint.

Tell your kids all about their teeth and about Crest. We honestly feel that's the way to get them to brush.

Fighting cavities is the whole idea behind Crest.

...The Procter & Gamble Company.

* "Crest has been shown to be an effective decay-preventive dentifrice that can be of significant value when used in a conscientiously applied program of oral hygiene and regular professional care." Council on Dental Therapeutics, American Dental Association

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Delicious Planters Nuts. Dry roasted using absolutely no fats or oils. Get some today.

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Have the Democrats really reformed?

JUDGMENT by principles no man had ever defined; was a party a private institution, a gathering of like-minded club men entitled to make their own rules state by state? Or was it a public institution, to be governed by rules that bound all alike? Exactly how should a party go about selecting its national leader before offering him to all the people as candidate for President in the ultimate open election? . . . The [Credentials] committee would recommend to the Democratic National Committee a new approach—that it set up a new group to re-examine the entire delegate-selection process, restructure it on new principles, and make ready a convention of new shape before the call of 1972. It is so easy now, looking back at the convention through the screen of later turmoil, to remember only violence that it is important to recall how large were such real achievements as those achieved in both Rules and Credentials committees, how fundamentally their changes would alter by 1972 the nature of Democratic conventions. *The Making of the President—1968*
Theodore H. White

The New Delegate

Who is the new delegate? Who are the people who will nominate the presidential and vice presidential candidates of the Democratic party? Where do they get such authority and how much authority, really, do they have?

Miami Beach has seen lots of interesting profiles, but nothing like the one that the Democratic National Convention will reveal in July: the new delegate profile for 1972 will be more representative than ever of the Democratic body of the United States.

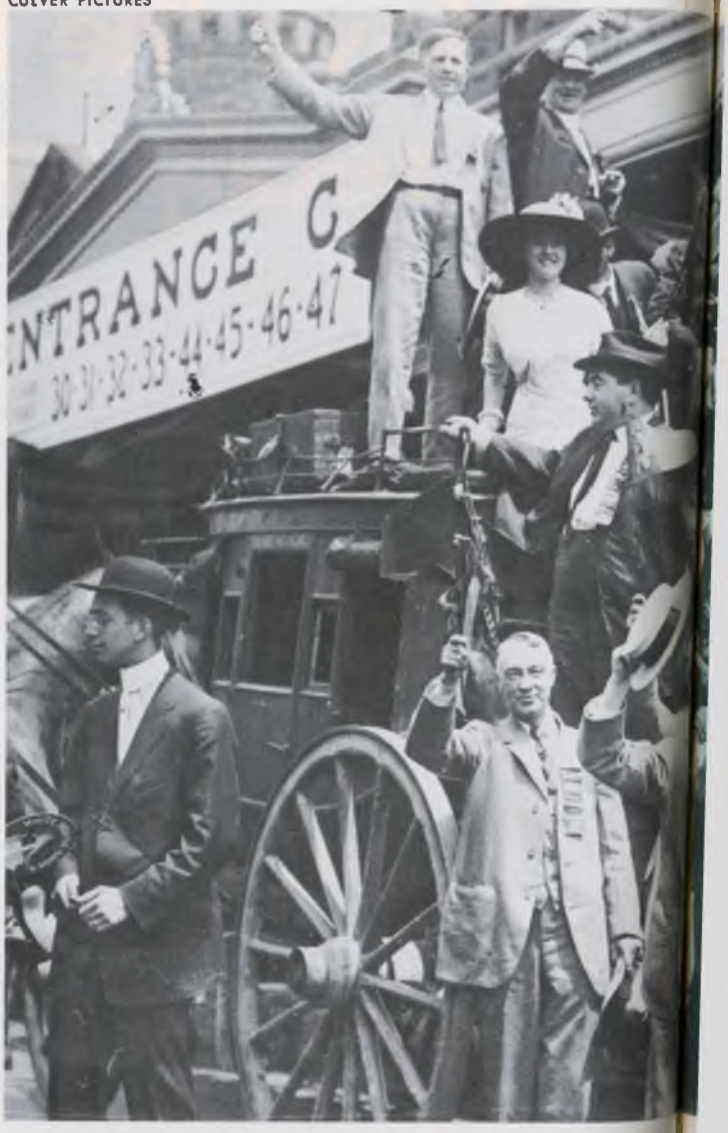
This is reform year for the Democrats and with it has come an epochal transformation in the means of choosing delegates to the party's most important event. State by state, parties are uprooting arbitrary control of the selection process and opening it to broad participation, making special efforts to reach women, young persons, minorities and others who previously have been shut out of the process. For the first time in history, the Democratic delegate will come to the convention with full deliberative power and an unbeholden vote, and his authority will derive from the proper source: election rather than arbitrary appointment or other form of handpicking. And, significantly, the new delegate need not be so well off financially as the delegate of previous conventions.

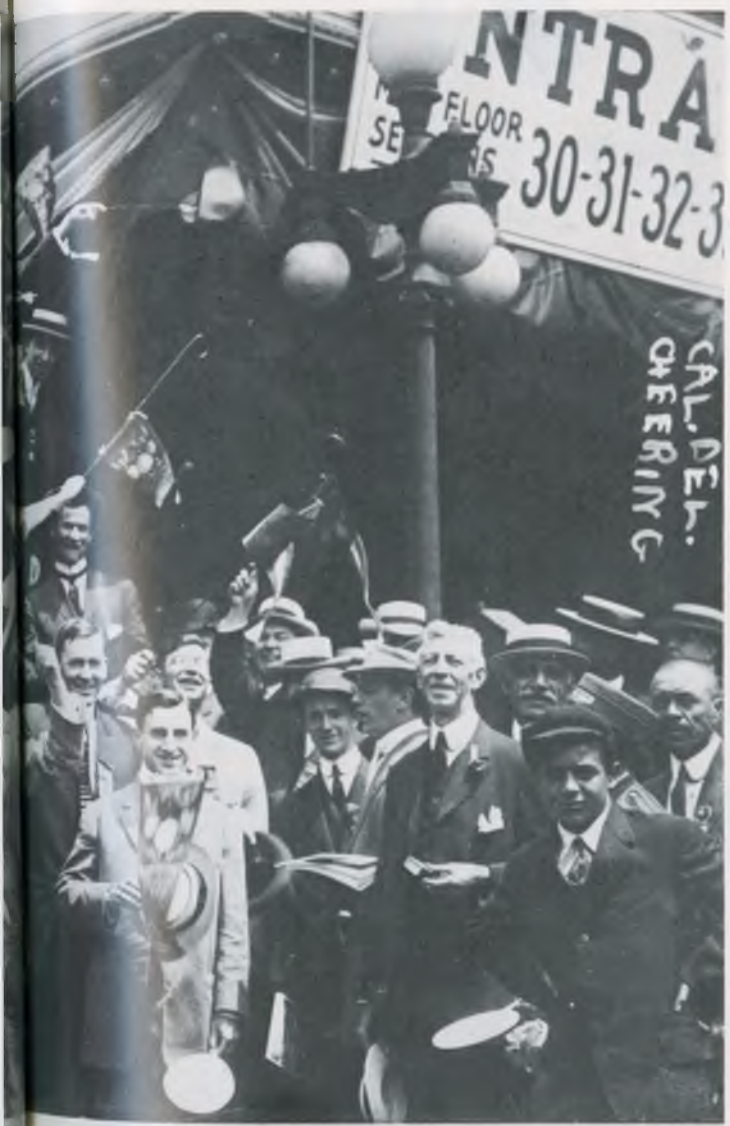
At stake this year are 3,103 delegate positions (they will cast 3,016 votes) and another 1,897 seats as alternates. They are apportioned among the states on a new formula adopted by the Democratic National Committee and tested in court: fifty-three percent of the delegate seats are allotted on the basis of a state's electoral vote (thereby reflecting its population) and forty-seven percent on the Democratic vote in the past three presidential elections (thereby reflecting Democratic vote-producing strength). The old formula had been based on electoral college strength, past Democratic vote, and a bonus for victory.

The metamorphosis in the means of selecting national convention delegates has grown from the work of a special reform commission created by the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago. The Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection consists of twenty-eight members, including public officeholders, party officials, teachers, labor leaders, and civil rights organizers. It is headed by Representative Donald M. Fraser of Minnesota who succeeded Senator George McGovern of South Dakota. Throughout 1969, the commission did extensive original research into the mood and attitude of the average Democrat and studied the abuses of the old system. At seventeen public hearings across the nation, commission members heard more than five hundred persons, from everyday Democrats to former Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey. A commission staff directed by Robert Nelson undertook an exhaustive study of party regulations and state laws which controlled the selection of delegates to the 1968 convention. The commission devised eighteen guidelines of fairness and access to govern all delegate selection procedures. First draft of the guidelines was circulated among three thousand interested Democrats for review and comment, and the final version was adopted by the commission after lengthy deliberation. In February, 1971, the Democratic National Committee reviewed the guidelines and adopted them intact. States were required to put the guidelines into effect in time for 1972 delegate selection.

"It was the first time that anyone had looked at all fifty states and the territories," Mr. Nelson said. "No one had ever done it before. We were amazed at the variation that we found."

CULVER PICTURES





Colorful they may have been, but past delegations, like California's arriving in Baltimore in 1912, were more often show than substance; the 1968 reform convention assured that this year's delegate—elected and representative—will have more authority than ever before.

The commission classified delegate selection into three major systems: primary election, state conventions and appointment by state committee. In each state there were modifications that made the system distinctly its own. Twenty states had inadequate rules (in many cases no rules at all) leaving the choice to a handful of party leaders. Delegate selection began too early in many cases —months before the issues and the candidates had begun to emerge; by the time President Johnson announced his withdrawal from the 1968 contest, selection procedures were already well underway in thirty-eight states. The majority did not allow adequate expression of minority views. The unit rule (binding a delegate to vote with the majority of his delegation), favorite-son candidates (designed to give the favorite son control of a bloc of votes) and outright denial of minority representation were tactics used by majorities to suppress minority opinion. Secret meetings, or caucuses, closed slate-making, proxy voting and other irregularities were used to control the selection process. High costs were another means of excluding popular participation: filing fees for entering primaries were often excessive, and many delegations levied "hospitality" fees (Indiana's was $500 per delegate). Expenses like those limited convention participation; only thirteen percent of the 1968 delegate earned less than $10,000 a year although seventy percent of all Americans had incomes under that amount. The 1968 convention, like all previous conventions, was unfairly white, male, middle-aged and at least middle class. About five and a half per-

Continued on next page

The real

The lifeblood of our technological civilization is energy from fossil fuels. But easily accessible domestic reserves continue to diminish as demand steadily increases.

The ideal

A practical way to harness the pure, clean force of the sun, source of every energy form man has ever known.

Man must perfect techniques to extract from nature's abundance greater quantities of supplemental energy. Perhaps giant satellite solar cells; perhaps proven safe atomic fission. Or perhaps he will be encouraged to seek greater yield from known natural reserves and synthetics without disturbing either the ecology or the economy.

Whatever the answers, they must be found while we still have the energy to find them.

AtlanticRichfieldCompany

artist: lippold The Metropolitan Museum of Art

cent of the delegates were black although blacks make up eleven percent of the national population; thirteen percent of the delegates were women although they make up half the population; and delegates under thirty were only four percent although 11.6 percent of the population was between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-nine.

The commission went so far as to consider discarding the 136-year-old convention system in favor of a national primary or some other means of nomination. However, the reform commission concluded that: "there is nothing inherently undemocratic about a national convention; 1968 was a culmination of years of indifference to the nominating process; that purged of its structural and procedural inadequacies, the national convention was an institution well worth preserving."

The convention, after all, tests popular support for a presidential candidate; it is a forum for healthy debate and policy decision among Democrats from all over the nation; Traditionally, the convention has had three important functions: nominating presidential and vice presidential candidates, addressing the nation on the goals of the party through the platform, and establishing a national organization to serve the party between conventions. Recently, the convention has begun to assume another function: control of the delegates who make it up. Until eight years ago, the convention never looked behind state party rules or state laws to examine procedures by which delegates were selected. The convention breached that tradition in 1964 by prohibiting racial discrimination in the selection of delegates, and it took a firm new step in 1968 by authorizing the establishment of guidelines of fairness and access governing all aspects of delegate selection. By thus inaugurating the party reform movement, the convention began to assume an important and influential new life of its own.

So the McGovern-Fraser commission chose to revise the institution and to renew it. The commission adopted eighteen guidelines requiring state parties to give all Democrats a full, meaningful and timely opportunity to participate in the delegate selection process. The Democratic National Committee reviewed the new standards and adopted them as policy.

Two goals are at the heart of the guidelines: nondiscrimination and popular election of delegates or, at least, broad participation in the selection. Each state party is required to adopt explicit written rules governing delegate selection and to make them available to any person. The procedures must provide for adequate notice of party meetings, convenient times and places of meetings, quorums of at least forty percent at state committee meetings, prohibition of proxy voting, and an end to the unit rule or related practices like instructing delegations. Mandatory participation fees must not exceed $10 and, if possible, should be eliminated altogether, and no assessments upon national convention delegates are permitted. States are urged to seek ways to ease the financial burden on delegates and alternates and on candidacy for these positions.

State parties are directed to take affirmative steps to reach women, young people and minority groups, to urge their participation in party politics, and to encourage their representation on national convention delegations in reasonable relationship to their presence in the population of the state. Particularly, the state parties are required to adopt anti-racial-discrimination standards approved by the Democratic National Committee and to solicit participation in party affairs by any Democrat eighteen years of age or older. Delegation selection is to be conducted entirely within the calendar year of the convention—not before, and popular election is the preferred method. States using convention systems must pick at least three-fourths of their delegations at levels no higher than the congressional district and the seats must be apportioned on the basis of a formula giving equal weight to population and the previous Democratic vote for President. State Committees may appoint not more than ten percent of a delegation and then only if the state committee is properly apportioned and constituted within the convention year. However, parties are urged to do away entirely with committee appointment of delegates. In all cases alternates are to be selected in the same manner as delegates. The guidelines strongly recommend that selection procedures in all states provide for fair representation of minority views on national delegations. In addition, state parties are urged to find ways to make party membership and voter registration easier and more accessible.

In the past two years the cause has become widespread and almost evangelical. More than a thousand Democrats have been at work on party reform in every state, serving on reform committees, holding hundreds of public hearings, writing the first party constitutions for more than a third of the states, achieving passage of laws in thirteen states that opened the system to broader participation. Ten states which had permitted an exclusive party committee to appoint delegates threw out the system and vested the choice in the Democratic Everyman. Everywhere Democrats are breaking decades of tradition to scrap closed systems in favor of new ones based on fairness and access. When the eighteen compliance guidelines were promulgated in February, 1970, not one state met the standards. Most were in violation of more than half. Today more than forty states have achieved full compliance, and the remainder are well on the way. Senator Harold Hughes of Iowa, a leader of reform since the climactic 1968 convention, predicts that forty-five to forty-eight states will meet all standards by convention time. "Two years ago," he said, "I doubted that ten would be in conformity."

The McGovern-Fraser commission and the Commission on Rules headed by Representative James G. O'Hara of Michigan are the two reform groups created by the landmark 1968 convention. Together, the commissions have been the pathfinders of the Democratic reform movement.

•

The New Convention

"How can grown men and women carry on like that?"

"Can't they speed it up?"

"What's going on, anyway?"

"It's two o'clock in the morning and the balloting for President hasn't even started yet."

"There must be a better way."

There is. The Democratic party agrees with the American voter, the editorial writers and television commentators who have lost patience with the complicated, protracted, sometimes frivolous proceedings of the past. This year the party will show the nation and the world a simpler, fairer, more dignified method of nominating candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. The 1972 Democratic National Nominating Convention will operate under a sensible new rule book—the first in its history—that clears away the sediment and debris of more than a century, abolishes the pointless, boring and sometimes unfair procedures that encumbered Democratic conventions through 1968.

What will you see in 1972? What will the new convention look like?

First, there will be no more parades—no more hired bands and conscripted participants to stage tiresome and disruptive demonstrations after a candidate is nominated. Each candidate will be permitted a strict fifteen minutes for nomination and seconding; any spontaneous demonstrations will count against his time. Favorite-son nominations are foreclosed. Only genuine presidential contenders who can establish support in three states or more may be nominated. The new rules require that nominating petitions be signed by fifty to two hundred delegates, no more than twenty of whom may be from the same state; no delegate may sign more than one petition.

The unit rule, originated in 1832 and overthrown in 1968, is henceforth abolished; each delegate may vote for the candidate he chooses, even if that person has not been formally nominated. No longer will the Democratic party hold any delegate to be bound by state law or by the majority of his delegation to vote against his preference. The roll call of states will be determined by lot rather than the traditional alphabetical listing so that chance will decide the order of presidential nominations and the order of balloting. The choosing of a vice presidential candidate will be conducted in the same manner as for presidential.

Nominations, of course, will be the climax of the convention; they will be preceded by the consideration of Credentials, Rules and Platform. Each matter will be presented by its committee to the full convention for deliberation and adoption. The process necessarily will take longer than the nominations, but the new rules again provide for a speedier, fairer process. Time limits will be imposed: thirty minutes for the report of each committee and twenty minutes for each amendment or minority report, unless the convention agrees to a longer period in any instance. The new rules guarantee that the minority voice will be heard, debated and voted upon promptly. Surprise amendments from the convention floor will not be permitted, nor will delaying motions, interruptions, appeals or any other obstructive parliamentary tactics.

Communications equipment will permit any delegation to seek recognition from the chairman; electronic devices will flash the request to the view of the chairman, the delegates and television viewers. Delegation seating arrangements on the convention floor will be determined by lot; in the past the convention Arrangements Committee had fixed them arbitrarily. All convention sessions will be open to news media and public, including meetings and voting of the three standing convention committees. Membership of the committees must be representative. Each committee will consist of 150 members, including one from each state and territory, the remaining ninety-five seats to be allocated on the basis of delegation size. In previous years committees consisted of one man and one woman from each state or territory. In 1972, states must appoint their committee members as equally as possible according to sex and with due regard to race and age.

Women will be represented in equal numbers among convention officers, and a woman must be either chairman or vice chairman of the convention.

Besides these changes, most of which will be readily apparent to television viewers, the new rules provide other less visible but equally important new advantages: delegates will be better informed and better prepared to deliberate than in any previous convention; more Democrats than ever before will have been heard on the drafting of the platform. In 1972, the Platform and Rules Committees must get their reports to each delegate ten days before the convention opens; the Credentials Committee must complete its report two days before the opening. Minority reports may be submitted to the convention upon the request of ten percent of a committee's membership. The Platform Committee is soliciting the broadest possible participation in its work by holding eight regional public hearings on the platform in the months before the convention. From the welter of testimony and the variety of opinion, the committee will winnow and shape its platform recommendations.

The Credentials Committee faces an unprecedented

The 1972 convention throng may look little different from this one at St. Louis in 1916, but revolutionary new rules have assured basic changes in the nature and functioning of Democratic National Conventions.

CULVER PICTURES

task: sweeping reform has revised delegate selection procedures in virtually every state, and it will be the committee's job to hear challenges to any delegate or any delegation chosen under the new procedures. Rules of challenge, protecting the rights of all parties, have been established. A challenge must begin within ten days after delegate selection in a state has been completed, and the Credentials Committee has been empowered to hold hearings in the states and to appoint its own impartial hearing examiners to develop facts. The committee must determine which persons are entitled to convention seats and so recommend to the full convention.

The Rules Committee will have before it the new rule book abstracted here. The committee must consider the rules and recommend them for adoption by the convention. A special reform commission created by the 1968 convention and headed by Representative James G. O'Hara of Michigan spent more than two years preparing the new rules for the 1972 convention. Members and staff conducted hearings throughout the United States, heard scores of witnesses and virtually every possible shade of Democratic opinion, spent hundreds of hours refining proposals and drafting recommendations. The commission's work was approved and praised by the Democratic National Committee.

Said Congressman O'Hara: "The rules are intended to make all future Democratic National Conventions representative, open, deliberative and fair."

For the first time since it began to meet in 1832, the convention has its own rule book. Previous conventions were governed by the rules of the U.S. House of Representatives and past convention procedures—a vast and complicated body of administrative regulations to which few delegates had access. The rules—simpler, clearer, available—together with the nationwide reform in procedures for selecting delegates have revolutionized the structure of the Democratic party. The reform movement, arising from the chaos and controversy of the 1968 convention in Chicago, has been transformed into a political rebirth for Democrats in 1972.

"Never has a political party so totally changed its way of doing business," Democratic National Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien said. "And there will be no turning back." •

DECISION

72

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Perspectives of Conventions Past

by Mark J. Versel

The story of conventions past holds the key to events of today. In the light of the rich heritage of 140 years, we can better perceive the events that will occur at Miami Beach in July. The following vignettes of great moments and significant events at previous conventions are intended to enhance your appreciation and understanding of the 1972 Democratic National Convention.

The collapse of King Caucus in the 1820's forever ended the system of presidential nomination by congressional caucuses. After the confused mixture of nominations by state legislatures and state party conventions in 1824 and 1828, political leaders during the presidency of Andrew Jackson cast about for a new method of nominating candidates. The solution was a broadly based meeting of partisans from as many states as possible.

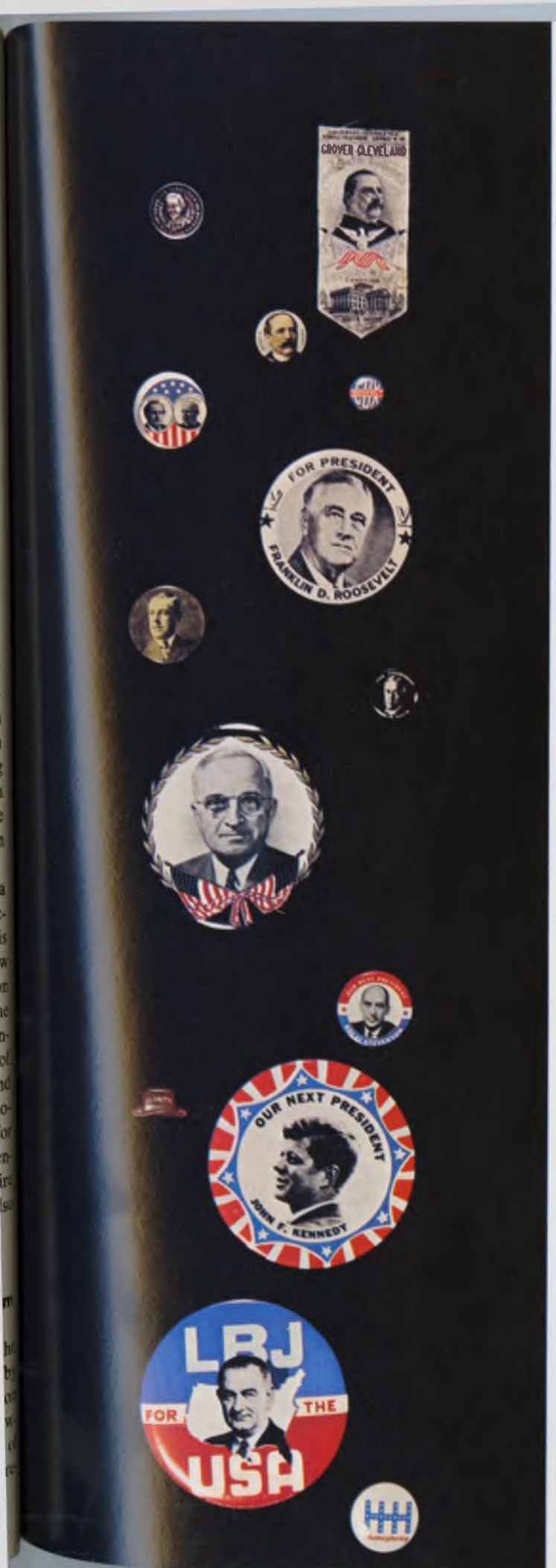
A splinter party, the Antimasons, were the innovators of the national convention. The Antimasons were a loose coalition of anti-Jacksonians, disguised as a movement to fight secret societies. Delegates from ten states and Michigan territory held an organizing convention on September 11, 1830, in Philadelphia. Significantly, the Antimasons decreed that delegates were to be elected by their peers, and state delegation strength was to be apportioned on the basis of population. Both provisions survived and formed the basis of delegate selection and apportionment for our contemporary parties until the Democratic revision of 1936. In September, 1831, the Antimasons convened their second convention in Baltimore and nominated William Wirt, former U. S. Attorney General, for the presidency.

The National Republicans, soon to become the Whigs, also called for a nominating convention to meet in Baltimore on December 12, 1831. At this convention, the offices of temporary chairman and permanent chairman were created, and a credentials committee was formed to review the qualifications of each delegate. Also, the rudiments of a National Committee were created by this assembly's decision to have each state choose a representative to serve on a committee to notify the winner officially of the convention's choice. Unlike modern conventions, each delegate at this National Republican gathering announced his vote on the floor, in the tradition of the old congressional caucus. In addition to nominating Henry Clay to oppose the Democrats, the convention drafted an "address to the country" sharply critical of the Jackson administration. This was the precursory step in the development of a convention platform.

In the Democratic camp, a move was afoot to hold a convention of party leaders in order to circumvent objection to Jackson's preference for Martin Van Buren as his running mate. Prompted by the White House, the New Hampshire Democrats suggested that such a convention be called. The national party leaders then adopted the suggestion and issued a call to the state parties to convene in Baltimore in May, 1832. This convention of Democrats affirmed the nomination of both Jackson and Van Buren, but not before adopting the infamous "two thirds" rule, a device which was to cause controversy for a hundred years. The rule required a two-thirds convention vote for nomination. The unit rule, allowing an entire state delegation vote to go to one candidate, was also adopted at that time.

1840 Baltimore: The First Democratic Platform

A National Committee was not yet in existence, so the Democratic National Convention of 1840 was called by the New Hampshire State Legislature. The convention renominated President Van Buren on the first ballot. However, his Vice President, Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, was bitterly opposed and could not win re



nomination. Subsequently, the states nominated three men for Vice President.

This convention developed the first Democratic party platform. The prototype document was a concise statement of party doctrine, policies, and pledges. It made reference to equality of rights, privileges and opportunity, protection of personal property, constitutional guarantees and the Declaration of Independence.

The Whigs were led by General William Henry Harrison and Democrat John Tyler of Virginia—"Tippecanoe and Tyler Too." The economic hardships related to the Panic of 1837 helped turn the Democrats out of the White House after forty years in power.

1844 Baltimore: A Dark Horse Emerges

The major contenders in May 1844, were ex-President Martin Van Buren, John C. Calhoun, Lewis Cass of Michigan, and former Vice President Richard M. Johnson. John Tyler, who had assumed the presidency upon the death of Harrison, had hopes of rejoining his old party. Tyler's presidential policies reflected his Southern Democratic philosophy; thus, he had completely lost the support of the Whigs. But the Democrats, in no mood to forgive Tyler's 1840 defection, spurned his candidacy.

One month before the convention, most party leaders had conceded the nomination to Van Buren. His political organizers had won the endorsement of twenty-four of twenty-six state delegations. A man of high principle, Van Buren decided to publish his stand on the major issue, the proposal to annex Texas. His strongly worded opposition angered many pro-annexation delegates. By the time the gavel sounded, Van Buren's "consensus" nomination had dwindled to a bare majority. His campaign managers attempted to abolish the two-thirds rule but failed in a bitter two-day floor fight. On the first ballot, Van Buren received a majority, but he was still thirty-two votes short of a two-thirds victory margin. His campaign had reached its high water mark; during the next six ballots he continued to loose support, principally to Lewis Cass. But mixed support for President Tyler and James Buchanan of Pennsylvania was denying the Cass forces a victory.

Behind the scenes, two sets of forces were at work which would bring the convention to a rapid, stunning climax. First, Van Buren authorized his managers to withdraw his name. Secondly, the compromise candidacy

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Panel displays 1884 ribbon for Cleveland and button for every other Democratic presidential candidate since Samuel J. Tilden in 1876 (top left). Buttons are for Alton B. Parker in 1904; Cox and Roosevelt in 1920; Bryan and Stevenson in 1900; Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944; Woodrow Wilson in 1916; John W. Davis in 1924; Harry S. Truman in 1948; Adlai E. Stevenson in 1956; Al Smith in 1928; John F. Kennedy in 1960; Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964; and Hubert H. Humphrey in 1968.

photo courtesy of Smithsonian Institution

of James K. Polk of Tennessee was being circulated by his managers. Polk had come to the convention as a vice presidential candidate. Although he favored annexation, Polk was acceptable to Van Buren and other political leaders. On the eighth ballot, Polk's name was entered by a Massachusetts delegate. On the ninth ballot, Van Buren's New York delegation threw its support to Polk and created a stampede. The first "dark horse" in national convention history had been selected. Anchored by a strong pro-annexation platform, and paired with a northern vice presidential running mate, George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania, Polk narrowly defeated the Whigs' Henry Clay.

1848 Baltimore: The Democratic National Committee Is Born

By 1848, the quadriennial Democratic National Convention had become a fixture. In May, the party again convened in Baltimore, a city acceptable to both northern and southern wings of the party. Slavery, which had become an intense national issue, was responsible for a split in the party that year which would cost the Democrats the election. Michigan's Lewis Cass built upon his near success in 1844 and carried the nomination. President Polk, for illness and other reasons, was not a candidate. A move to draft General Zachary Taylor, a popular hero of the Mexican War, failed to gain momentum. Taylor was later drafted by the Whigs and he won the presidential election.

To facilitate continuity between conventions and to promote party unity and growth, the 1848 convention, at the urging of President Polk, moved to create a permanent National Committee to consist of one member from each state delegation plus a National Chairman elected at large. Benjamin F. Hallett of Massachusetts was duly elected to the post, becoming the first formal head of an American political party.

1852 Baltimore: The Dark Horse Rides Again

The Democratic convention of 1852 set a record of forty-nine ballots which has been exceeded only twice: in 1860 and 1924. Once again, powerful political forces converged on Baltimore. From Illinois came the eloquent and hard-hitting campaigner, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, the "Little Giant." General Lewis Cass, the nominee of 1848, and James Buchanan, his principal challenger, were both in the fight. William Marcy of New York was another leading contender.

Edmund Burke, a New Hampshire leader, foresaw a deadlocked convention. Burke arranged to offer, at the proper time, the name of Franklin Pierce as a compromise presidential candidate. Pierce, a brilliant speaker and an outstanding physical specimen, was not a renowned party leader. Upon hearing Burke's plan, Pierce was reluctant. As Burke expected, none of the four leading candidates could secure two-thirds of the vote. On the twenty-ninth ballot, Pierce's name was entered and he received fifteen votes. On the forty-ninth ballot, Pierce's vote jumped from a previous high of fifty-five to 282, and he was nominated. Legend tells us that Mrs. Pierce fainted when she heard that her husband was the party's choice. Pierce was able to capture the presidency, after soundly whipping the Whig and Free Soil party candidates.

1860 Charleston-Baltimore-Richmond: The Slavery Issue Splinters the Party

Anxiety prevailed as the convention opened on April 23, 1860, in Charleston, South Carolina. The Democratic party sought a strong leader and a sound policy capable of resolving the tense and emotional issue of slavery.

Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois arrived at the convention with a majority of votes in his pocket. Douglas' forces increased their hold by winning a critical credentials battle over the seating of pro-Douglas delegations from New York and Illinois. The next critical test dealt with the platform. The majority report of the southern-controlled Resolutions Committee contained strong pro-slavery provisions. A two-day floor battle ensued, and the convention rejected the majority report, substituting over bitter southern objections a weaker slavery minority report sponsored by the Douglas forces. Angered, the delegates from seven southern states stormed out of the hall!

During ten days and fifty-seven ballots, Stephen Douglas maintained a clear majority for the nomination but could not accumulate a two-thirds vote. The delegates opted to recess the convention and to re-convene in Baltimore on June 18. The southern "bolters" met in Richmond on June 11. They adopted the pro-southern majority report, and hoping for reconciliation with the party, these delegates voted to recess until June 21.

The first act of the main convention, reconvened in Baltimore, was to amend the two-thirds rule to encompass the full convention, a gesture aimed at luring back the Charleston bolters. However, the Douglas forces destroyed any hope of reuniting the convention, the party, and the nation by contesting the seats of all returning bolters, and installing their own men in place of the southern delegates. Most delegates from the remaining southern states and many border states then walked out of the Baltimore convention. These bolters reconvened across town in rump session. They affirmed the pro-slavery platform and nominated Kentucky's John C. Breckenridge for President and Oregon's Joseph Lane for Vice President. The Richmond convention later ratified these actions.

After the southern walkouts, Douglas instructed his campaign managers to withdraw his candidacy in favor of a compromise candidate, as a means for reuniting the

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THE MODERN BALAAM AND HIS ASS.

Cartoon of 1837 mocks the Democratic change of command, implying that incoming President Martin Van Buren will have as little success with nation's stubborn economic difficulties as the retiring Andrew Jackson. Below, James Buchanan is nominated on the seventeenth ballot at Cincinnati in 1856.

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Grover Cleveland (left), who finally led the Democrats back to the White House, was nominated at Chicago in 1884; this illustration in Harper's Weekly *surrounded the convention hall with city sights. Below, he bet on Harrison and paid off to a jubilant Democratic county chairman after Grover Cleveland won re-election in 1892. Right, running with William Jennings Bryan in 1900 was former Vice President Adlai E. Stevenson, here posing with his six-month-old grandson who would become the presidential nominee of 1952 and 1956.*

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party. However, Douglas' staff callously ignored his request and pressed forward. On the second ballot following, Douglas received two-thirds of the votes of delegates who had remained, and the convention awarded him the nomination.

In the election, Douglas' Northern Democrats carried only Missouri; Breckenridge's Southern Democrats carried most of the South. The Republicans, led by Abraham Lincoln, swept the northern states and the West and won the election. Within weeks the southern states began to secede and by April, 1861, Civil War had broken out.

1884 Chicago: A Return to Power

As the convention of 1884 approached, Democrats throughout the country smelled victory. They knew that the electorate wanted governmental reform, an end to political corruption, a suppression of corporate boss-ism and monopolies, and adoption of more liberal tariff rates. Samuel J. Tilden, who had had the 1876 election spirited from him by Republican election officials, was supporting a fellow New Yorker, reform Governor Grover Cleveland.

The convention opened with procedural battles over Tammany's objection to the two-thirds rule and the unit rule, both of which were retained. Then delegates blessed the longest and most comprehensive platform in Democratic history. On the second ballot, the convention nominated Grover Cleveland who became the first Democratic President in a quarter-century.

This convention was the first to award voting representation to territorial delegations. Also, as a measure to prevent stampeding of delegates, it adopted a rule prohibiting vote changing until completion of the roll call.

1896 Chicago: Bryan Bears The Cross of Gold

National economic difficulties late in the century had workers, farmers, and other common citizens clamoring for easier credit and monetary conditions. A strong grassroots movement to create more money by the free coinage of silver had begun. The Republican convention, hoping to split the Democrats, nominated William McKinley on a strong gold standard platform. This drove all "free silver" advocates into the Democratic party for a showdown on the silver issue. At the convention, the free silver forces showed early strength by electing their man temporary chairman. Richard P. Bland and Horace Boies were leading Silverite candidates.

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Fifteenth Democratic National Committee meets in Washington December 12, 1907, to discuss convention planning for the coming year. Thomas Taggert of Indiana was chairman. Women did not become committee members until 1920 although the first woman delegate had attended the 1900 convetnion.

COURTESY OF BERNICE MUNSEY

William Jennings Bryan holding his fan against the rostrum rail, denounces the big money interests supporting Champ Clark at the 1912 convention and helps swing the nomination to Woodrow Wilson.

William Jennings Bryan, a young former Congressmen from Nebraska, had laid careful plans for capturing the nomination himself. Bryan, an electrifying speaker, arranged to summarize the free silver position. He delivered the most dramatic and captivating oration ever head at a Democratic convention. He condemned the gold standard as impugning the rights of man and impairing the well-being of workers and farmers. "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns," Bryan vowed. "You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." He dazzled the convention and captured the presidential nomination on the fifth ballot. Bryan was to win two more presidential nominations and to influence the party's course until 1924. Although never elected President, Bryan's popular appeal caused both parties to support strong anti-trust programs, more liberal monetary policies, and more humane employment laws.

1912 Baltimore: Wilson Seeks a New Freedom

The Republicans had experienced a disastrous leadership split between President Taft and ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, and the Democrats could claim the White House in 1912—if they nominated a strong candidate.

The frontrunner was New Jersey Governor Woodrow Wilson, former president of Princeton University and a strong reform leader. Party leaders were not favorable to Wilson because of his strong anti-machine persuasions. Other candidates were Speaker of the House Champ Clark, Oscar Underwood of Alabama, and the irrepressible William Jennings Bryan, waiting in the wings for a stalemate. While waiting, Bryan would occupy himself by formulating the platform and manipulating the proceedings.

The convention looked to be a fight between the party machine and the progressive anti-machine leaders. The pre-convention campaign, which featured the first widespread use of presidential primaries, focused public interest upon the convention. After the anti-machine forces failed to elect their man temporary chairman, thousands of telegrams poured into the convention imploring delegates to support the progressives.

Bryan decided to support Wilson's candidacy. His first dramatic move was to denounce and demand withdrawal from the convention of several conservative New York financial giants, supporters of Champ Clark. Once the voting began, Clark's forces regained the initiative. These conservative forces swept to an early majority, but stiff resistance from Wilson and the continuing flow of public telegrams in support of Wilson kept the Clark bandwagon less than two-thirds full. Then Bryan made his next important move: on the fourteenth ballot, he lead his Nebraska delegation, instructed for Clark, into the Wilson column. The stalemate continued through the eighteenth ballot and Wilson and his managers, who included Franklin Delano Roosevelt, began to lose heart. Then Wilson's bandwagon began to roll when the Illinois delegation switched from Clark to Wilson. Finally, Wilson went over the top on the forty-sixth ballot. With Indiana Governor Thomas R. Marshall as his ticket-balancer, Wilson campaigned on a progressive Democratic platform. Calling for a "New Freedom" for the common man, he returned the party to the White House.

1920 San Francisco: Cox, Roosevelt and Women's Lib

The 1920 convention, first held west of the Rockies, marked the initial appearance of women on a major party National Committee less than one year after adoption of women's suffrage. It also marked the beginning of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's drive to the presidency, finally achieved in 1932. FDR would become the vice presidential nominee in 1920.

For the presidential nomination, President Wilson refused to support anyone, including his son-in-law, William G. McAdoo. Weeks before the convention, McAdoo, the "unbeatable" frontrunner, dropped out of the race, saying he did not have sufficient financing to conduct a campaign. With the top spot wide open, twenty-three men received votes on the first ballot! The race narrowed

to McAdoo, Governor James M. Cox of Ohio, and Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer. On the thirty-eighth ballot, Palmer released his vote, and most of it swung to Cox. On the forty-fourth ballot he captured the nomination.

1924 New York: The Longest Deadlock Ever

The average voter for the first time could hear the entire convention live over the radio in 1924. The Democrats responded by staging the wildest, longest and most controversial convention on record. While the nation stood by the radio for fourteen days, the tired, sweaty delegates battled through 103 ballots during the "seige of New York" before finally nominating dark horse John W. Davis of West Virginia.

The leading contenders had been William G. McAdoo, this time an active aspirant; Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, and Oscar Underwood of Alabama. Davis, a Wall Street lawyer and former Congressman, was not an announced candidate at the start of the convention. His candidacy was a true draft movement.

The fighting began over a relatively minor platform proposal to denounce the Ku Klux Klan by name rather than inference. That struggle ultimately led to personal attacks on the candidates in floor debate! Al Smith was condemned for his Roman Catholic faith and his stand against prohibition. McAdoo was slammed for alleged ties to a principal in the Teapot Dome oil land scandals. These vicious attacks shattered party unity and prevented the Democrats from capitalizing during the election on the Republican scandals.

1932 Chicago: Roosevelt Calls For A New Deal

The name of the game in 1932 was "stop Roosevelt." Franklin Delano Roosevelt had ascended rapidly from the New York State Senate to national prominence as the 1920 vice presidential nominee. Despite polio, FDR stayed in the limelight by twice winning the New York governorship. Roosevelt built a powerful campaign organization, anchored by dedicated and capable party professionals like Louis Howe, James A. Farley, Edward J. Flynn and Frank C. Walker.

The Republican Hoover administration had run into deep economic difficulties, resulting in depression and severe unemployment. As the 1932 elections approached, the nation was looking for change. By convention time, FDR's organization had captured thirty-seven state delegations, including victories in seven of nine primary elections. Only Al Smith, Roosevelt's former sponsor, and Speaker John Nance Garner of Texas stood in FDR's path. The convention adopted a comprehensive platform calling for abolition of prohibition, establishment of federal unemployment relief and public works programs, protection of bank deposits and farm mortgages, and other measures designed to stimulate the economy and promote United States' stature in foreign affairs.

When the balloting began, FDR rolled up almost sixty percent of the vote. After the third ballot, the Texas and California delegates, led by William G. McAdoo, agreed to throw their support to FDR if he would take Garner as his running mate. Roosevelt agreed and on the fourth ballot, he had the nomination. Then, breaking tradition, Roosevelt flew to Chicago to accept the nomination in person. Heralded by an organ blaring "Happy Days Are Here Again," FDR inspired the convention, looking and sounding every bit a winner. Promised Roosevelt: "I pledge you—I pledge myself to a New Deal for the American people."

1948 Philadelphia: Truman Makes the Good Fight

The experts laughed when President Harry S. Truman announced that he would win in 1948. The pollsters and

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt set a precedent by flying to the Chicago convention to accept the 1932 presidential nomination in person. Posing with the nominee and his wife before their departure from Albany, New York, are their sons, Elliott and John, and Bobbie Baker, grandson of Louis Howe, Roosevelt's chief political adviser.

political professionals predicted a sold Republican victory, particularly if Truman headed the Democratic ticket. These experts said that the public was unhappy about high post-war prices, continuing economic restrictions, and the huge tax burden required to support the Marshall Plan and other Cold War foreign aid programs. To make matters worse, the Republicans had won both houses of Congress in 1946, and the President had been unable to work on domestic legislation with the Eightieth Congress.

Serious trouble was also brewing within the Democratic party. The progressive wing disliked President Truman's Cold War policies. Many Southern leaders objected to Truman's strong position on protecting the rights of blacks. Events at the convention were to cloud Truman's chances for election. The Fair Deal platform proposed by the resolutions committee was only moderate on civil rights. Northern Liberals, led by Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis and Representative Andrew J. Biemiller of Wisconsin, offered a strong civil rights plank which included an endorsement of the Truman administration civil rights proposals. In a bitter floor fight, during which Humphrey distinguished himself, the Liberals prevailed by a vote of 651½ to 582½.

The Alabama delegation bolted the convention. Ultimately, a new States' Rights or Dixiecrats party nominated Strom Thurmond for President, and dissident progressives ran Henry A. Wallace as a fourth-party candidate.

The stirring convention speech of Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, who became Truman's running-mate, and the rousing "give 'em hell" midnight acceptance speech by President Truman acted as a catalyst to the Democratic cause. Truman's fiery speech set the tone for what would become one of the most determined, aggressive campaigns in history. He made a 22,000-mile whistle-stop tour of the country and the crowds turned out in record numbers. On election day Truman led the Democrats to one of the greatest upset victories in presidential history.

HARRY S. TRUMAN LIBRARY

Fighting words by President Truman roused a dispirited Philadelphia convention in 1948 and served notice that the Republicans were in for a battle. Truman denounced the Republican Congress as the nation's worst ever and announced that he was calling it back into special session. Below, Adlai and Estes flash winners' smiles to the 1956 convention. Former President Truman is at lower right.

1952 Chicago: A Reluctant Adlai Is Drafted

The Republicans had just nominated General Dwight D. Eisenhower, a popular war hero, much to the disappointment of some Democratic leaders who had sought to run him as a Democrat. President Truman had declared himself out of the 1952 race. A chief Democratic contender was Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, leader of the Senate investigations of organized crime. Dixiecrats advanced Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia. Oklahoma's Senator Robert S. Kerr and Vice President Alben W. Barkley became active contenders. But Harry Truman looked with favor upon Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois.

Stevenson, a moderate liberal, won his state's top office by a landslide in 1948 while the national ticket barely carried Illinois. He had proved to be a very effective governor and had expected to run for that post again. Resisting White House pressure to announce his candidacy for President, the reluctant Stevenson remained a non-candidate as the convention opened, but he made an electrifying welcoming speech to the delegates. The actions of the Dixiecrats had not been forgotten by Northern liberals, and they presented a resolution binding all delegates to support the convention's nominees. This "loyalty pledge," which almost caused another bolt of southerners, did not pass and was later modified to require only the "best efforts" of delegates.

Stevenson finally relented and permitted his name to be placed in nomination. On the first ballot, Kefauver led by a small margin. During the second ballot, key votes swung to Stevenson and Russell and they moved ahead of Kefauver. At the end of the third roll call, Stevenson

was just three votes short of nomination. Then, Utah gave him the nomination by switching twelve votes. The reluctant candidate had been drafted.

1956 Chicago: An Open Vice Presidential Nomination

Adlai Stevenson, the reluctant candidate of 1952, was actively campaigning for the Democratic nod in 1956. Stevenson lost several early primaries to Senator Kefauver, but redoubling his efforts, he rolled up big victories in Florida, Oregon and California. After losing to favorite-son Governor Nebert Meyers in New Jersey, Kefauver withdrew from the race, throwing his support to Stevenson Governor Robert B. Meyner in New Jersey, Kefauver nomination.

Then Stevenson dramatically announced that the candidate for Vice President should be chosen by the delegates themselves. An open choice for Vice President was unprecedented in modern political history. The candidates were Kefauver and three prominent Senate liberals: John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Albert Gore of Tennessee. The first ballot was close, with Kefauver leading Kennedy by a small margin. During the second ballot Kennedy surged to an early lead, but, dramatically, Senator Humphrey released his delegates who swung behind Kefauver, and Gore started to waver. Just as Kennedy's victory seemed imminent, Gore took the floor and withdrew in favor of Kefauver. That began an avalanche for Kefauver. However, the show of strength by Kennedy moved him into prime contention for the 1960 presidential nomination.

1960 Los Angeles: A New Frontier for the Nation

The Democrats had won decisive victories in the 1958 congressional elections, and the Senate was producing strong, nationally prominent presidential candidates such as John F. Kennedy, Hubert H. Humphrey, Lyndon B. Johnson and Stuart Symington.

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

Senator Kennedy climaxed four years of preparation and work by accepting the 1960 presidential nomination before the Los Angeles convention.

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

Senator Kennedy had assembled a solid campaign organization for 1960. Kennedy entered a number of early primaries and was successful in overcoming political drawbacks in his youth and his Catholic religion as he defeated Humphrey. Kennedy, the winner of all seven primaries he entered, arrived at the convention with almost 600 delegate votes, just 160 short of nomination.

The most formidable challengers were Lyndon B. Johnson and Adlai Stevenson. Johnson, as the Senate's majority leader had had time only for limited campaign forays, but he had the support of most southern delegates and a large number of western delegates. Johnson did not announce his candidacy until five days before the convention. Stevenson was not an announced candidate. Most support for his candidacy had carried over from 1956, and his best chance would have been a deadlock between Johnson-Kennedy forces. But the Kennedy campaign machine was too well organized, too coordinated and too entrenched. On the first ballot, Wyoming put John F. Kennedy over the top.

Kennedy selected Senator Johnson as his running mate. Kennedy's acceptance speech was momentous. Before eighty thousand cheering people in the Los Angeles coliseum, and thirty-five million television viewers, he challenged the nation to look to the future, to solve its problems of ignorance, prejudice and poverty through hard work and sacrifice, to advance the cause of world peace, and to explore the uncharted areas of science and space. The election campaign featured the first televised debates between presidential candidates. The vigorous Kennedy-Johnson campaign eked out narrow pluralities in the large states and won the electoral vote.

1964 Atlantic City: The Johnson Landslide

President Lyndon Baines Johnson had met the challenge of bringing the nation through a leadership crisis and moving it forward. After the tragic assassination of President Kennedy, Vice President Johnson had decisively assumed leadership. Building on the foundation of the New Frontier, Johnson called for achievement of a Great Society, and he launched the most comprehensive social and economic legislative program since Franklin D. Roosevelt. The convention was a showpiece for Johnson and his choice for Vice President, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

Party unity was the dominant theme at the convention, but there was one significant note of discord: a challenge to the Mississippi delegation by a rival, largely black delegation of Freedom Democrats. Although a compromise was reached by the Credentials Committee, neither side would accept it. The regular Mississippi delegation left the convention, vowing not to support the Johnson candidacy. Alabama delegates, sympathetic to their neighbors, were later ousted for refusing to sign a loyalty oath. This battle led to adoption of the rule barring state delegations which practice racial discrimination in their delegate selection proceses.

1968 Chicago: A New Democratic Party Emerges

The year 1968 was one of the most difficult the Democratic party ever faced. It was the year in which President Johnson, who had led the party to its greatest election triumph, chose to surrender power in a valiant attempt to achieve peace. It was a year in which Martin Luther King, Jr., and Senator Robert F. Kennedy were coldly murdered. It was a year in which youth, frustrated by the Asian war and alienated by an insensitive establishment, became involved in violent demonstrations in the streets of Chicago. And it was a year in which one of the party's greatest leaders, Hubert H. Humphrey, a man with impeccable liberal credentials, was scorned and denounced by the liberal wing of the party.

The convention featured open platform debate on Vietnam. The issue of "unconditional cessation of the bombing and mutual withdrawal" was placed head-to-head with the President's policy of "wait and see." It was the first time that the nation's war policy was debated on the floor of a convention!

The most significant accomplishments of Chicago were the basic reforms in delegate selection and convention procedure. The party's basic rules and procedures were challenged by the forces of candidate Eugene F. McCarthy, who hoped to expose unfair delegate selection practices. Real progress was achieved when Humphrey supporters joined the reform movement. First, the unit rule, long a tool of small delegations hoping to enlarge their power, was abolished. Then, the Credentials Committee, which had found countless unfair practices, decided it could not restrict itself to the mere denial of certification for the 1968 convention. Moving boldly, Credentials recommended that the Democratic National Committee create a commission to study the delegate selection process, develop a fairer system and implement that system prior to the 1972 convention. All of these proposals were approved by the Chicago delegates. What has resulted is a rebirth of the Democratic party along more democratic lines. •

President Johnson and the First Family are captured by the fisheye lens as they wave to the Atlantic City convention which nominated him by acclamation in 1964.

Below, fisheye lens again encapsulates the convention, this time at Chicago in 1968.

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The Platform and the Policy Council

"I look for a job. They ask me what training I've had and I've got to tell them 'home economics.' Hell, I knew how to cook before I got to school. What I need is training in how to fix a car or TV."—Black high school student in Atlanta.

"We don't save money by neglecting the environment—we only waste money and 'up-the-ante' for the day when the awful price of neglect catches up with us."—a U.S. Senator in Washington, D.C.

These quotations have a common source: the open hearings held by the Democratic Policy Council's committees and planning groups. The council has been asking the nation's Democrats the essential questions: What is today's Democratic party all about? What should it stand for?

Countless Democrats have already told the party how they see its role and mission; late this spring, when the issues have begun to take shape, hundreds more will give their opinions to Democratic officials doing preparatory work for the party's 1972 platform. The Platform Committee is scheduling eight hearings for various parts of the nation; times and places will be announced in local press or television and any Democrat who wants to speak up on the platform will be permitted to attend and give his views. Anyone who cannot attend may write to the Platform Committee at the hearing site, or care of Democratic National Headquarters, 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

This year more Democrats than ever before will have a voice in the formulation of their party's most important policy statement. The platform has evolved as the traditional vehicle for expressing Democratic national policy since 1840 when that convention nominated Martin Van Buren and adopted a series of resolutions giving party positions on various issues. Convention resolutions did not become known as a "platform," however, until 1852 when delegates nominated Franklin Pierce and approved a "platform of resolutions." In 1832 the first Democratic convention (which endorsed Andrew Jackson) had considered preparing an address to the American people, reporting on the actions of the convention. But delegates dropped that idea and instead authorized the various delegations to make their own reports to the people of their respective states. For more than a century, platform writing remained almost exclusively the province of the national convention until in 1957 the party began to broaden the process, to seek the views of Democrats at large as well as the convention delegates. Pre-convention platform hearings were held for the first time in 1960, and preparation for the 1972 platform—the party's thirty-fourth—began in 1969.

The present Platform Committee is required to complete its pre-convention hearings, its deliberations and its recommendations by late June and to distribute the proposed platform draft, together with minority provisions receiving at least a ten percent vote of the committee, to all convention delegates ten days before the convention opens in Miami Beach. The draft will be the basis from which the convention will debate and frame the final, official platform for the Democratic party on the second evening of the convention.

Besides its own hearings, the Platform Committee will have available at its first meeting a massive document outlining issue alternatives, based on the exhaustive research of the Democratic Policy Council which since March, 1969, has monitored the Nixon administration, surveyed the attitudes of the modern Democrat and begun compilation of a Democratic consensus. The one-hundred-sixteen member Policy Council, representing all areas and interest groups of the nation, was established by the Democratic National Committee in March, 1969, and instructed to "explore the frontier of ideas that will contribute to a more just and free society and a more stable and peaceful world." The new council has given the Democratic party its earliest start in history on the process of platform formulation. Beginning with its own investigations early in 1969, the council extended its reach by creating eighteen ad hoc planning groups which in 1971 concentrated upon problems of national importance. Each planning group included council members and outside experts from Congress, private organizations, universities, state and local government, and private citizens. They held hearings throughout the nation, gathering opinion and information on such pressing issues as health insur-

TOMMY NOONAN

Planning Groups held hearings throughout the nation.

The full Policy Council issued position papers on economy, Vietnam, national priorities and other issues.

ance, concerns of ethnic Americans, minority groups, the needs of the elderly, young persons, women's political power, racial justice and reform of the criminal justice system. The first open hearing, on the urban crisis, was held in St. Louis in June, 1971, and its witnesses included three mayors, a city planner, a housewife, a state legislator, the governor of a southern state, a student, a teacher and an organizer of domestic workers. An audience of hundreds heard participants discuss such diverse topics as involvement of women in politics, housing, transportation, education, job needs and racial problems.

Never has there been such a unique dialogue between the general public and experts in so many areas. The Policy Council had begun its work in 1969 by creating from its own membership six major committees: national priorities, the human environment, economic affairs, international affairs, democracy and government, and arms control and defense policy. These committees prepared and disseminated reports on such issues as the war in Indochina, welfare reform, health security, the environment, the strategic arms limitation talks, and the economic policies of the Nixon administration. Those reports served as research data for Democratic members of Congress, Democratic candidates in 1970 elections, and candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination. They stimulated news stories and editorials in the nation's press. It has been a massive effort, the most outstanding preparation ever for the important and difficult task of drafting an official statement of Democratic objectives.

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COMMITTEES OF THE DEMOCRATIC POLICY COUNCIL

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Right on, thinking women! Right on!

By Liz Carpenter

1972 is the Year of the Woman.

Make no Mssssstake about that!

To be successful, candidates and political parties must make one thing perfectly clear—that they are not sexual bigots. Women can stand the heat and we are getting out of the kitchen—to have an equal voice in the party structures and decisions and to have a bigger piece of the political action. Since we are fifty-three percent of the electorate, we want fifty percent of the political power. We'll give the men the other three percent.

But today, it is no secret that this year while we talk of party politics and party issues, more and more Americans (and particularly young Americans) are being turned off by any party. They are saying: "A plague on both your houses." There are many who have lost faith in the major political parties because they do not believe these parties speak for the mass of American people or that they will live up to their proposed reforms.

Suddenly last summer women gave birth to a new political movement—the National Women's Political Caucus, composed of adherents of many political parties, old-line organizations, newly formed groups, and many women who are not members of anything except the human race.

We have transformed the early women's liberation movement into a movement for women's participation for human liberation, for better day-care programs, better ecological laws, better education, more equal opportunities for people of all colors and both sexes.

—That means in government where our rallying cry in 1972 is not only "register and vote," but "file and run." Yes, run for office—delegate, tax assessor, legislature, Congress. As a voter, support the qualified candidate who lets you know how she or he stands on the human issues. Ask yourself, does he listen to you—a woman voter, a woman with a family or a business or a job—as much as he listens to others? Does he give you equal time?

—That means in the corporation where we will no longer be the unwitting consumers of unimaginative male-run conglomerates that represent neither a majority of their employees nor their consumers on their boards. Lyndon Johnson gave us Title 7 in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Women are using it. They are suing!

—That means in labor unions where women may be perfectly willing to trade that phony mantle of protectionism for some equal pay and equal rights.

—So let the President and every other presidential candidate and every candidate for governor or Congress or any other office know now—that women in 1972 are issuing a declaration of independence.

We are tired of selling the tickets and being locked out of the ball park. No longer will we crochet bumper stickers.

We mean to be in on the decisions.

If we seem a little pushy, if we seem a little noisy—it is because we shout—so you will hear us.

I suspect this is where we will separate the men from the boys. Those who count women in can count on women. Those who count women out can't count on us at all. This is not a battle cry for revenge. It is a rallying

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Mrs. Carpenter, Press Secretary and Staff Director to Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson during her years in the White House, is author of the bestselling Ruffles and Flourishes.

cry for simple justice. Any male candidate worth electing knows this. And any political candidate today with any pulse-feeling capabilities at all knows there is a new momentum, there is new action. Something has happened to women. We're tired of studying our status. We mean to have some of it.

We are no longer going to stand for such ridiculous statistics as—only twelve women in Congress, none in the Cabinet, none on the Supreme Court. In 1968 just thirteen percent of the delegates to the Democratic Convention were women, and only seventeen percent of the delegates to the Republican Convention were women.

Every informed person, man or woman, in this country knows that millions of working women are being exploited.

You know it when a woman professor makes $7,000 and a man in the same job makes $9,000. You know it when a woman scientist earns $10,000 a year and her male counterpart gets $13,000.

You know it when a restaurant owner makes his waitresses go off duty at 6 p.m., leaving the bigger evening tips to the waiters. He smugly argues it's not safe to keep women on the job after dark. But he doesn't bat an eye when he has charwomen coming in at 2 a.m. to clean the place up.

Every woman college graduate knows it when, after a $10,000 education for a professional career, she is met time after time with this question: can you type? Some of the strongest advocates for women's rights are middle-income fathers of bright, remarkable young women.

Every Democrat must know it when a Republican President promises total commitment to the nation's children and then vetoes the first comprehensive day-care bill in history, saying it undermines the family.

One of the great myths of all time is that being a political activist somehow defeminizes us. I've worked hard all my life. So have millions of other working women. And let me assure you the moonlight doesn't seem any dimmer, the candlelight doesn't flicker any less, the bubbles in the bubble bath don't burst any sooner, when your take-home pay is the same as your male counterpart. You can be sensuous and still think and vote and run for office.

Yes, women are indeed an admirable sex. Through the centuries, we've been wept upon, stepped upon, and slept upon—and we still find something in men to love.

I've worked for woman-power in politics since I started covering Eleanor Roosevelt's press conferences twenty-seven years ago, and I do not plan to abandon my movement because of a little noise. The words "Right On" do not come trippingly off my tongue. But I'm learning and I'm enjoying it. If the Women's Political Caucus sometimes comes on a little strong, let's remember—these are strong times. But I assure Nixon, Kissinger & Co. that this is no burlesque.

If the Democrats mean what they say—and women and minorities fight for delegate positions—this year's national convention will not be peopled by the shopworn henchmen and fatcats of previous years. The new delegate will represent a broader base of every group in this country.

I believe the political party that is truly committed to internal reform by action—one whose delegates are truly from the people—will do more to restore the faith of this country in itself than any other single action.

POLITICAL NO-NO's FOR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

by Liz Carpenter

I have never believed that men—for the most part—were male chauvinist pigs by conviction. Usually, the reason is ignorance or laziness in updating outmoded customs. So for those presidential candidates who have not yet made the transition to liberation, here are some mistakes to avoid in the Year of the Woman:

1. Don't call us "lovely ladies". We're going to be in there fighting for more humane government and we may use some unlovely and unladylike ways. The phrase "ladies" went out with bloomers.

2. Don't promise us everything and then hand us Arpege. When we talk about having a share of the political scene, we're talking about the Cabinet and the Supreme Court, not a spot on the Board of Geographic Names.

3. Don't advocate equal rights for women if you don't create any yourself.

4. Don't claim you are giving women equal opportunities if the only women on your staff are typists. Women have infiltrated Tiparillos. That's just a starter on the smoke-filled rooms.

5. Stop skirting the issues which interest women most; better living conditions in our home towns, better education for our children, day-care centers, the right to health and happiness.

6. Don't make bra jokes unless you want to get burned. If women seem a little uptight about bra jokes, that's because it's all the support we've had in the past.

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THUNDERBIRD

FORD DIVISION Ford

Women in the White House

by Mary Lou Burg

Vice Chairman
Democratic National Committee

"I hope someday someone will take time to evaluate the true role of the wife of the President and to assess the many burdens she has to bear and the contributions she makes."

—Harry S. Truman, in *Mr. Citizen*

Most White House tours usually include one visitor who asks to see "the room where Abigail Adams hung her laundry." Poor Abigail, that she should be remembered most for this small incident! Her independent spirit would rebel at the false image of herself as a mere homebody, kneedeep in laundry and domestic chores.

The second First Lady was the first to occupy the White House. She was fifty-six years old and in frail health when she made the difficult journey from the former capital in Philadelphia to Washington, moving her household goods into the new mansion on Pennsylvania Avenue. Wives who have experienced the stress and fatigue of moving day could appreciate the dismay of Abigail Adams, who arrived at the White House to find that "not one room or chamber is finished of the whole." Many of her household effects had been lost in transit and her trunks of clothing were late in arriving. To make matters worse, the huge unfinished mansion afforded no place for hanging laundry. It was necessity, not irreverence, that made Abigail Adams turn "the great unfinished audience room" into a drying room.

Despite the handicaps, Mrs. Adams accomplished her goal of establishing what she considered appropriate social customs in the executive mansion. She received visitors, traveled over miles of muddy roads to repay social calls, organized the first full-dress social event ever to be held in the White House, and initiated a weekly "drawing room." In this way, she was carrying on the tradition of her predecessor, Martha Washington, whose easy social graces had helped to offset the effects of her husband's aloofness. "Mrs. Washington," Abigail wrote after their first meeting, "is one of those unassuming characters which create love and esteem."

Unlike Martha Washington, who kept herself above politics, Abigail Adams—with her superior intellect and education—always took an active interest in political affairs. She did not hesitate to advise her husband or to disagree with him privately, and she was quoted more than once as an authority in a political argument. She insisted that women were as qualified to express opinions as men. She was, in fact, one of the earliest champions of women's rights in the new nation. A characteristic letter, written to her husband in 1774 while he was attending the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, dealt forthrightly with that subject:

> In the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention are not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation.

Those militant words, sounding the advance warning of Women's Liberation two hundred years ago, were more than half serious, but they brought an amused reply from John Adams who called his wife "saucy" and chided her for her "stateswomanship":

> As to your extraordinary code of laws, I cannot but laugh. . . . Depend upon it, we know better than to repeal our masculine systems. . . . We have only the name of masters, and rather than give up this, which would completely subject us to the despotism of the petticoat, I hope General Washington and all our brave heros would fight.

In view of that lighthearted, early-American putdown, it is ironic that twenty-six years later when Adams was

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Dolley Madison saves White House furnishings during the British invasion of August, 1814.

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Abigail Adams
White House's first First Lady

seeking re-election as President, his wife Abigail became a campaign issue: critics charged that she exerted undue influence over the President. That she influenced him is undeniable—and John Adams would have been the last person to deny it. He recognized her as his political partner and intellectual equal. From his Twentieth-Century vantage point, Harry S. Truman concluded that Mrs. Adams was the superior politician of the pair, and that "she would have made a better President than her husband."

President Truman felt that his own wife's contributions as First Lady were underrated because she was a quiet, unassuming woman with a natural preference for anonymity. Her husband described her later as "a full partner in all my transactions—politically and otherwise." He discussed historic decisions with her and respected her good judgment and objectivity. She was a sounding-board for public reaction to such momentous decisions as the dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan, the military action in Korea, and economic aid to the war-depleted nations of Europe.

"She helped me in everything," Truman stated emphatically, "everything." Bess Truman read drafts of the President's speeches and edited them. She often called him to task for his blunt, "give 'em hell" style. She accompanied him on his campaign tours, and her presence on the platform was always a reassurance to him as well as to the crowds, who saw in them a picture of family unity and strength. That sense of family solidarity is perhaps the most important contribution the First Lady can make. It is her responsibility to create for the President "an oasis of calm" when the stresses of office bear down.

Martha Washington was keenly aware of her responsibility in setting the proper social mood in a new democracy. Criticism abounded, and she sometimes felt it was impossible to do anything right. If she followed her own taste for simplicity in attire and entertaining, she "belittled her position." If she yielded to demands for more pomp and circumstance, she was "imitating European nobility." Yet she carried out her role with dignity, good cheer, and the determination "never to oppose my private wishes to the public will."

Dolley Madison—young, vivacious, and glamorous—had neither Martha Washington's flair for household management nor Abigail's grasp of politics, but she carved her own niche as the nation's number one hostess and fashion leader. No First Lady equaled her influence on fashion until Jacqueline Kennedy came to the White

Martha Washington

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Dolley Madison

House in 1961. Dolley's influence on President Madison was greater than is generally supposed, and at least one political analyst has credited her with assuring her husband's re-election in 1812. The nation was moving toward war with Great Britain, and Madison, who hoped to avert the conflict, faced political opposition from Speaker of the House Henry Clay and his "War Hawks." Mrs. Madison stepped up the social schedule at the White House and made it a point to include the War Hawks as honored guests, with Clay as a special favorite. By election time, Clay and Madison had reached an understanding, and Clay pledged his support to the President's re-election.

The heavy burdens of a wartime President are equal burdens to the President's wife, who may be his most trusted confidante, his defender, and the guardian of his health and well-being. During the Civil War, Mary Todd Lincoln had to bear the added burden of charges of treason when political enemies of the President circulated rumors that she was a Confederate spy. Abraham Lincoln went to Capitol Hill himself to testify to his wife's loyalty at a congressional investigation.

Edith Galt Wilson, second wife of President Woodrow Wilson, was his constant companion and confidante during the trying days of World War I and his ensuing battle in behalf of the League of Nations. She won a unique place in history as "acting President" during the last months of his Administration, when Wilson was disabled by a stroke that paralyzed his left side. So grave was his condition that doctors feared for his life. For six weeks no one was allowed to enter the sick room but the President's physician—and his wife. No other First Lady —perhaps no other American woman—has borne such a heavy responsibility. Throughout the ordeal, Edith Wilson protected her husband from any problem or anxiety that might worsen his condition. It was she who screened all messages and documents that came to the White House, deciding what to tell the President, what not to tell him, and presenting to him any documents that she was convinced had to have his signature.

She had been a total stranger to the political world when she first met Wilson, shortly after his first wife, Ellen, died in the White House in 1914. Edith was the widow of Norman Galt, a wealthy Washington jeweler; she was considered one of the most beautiful women in the city. She and Wilson were married in December, 1915, despite the opposition of his staff and advisers, who feared that a second marriage would impair his chances for re-election. Her political initiation was the campaign of 1916. She traveled with the President and sat on the platform with him when he spoke, although she did not enjoy political speeches and much preferred her husband in the role of scholar and statesman. During the campaign, she was particularly disturbed by the suffragettes who lined the streets, demanding the right to vote and a commitment from the President to their cause, which

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First Ladies gather at a 1955 luncheon; from left, Bess Truman, Edith Galt Wilson and Eleanor Roosevelt.

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

President and Mrs. Kennedy exchange greetings with Pearl Buck and Robert Frost during a 1962 White House social event.

he finally granted. Neither he nor the First Lady were in sympathy with the movement, and it probably pained her more than it did him when he addressed a suffragette meeting with the kind of remarks expected of a candidate.

No one more embodies the spirit of political activism than Eleanor Roosevelt whom historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., has described as "the most liberated American woman of this century." Not that she thought of herself in those terms. Her strength lay in thinking of others. And so she advanced the cause of the underprivileged, the unemployed, the poverty-stricken, the exploited. She was an outspoken leader in the civil rights movement and did not hesitate to champion any other just cause, however controversial it might be. She has been called President Roosevelt's conscience as well as his eyes and ears and his roving ambassador of good will. She was in every sense his full political partner and adviser, in war and peace. Moreover, she later became in her own right a very important political power in the councils of the national Democratic party, where in the 1950's she served as Consultant to the Democratic Advisory Council and was a chief supporter of Adlai Stevenson. After her husband's death, Mrs. Roosevelt rendered humanitarian service to the United Nations and earned the unofficial but affectionate title, "First Lady of the World."

President Kennedy once remarked that "any First Lady will do all right if she is herself." That comment may well have reassured his wife Jacqueline. Until she met the young Senator from Massachusetts, she had known few politicians. Fashionable society had been her environment; her education had cultivated her interests in literature and the arts—"things of the spirit," her husband said. Her marriage to John Kennedy plunged her headlong into the world of politics. Together, the couple shared a zest and an ideal of excellence which became the hallmark of the Kennedy years.

Jacqueline, as much as her husband, created the mood of the New Frontier. Her youthful glamour brightened the national scene; fashion followed her lead; the social life of Washington became more sophisticated, more exciting. At White House social functions, celebrities from the theater, music and the arts mingled with diplomats and politicians. The Kennedy children, Caroline and John, and their pony Macaroni, added to the liveliness of the White House scene.

Mrs. Kennedy, who cherished the historic charm and tradition of the White House, was well prepared by taste, talent and knowledge of antique decor for her major project as First Lady—restoring and refurbishing the White House. That task she accomplished with characteristic energy and such excellence that her achievement became the nation's pride. Greater still was the pride and the compassion she evoked in Americans and in the world community by her exemplary conduct during the universal bereavement which followed the assassination of the President. Mrs. Kennedy's courage, dignity and strength inspired the world.

Lyndon Johnson once said that the First Lady's role

Lady Bird Johnson launched a quiet crusade to beautify the country; she helped rouse the nation against pollution.

should be "to make her husband comfortable and happy, to stimulate and inspire him—and by precept and example, attract the admiration of her own sex." Lady Bird Johnson brought to the White House twenty-six years of experience in political life in Washington and a dedication to public service that was equal to her husband's. Competent businesswoman, capable administrator, effective campaigner, gracious hostess, devoted wife and mother, she made a versatile First Lady. She had left Washington one day as the Vice President's wife and returned the following day as First Lady of a nation that was still numb from the tragedy of President Kennedy's assassination. "I felt I was suddenly on stage for a part I had never rehearsed," she said.

For Lady Bird, it was natural to lend her warm personal touch in working with people: youth groups, 4-H clubs, women's organizations, the poor people of Appalachia, the deprived children of city slums. She launched a "beautification program" that brought bloom to the ugliest corner of the city. She gave active support to President Johnson's legislative program, traveling and speaking on domestic problems and the "Great Society" proposals. Her travel record matched that of Eleanor Roosevelt as First Lady. She campaigned with her husband and made campaign tours of her own on his behalf. No one will ever know how many votes she won for his landslide victory in 1964. Her name—like those of her predecessors —was not on the ballot.

In spite of Abigail Adams' admonitions, the Founding Fathers failed to make any provision for "the ladies" —even the First Lady. She has no authority under law, no salary—not even an official title. She is a stateswoman without portfolio. But some day even that may change. Some day candidates' wives may demand their rightful place on the ballot beside their husbands. •

Two-Party System Is Good Business for the Nation

by Henry Ford II

I am sometimes asked if I am a Democrat and, if so, how I can be a Democrat as well as a businessman.

There are several easy answers to those questions.

The first is that I'm not a Democrat. I've never been persuaded that one party has a permanent monopoly of the best candidates and the best programs. I vote for the candidate and the program, not the party.

The second answer is that I'm not just a businessman. Although I happen to be a businessman, I'm as concerned as the next man for the good of my city, my state and my country.

The third answer is that I am a firm believer in the two-party system. Like a company, a country needs different policies and different styles of management at different times in its history. Like a pendulum, a government needs to swing to both sides of the center in order to perform its intended function. And sometimes change is good just for the sake of change—to shatter complacency, to disturb routine and to shake things up and get things moving again.

To have a viable two-party system, each party has to win a fair share of the elections. I know there's a lot to be said for party loyalty, but there's also a need for the independent voter. After all, there is no way that each party can win some elections unless some of the voters switch back and forth.

To have a viable country with a two-party system, neither party can move too far from the center of national public opinion. I know there are many people who think that voters should be given a "real" choice—which generally means a choice between extremes. Most of these people, it seems to me, don't really believe in two parties at all. They believe that one party—their own, naturally—should be in power all the time. Certainly our country could not afford the turmoil that would result if political power and government policy were to swing frequently from one extreme to the other.

America is fortunate to have a viable two-party system based on the fact that both parties usually have a good chance to win, and neither party is ever very far from the center of national opinion.

All of this goes to explain why a businessman like me can sometimes be found in the Democratic camp. I have often supported Democratic candidates and programs for the same reason that I've often supported Republican candidates and programs—because I thought they were good candidates and good programs—good not just for business but for everybody.

Praise for Democratic trade policies

I believe, for example, that the Democratic party's traditional support of liberal foreign trade policies has been good not only for business but for everyone in America and for every nation in the free world as well.

I take some satisfaction in having co-chaired the organized business effort in support of the tax reduction of 1964 which recognized that the interests of all Americans could be served by reducing corporate taxes, increasing corporate profits, and thereby stimulating growth in jobs and income.

I have often disagreed with specific Democratic programs and proposals of many kinds. I believe, however, that your party's consistent efforts to promote social and economic justice have often been good for business as well as for the nation because they have helped to build a healthier and more equitable society.

One of those efforts was and is the National Alliance of Businessmen, which I served as chairman when it was established early in 1968 to find jobs in business and industry for the hard-core unemployed. I think it speaks well for our country and its two-party system that this partnership between business and government was established at the initiative of your party and has been continued under the leadership of the other party.

To preserve my credentials as an independent, I should mention that I have also served as Chairman of the National Center for Voluntary Action, which was established by the other party to encourage voluntary citizen action on community problems—and has not yet had a chance to continue under the leadership of your party.

No party, of course, can rest on its record, no matter how distinguished that record may be. I believe that both parties deserve much credit for what is right with America, but that each must accept its share of the blame for what is still wrong. If both can take satisfaction in what they have done to relieve old problems, each has a responsibility to devise new answers for the problems that remain.

As the 1972 election approaches, the list of unsolved problems is a formidable one.

Top task: employment without inflation

Our country, in my judgment, has not yet developed a system of labor-management relations that makes it possible to achieve high employment without inflation.

It has a long way to go in providing all citizens an equal opportunity for a healthy, secure and fruitful life.

It is as far as ever from making the federal system of local, state and national government work effectively and efficiently.

It is just beginning to explore ways of protecting the environment without crippling the economy.

Along with the other leading nations, it must devise better ways of safeguarding national interests while preserving peace and reducing the burden of arms. As the leading force in the free world, our country has a special responsibility to maintain its strength and exercise its leadership without seeking to impose its own system, values and way of life on nations to which they may not be suited.

In our economic as well as in our political relationships with other nations, we must learn to see each nation as it really is and to judge each problem and opportunity on its merits rather than on the basis of preconceptions and ideology.

This is not an indictment of either party, but one man's outline of some of the major challenges both parties must face in their conventions, in the campaign and in the administration that will follow.

My hope is that both parties will face these challenges in a way that will illuminate the issues before the election, and facilitate their successful resolution afterwards. If they do, the nation will gain and so will business, whatever the verdict of the electorate may be. •

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Nixon Economic Game Plan Is No Game

by I. W. Abel

President, United Steelworkers of America

President Nixon sat down shortly after his election and wrote a letter in which he stated:

"We must find ways to curb inflation, which robs working men and women and their families of hard-earned gains, and we must do this without asking wage earners to pay for the cost of stability with their jobs."

These words were contained in a letter Mr. Nixon wrote on February 19, 1969, to AFL-CIO President George Meany.

We know very well what happened after those most un-prophetic words were set to paper: The average American worker and his family were put through the economic wringer. In the Nixon administration's program to slow inflation, they were deliberately programmed as expendable.

We had been told that President Nixon had a "game plan" for the nation's economy. We were assured that price stability and jobs for everyone were just around the corner; that elusive corner left over from the Hoover administration.

The President's "game plan" was about as successful as the plays he suggested for the Washington Redskins and Miami Dolphins. Except that under his *economic* "game plan" the results were more far-reaching in human terms. It was no "game" for the workers and their families.

We all know the sorry facts of Game Plan No. 1. A year and a half after Mr. Nixon pledged economic stability without higher unemployment we had the highest interest rates in a hundred years, the most severe inflation in twenty years and the sharpest increase in unemployment in ten years! This worst combination of developments just didn't happen. They were the result of deliberate, planned policies. Game Plan No. 1 featured a restrictive monetary policy—"tight money." Also, federal construction projects were cut; a peculiar way to implement a promise for jobs.

Smiling through the squeeze

During Mr. Nixon's first year as President, the squeeze became tighter and tighter. Housing starts declined thirty-seven percent. In the face of steep advances in interest rates, state and local governments put off building hospitals, schools, roads and public buildings. Small and medium businesses were hit by an inability to obtain loans, or had to settle for loans at high rates. The record interest

rates were a major factor in raising costs and prices all along the line . . . . to the farmer, to the manufacturer, to the wholesaler, to the retailer, to the consumer, and to government at all levels. It was obvious that Game Plan No. 1 was not working. But every piece of unhappy economic news was translated by the Administration into pronouncements that the plan was working; all that was needed was a little more time, a little more patience. Well into 1969 it was even more obvious that the Nixon game plan was a dud. But optimism was the order of the day from the White House. Right on with Game Plan No. 1!

Too many were too anxious during the days of Game Plan No. 1 to point the finger of blame at trade unions. They said workers had been too greedy in their contract settlements. They overlooked the facts of what had happened. In the 1960's, the record unmistakably shows that the accelerated rise in living costs came first, long before the push for larger wage settlements. Between 1960 and 1965, increases in wages and fringe benefits in manufacturing industries were less than the rise of industrial productivity. Unit labor costs of industrial goods moved down 1.6 percent but wholesale prices went up 1.7 percent. Profit margins on each item widened and, with the expansion of sales, total profits of industrial companies skyrocketed. In the same period, unit labor costs in the total private economy increased only modestly but consumer prices jumped 6.6 percent—more than twice as fast as the small rise of unit labor costs. As a result, profit margins in the total economy widened, and with increasing sales, business profits soared. It was not until 1966-67, after the increased rate of rising living costs got under way in 1965, that the size of collective bargaining settlements also began to move up. Unit labor costs began to increase and business raised prices at an accelerated rate in an attempt to maintain or even widen profit margins.

Until 1965, when living costs increased one to 1.5 percent a year, the median collective bargaining settlement was under four percent, according to the Labor Department. Wage and fringe benefit increases of more than five percent did not become widespread until 1967 and 1968, long after the sharper increase in the cost of living began in 1965. In 1969, it was 7.4 percent per year over the life of the contract and 8.2 percent in the first year.

The fact is that the inflation that developed in the 1960's was largely a profit inflation—combined with a dangerous credit inflation. From 1960 through the first half of 1969, corporate profits after taxes were up ninety-three percent; but the after-tax weekly earnings of the average non-supervisory worker were up only thirty-four percent—three-fifths less than profits. And in terms of real buying power, the gain for this worker was only ten percent.

Under the President's first "game plan," prices continued to go up and up, and workers tried to keep up—but not too successfully. Unemployment was going up also. When we held our union's convention in 1970, the Labor Department had announced an increase in average weekly earnings of about $5.50 a week, but the increase was less than the rise in consumer prices. In short, the "real" purchasing power of the worker had declined. But right up until August 15 of 1971, the Nixon administration still had everybody straining to find that corner around which everything was going to be fine. However, on the night of August 15, 1971, President Nixon went on national radio and television—not to admit that his game plan had failed and had given us a national recession—but to announce *another* economic "game plan." This was to be Phase I.

The freeze: selective sacrifices

On that same August 15, the President imposed a ninety-day freeze on wages and most prices. However, he exempted interest rates, profits, land prices, capital gains, stocks and dividends; stock options and certain other forms of executive compensation; and certain agricultural commodities. Organized labor had been stating clearly and often, since 1966, that if the President determined that over-all stabilization measures were needed, labor would cooperate "so long as such restraints are equitably placed on all costs and incomes—including all prices, profits, dividends, rents and executive compensation, as well as employees' wages and salaries. We are prepared to sacrifice as much as anyone else, so long as there is equality of sacrifice." President Nixon's ninety-day wage-price freeze certainly did not meet the test of equality of sacrifice.

The President accompanied his freeze order of August 15, with a proposed multi-billion-dollar tax cut for big business. To finance the tax bonanza, the President announced a cut in federal employment of five percent; sought to deny a pay raise for federal employees due on January 1, 1972; and delayed welfare reform and revenue

sharing. The needy could wait; the tax bonanza for big business came first. Congress, as labor had urged, turned back the President's effort to deny the federal workers their pay raise. However, the President's tax proposals, including a gimmick called a "job development credit," were approved. These proposals, combined with an earlier speedup in depreciation write-offs, will mean more than an $88 billion tax reduction for business over the next ten years. The tax legislation did contain some reductions for taxpayers but they were so meager that they were almost meaningless. For example, taxes for a typical four-person family under the 1971 tax amendments were cut only about thirty-six cents a week last year and about $1 a week in 1972.

There was no question that the President's so-called wage-price freeze was inequitable. It was not even-handed. The wages of workers were the only item that was completely frozen. And there was no doubt that this part of the freeze order would be implemented because employers would gladly see that it was enforced. On the other hand, prices continued to rise during the freeze—legally and illegally. Despite the inequity, labor said it would cooperate with a fair and equitable program for the period following the original freeze order of August 15, 1971.

Then came Phase II, with its Pay Board and Price Commission, to which the President promised autonomy from the Cost of Living Council. The Pay Board was weighted against workers from the start. It adopted wage guidelines of 5.5 percent to cover most cases. But while a 5.5 percent increase might be appropriate for a worker earning $5 an hour, it obviously was inadequate for a worker being paid $1.95 an hour. The board also, in the face of bitter labor opposition, developed a general rule that most workers could not recover wage increases denied them during the ninety-day freeze period. Fortunately, Congress reversed this ruling when it extended the Economic Stabilization Act. The Board also overcame Labor opposition and held that "catch-up" wage increases would be limited to seven percent. This amounted to a "catch-up" of only 1.5 percent, in effect, since other workers were being allowed 5.5 percent as a matter of course. Again, during Phase II, we saw enforcement of wage controls because employers could guarantee enforcement, but there was no effective control of prices. In fact, the Cost of Living Council completely exempted more than forty percent of rental housing and seventy-five percent of all retail establishments from any price controls. The chairman of the Price Commission, C. Jackson Grayson, admitted to AFL-CIO price monitors that consumers had no way of knowing whether a price increase was legitimate.

Five million unemployed

And all during this long period of discrimination against the worker and consumer, the nation continued to be plagued by high unemployment. When President Nixon took office in 1969, unemployment was at the relatively low rate of 3.5 percent of the work force. Unemployment started to rise in 1970 and it had zoomed to six percent by the end of the year. It stayed around that figure throughout 1971, despite the President's promise of 1969 and despite the Administration's prediction that unemployment would drop significantly during 1971. The fact is that an average of five million persons were unemployed in 1971 and that the rate of joblessness was the worst in ten years!

In these opening years of the 1970's, the American worker stands uncertain and confused. He was promised price stability and jobs. Instead he got higher prices and more unemployment. He was buffeted by an economic policy which regarded him and his job as expendable. And he has paid the price. Inflation and unemployment concern human beings. Unemployment means hardship, privation and suffering. The state of joblessness is not something that a worker can view with detachment. What must be done?

There must be a general resolve to bring equity and stability to the economy without making the worker the fall guy. There is nothing complicated about what American workers want. We are for progress, and we want all to share fairly in it. We are for better production and we want our fair share of the results. We want jobs for Americans and we are for the sale of American products produced by American workers who are paid decent wages and enjoy a safe and healthy place to work.

What is needed, what has been needed for some time, is an effective and equitable policy to stabilize the economy, to strengthen the fabric of American society and sustain full employment. I know we are all aware that full employment is stated national policy as expressed in the Employment Act of 1946. But we all also know that it has not been implemented and there certainly are no indications that its implementation is under consideration. But it should be, because America needs expansionary economic policies to revive the economy, to bring us what we have promised ourselves—full employment. Moreover, the needed rise in output will, in itself, reduce inflationary pressures by boosting productivity and slowing the rise of unit costs. We need an expanding supply of money at reasonable rates. We need the full funding of federal appropriations for such socially vital needs as housing, education and health care, community facilities, hospitals—and the federal government must act as the employer of last resort. The way to balance the budget is to balance the American economy. The welfare of the American people and the desired expansion of the national economy need a fiscal stimulus, not continued fiscal restraint.

We need appropriate expansionary policies that can quickly get the economy back on its feet, get us on the road to full employment with jobs at decent wages for all those willing and able to work. The best guarantee of an expanding economy is the election of a Democratic President in 1972.

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Women in Politics

by Harriet Cipriani

Director of Women's Activities
Democratic National Committee

Like most masculine-feminine relationships, the one involving the Democratic National Convention presents its own subtle difficulties that are not easily resolved. The desired relationship is one to one between women and men delegates to the Miami Beach convention in July. Fitting as such a match may seem, it could be hard to arrange.

"A lot depends on women themselves," says Democratic Vice Chairman Mary Lou Burg. "Women must develop the habit of competing for delegate seats."

That way, she says, they can help themselves achieve convention parity as intended by party reform; states already have been told that their convention delegations must include women in reasonable relationship to their presence in the state population. In most states, that would be fifty percent. A similar prescription applies to minorities, who make up eleven percent of the population, and to young people between eighteen and twenty-four who constitute about twelve percent. The party has gone so far as to say that lack of an equal male-female ratio may be cause for a challenge to any state delegation. The state party then would bear the burden of showing that its delegates were picked in an open and non-discriminatory manner, and that an affirmative action program to recruit women, as well as minorities and young, was undertaken by the state.

Courting, however, can do little unless women respond. If they do participate and compete and win half the convention seats, or anything near that, women should gain entry not only to the convention but to even greater opportunities in the entire political process, including the seeking and holding of public offices at all levels. For the first time, a black woman heads the Credentials Committee which will judge any challenges to 1972 convention delegates; its recommendations will be vital in determining which persons are awarded contested seats.

Mrs. Patricia Roberts Harris, elected temporary chairman of the committee, promises tough enforcement of the new delegate selection standards. She is the black woman from the District of Columbia delegation who made an eloquent seconding speech for Lyndon B. Johnson at the 1964 convention. A prominent lawyer, former dean of Howard University Law School, and former Ambassador to Luxembourg, Mrs. Harris is outspoken on the "latent racism and sexism in American life" and has pledged to be "firm and impartial" in carrying out the reform mandates of the Democratic party. Mrs. Harris' key position may become as pivotal as that of another woman, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, a symbol in the battle against racism at the 1964 convention. Mrs. Hamer's successful challenge won her a seat on the Mississippi delegation and impelled the convention to create an Equal Rights Committee which set national standards to end racial discrimination in selection of delegates. That important step presaged the dramatic mandate of the 1968 convention which ordered an overhaul of the entire delegate selection process.

On another front, Congresswoman Martha W. Griffiths of Michigan is spearheading the drive for a constitutional amendment granting women equal rights in all aspects of life, and in 1971 the formation of the National Women's Political Caucus revitalized the American woman's long, frustrating struggle for political equality.

The Democratic party recognized women long before they won the right to vote in 1920. Twenty years earlier, Mrs. Elizabeth Cohn of Utah had attended the Democratic National Convention in Kansas City as the first woman delegate and made a seconding speech for the presidential candidate, William Jennings Bryan. By 1916 women from suffrage states had won representation on key convention committees. The more optimistic of the early vanguard expected progress to be much faster, once the vote was won. They would have viewed with chagrin the sprinkling of women on the convention floor forty years later, when only eleven percent of the delegates to the 1960 convention were women. That percentage increased to fourteen percent in 1964 and dropped to thirteen percent in 1968—appalling representation in a nation where women constitute fifty-two percent of the population and provide a major source of party strength in

election campaigns as well as the years between elections. When the Suffrage Amendment passed, male politicians as well as suffragettes were convinced that women would be taking over local governments and invading Congress in large numbers. It didn't happen. In the year of the amendment, three women (all Republicans) were elected to the House of Representatives and a Democratic woman, Mrs. Rebecca Felton of Georgia, was appointed to the Senate to fill a vacancy. It was a symbolic appointment; Mrs. Felton served only the last two days of the Sixty-seventh Congress, but she was the first woman in the United States to be called "Senator."

The number of women in Congress reached a peak in the Eighty-seventh Congress (1961-63) when twenty women served. In spite of the trend toward more political activity by women during the 1960's, their number in House and Senate today has declined to twelve, less than two percent of the Congress. But these women legislators wield far more power than did their predecessors, and many of them have already earned their places in history alongside such names as Hattie Caraway, the first woman to be elected to the U. S. Senate; and such Congresswomen as Mary T. Norton, first woman to chair a congressional committee (on the District of Columbia); Emily Taft Douglas, Helen Gahagan Douglas, Kathryn E. Granahan, Edna F. Kelly, Gracie Pfost, and Chase Going Woodhouse.

The lone woman in today's Senate, Margaret Chase Smith (R-Maine), has served since 1949, and is now ranking Republican on the Armed Services Committee where her influence is strong. Of the eleven women in the House, nine are Democrats:

MRS. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN of Missouri, elected to the House in 1952, has seniority among today's congresswomen. She has earned a reputation for expertise in labor relations and as a champion of consumer rights. She is chairman of the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs. Mrs. Sullivan has advocated better housing legislation, a food stamp plan, improved social security benefits and a number of consumer protection measures.

MRS. EDITH S. GREEN of Oregon was elected to the Eighty-fourth Congress in 1954. During her nine terms in the House, she has become an influential force on the Education and Labor Committee, and now chairs a subcommittee on higher education. She has been an advocate of equal pay for women, federal aid for school construction, minimum wage legislation, liberalized social security, and measures to improve school and library facilities.

MRS. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS of Michigan also won her seat in Congress in 1954. A tax expert and fourth-ranking member of the Ways and Means Committee, she deserves a liberal share of the credit for the sweeping tax reform measure hammered out by that committee in the Ninety-first Congress. But she is better known among women voters for her championship of the equal rights amendment and her skillful use of the discharge petition to bring that measure out of the Judiciary Committee and to a winning vote in the House in 1970.

MRS. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN of Washington served twenty-one years in the State Legislature before her election to Congress in 1960. Mrs. Hansen is a considerable force on the Appropriations Committee, especially as chairman of its Subcommittee on Interior, but she has a wide field of legislative interests, ranging from equal rights and youth employment to transportation problems and power resources.

MRS. PATSY T. MINK, elected to the House in 1964, is an attorney and served in both the House and Senate in her native Hawaii before and after it achieved statehood. In Congress she is a member of the House Indian Affairs Subcommittee and Education and Labor Committee. The first woman of Japanese ancestry to be elected to Conress, she is an eloquent spokesman for minorities and equality for women. She counts as her greatest achievement in Congress a bill providing a nationwide day-care program for pre-school children. Last November Representative Mink announced that she will enter the presidential primary in Oregon, where she will run on what she considers the major issues: the war in Vietnam, poverty, the environmental crisis, and education.

MRS. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM of Brooklyn, New York, was elected to the House of Representatives in 1968. Educator, author, civic leader, and the first black woman to serve in Congress, Mrs. Chisholm has been an effective champion of minorities and equality for women. She created shock waves as a freshman Congresswoman by rejecting an assignment to the Committee on Agriculture, on the grounds that agriculture is not a major concern of her Brooklyn constituents. She was subsequently given assignments to the Veterans' Affairs and Education and Labor Committees. In 1971, she became the first Democratic woman to announce that she would seek the party's nomination for President in 1972.

Three newcomers in the present Congress are MRS. BELLA ABZUG (New York), MRS. ELLA T. GRASSO (Connecticut), and MRS. LOUISE DAY HICKS (Massachusetts).

A practicing attorney, Mrs. Abzug is well known as an activist in civil rights, women's rights, and peace movements. In Congress, she has pressed for the equal rights amendment and for 24-hour day-care centers. She is one of the founders of the National Women's Political Caucus and one of its most effective speakers.

Mrs. Grasso, who holds a master's degree in economics and sociology, was elected to the Connecticut General Assembly in 1953 and in 1955 became its first woman floor leader. In 1958 she was elected Secretary of the State of Connecticut, a post she held for three terms. Named by President Kennedy to the Board of Foreign Scholarships, she was reappointed by President Johnson. Mrs. Grasso has received numerous awards for outstanding service to the public, especially in the fields of education, health and mental retardation.

Mrs. Hicks, a practicing attorney and former member of the Boston City Council, won election to Congress from the district represented by House Speaker John W. McCormack for forty-two years until his retirement in 1970. Long active in civic affairs, Mrs. Hicks served on the Boston School Committee from 1962-67, and in 1967 was a candidate for Mayor of Boston—an office for which she again ran unsuccessfully in 1971.

Democratic Administrations have long recognized the abilities of women. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who had good reason to respect the capabilities of women in politics, appointed the first woman Cabinet officer, naming Frances Perkins his Secretary of Labor. He appointed Mrs. J. Borden Harriman the first woman Minister to Norway and Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross the first woman director of the U.S. Mint, an office traditionally held by women since then. Mrs. Ross, of Wyoming, and Mrs. Miriam Ferguson, of Texas, were elected the nation's first women governors in 1924. Mrs. Ferguson was elected a second time in 1932.

President Truman appointed Mrs. Georgia Neese Clark (Gray) the first woman Treasurer of the United States and Frieda Hannock as the first woman member of the Federal Communications Commission. He named Eleanor Roosevelt to represent the United States in the United Nations General Assembly, made Anna M. Rosenberg the first woman Assistant Secretary of Defense, appointed Perle Mesta as Minister to Luxembourg and Eugenie Anderson as Ambassador to Denmark. Mrs. Anderson was the first woman to hold the rank of Ambassador.

Under President Kennedy more women began to appear on national boards and commissions, and President Johnson appointed more women to high government posts than any President before him. He set precedents by naming Esther Peterson as Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs (Mrs. Peterson concurrently held the position of Assistant Secretary of Labor to which she was appointed by President Kennedy); Dorothy Jacobson as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture; Dr. Mary I. Bunting as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission; Mrs. Elizabeth S. May as a member of the Board of Directors of the Import-Export Bank; Mrs. Virginia Mae Brown as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission; Mrs. Jane Hanna as Deputy Director for Civil Defense in the Defense Department. Other top appointees of President Johnson were Katherine White, Ambassador to Denmark; Margaret Tibbets, Ambassador to Norway; Patricia Roberts Harris, Ambassador to Luxembourg; Eugenie Anderson, U.S. Representative to the United Nations Trusteeship Council; Mary Dublin Keyserling, Director of the Women's Bureau of the Labor Department; and Genevieve Blatt, Assistant Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Key positions in state governments are held by Democratic women: five are Secretaries of State, eight are State Treasurers, and three are State Auditors. A record 173 women serve in state legislatures, including twenty-four in state senates.

As Director of Women's Activities for the Democratic National Committee, I have been most gratified to see that more women are competing for public office and more women are setting their sights higher, rather than accepting "second best" or "the woman's place" on the ticket. For example, Mrs. Geri Joseph, National Committeewoman from Minnesota and former Vice Chairman of the National Committee, has frequently been mentioned as a possible Democratic choice for governor of her state. Democratic leaders are coming to recognize that for many elective offices the best available candidates are women.

The Democratic National Committee has upgraded the office of Vice Chairman, a position reserved for women and traditionally coupled with the title of Director of Women's Activities. When Mary Lou Burg became Vice Chairman in 1970, she assumed a full-time salaried position with an equal voice in policy-making on all party matters. As her deputy in charge of the Office of Women's Activities, I have on many occasions been most vocal in encouraging women to seek elective office. Last fall the Office sponsored an "Impact '72" Leadership Conference for Democratic Women in Washington, with workshops on strengthening the role of women in the campaign year. The Office, first known as the Women's Bureau, was created in 1916 with Mrs. George Bass as its director. Then, as now, money was scarce for Democrats, and it was customary for national headquarters to revert to a small bookkeeping operation between campaigns. It was women who first saw the need for year-round political activity; the Women's Division started publication of the *Democratic Digest*, and put out the first mass distribution of issues pamphlets—"Rainbow Fliers" mimeographed on bright-colored paper. Women sent out the first field workers, held the first regional conferences, undertook the first large-scale collection of small contributions that established a "Dollars for Democrats" tradition, and first helped organize young people—even those too young to vote.

The list of women who guided these efforts is a distinguished one: Emily Newell Blair, Mary "Molly" Dewson, Gladys Tillett, Chase Woodhouse, India Edwards, Katie Louchheim, and Margaret Price. Emma Guffey Miller of Pennsylvania, head of the National Women's Party, served on the Democratic National Committee for thirty-eight years, longer than any other woman, and attended ten national conventions through 1968. Thanks to their efforts and others, the Democratic National Convention of 1972 will have a different look, and when Mrs. Dorothy Bush, Secretary of the National Committee since 1944 and the first woman to hold that office, calls the roll, more feminine voices will respond than ever before. Democratic women are on the march, and one step closer to political equality, from precinct to Cabinet, and recognition as full partners with men in the political arena. •

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We have supported 31 out of the 35 recent major health proposals in Congress.

The AMA is *in favor* of government support to expand medical schools.

The AMA is *in favor* of increased financial aid to medical students.

The AMA is *in favor* of expanded nurse training programs.

The AMA is *in favor* of physician assistant programs.

The AMA is *in favor* of clean air legislation.

The AMA is *in favor* of a national health insurance program which preserves a physician's freedom to practice as he thinks best, provides for the patient's freedom to seek the type of plan he prefers, and relies on private rather than government administration. The AMA plan would remove economic barriers between the poor and mainstream medical care and would insure everyone against "catastrophic" medical costs.

Nobody has all the answers to our national health problems. But we think our record represents a good platform on which to base the answers.

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Young Dems: Emphasis on Organization

by Robert E. B. Allen

President, Young Democratic Clubs of America

Demonstrations, ad hoc committees, one shot causes, and campaigns for Camelot and Nirvana were the symbols of youth involvement in the Sixties. The anguish of Kent State, Jackson State, and Augusta have tempered a new and quieter determination in the young people of this country, and their experiences from Selma in 1965 to Washington in 1971 have taught young people—the students, the workers, the housewives—the basic lessons of organizing for political change. A new dedication and

DANIEL COHEN

Robert Weiner displays new voter registration poster.

new goal have grown painfully from the experience of youth participation. Pragmatic politics and nuts-and-bolts organization are no longer shunned as unnecessary by the youth of the Seventies. Young people across the country are running for school boards, city councils, and state legislatures. Young people are canvassing precincts, developing campaign staffs, conducting voter registration projects and running for delegate spots for the Democratic National Convention. Organization is the watchword for youth participation in the Seventies.

The Democratic party has had its organized youth base since the Young Democrats were formed in 1932 with the encouragement of James A. Farley, then Democratic National Chairman. Young Democrats have organizations in all fifty states; those forty-six chartered by the national Young Democrats have membership ranging from more than 10,000 dues-paid members in some states to a few hundred members of college and high school chapters in other states. In October, 1971, prior to the Young Democrats National Convention, there were 1,238 local clubs affiliated with the Young Democratic Clubs of America with a total dues-paid membership of 84,167. This year, during spring registrations at colleges and high schools around the country several hundred additional chapters have been formed and membership increased in other chapters. The average age of the Young Democratic state presidents is 25.6 years with the average age of local officers being substantially younger. Those who say that the young people won't participate in party politics or that the Young Democrats have lost their significance within the party process have not looked at the record of recent years or at the changing emphasis of youth involvement in recent months.

In an age when it is not fashionable to be labeled as partisan, the Young Democrats are providing a continuing recruiting medium and organizational tool for entry into politics. Young Democrats are, and have been, a youth caucus within the Democratic Party, pressuring for change and reform.

Young Democrats who have participated in precinct organizations, Get-Out-the-Vote drives, voter registration, and in local, state and national campaigns provide an organizational and leadership cadre for young people in Democratic party politics throughout the country. The National Youth Chairman and all seven field organizers for the youth campaign in the 1968 presidential election were Young Democrats; forty of the fifty Student Coalition Chairmen and virtually every Young Citizens State Chairman were Young Democrats. Despite adverse conditions so widely publicized in that campaign, the analysis of the 1968 election showed that young people voted heavily for the Humphrey-Muskie ticket. Among voters under thirty, the Democratic candidates defeated the Republicans in 1968 by nine percentage points, ten times the margin obtained by Richard Nixon among the electorate at large. Although the youth vote swung twenty-one

percentage points in the final six weeks of the campaign, it was not quite enough to pull off a Democratic victory. The experienced pool of Young Democratic political workers which was available to the Democratic campaign could not have been matched by individual campaign staffs or ad hoc organizations. This year, wiser, even more seasoned Young Democratic campaigners are gathering themselves for a new drive to victory.

The Young Democratic organizations at the state and local levels provide a framework through which young people can participate as an organized group within the Democratic party, taking part in the decision making process and making significant contributions to social and economic goals of the party. In the states where Young Democrats have strong and effective organizations, there is uniformly greater involvement of young people in the political process as candidates for elective office, state party officers, and workers in state and national campaigns.

The much publicized Democratic commissions on party reform have held out to the youth of America the hope of open participation in the policy-making and candidate-selection process of the Democratic party. With greater youth involvement, an organized and independent voice and mechanism for youth within the party becomes of even greater significance. The Young Democrats can and will work to provide such an independent voice to help bring the ideas, the energy and the voice of young people into the Democratic Party and the election booths of America.

Historical Roll of Officers

This listing is based upon incomplete records. Former officers or other persons with knowledge of additions or revisions should send them to Young Democratic Clubs of America, 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

1932: National Organizational Meeting in Washington, D.C., March 4-5: TYRE TAYLOR, North Carolina, President; ELIZABETH WHEELER, Montana, Vice President; JOHN BOYDON, Utah, Secretary; JOHN STEELMAN, North Carolina, Treasurer; MRS. J. L. SCOTT, North Carolina, Executive Director.

1933: National Convention in Kansas City, Missouri: CLIFF WOODWARD, Iowa, President; RUTH LOCKETT, California, Vice President, JAMES ROOSEVELT, Massachusetts, Secretary.

1935: National Convention in Milwaukee, Wisconsin: FRANK WICKHAM, South Carolina, President; LOUISE GALLEHER, Virginia, Vice President; JOE C. CARR, Tennessee, Secretary; CHARLES MURPHY, Maine, Treasurer; ACEY CARRAWAY, Florida, Executive Director; WILLARD WALTERS, Oregon, Assistant Director.

1937: National Convention in Indianapolis, Indiana: PITT TYSON MANER, Alabama, President; MRS. OCIE HEADY, Oklahoma, Vice President; PAUL A. WILLIAMS, Mississippi, Secretary; JOHN M. BAILEY, Connecticut, Treasurer; CHARLES SHREVE, California, Executive Director.

1939: National Convention in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: HOMER MATT ADAMS, Illinois, President; MRS. VERDA BARNES, Idaho, and MARY GRAHAM GROOM, North Carolina, Vice Presidents; JOHN NEFF, Virginia, Secretary; JOHN M. BAILEY, Connecticut, Treasurer; CHARLES SHREVE, California, Executive Secretary.

1941: National Convention in Louisville, Kentucky: JOE C. CARR, Tennessee, President; PATRICIA FIRESTONE, Pennsylvania, and DOROTHY VREDENBURGH, Alabama, Vice Presidents; JARDIE D. LEWIS, Indiana, Secretary; JOHN F. DUGAN, Kentucky, Treasurer; ACEY CARRAWAY, Florida, Executive Director; WILLARD WALTERS, Oregon, Assistant Director.

1947: National Convention in Cleveland, Ohio: ROY G. BAKER, Texas, President; THEODORA HANSEN, California, Vice President; ANGELA PARISI, New York, Secretary; E. HOOVER TAFT, North Carolina, Treasurer; VINCE GAUGHAN, New York, Executive Secretary; CHARLES MARKHAM, North Carolina, Executive Secretary.

1949: National Convention in Chattanooga, Tennessee: WILSON GILMORE, Missouri, President; KAY OWSLEY GLASS, District of Columbia, Vice President; LOLITA BLACKISTON, Oklahoma, Secretary; MICHAEL JAFFRIN, Ohio, Treasurer; CLARE JONES, California, Executive Secretary.

1951: National Convention in St. Louis, Missouri: RICHARD J. NELSON, Illinois, President; JANE O'H. MAHADY, Pennsylvania, Vice President; TOBY A. OSOS, California, Secretary; JOHN F. McCARTHY, Connecticut, Treasurer; HOWARD L. WHITECOTTON, Indiana, Executive Secretary.

1953: National Convention in St. Paul, Minnesota: NEAL SMITH, Iowa, President; CAMILLA KLEIN, Kansas, Vice President; HELEN BOYLE, District of Columbia, Secretary; WARD McCREEDY, Michigan, Treasurer.

1955: National Convention in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: DAVID A. BUNN, Colorado, President; PHILLIP BURTON, California, First Vice President; NELSON LANCIONE, Ohio, and MARGARET BLOCKER, Florida, Vice Presidents; ARLENE MOONEY, Connecticut, Secretary; MELVIN HANDLEMAN, Texas, Treasurer; RICHARD J. MURPHY, Maryland, Executive Secretary; SIDNEY J. KALLICK, Illinois, Chairman, Board of Regional Directors.

1957: National Convention in Reno, Nevada: NELSON LANCIONE, Ohio, President; RICHARD L. CRAWFORD, Illinois, First Vice President; PATSY TAKEMOTO MINK, Hawaii, and COLEMAN L. BORNSTEIN, Massachusetts, Vice Presidents; ROBERT LARSEN, Washington, Secretary; HARLAN GOULETT, Minnesota, Treasurer; RICHARD J. MURPHY, Maryland, Executive Secretary; PHILLIP BURTON, California, Chairman, Board of Regional Directors.

1959: National Convention in Toledo, Ohio: ROY A. SCHAFER, Pennsylvania, President; A. "PAT" PATTERSON, JR., Tennessee, First Vice President; NANCY VAUGHN, Virginia, and KENNETH M. DAVIS, Kansas, Vice Presidents; HAROLD S. RICKERT, JR., Ohio, Secretary; JOHN J. RICE, Connecticut, Treasurer; RICHARD J. MURPHY, Maryland, Executive Secretary; CHARLES T. MANATT, Iowa, College Director and Executive Secretary; DONALD M. BOWES, New York, Chairman, Board of Regional Directors; MARJORIE C. THURMAN, Georgia, General Counsel.

1961: National Convention in Miami Beach, Florida: ALLAN T. HOWE, Utah, President; STEVEN S. SMITH, California, First Vice President; JOHN F. O'MALLEY, Massachusetts, and MRS. LORETTA SALAZAR, New Mexico, Vice Presidents; MILAS H. HALE, Arkansas, Secretary; ROBERT S. GIBSON, Illinois, Treasurer; ROBERT PASTRICK, Indiana, Chairman, Board of Regional Directors, RICHARD RAUSCH, Iowa, Executive Secretary; CARL GERARD New York, Chairman, National Federation of College Young Democrats; JAMES HUNT, North Carolina, and JOSEPH FALLON, New York, College Directors.

1963: National Convention in Las Vegas, Nevada: J. ALBERT HOUSE, North Carolina, President; ED ROSEWELL, Illinois, First Vice President; OLIVER OCASEK, Ohio, and ALICE McMAHON, Florida, Vice Presidents; EDWIN KRUSE, New Jersey, Secretary; MARY KENNEDY, Connecticut, Treasurer; ALAN HOFFARD, Oregon, Chairman, Board of Regional Directors; R. SPENCER OLIVER, Maryland, Chairman, Board of Regional Directors; FRED RICCI, North Carolina, Executive Secretary; JOSEPH FALLON, New York, College Director; FRANK ROZAK, Michigan, College Director; KEN LESTER, Wyoming, Chairman, College Young Democratic Clubs of America; DALE WAGNER Iowa, Chairman, College Young Democratic Clubs of America.

1965: National Convention in New York, New York: VIRGIL L. MUSSER, Ohio, President; R. SPENCER OLIVER, Maryland, First Vice President; DALE HIGER, Idaho, and ALDA VELLUTINI, Indiana, Vice Presidents; DAVID R. STERNOFF, Washington, Secretary; PAUL G. LISTER, West Virginia, Treasurer; JOSIAH BEEMAN, California, Chairman, Board of Regional Directors; DAVID O. BANKS, Ohio, Executive Secretary; G. GARY WINGET, Illinois, College Director; DON HAMILTON, Oklahoma, General Counsel; DALE WAGNER, Iowa, Chairman, College Young Democratic Clubs of America.

1967: National Convention in Hollywood, Florida: R. SPENCER OLIVER, President; ALEX R. SEITH, Illinois, First Vice President; PETER A. VESSELLA, Pennsylvania, and DONNA M. BLACKWELL, Missouri, Vice Presidents; DAVID A. BUSH, Virginia, College Vice President; MARCI PETERSEN, Nevada, Secretary; JOHN D. BOTTORFF, Indiana, Treasurer; HAL ALLEN, Connecticut, Chairman, Board of Regional Directors; ANDREW P. MILLER, Virginia, General Counsel; BOB SLAGLE, Texas, Executive Secretary; RONALD W. PICKETT, Maryland, College Director.

1969: National Convention in Las Vegas, Nevada: DAVID R. STERNOFF, Washington, President; STENY H. HOYER, Maryland, First Vice President; JUDITH ROGERS, Arkansas, and RON SAN FELIPPO, Wisconsin, Vice Presidents; JOHN KERR, Pennsylvania, College Vice President; DONNA K. CULBERTSON, South Carolina, Secretary; BERLE SCHILLER, Pennsylvania, Treasurer; PHILIP M. KEEGAN, New Jersey, Chairman, Board of Regional Directors; HOWARD C. CARROLL, Illinois, General Counsel; ROBERT WEINER, Massachusetts, Administrative Assistant.

1971: National Convention in Hot Springs, Arkansas; ROBERT E. B. ALLEN, Arizona, President; HOWARD W. CARROLL, Illinois, First Vice President; DONNA K. CULBERTSON, South Carolina, and JOSEPH W. THOMAS, Louisiana, Vice Presidents; JOHN KERR, Pennsylvania, College Vice President; H. JOSEPH FARMER, Nebraska, Secretary; CARROLL W. SCHUBERT, Texas, Treasurer; PHILIP M. KEEGAN, New Jersey, Chairman, Board of Regional Directors; MARTHA SAMPSON, Arizona, Executive Secretary; BERNARD G. LANCIONE, Ohio, General Counsel; ROBERT WEINER, Massachusetts, Voter Registration Coordinator. •

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25 Million New Voters

by Philip M. Seib

Special Assistant to the Democratic National Chairman

Potentially, one of the most important factors in the 1972 election will be the political behavior of young voters—25.1 million of whom will be eligible to vote in their first presidential election. The Democratic National Committee has undertaken a variety of programs designed to foster the fullest possible political participation by these young people.

The translation of *potential* power of the youth vote to *actual* performance at the polls is the paramount task facing the political parties. Working closely with nonpartisan groups as well as with party organizations, the National Committee emphasizes the registration of as many people as possible, with party preference a secondary concern. If we can ensure that a high percentage of eligibles actually vote, we will be happy to take our chances in seeking their support on election day.

	Presidential Pluralities in 1968: Humphrey, Nixon, Wallace	New Voters in 1972 ages 18-24
Alabama	494,846 (W)	440,000
*Alaska	2,189 (N)	29,000
Arizona	96,207 (N)	232,000
Arkansas	50,223 (W)	230,000
California	223,346 (N)	2,580,000
Colorado	74,171 (N)	319,000
Connecticut	64,840 (H)	343,000
Delaware	7,520 (N)	68,000
District of Columbia	108,554 (H)	111,000
Florida	210,010 (N)	773,000
**Georgia	155,439 (W)	354,000
***Hawaii	49,899 (H)	91,000
Idaho	76,096 (N)	90,000
Illinois	134,960 (N)	1,321,000
Indiana	261,226 (N)	662,000
Iowa	142,407 (N)	347,000
Kansas	175,678 (N)	304,000
**Kentucky	64,870 (N)	254,000
Louisiana	220,685 (W)	497,000
Maine	48,058 (H)	122,000
Maryland	20,315 (H)	478,000
Massachusetts	702,374 (H)	725,000
Michigan	222,417 (H)	1,127,000
Minnesota	199,095 (H)	478,000
Mississippi	264,705 (W)	297,000
Missouri	20,488 (N)	569,000
Montana	24,718 (N)	84,000
Nebraska	150,379 (N)	191,000
Nevada	12,590 (N)	54,000
New Hampshire	24,314 (N)	95,000
New Jersey	61,261 (N)	769,000
New Mexico	39,611 (N)	129,000
New York	370,538 (H)	2,101,000
North Carolina	131,004 (N)	750,000
North Dakota	43,900 (N)	83,000
Ohio	90,428 (N)	1,313,000
Oklahoma	148,039 (N)	325,000
Oregon	49,567 (N)	259,000
Pennsylvania	169,388 (H)	1,371,000
Rhode Island	124,159 (H)	135,000
South Carolina	38,632 (N)	391,000
South Dakota	31,818 (N)	88,000
Tennessee	47,800 (N)	511,000
Texas	38,960 (H)	1,490,000
Utah	82,063 (N)	154,000
Vermont	14,887 (N)	64,000
Virginia	147,932 (N)	645,000
Washington	27,527 (H)	460,000
West Virginia	66,536 (H)	217,000
Wisconsin	61,193 (N)	565,000
Wyoming	25,754 (N)	40,000
TOTAL UNITED STATES	510,314 (N)	25,125,000

*Previously allowed 19-year-olds to vote
**Previously allowed 18-year-olds to vote
***Previously allowed 20-year-olds to vote

We hope that young people will recognize the political fact of life that effective participation involves far more than a trip to the polls once every two or four years. The party needs the vitality and the idealism of youthful political activists. At every step of the 1972 delegate selection process, the involvement of young people has actively been sought, and there has been abundant dissemination of "how-to-do-it" information pertaining to this process. At Miami Beach, young people will play a more important role than at any previous convention, not as outsiders looking in, but as a substantial proportion of the delegation from each state. The national platform adopted at the convention will reflect the views expressed by a "Concerns of American Youth" subcommittee of the Democratic Policy Council. Even those young people who are not delegates or alternates but attend the convention to present individual or organizational points of view will find ample access to open caucuses, workshops, and the convention sessions. Among other services provided, low-cost housing will be available to make feasible attendance by interested persons from all economic strata.

As the pace of the campaign intensifies, so will the day-to-day youth-oriented work of the National Committee. The "Youth Perspective: Washington" radio service will continue to be broadcast by stations across the country. Publications prepared with special emphasis on youth concerns will be widely distributed to media reaching a youth audience. As voter registration efforts continue, so will conjunctive projects to enlist large numbers of young people as campaign workers for Democratic candidates. In November, all on-going projects will be combined in a massive get-out-the-vote drive.

The true impact of increased political involvement by youth can not be known until the campaign is over. We feel that if young people are welcomed as full members of the party, and if their energies and ideas can be channeled to produce solid results within the party, the great majority of young voters will join the Democratic ranks on election day.

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Black Democratic Office Holders

by Samuel L. Adams
Assistant to the Director
Minorities Division

Eight months before the Democratic party began its 1972 presidential nominating convention, a Canton, Mississippi, deputy sheriff strode into a black political education session and closed down the voting machine that was being used by a black election commissioner to train newly registered voters. That law enforcement officer acted most likely from fear that the new voters would cast ballots in their self interest—which might mean replacing the sheriff.

The enfranchisement of hundreds of thousands more blacks has not yet caused a browning of the nation's law enforcement system. Very few black sheriffs have been elected and fewer black judges, but inroads are being made in a wide range of elective positions, and that is what alarmed the sheriff's deputy and others who want to keep their positions unchanged—and unresponsive to the needs of all the people. Of more than 500,000 elected office holders in the United States, only three-tenths of one per cent are black. But that is changing fast. The civil rights movement and a rapidly growing Negro population are sweeping record numbers of black Americans into public office.

In the early 1960's that movement had been the Non-Violent Black Revolution, but opponents kept baiting it with violence—in one instance four Birmingham Sunday School girls were killed in a bombing—and finally, on April 4, 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., its most respected leader, was murdered. Such blows changed the movement's thrust from a turn-the-other cheek philosophy, inherent in Dr. King's preachings, to the militant chants of Black Power. After intervals of violence and tumult in the late 1960's, passions cooled and many responsible black leaders helped reshape the black movement into a more constructive approach. The cry of the ghetto became "people power."

The black revolution today is struggling for unity and groping for the best ways of translating "people power" into political power. The Democratic party, which always has recognized its own interests in those of the common man, is opening even wider doors to black and other minority group participation in the political process. These efforts have produced remarkable progress. In 1968, the Democratic party could count only 625 black Democrats in elective office, and the Republicans had a mere forty—less than one-tenth of the Democratic total. More recent counts find 1,860 black office holders throughout the nation, and practically all are Democrats. Most of these officials are in local offices, but a few are in positions requiring districtwide or statewide votes. One such example is Wilson Riles, state superintendent of schools in California. Fourteen blacks serve in Congress. The thirteen Democrats among them are members of the Congressional Black Caucus, chaired by Louis Stokes of Ohio. In thirty-six state legislatures, blacks hold 205 seats, including thirty-three in the senates. Larger numbers of blacks are on school boards, city councils and an array of lower positions.

These figures contrast sharply with those of 1960 when there were only thirty black state assemblymen and six black state senators in all the nation. Democratic cooperation with "people power" and the voting power of blacks has meant more Democratic office holders, and it has dealt a blow to "down-with-honkiedom" black factions which had found their strength in the hopelessness of an unyielding and oppressive environment.

This black effort within the system is not due to any blind devotion to the Democratic party or to the system. It represents a pragmatism and an understanding that have enabled blacks in America to survive three centuries of trial and crisis. Such practicality, for example, caused the Southern Black Political Caucus to turn its back on efforts by white organizers of the "New Party" to recruit them enmass into that fourth party movement. Black leaders know that national elections, since the mid-1800's, have been won by one of the two major parties. They also know that the present Administration, which has done much to stifle their movement, might well be retained in office if blacks mounted a third or fourth party drive and thus splintered their vote in 1972. Blacks will not waste their political strength on a splinter party, but many blacks see their political role as an intra-party "third force" influencing and balancing the two major parties. The Democratic party understands the black attitude of independence and appeals to blacks, as it does to others, by striving to make itself relevant and responsive to the

needs and wishes of all its people. The party is undertaking sweeping reforms designed to give representation to blacks and other minorities in reasonable proportions to their numbers in the population.

The number of blacks in Congress is expected to increase in 1972 although several black U. S. Representatives will face difficult re-election struggles; redistricting has deprived some black congressmen of most of their constituent strength. But demographic shifts also virtually assure the election of black representatives from the Houston and San Francisco Bay areas, and both are likely to be women, both Democrats. Newark, Los Angeles, and New York are likely also to elect black congressmen from districts which now are represented by whites. The first major cities to elect black mayors were Cleveland, Gary, Newark and Dayton, Ohio. Several smaller towns, notably Fayette, Mississippi, and Chapel Hill, North Carolina, also have black mayors. Eighty-one cities have either a mayor or a vice mayor who is black. Likely to elect black heads within the next few years are Detroit, Los Angeles and Baltimore, each of which saw blacks make strong bids in recent elections.

Today's Republican administration continues to alienate blacks. President Nixon's politically motivated Supreme Court nominations, his poor record in appointing blacks to responsible administration positions, his inaction on minority rights, his negative attitude toward education —all turn blacks away from the Republican party. They look toward the ballot as the means of redressing grievances and bringing about a peaceful revolution. Black voter registration throughout the United States has increased by more than two million since passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the number continues to grow. The move to the ballot box will benefit race relations, the political process and the Democratic Party. This new political effort encourages increased majority-minority accommodation and cooperation and builds greater respect and goodwill among all peoples in the tradition of true Americanism. The Democrats will meet the challenge. •

Black Congressional Caucus: (from left) Robert N. C. Nix, Pennsylvania; Parren J. Mitchell, Maryland; Charles B. Rangel, New York; Louis Stokes, Ohio, Caucus Chairman; Ralph H. Metcalfe, Illinois; John Conyers, Jr., Michigan; Ronald V. Dellums, California; Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Michigan; Walter E. Fauntroy, District of Columbia; George W. Collins, Illinois; William (Bill) Clay, Missouri; Shirley Chisholm, New York; (inset) Augustus F. Hawkins, California.

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Spanish Becomes a More Powerful Voice for the Democratic Cause

by Polly Baca Barragan

Special Assistant to
Democratic National Chairman
for Spanish Speaking Communities

The Mexican American or Chicano, the Puerto Rican or Boricua, the Cuban, the South American, the Central American—all are a part of *La Raza,* that group of people living in the United States who trace their history and culture *from* the first Spanish conquistador to set foot in the New World and mix with the indigenous Indian *to* the most recent immigrant to cross the border from Juarez to El Paso or catch the night flight from San Juan to New York City.

The second most numerous minority group in the United States, *La Raza* or the Spanish speaking, numbers more than thirteen million. Since the early Spanish pioneers settled Santa Fe, now in New Mexico, in 1609, eleven years before the pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, the Spanish speaking have tilled the soil and laid the brick for the foundations of this nation, but only in New Mexico has this minority truly been involved in the political processes of this country. Here the Spanish speaking have served as State Legislators, United States Congressmen and Senators, Lieutenant Governors, and even Governors.

Governor Ezequiel C de Baca of New Mexico was elected in November, 1916, but unfortunately died two months after taking office. In 1918, New Mexico elected its second Spanish speaking Governor, Octavio A. Larrazolo. Only in California has another Mexican American achieved this highest state office. He was Romauldo Pacheco, born a Mexican citizen in Santa Barbara before California had become part of the United States, and elected governor of that state in 1874 for a two-year term.

At present, the United States Congress includes one Senator and five Congressmen of Spanish speaking background, all but one of whom are Democrats. They are: Senator Joseph M. Montoya, New Mexico, and Congressmen Herman Badillo, New York; Eligio (Kika) de la Garza and Henry B. Gonzales, both of Texas; and Edward R. Roybal, California. Of sixty Spanish speaking state legislators currently serving throughout the United States, fifty-seven are Democrats.

As a national group spreading from Los Angeles to New York City, from Florida to Michigan, the Spanish speaking are mobilizing to make their presence felt at every political level, from municipal chambers in south Texas to the halls of Congress. In keeping with its historic tradition of concern for the masses of people, the Democratic party, *at every level,* must recognize and respond to the needs of this growing Spanish speaking minority.

The Democratic National Committee is responding through the implementation of party reform measures which will involve the Spanish speaking as full participants in the Democratic party processes. The first step was taken with the implementation of the new delegate selection process. This has resulted in more Spanish speaking delegates selected to attend the 1972 Democratic National Convention than ever before.

With the implementation of the Democratic party reform measures, the Spanish speaking are now taking their rightful place next to their fellow Americans as an integral part of the very fabric of this national political party. •

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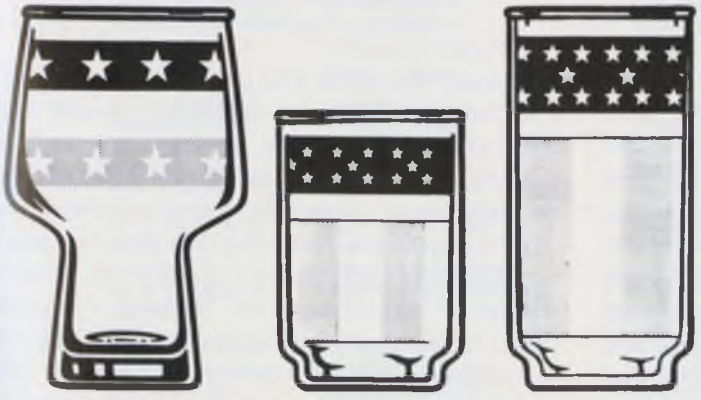

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All Americans Council

by Andrew J. Valuchek

Special Assistant to
Democratic National Chairman
for Nationality Affairs

The All Americans Council faces its greatest challenge in 1972, spearheading the Democratic campaign among the ethnic constituencies of the United States. Like all other elements of the Democratic party, the council is giving priority to the presidential race, but it will also continue to provide its expert, highly specialized assistance to Democrats running for Congress and for governorships.

The council beams the Democratic message to naturalized Americans and second- and third-generation Americans who maintain a cultural and spiritual affinity for the homelands of their parents and grandparents. The council serves Americans in hundreds of communities which preserve their old world heritage and contribute to the international atmosphere of many of the nation's great cities. Robert E. Wagner, vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee and former mayor of New York, is chairman of the All Americans Council. The organization is made up of twenty-three ethnic divisions, each with its own chairman, officers and subordinate committees. Mayor Wagner is the most recent among a distinguished list of council heads; previous chairmen have included former Senator Theodore F. Green of Rhode Island, former New York Governor Herbert H. Lehman, former Michigan Governor J. Mennen Williams and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

For forty years the All Americans Council has been speaking to ethnic Americans in a variety of languages, listening to their views and opinions, studying their needs, and serving as a channel of communication between the people themselves and the leaders of the Democratic party. Some 210 congressional districts, nearly half those in the United States, have ethnic populations of twenty percent or more. Democrats now hold 143 of those seats, an accomplishment to which the council contributed by assisting the campaigns of 127 candidates for House, Senate and governorships in 1970. Council workers performed such tasks as preparing lists of ethnic newspapers and radio programs, servicing candidates' constituencies and providing national origin breakdowns for electoral districts. In many instances, Democrats who won re-election in 1970 received larger votes from their ethnic constituencies than in 1968, and at the start of 1972 the All Americans Council was able to report gains for Democratic strength among ethnic communities.

Ethnic concerns to which the council responds include such issues as housing, civil rights, consumer protection, Medicare, immigration, anti-poverty legislation, prevention of crime, increase in social security benefits and matters affecting former homelands. The council communicates with ethnic groups through meetings, radio broadcasts and some 450 newspapers published in thirty-four languages. The All Americans Council is a modern-day manifestation of the Democratic party's traditional concern for the common man, from whatever background he may come. Since the European migrations of the 1850's, the Democratic party has been the political home of Americans of whatever extraction. To serve those constituencies, the Democratic National Committee established its Nationalities Division in 1932; the organization was renamed the All Americans Council in 1964, but its mission has never changed: it remains a service arm and fighting component of the Democratic National Committee.

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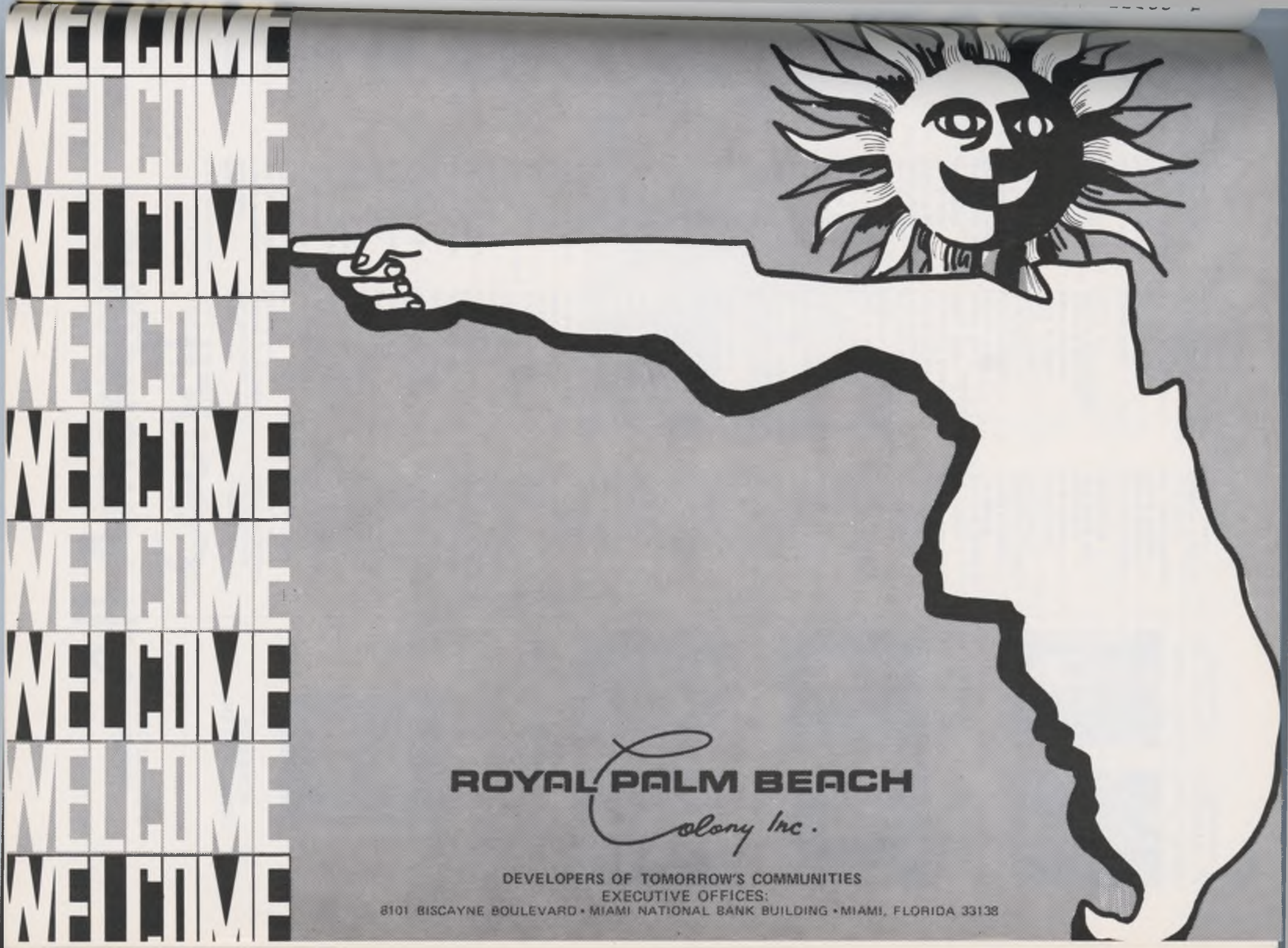
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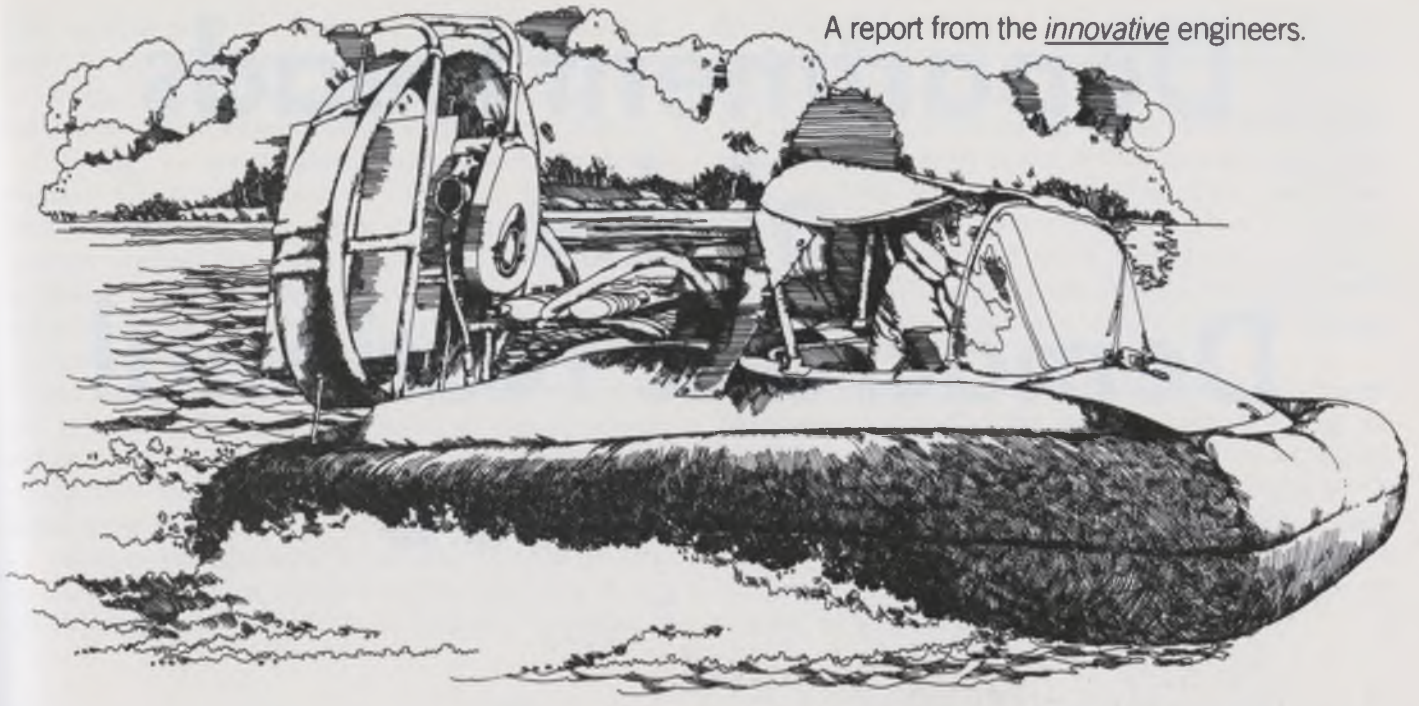

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PHOTOS BY TOMMY NOONAN

Daily operations of the Democratic National Committee, under the general supervision of Deputy Chairman Stanley L. Greigg, include a diverse array of programs and services for the nation's Democratic community of interest.

Greigg, as senior administrator under Democratic National Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien, is responsible for coordination and consistent policy among the headquarters departments which handle such varied activities as press relations with the national broadcasting networks and print media; liaison with the Democratic reform commissions; the supplying of voter and demographic information and other services to candidates for congressional and gubernatorial offices; the conduct of communications and services for the nation's ethnic groups, the blacks and the Spanish speaking; and the functioning of other committee programs.

Greigg was appointed to the key position in 1971 by Chairman O'Brien who has known him since Greigg was a Congressman from Iowa in 1965-66. A member of the Agriculture Committee, Greigg authored two agriculture bills which became law. In 1967 Postmaster General O'Brien appointed him Director of Regional Administration in charge of coordinating operations of fifteen postal regional offices and six postal data centers throughout the nation. In 1961 he had been the youngest city councilman and in 1964 the youngest mayor ever elected in Sioux City, Iowa. He served as Dean of Students at Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa, from 1959-64. He and his wife Cathryn have two daughters, Valerie Kay and Heather Marie.

Operations and services of the national party organization are detailed in the series of articles making up the Democratic Community section of this book. Shown on these pages are the directors of the department which serve that Democratic community. These executives, each responsible for a key function of the Democratic National Committee, are its top non-elected officials who make up its chief administrative authority. •

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Robert E. B. Allen
President, Young Democratic Clubs of America

Robert W. Nelson
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R. Spencer Oliver
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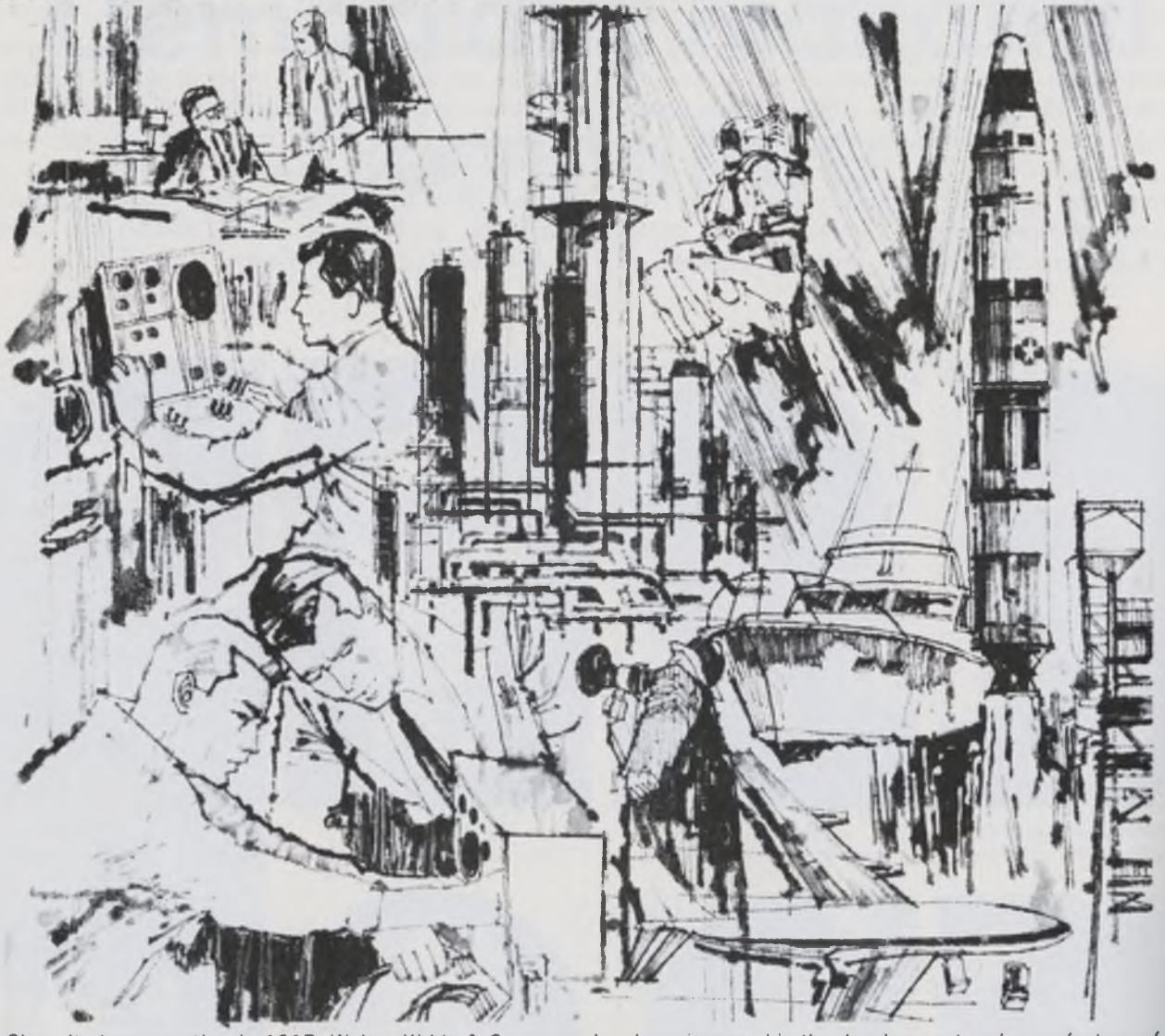

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In just 28 years of business, we've grown from the builder and operator of the nation's largest natural gas pipeline system to a corporation with a sound mixture of products that touch the lives of almost all Americans.

We charted our growth with logic. From the beginning we made the decision to diversify in areas that were compatible with our total organization.

Today this pattern is evident throughout the fabric of Tenneco. From chemicals to packaging, from agriculture to land development, from tractors to automotive equipment, from gas pipelines to oil operations, from construction machinery to shipbuilding.

In short, Tenneco has made diversification work. Our revenues have increased every single year and we're still building. Because at Tenneco, building businesses is our business.

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State Chairmen Strengthen National Role

by Severin M. Beliveau

President
Association of State Democratic Chairmen

The development of party politics in America during the last four decades has been as diverse and dynamic as the issues and personalities which have swept across the political scene during those times. The Democratic party has been both in and out of power, at the national level and in most states. It has been both a minority and a majority party. It has been divided at different times by issues of race, war, and economics. It has been split along geographic and philosophical lines. Somehow it has managed to survive and prosper. It stands today as the oldest and largest political party to be found in any democratic society on earth.

The very success and survival of the Democratic party as we know it today has been due in large measure to the dedicated work of the men and women who have served as party leaders at the state and local levels. The most significant role among these unsung heroes of elections past has been that of the State Party Chairmen. The responsibility for organization, fund-raising, coordination, campaign direction, candidate selection, arbitration of intra-party disputes, acting as spokesman for the party, and countless other activities has been the constant burden of those men and women who have held these positions. Their tenure in office has usually been short, stormy, and at great sacrifice.

One of the weaknesses of the Democratic party at the national level has been the relatively small role of the State Party Chairmen in the development of national party policy and direction. To promote communication and coordination among State Party Chairmen, and to exert a greater voice at the national level, State Democratic Party Chairmen and Vice Chairmen organized the Association of State Democratic Chairmen. I was privileged to take part in the organizational meeting held in Washington in 1969 by a small group of State Party Chairmen who were determined to increase the role and recognition of their office in the national party structure. Others in that group included Clark Rasmussen of Iowa, John Mitchell of Nebraska, Eugene P. O'Grady of Ohio, C. Crosby Lewis of South Carolina, Robert Rose of Nevada, Robert S. Vance of Alabama, Aaron Henry of Mississippi, Salvatore Bontempo of New Jersey, and John Burns of New York.

Constitution and by-laws was adopted, and officers were elected for two-year terms: Mitchell, President; O'Grady, Lewis and Rose, vice presidents; Patrick Williams of the Virgin Islands, treasurer; myself, secretary.

The organization met again in Washington in the spring of 1970 at which time workshops on party organization and campaign techniques were held, and various experts, pollsters, and political consultants spoke to the group. The next full meeting of the Association took place in Washington in the spring of 1971 at which time I was elected president. Also elected were Vance, Caroline Wilkins of Oregon, and Richard Moe of Minnesota, vice presidents; Charles Manatt of California, secretary, and Williams, re-elected treasurer. The meeting was attended by the prospective candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination and by State Party Chairmen and Vice Chairmen from forty-five states. A few weeks later the officers of the Association met with Democratic National Committee Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien, and concluded an agreement to establish staff and office facilities at committee headquarters for the Association of State Democratic Chairmen. A few months later R. Spencer Oliver, a former staff member of the Democratic National Committee and a former president of the Young Democratic Clubs of America, was selected as Executive Director of the Association.

In September, 1971, the Association met jointly with the Democratic Governor's Caucus in Miami Beach. The State Chairmen and Governors discussed the implementation of the new reform process for delegate selection and for the conduct of the 1972 Convention. At the Democratic National Committee meeting in Washington in October, the Association spear-headed a successful effort to eliminate automatic Convention delegate status for members of the Democratic National Committee, most of whom had been elected in 1968. Since that time the Association has maintained an active interest in various proposals to restructure the Democratic National Committee and will undoubtedly play an important role when that matter comes before the Convention in Miami Beach.

The States and the Election of the President

This section documents the participation of the states and the state Democratic parties in the federal system by which the President of the United States is nominated and elected.

Given for each state are its top Democrats—in government: Governor, U. S. Senators and Representatives, Mayors of large cities—and in party: National Committee Members, State Chairman, Democratic Finance Council Members. Also listed is the State Convention Arrangements Chairman from whom convention information may be obtained. Remainder of each entry describes the functioning of the state in the political process of 1972.

This year the most striking change is the broadening and democratizing of the nominating process. In Arizona, for example, more than 36,000 Democrats involved themselves in the choosing of twenty-five delegates and twenty-three alternates to the national nominating convention; in 1968 the state central committee had named the entire delegation.

In every state Democrats have overhauled their systems for picking delegates to the national convention; the intention has been to open the procedures and to encourage the participation of Democrats of all races, ages, income groups and both sexes.

Included in this section is the size of delegation—each state's share of the 5,000-member national convention constituency—together with a brief sketch of each state's method of choosing delegates.

Also noted is the means by which each state picks its national committee members (basically, there are four methods). Voter registration information and other requirements are outlined. This year's elections for House, Senate and Electoral College are listed. Included as background information are state tallies of the 1968 presidential vote and the presidential voting history for each state from the time it entered the Union, or as far back as 1824, the first election for which results of the popular vote are available.

Democratic reform has had dynamic and far-reaching effects on delegate selection procedures in every state; most such changes had been completed by early 1972, but in some instances revision is still under way, and this convention program is able to report delegate selection procedures only as they stood at press time, March, 1972.

Sources:

NATIONAL CONVENTION: Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS: *Democratic Manual.*

VOTER REQUIREMENTS: League of Women Voters Education Fund.

GENERAL ELECTIONS: Democratic National Committee.

1968 Presidential Vote: *America at the Polls,* compiled and edited by Richard M. Scammon; Governmental Affairs Institute; University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965

Presidential Voting History: 1824-52: *Historical Statistics of the United States,* Government Printing Office, 1960. 1956-1968: *Congress and the Nation,* vol. II, Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1969.

Code for party affiliation:

D— Democratic
NR— National Republican
W— Whig
R— Republican
SD— Southern Democrat
CU— Constitutional Union
PP— People's Party
Pr— Progressive
SR— State's Rights
AIP—American Independent Party

ALABAMA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 37 Alternates 29

Selection Process: At least seventy-five percent of National Convention delegates are elected in May 2 primary from special districts determined by the state committee. Remainder of national delegation is selected by the elected delegates.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected in May 2 primary.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; county, six months; precinct, three months. Registration closes ten days before primary and general election. Registration is permanent.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: John Sparkman's (D) term expires
House: 7 seats (1968: 8 seats)
Electoral college: 9 electors (1968: 10 electors)

George C. Wallace, Governor

John Sparkman, Senator

James B. Allen, Senator

Hon. Albert Rains, National Committeeman; Finance Council Member

Mrs. Ruth J. Owens, National Committeewoman

Robert S. Vance, State Chairman

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	196,579
Nixon	146,923
Wallace	691,425
Total	1,049,922

Presidential Voting History:

30 Democratic, 3 Republican, 4 Other. 1824-56 D, 1860 SD, 1864 did not vote, 1868-72 R, 1876-1944 D, 1948 SR, 1952-60 D, 1964 R, 1968 AIP.

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Walter Flowers
Tom Bevill
Robert E. Jones

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Robert S. Vance
Alabama
Arrangements Chairman
Frank Nelson Bldg.,
No. 933
Birmingham 35203

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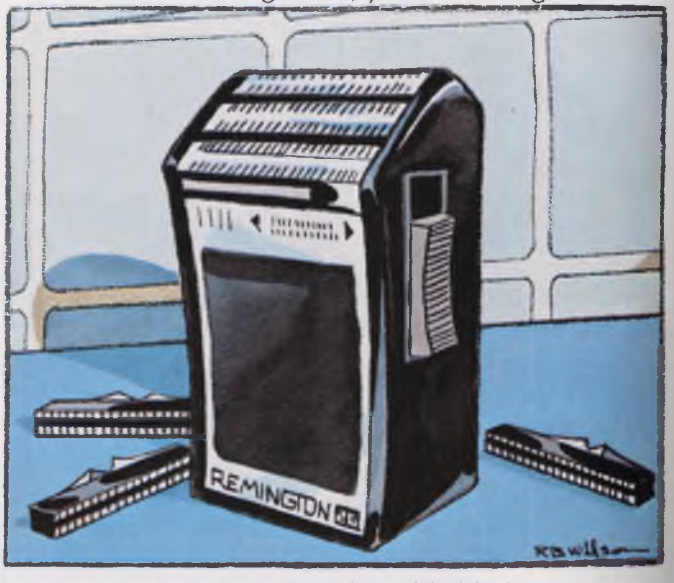

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ALASKA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 20 Votes 10
Alternates 10

Selection process: state convention delegates select the National Convention delegation on May 26-28. State convention delegates are elected by district conventions composed of delegates elected by precinct caucuses.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected in special primary.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; county and precinct, thirty days. Registration closes fourteen days prior to primary and general election. Must vote every four years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Theodore F. Stevens' (R) term expires
House: 1 seat
Electoral college: 3 electors (1968: 3 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	35,411
Nixon	37,600
Wallace	10,024
Total	83,035

Presidential Voting History:

1 Democratic, 2 Republican. 1960 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

William A. Egan, Governor

Mike Gravel, Senator

Alex Miller, National Committeeman

Mrs. Alice Harrigan, National Committeewoman

DEMOCRATIC MEMBER OF CONGRESS:

Nick Begich

STATE CHAIRMAN:

Clifford Warren

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Valda McMahan
Alaska
Arrangements Chairman
169 Eighth Avenue
Fairbanks 99701

ARIZONA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 25 Alternates 23

Selection process: seventy-five percent chosen by congressional-district caucuses at the state convention; entire state convention chooses remainder at large. State legislative district meetings January 29 choose delegates to the state convention February 12.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Appointed by state committee.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; county, thirty days. Registration closes two months before primary and eighth Monday prior to general election. Must vote every four years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

House: 4 seats (1968: 3 seats)
Electoral college: 6 electors (1968: 5 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	170,514
Nixon	266,721
Wallace	46,573
Total	486,936

Mrs. Mildred Larson, National Committeewoman

Herbert L. Ely, State Chairman

Sam Grossman, Finance Council Member

Presidential Voting History:

7 Democratic, 8 Republican. 1912-16 D, 1920-28 R, 1932-48 D, 1952-68 R.

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Morris K. Udall

NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN:

position vacant

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Ed E. Caliendo
Arizona
Arrangements Chairman
2501 North Central Ave.
Phoenix 85004

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ARKANSAS

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 27 Alternates 24

Selection process: primary runoff June 13 elects delegates to county conventions June 19 which elect delegates to state convention June 24 where delegates caucus by congressional district to choose seventy-five percent of national delegation. Remainder of national delegation is elected at large by state convention.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Appointed by state committee.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; county, six months; precinct, one month. Registration closes twenty days before primary and general elections. Must vote at least every four years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: John L. McClellan's (D) term expires
House: 4 seats
Electoral college: 6 electors (1968: 6 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	188,228
Nixon	190,759
Wallace	240,982
Total	619,969

Presidential Voting History:

29 Democratic, 1 Republican, 4 Other. 1836-56 D, 1860 SD, 1864 no vote, 1868 R, 1872 votes were not counted, 1876-1964 D, 1968 AIP.

Dale Bumpers, Governor

J. W. Fulbright, Senator

Joe Purcell, State Chairman

John L. McClellan, Senator

Thomas Harper, Sr., National Committeeman

Charles H. Murphy, Jr., Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Bill Alexander
Wilbur D. Mills
David Pryor

NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN:

Mrs. Jack Carnes

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Jim Brandon
Arkansas
Arrangements Chairman
Pyramid Building
Little Rock 72201

CALIFORNIA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 271 Alternates 117

Selection process: closed binding primary June 6 elects eighty-eight per cent of delegates. Candidates run by slates at large; slates are assembled by congressional district meetings of each presidential candidate's supporters held on February 12. A coordinating committee for each presidential candidate must approve its statewide slate by February 19. Slate must be filed by February 23. Remaining twelve percent of delegates are chosen by the elected delegates and alternates June 10. All delegates are bound to presidential preference winner until he or she receives less than fifteen percent of convention votes.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by delegates to the National Convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State and county, ninety days; precinct, fifty-four days. Registration closes fifty-four days before primary and general election. Must vote every two years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

House: 43 seats (1968: 38 seats)
Electoral college: 45 electors (1968: 40 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	3,244,318
Nixon	3,467,664
Wallace	487,270
Total	7,251,587

Presidential Voting History:

11 Democratic, 18 Republican, 1 Other. 1852-56 D, 1860-76 R, 1880 D, 1884-88 R, 1892 D, 1896-1908 R, 1912 Pr, 1916 D, 1920-28 R, 1932-48 D, 1952-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

Alan Cranston, Senator

John V. Tunney, Senator

Stephen Reinhardt, National Committeeman

Mrs. Carmen Warschaw, National Committeewoman

Charles Manatt, State Chairman

John Merlo, Chairman, Northern Division

Larry Lawrence, Chairman, Southern Division

Joseph L. Alioto, Mayor of San Francisco

Sam Yorty, Mayor of Los Angeles

Norman Y. Mineta, Mayor of San Jose

Lloyd Hand, Finance Council Member

Walter Shorenstein, Finance Council Member

Lew Wasserman, Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

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John E. Moss
Robert L. Leggett
Phillip Burton
Ronald V. Dellums
George P. Miller
Don Edwards
Jerome R. Waldie
John J. McFall
B. F. Sisk
Glenn M. Anderson
Chet Holifield
Augustus F. Hawkins
James C. Corman
Thomas M. Rees
George E. Danielson
Edward R. Roybal
Charles H. Wilson
Richard T. Hanna
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CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Terry Utterback
California
Arrangements Chairman
6725 Sunset Boulevard,
Suite 519
Hollywood 90028

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COLORADO

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 36 Alternates 28

Selection process: seventy-five percent selected by congressional-district conventions; remainder are chosen at large by state convention. Precinct caucuses May 1 select delegates to county conventions May 11-31 which elect delegates to congressional-district conventions June 1-16; same delegates advance to state convention June 17.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, three months; precinct, thirty-two days. Registration closes thirty-two days prior to primary and general election. Must vote every two years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Gordon R. Allott's (R) term expires
House: 5 seats (1968: 4 seats)
Electoral college: 7 electors (1968: 6 electors)

Arnold Alperstein, National Committeeman

Mrs. Doris Banks, National Committeewoman

Dr. Willard Leavel, State Chairman

Mark Hogan, Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Frank E. Evans
Wayne N. Aspinall

MAYOR:

William H. McNichols, Denver

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Linda Ray
Colorado
Arrangements Chairman
2200 West Alameda
#40 on the Mall
Denver 80223

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	335,174
Nixon	409,345
Wallace	60,813
Total	811,199

Presidential Voting History:

9 Democratic, 14 Republican, 1 Other. 1876-88 R, 1892 PP, 1896-1900 D, 1904 R, 1908-16 D, 1920-28 R, 1932-36 D, 1940-44 R, 1948 D, 1952-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

CONNECTICUT

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 51 Alternates 36

Selection process: town caucuses or committee meetings March 28-April 14 nominate delegates to state convention; nominees may be challenged in town primaries between May 2 and June 9. Congressional-district conventions of state convention delegates select seventy-five percent of the National Convention delegation with the remainder selected at large at state convention June 16-17.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Chosen by delegates to the National Convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Resident requirements: Town, six months. Registration closes twenty-one days prior to primary and on Saturday of fourth week before general election. Registration is permanent.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

House: 6 seats
Electoral college: 8 electors (1968: 8 electors)

Abraham Ribicoff, Senator

John M. Golden, National Committeeman

Mrs. Beatrice Rosenthal, National Committeewoman

John M. Bailey, State Chairman

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

William R. Cotter
Robert N. Giaimo
John S. Monagan
Ella T. Grasso

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	621,561
Nixon	556,721
Wallace	76,650
Total	1,256,232

Presidential Voting History:

14 Democratic, 18 Republican, 5 Other. 1824 D, 1828-32 NR, 1836 D, 1840-48 W, 1852 D, 1856-72 R, 1876 D, 1880 R, 1884-92 D, 1896-1908 R, 1912 D, 1916-32 R, 1936-44 D, 1948-56 R, 1960-68 D.

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Richard T. Ambrosi
Connecticut
Arrangements Chairman
525 Main Street
Hartford 06103

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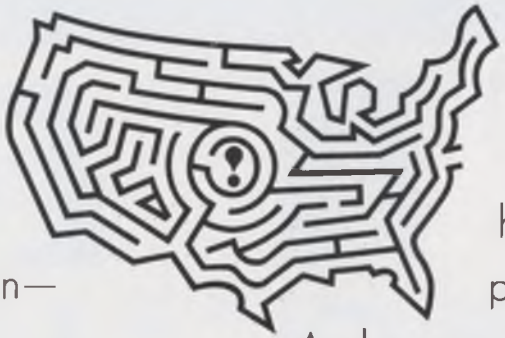

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DELAWARE

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 20 Votes 13

Alternates 13

Selection process: Elected at state convention on date to be set. National delegates may pledge to candidates and then are bound for first two convention ballots.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; county, ninety days; precinct, thirty days. Registration closes twenty-one days prior to primary and on third Saturday in October prior to general election. Must vote every two years to maintain registration.

William S. Potter, National Committeeman

Mrs. Belle Everett, National Committeewoman

Alexis I. Bayard, Esq., Finance Council Member

STATE CHAIRMAN:

Michael Poppiti

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Robert F. Kelly
Delaware
Arrangements Chairman
110 Chatham Place
Windy Bush
Wilmington 19803

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: J. Caleb Boggs' (R) term expires
House: 1 seat
Electoral college: 3 electors (1968: 3 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	89,194
Nixon	96,714
Wallace	28,459
Total	214,367

Presidential Voting History:

16 Democratic, 14 Republican, 7 Other. 1824 D, 1828-32 NR, 1836-48 W, 1852-56 D, 1860 SD, 1864-68 R, 1872 R, 1876-92 D, 1896-1908 R, 1912 D, 1916-32 R, 1936-44 D, 1948-56 R, 1960-64 D, 1968 R.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 20 Votes 15

Alternates 15

Selection process: elected in May 2 primary by slate at large pledged to a presidential candidate or uncommitted. Delegates are bound to presidential preference winner for two convention ballots.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected in May 2 primary.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: Thirty days (one year for school board elections). Registration closes thirty days before primary and general elections. Must vote every four years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

House: 1 non-voting delegate
Electoral college: 3 electors (1968: 3 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	139,566
Nixon	31,012
Wallace	—
Total	170,578

Presidential Voting History:

2 Democratic, 0 Republican. 1964-68 D.

Channing E. Phillips, National Committeeman

Miss Flaxie Pinkett, National Committeewoman

Bruce J. Terris, District Chairman

Hon. True Davis, Finance Council Member

Hon. W. Averell Harriman, Finance Council Member

Hon. John S. Hayes, Finance Council Member

Joseph D. Keenan, Finance Council Member

Charles Emmet Lucey, Esq., Finance Council Member

Hon. Leonard H. Marks, Finance Council Member

Hobart Taylor, Finance Council Member

Edwin Weisl, Jr. Finance Council Member

Edward Bennett Williams, Esq., Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC DELEGATE TO CONGRESS:

Walter E. Fauntroy

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Bruce J. Terris
D.C. Arrangements Chairman

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FLORIDA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 81 Alternates 51

Selection process: seventy-five percent of delegation is selected in a closed primary March 14; delegates are nominated by congressional-district caucuses of each candidate's supporters; delegates pledged to statewide presidential preference winner choose another fifteen percent of delegation at large; remaining ten percent appointed by state executive committee. Delegates are bound by district and at large respectively for two convention ballots unless on first ballot the candidate receives less than thirty-five percent of the votes needed for nomination.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Appointed by state committee.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; county, six months. Registration closes thirty days before primary and general election. Must vote every three years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

House: 15 seats (1968: 12 seats)
Electoral college: 17 electors (1968: 14 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	676,794
Nixon	886,804
Wallace	624,207
Total	2,187,805

Presidential Voting History:

20 Democratic, 8 Republican, 3 Other. 1848 W, 1852-56 D, 1860 SD, 1864 no vote, 1868-76 R, 1880-1924 D, 1928 R, 1932-48 D, 1952-69 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

Reubin O'D. Askew, Governor

Lawton Chiles, Senator

William Turnbull, National Committeeman

Mrs. Hazel T. Evans, National Committeewoman

John Moyle, State Chairman

David T. Kennedy, Mayor of Miami

Chuck Hall, Mayor of Miami Beach

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Dick A. Greco, Jr., Mayor of Tampa

David W. Walters, Esq., Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Robert L. F. Sikes
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Bill Chappell, Jr.
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CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Ann M. Cramer
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GEORGIA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 53 Alternates 37

Selection process: open congressional-district caucuses March 11 elect forty delegates and thirty alternates to national convention; the elected group of seventy chooses remaining thirteen delegates and seven alternates at large by April 10.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Chosen by delegates to the National Convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; county, six months. Registration closes fifty days prior to primary and general election. Must vote every three years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: David H. Gambrell's (D) term expires
House: 10 seats
Electoral college: 12 electors (1968: 12 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	334,440
Nixon	380,111
Wallace	535,550
Total	1,250,266

Presidential Voting History:

30 Democratic, 1 Republican, 6 Other. 1824-32 D, 1836-40 W, 1844 D, 1848 W, 1852-56 D, 1860 SD, 1864 no vote, 1868-1960 D, 1964 R, 1968 AIP.

Jimmy Carter, Governor

Herman E. Talmadge, Senator

David H. Gambrell, Senator

William Gunter, National Committeeman

Mrs. Marjorie C. Thurman, National Committeewoman

Charles Kirbo, State Chairman

Sam Massel, Mayor of Atlanta

J. B. Fuqua, Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

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Dawson Mathis
Jack Brinkley
John J. Flynt, Jr.
John W. Davis
W. S. (Bill) Stuckey, Jr.
Phil M. Landrum
Robert G. Stephens, Jr.

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Zell Miller
Georgia
Arrangements Chairman
2401 Bank of Georgia Building
Atlanta 30303

HAWAII

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 20 Votes 17

Alternates 17

Selection process: precinct meetings March 14 elect delegates to state convention May 19-21 which chooses National Convention delegates.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year. Registration closes forty-five days before primary and on fifth day after primary for general election. Must vote every two years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

House: 2 seats
Electoral college: 4 electors (1968: 4 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	141,324
Nixon	91,425
Wallace	3,469
Total	236,218

Presidential Voting History:

3 Democratic, 0 Republican. 1960-68 D.

John A. Burns, Governor

Daniel K. Inouye, Senator

Leo B. Rodby, National Committeeman

Mrs. Momi Minn, National Committeewoman

David McClung, State Chairman

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Spark M. Matsunaga
Patsy T. Mink

MAYOR:

Frank F. Fasi, Honolulu

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

David McClung
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Jamaica Inn & English Pub
Just south of Crandon Park. 361-5481. Luxurious dining, terrific atmosphere. Prime ribs, steaks, pompano.

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301 N.E. Miami Parkway, Miami. 371-6433. On Biscayne Bay, this unique restaurant offers a 360 degree view of Miami and Miami Beach skylines.

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Club House
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Luau
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Moonraker
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The Captain's Table Restaurant
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New England Oyster House
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Mai-Kai
3599 N. Federal Hwy. (U.S. 1), Ft. Lauderdale. 565-6777. Famous rum drinks, Cantonese cuisine. Polynesian revues, exotic gardens.

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IDAHO

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 20 Votes 17

Alternates 17

Selection process: district meetings April 17 choose delegates for the state convention June 16-17. Congressional-district caucuses at convention select all national delegates. At each stage, subcaucuses according to candidate preference ensure proportional representation.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months; county and precinct, thirty days. Registration closes two days before primary and general election. Must vote every eight years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Len B. Jordan's (R) term expires
House: 2 seats
Electoral college: 4 electors (1968: 4 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	89,273
Nixon	165,369
Wallace	36,541
Total	291,183

Cecil D. Andrus, Governor

Frank Church, Senator

Ralph Harding, National Committeeman

Miss Ellen Healy, National Committeewoman

Joe M. McCarter, State Chairman

Carl P. Burke, Esq., Finance Council Member

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Nolan Hancock
Idaho
Arrangements Chairman
P.O. Box 445
Boise 83701

Presidential Voting History:

10 Democratic, 9 Republican, 1 Other. 1892 PP, 1896-1900 D, 1904-08 R, 1912-16 D, 1920-28 R, 1932-48 D, 1952-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

ILLINOIS

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 170 Alternates 84

Selection process: closed non-binding primary March 21 elects 160 delegates by congressional district; candidates may run pledged or unpledged. Elected delegates choose remaining ten.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Chosen by delegates to National Convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements; State, sixty days; precinct, thirty days. Registration closes twenty-eight days prior to primary and general election (thirty-five days in cities of 200,000 or more). Must vote every four years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Charles H. Percy's (R) term expires
House: 24 seats
Electoral college: 26 electors (1968: 26 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	2,039,814
Nixon	2,174,774
Wallace	390,958
Total	4,619,749

Adlai E. Stevenson III, Senator

Colonel Jacob M. Arvey, National Committeeman

Miss Dorothy G. O'Brien, National Committeewoman

James Ronan, State Chairman

Richard J. Daley, Mayor of Chicago

Hon. Alan S. Boyd, Finance Council Member

Philip M. Klutznick, Finance Council Member

Louis E. Martin, Finance Council Member

Presidential Voting History:

18 Democratic, 19 Republican. 1824-56 D, 1860-88 R, 1892 D, 1896-1908 R, 1912 D, 1916-28 R, 1932-48 D, 1952-56 R, 1960-64 D, 1968 R.

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Mary Mullin Junquera
Illinois
Arrangements Chairman
112 W. Randolph Street,
Room 220
Chicago 60601

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Ralph H. Metcalfe
Abner J. Mikva
Morgan F. Murphy
John C. Kluczynski
George W. Collins
Frank Annunzio
Dan Rostenkowski
Sidney R. Yates
Roman C. Pucinski
Kenneth J. Gray
George E. Shipley
Melvin Price

INDIANA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 76 Alternates 48

Selection process: state convention delegates elected in May 2 primary. At state convention June 19-20 congressional-district caucuses elect seventy-five percent of National Convention delegates; entire state convention elects remaining twenty-five percent at large. National delegates are bound by district and at large respectively for one convention ballot according to results of May 2 presidential preference primary.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Appointed by state committee.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months; township, sixty days; precinct, thirty days. Registration closes twenty-nine days prior to the primary and general election. Must vote every two years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

House: 11 seats
Electoral college: 13 electors (1968: 13 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	806,659
Nixon	1,067,885
Wallace	243,108
Total	2,123,597

Presidential Voting History:

14 Democratic, 21 Republican, 2 Other. 1824-32 D, 1836-40 W, 1844-56 D, 1860-72 R, 1876 D, 1880 R, 1884 D, 1888 R, 1892 D, 1896-1908 R, 1912 D, 1916-28 R, 1932-36 D, 1940-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

Vance Hartke
Senator

Birch Bayh,
Senator

Richard B. Stoner,
National
Committeeman

Mrs. Katie Wolf,
National
Committeewoman

Gordon St. Angelo,
State Chairman

Hon. Matthew Welsh,
Finance Council
Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Ray J. Madden
John Brademas
J. Edward Roush
Lee H. Hamilton
Andrew Jacobs, Jr.

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Betty J. O'Connor
Indiana
Arrangements Chairman
311 West Washington
Street
Indianapolis 46204

IOWA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 46 Alternates 33

Selection process: precinct caucuses January 24 choose delegates to county conventions February 26 which elect delegates to congressional-district conventions March 25 which elect seventy-five percent of national delegation. Congressional district delegates advance to state convention May 20 and elect remaining twenty-five percent of national delegation at large.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Chosen by delegates to National Convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months; county, sixty days. Registration closes ten days prior to the primary and general election. Must vote every four years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Jack Miller's (R) term expires.
House: 6 seats (1968: 7 seats)

Harold E. Hughes,
Senator

Robert D. Fulton,
National
Committeeman

Mrs. Dagmar Vidal,
National
Committeewoman

Clif Larson,
State Chairman

Hon. John R. Hansen,
Finance Council
Member

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	476,699
Nixon	619,106
Wallace	66,422
Total	1,167,931

Electoral college: 8 electors (1968: 9 electors)

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

John C. Culver
Neal Smith

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Clif Larson
Iowa
Arrangements Chairman
500 Shops Building
Des Moines 50309

Presidential Voting History:

7 Democratic, 24 Republican. 1848-52 D, 1856-1908 R, 1912 D, 1916-28 R, 1932-36 D, 1940-44 R, 1948 D, 1952-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

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KANSAS

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 35 Alternates 28

Selection process: seventy-five percent elected by congressional-district conventions; remainder elected at large by state convention. Local units elect delegates April 8 to congressional-district conventions May 13; same delegates advance to state convention on June 10.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months; township or ward, thirty days. Registration closes twenty days before primary and general election. Must vote every two years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: James B. Pearson's (R) term expires
House: 5 seats
Electoral college: 7 electors (1968: 7 electors)

Robert Docking, Governor

Mrs. Nell Blangers, National Committeewoman

Thomas J. Corcoran, National Committeeman; Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBER OF CONGRESS:

William R. Roy

STATE CHAIRMAN:

Norbert Dreiling

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Norbert Dreiling
Kansas
Arrangements Chairman
Box 579
Hays 67601

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	302,996
Nixon	478,674
Wallace	88,921
Total	872,783

Presidential Voting History:

6 Democratic, 20 Republican, 1 Other. 1864-88 R, 1892 PP, 1896 D, 1900-08 R, 1912-16 D, 1920-28 R, 1932-36 D, 1940-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

KENTUCKY

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 47 Alternates 34

Selection process: district and county mass meetings April 29 select delegates to congressional-district conventions June 2 which elect seventy-five percent of National Convention delegation; district delegates advance to state convention June 3 which elects remainder of national delegation at large.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; county, six months; precinct, sixty days. Registration closes fifty-nine days before primary and general election. Must vote every two years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: John Sherman Cooper's (R) term expires
House: 7 seats
Electoral college: 9 electors (1968: 9 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	397,541
Nixon	462,411
Wallace	193,098
Total	1,055,893

Presidential Voting History:

24 Democratic, 6 Republican, 7 Other. 1824-28 D, 1832 NR, 1836-52 W, 1856 D, 1860 CU, 1864-92 D, 1896 R, 1900-20 D, 1924-28 R, 1932-52 D, 1956-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

Wendell Ford, Governor

Mrs. Mary H. Byck, National Committeewoman

Frank W. Burke, Mayor of Louisville

Hon. Edward Breathitt, National Committeeman; Finance Council Member

J. R. Miller, State Chairman

John Y. Brown, Jr., Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Frank A. Stubblefield
William H. Natcher
Romano L. Mazzoli
William P. Curlin, Jr.
Carl D. Perkins

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

J. R. Miller
Kentucky
Arrangements Chairman
P.O. Box 694
Frankfort 40601

LOUISIANA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 44 Alternates 32

Selection process: State representative district meetings April 15 elect delegates to congressional district conventions May 13 which elect forty national delegates. These choose remaining four delegates on June 9.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Appointed by state committee.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; parish, six months; precinct, three months. Registration closes thirty days before primary and general election. Must vote every four years (two years in Orleans Parish) to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Allen J. Ellender's (D) term expires
House: 8 seats
Electoral college: 10 electors (1968: 10 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	309,615
Nixon	257,535
Wallace	530,300
Total	1,097,450

Edwin W. Edwards, Governor

Allen J. Ellender, Senator

Russell B. Long, Senator

J. Marshall Brown, National Committeeman

Mrs. Blanche R. Long, National Committeewoman

Arthur C. Watson, State Chairman

Moon Landrieu, Mayor of New Orleans

Herman Kohlmeyer, Sr., Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

F. Edward Hébert
Hale Boggs
Patrick T. Caffery
Joe D. Waggonner, Jr.
Otto E. Passman
John R. Rarick
Speedy O. Long

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Jesse Bankston
Louisiana
Arrangements Chairman
5700 Florida
Baton Rouge 70806

Presidential Voting History:

27 Democratic, 3 Republican, 7 Other. 1824-36 D, 1840 W, 1844 D, 1848 W, 1852-56 D, 1860 SD, 1864 no vote, 1868 D, 1872 votes not counted, 1876 R, 1880-1944 D, 1948 SR, 1952 D, 1956 R, 1960 D, 1964 R, 1968 AIP.

MAINE

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 20 Alternates 20

Selection process: delegate district caucuses at state convention May 19-20 elect National Convention delegation. State convention delegates are elected by municipal caucuses held between March 12-25.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months; town or city, three months. Registration closes one to nine days (depending upon city population) before primary and general election. Registration is permanent.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Margaret Chase Smith's (R) term expires
House: 2 seats
Electoral college: 4 electors (1968: 4 electors)

Kenneth M. Curtis, Governor

Edmund S. Muskie, Senator

George J. Mitchell, National Committeeman

Mrs. Faye Broderick, National Committeewoman

Severin M. Beliveau, State Chairman

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Peter N. Kyros
William D. Hathaway

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Edward M. Bonney
Maine
Arrangements Chairman
62 State Street
Augusta 04330

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	217,312
Nixon	169,254
Wallace	6,370
Total	392,936

Presidential Voting History:

9 Democratic, 26 Republican, 2 Other. 1824 D, 1828 NR, 1832-36 D, 1840 W, 1844-52 D, 1856-1908 R, 1912 D, 1916-1960 R, 1964-68 D.

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MARYLAND

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 53 Alternates 37

Selection process: closed binding primary May 16 elects ninety percent of delegation by congressional district. Remaining ten percent chosen by elected delegates meeting in a convention to be held between May 16 and June 6. Delegates are bound to presidential preference winner by congressional district and at large for two convention ballots unless on first ballot candidate receives less than thirty-five percent of votes.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Appointed by state committee.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months; county and precinct, twenty-eight days. Registration closes fifth Monday before primary and general election. Must vote every five years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

House: 8 seats
Electoral college: 10 electors (1968: 10 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	538,310
Nixon	517,995
Wallace	178,734
Total	1,235,039

Marvin Mandel, Governor

Dale Anderson, National Committeeman

Dr. Mildred Otenasek, National Committeewoman

William James, State Chairman

William Schaefer, Mayor of Baltimore

Jerome S. Cardin, Finance Council Member

Joel Kline, Finance Council Member

Presidential Voting History:

20 Democratic, 9 Republican, 8 Other. 1824 D, 1828-32 NR, 1836-48 W, 1852 D, 1856 American Party, 1860 SD, 1864 R, 1868-92 D, 1896-1900 R, 1904-16 D, 1920-28 R, 1932-44 D, 1948-56 R, 1960-68 D.

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Clarence D. Long
Edward A. Garmatz
Paul S. Sarbanes
Goodloe E. Byron
Parren J. Mitchell

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Jack Hampton
Maryland
Arrangements Chairman
514 St. Paul Place
Baltimore 21202

MASSACHUSETTS

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 102 Alternates 61

Selection process: closed primary April 25 elects delegates who may run by slates or as individuals and by congressional district or at large. Delegates are bound for first convention ballot according to the statewide results of presidential preference primary.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Chosen by delegates to National Convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: Town or city, six months. Registration closes thirty-one days prior to primary and general election. Registration is permanent.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Edward Brooke's (R) term expires
House: 12 seats
Electoral college: 14 electors (1968: 14 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	1,469,218
Nixon	766,844
Wallace	87,088
Total	2,331,752

Edward M. Kennedy, Senator

John Powers, National Committeeman

Charles Flaherty, Jr., State Chairman

Kevin White, Mayor of Boston

Presidential Voting History:

11 Democratic, 19 Republican, 7 Other. 1824 D, 1828-32 NR, 1836-52 W, 1856-1908 R, 1912 D, 1916-24 R, 1928-48 D, 1952-56 R, 1960-68 D.

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Edward P. Boland
Robert F. Drinan
Harold D. Donohue
Michael Harrington
Torbert H. Macdonald
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.
Louise Day Hicks
James A. Burke

NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN:

Mrs. Mary E. Fantasia

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Charles Flaherty, Jr.
Massachusetts
Arrangements Chairman
State House, Room 435
Boston 02133

MICHIGAN

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 132 Alternates 71

Selection process: open binding presidential preference primary May 16 allocates delegate positions in proportion to each presidential candidate's share of primary vote. (A candidate must receive at least five percent of vote to win delegate positions.) Precinct delegates elected in same primary meet in county conventions and elect delegates to state convention where congressional-district caucuses choose approximately seventy-five percent of national delegation; remainder is chosen at large by entire convention. National delegates are bound to their respective presidential candidates for two convention ballots.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Chosen by delegates to National Convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months; precinct, fifth Friday before election. Registration closes fifth Friday before primary and general election. Must vote every two years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Robert P. Griffin's (R) term expires
House: 19 seats
Electoral college: 21 electors (1968: 21 electors)

Philip A. Hart, Senator

Coleman A. Young, National Committeeman

Mrs. Mildred Jeffrey, National Committeewoman

James McNeely, State Chairman

Roman S. Gribbs, Mayor of Detroit

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

John Conyers, Jr.
James G. O'Hara
Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
Lucien N. Nedzi
William D. Ford
John D. Dingell
Martha W. Griffiths

Stuart Hertzberg, Finance Council Member

Neil Staebler, Finance Council, Member

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Stuart Hertzberg
Michigan
Arrangements Chairman
1530 Buhl Building
Detroit 48226

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	1,593,082
Nixon	1,370,665
Wallace	331,968
Total	3,306,250

Presidential Voting History:

10 Democratic, 22 Republican, 2 Other. 1836 D, 1840 W, 1844-52 D, 1856-1908 R, 1912 Pr, 1916-28 R, 1932-36 D, 1940 R, 1944 D, 1948-56 R, 1960-68 D.

MINNESOTA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 64 Alternates 42

Selection process: precinct caucuses February 22 select delegates for county conventions March 18-26 which select delegates for congressional-district conventions April 28-May 7 which select eighty percent of National Convention delegates. Congressional district delegates then meet in state convention June 9-11 to select remaining twenty percent of national delegates at large.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Chosen by delegates to National Convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: Precinct, thirty days. Registration closes twenty days before primary and general election. Must vote every four years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Walter Mondale's (D) term expires
House: 8 seats
Electoral college: 10 electors (1968: 10 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	857,738
Nixon	658,643
Wallace	68,931
Total	1,588,506

Wendell R. Anderson, Governor

Walter F. Mondale, Senator

Hubert H. Humphrey, Senator

John A. Blatnik, M. C., National Committeeman

Richard Moe, State Chairman

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Joseph E. Karth
Donald M. Fraser
Bob Bergland
John A. Blatnik

Patrick J. O'Connor, Esq., Finance Council Member

Carl R. Pohlad, Finance Council Member

NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN:

Mrs. Koryne Horbal

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Richard Moe
Minnesota
Arrangements
Chairman
730 East Thirty-eighth
Street
Minneapolis 55407

Presidential Voting History:

8 Democratic, 19 Republican, 1 Other. 1860-1908 R, 1912 Pr, 1916-28 R, 1932-48 D, 1952-56 R, 1960-68 D.

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MISSISSIPPI

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 25 Alternates 23

Selection process: precinct meetings January 22 elect delegates to county conventions on February 12 which elect delegates to congressional district conventions on February 19 which elect seventy-five percent of the National Convention delegation. Congressional district delegates meet at state convention February 27 to elect remaining twenty-five percent of national delegates.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

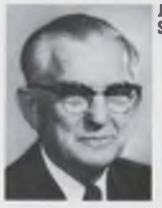
Residence requirements: State, one year; county, one year; precinct, six months. Registration closes four months before primary and general election. Registration is permanent unless individually notified.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: James O. Eastland's (D) term expires
House: 5 seats
Electoral college: 7 electors (1968: 7 electors)

William Waller, Governor

James O. Eastland, Senator



John C. Stennis, Senator

Hon. Charles Evers, National Committeeman

Mrs. Paul S. Derian, National Committeewoman

Aaron Henry, State Chairman

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	150,644
Nixon	88,516
Wallace	415,349
Total	654,509

Presidential Voting History:

28 Democratic, 2 Republican, 7 Other. 1824-36 D, 1840 W, 1844-56 D, 1860 SD, 1864-68 no vote, 1872 R, 1876-1944 D, 1948 SR, 1952-56 D, 1960 Harry Byrd, 1964 R, 1968 AIP.

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Thomas G. Abernethy
Jamie L. Whitten
Charles H. Griffin
G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery
William M. Colmer

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Charles Young
Mississippi
Arrangements Chairman
500 Twenty-fifth Avenue
Meridian 39301

MISSOURI

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 73 Alternates 47

Selection process: seventy-five percent elected by congressional district conventions; remainder at large by state convention. Mass meetings April 18 elect delegates to county conventions May 9 which elect delegates to congressional-district conventions May 23; same delegates advance to state convention June 10.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; county, sixty days. Registration closes twenty-eight days before primary and general election. Permanence of registration varies by county.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

House: 10 seats
Electoral college: 12 electors (1968: 12 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	791,444
Nixon	811,932
Wallace	206,126
Total	1,809,502

Presidential Voting History:

28 Democratic, 9 Republican.
1824-60 D, 1864-68 R, 1872-1900 D, 1904-08 R, 1912-16 D, 1920-28 R, 1932-48 D, 1952 R, 1956-64 D, 1968 R.

Warren E. Hearnes, Governor; National Committeeman

Stuart Symington, Senator

Thomas F. Eagleton, Senator

Mrs. Shirley Butters, National Committeewoman

Delton L. Houtchens, State Chairman

Alfonso J. Cervantes, Mayor of St. Louis

Charles B. Wheeler, Jr., Mayor of Kansas City

E. H. Green, Finance Council Member

Lee Kling, Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

William (Bill) Clay
James W. Symington
Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.) Sullivan
Wm. J. Randall
Richard Bolling
W. R. Hull, Jr.
Richard H. Ichord
William L. Hungate
Bill D. Burlison

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Delton L. Houtchen,
Missouri
Arrangements Chairman
P.O. Box 231
Clinton 64735

MONTANA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 20 Votes 17

Alternates 17

Selection process: June 6 primary elects precinct committee members who meet in county conventions June 12-13 and elect delegates to state convention where seventy-five percent of national delegates are chosen by congressional district caucus; remaining twenty-five percent are elected at large by entire state convention on June 17.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; county and precinct, thirty days. Registration closes forty days before primary and general election. Must vote every two years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Lee Metcalf's (D) term expires
House: 2 seats
Electoral college: 4 electors (1968: 4 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	114,117
Nixon	138,835
Wallace	20,015
Total	274,404

Presidential Voting History:

10 Democratic, 10 Republican. 1892 R, 1896-1900 D, 1904-08 R, 1912-16 D, 1920-28 R, 1932-48 D, 1952-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

Forrest H. Anderson, Governor

Mike Mansfield, Senator

Lee Metcalf, Senator

Leif Erickson, National Committeeman

Mrs. Norma Keil, National Committeewoman

John Bartlett, State Chairman

Hon. Joseph B. Reber, Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBER OF CONGRESS:

John Melcher

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Evan Barrett
Montana
Arrangements Chairman
Box 802
Helena 59601

NEBRASKA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 24 Alternates 22

Selection process: closed non-binding primary May 9. Delegates elected by congressional district and have option to pledge preference.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months; county, forty days; precinct, ten days. Registration closes second Friday before primary and general election. Must vote every four years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Carl T. Curtis' (R) term expires
House: 3 seats
Electoral college: 5 electors (1968: 5 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	170,784
Nixon	321,163
Wallace	44,904
Total	536,851

J. James Exon, Governor

Tom Kelley, National Committeeman

Mrs. Maurine Biegert, National Committeewoman

Hess Dyas, State Chairman

Presidential Voting History:

7 Democratic, 19 Republican. 1868-92 R, 1896 D, 1900-04 R, 1908-16 D, 1920-28 R, 1932-36 D, 1940-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Richard White
Nebraska
Arrangements Chairman
511 Anderson Building
Lincoln 68508

**From the
Las Vegas
Resort Industry.**

NEVADA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 20 Votes 11
Alternates 11

Selection process: precinct meetings February 1-13 select delegates to county conventions February 14-29 where delegates are selected for state convention April 28-30 where national delegates are selected by special district caucuses.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months; county, thirty days; precinct, ten days. Registration closes seventh Saturday before primary and sixth Saturday before general election. Must vote every two years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

House: 1 seat
Electoral college: 3 electors (1968: 3 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	60,598
Nixon	73,188
Wallace	20,432
Total	154,218

Presidential Voting History:

13 Democratic, 13 Republican, 1 Other. 1860-72 R, 1876 D, 1880-88 R, 1892 PP, 1896-1900 D, 1904 R, 1908-16 D, 1920-28 R, 1932-48 D, 1952-56 R, 1960-64 D, 1968 R.

Mike O'Callaghan, Governor

Alan Bible, Senator

Howard W. Cannon, Senator

Grant Sawyer, National Committeeman

Mrs. Wilma Moody, National Committeewoman

Phil Carlino, State Chairman

Jerome D. Mack, Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBER OF CONGRESS:

Walter S. Baring

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Phil Carlino
Nevada
Arrangements Chairman
1817-A East Charleston Blvd.
Las Vegas 89104

NEW HAMPSHIRE

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 20 Votes 18
Alternates 18

Selection process: Elected in closed nonbinding primary March 7. (Delegates may run pledged to a presidential candidate and then are bound until released at national convention.)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Chosen by delegates to National Convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months. Registration closes one to ten days before primary and general election. Voter rolls reviewed and revised every election year.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Thomas J. McIntyre's (D) term expires
House: 2 seats
Electoral college: 4 electors (1968: 4 electors)

Thomas J. McIntyre, Senator

John Holland, National Committeeman

Mrs. Jean R. Wallin, National Committeewoman

John Gikas, Finance Council Member

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	130,589
Nixon	154,903
Wallace	11,173
Total	297,298

Presidential Voting History:

13 Democratic, 23 Republican, 1 Other. 1824 D, 1828 NR, 1832-52 D, 1856-1908 R, 1912-16 D, 1920-32 R, 1936-48 D, 1952-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

STATE CHAIRMAN:

Harry P. Makris

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Eileen M. Gonthier
New Hampshire
Arrangements Chairman
Sheraton-Carpenter Hotel, Room 700
Manchester 03101

Our Credo

WE BELIEVE THAT OUR FIRST RESPONSIBILITY IS TO THE DOCTORS, NURSES, HOSPITALS,
MOTHERS, AND ALL OTHERS WHO USE OUR PRODUCTS.
OUR PRODUCTS MUST ALWAYS BE OF THE HIGHEST QUALITY.
WE MUST CONSTANTLY STRIVE TO REDUCE THE COST OF THESE PRODUCTS.
OUR ORDERS MUST BE PROMPTLY AND ACCURATELY FILLED.
OUR DEALERS MUST MAKE A FAIR PROFIT.

OUR SECOND RESPONSIBILITY IS TO THOSE WHO WORK WITH US —
THE MEN AND WOMEN IN OUR PLANTS AND OFFICES.
THEY MUST HAVE A SENSE OF SECURITY IN THEIR JOBS.
WAGES MUST BE FAIR AND ADEQUATE,
MANAGEMENT JUST, HOURS REASONABLE, AND WORKING CONDITIONS CLEAN AND ORDERLY.
EMPLOYEES SHOULD HAVE AN ORGANIZED SYSTEM FOR SUGGESTIONS AND COMPLAINTS.
SUPERVISORS AND DEPARTMENT HEADS MUST BE QUALIFIED AND FAIR MINDED.
THERE MUST BE OPPORTUNITY FOR ADVANCEMENT — FOR THOSE QUALIFIED
AND EACH PERSON MUST BE CONSIDERED AN INDIVIDUAL
STANDING ON HIS OWN DIGNITY AND MERIT

OUR THIRD RESPONSIBILITY IS TO OUR MANAGEMENT.
OUR EXECUTIVES MUST BE PERSONS OF TALENT, EDUCATION, EXPERIENCE AND ABILITY.
THEY MUST BE PERSONS OF COMMON SENSE AND FULL UNDERSTANDING.

OUR FOURTH RESPONSIBILITY IS TO THE COMMUNITIES IN WHICH WE LIVE.
WE MUST BE A GOOD CITIZEN — SUPPORT GOOD WORKS AND CHARITY,
AND BEAR OUR FAIR SHARE OF TAXES.
WE MUST MAINTAIN IN GOOD ORDER THE PROPERTY WE ARE PRIVILEGED TO USE.
WE MUST PARTICIPATE IN PROMOTION OF CIVIC IMPROVEMENT,
HEALTH, EDUCATION AND GOOD GOVERNMENT,
AND ACQUAINT THE COMMUNITY WITH OUR ACTIVITIES.

OUR FIFTH AND LAST RESPONSIBILITY IS TO OUR STOCKHOLDERS.
BUSINESS MUST MAKE A SOUND PROFIT.
RESERVES MUST BE CREATED, RESEARCH MUST BE CARRIED ON,
ADVENTUROUS PROGRAMS DEVELOPED, AND MISTAKES PAID FOR.
ADVERSE TIMES MUST BE PROVIDED FOR, ADEQUATE TAXES PAID, NEW MACHINES PURCHASED,
NEW PLANTS BUILT, NEW PRODUCTS LAUNCHED, AND NEW SALES PLANS DEVELOPED.
WE MUST EXPERIMENT WITH NEW IDEAS.
WHEN THESE THINGS HAVE BEEN DONE THE STOCKHOLDER SHOULD RECEIVE A FAIR RETURN.
WE ARE DETERMINED WITH THE HELP OF GOD'S GRACE,
TO FULFILL THESE OBLIGATIONS TO THE BEST OF OUR ABILITY.

Johnson & Johnson

NEW JERSEY

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 109 Alternates 63

Selection process: elected in closed non-binding primary June 6. No more than ten percent of delegates may be elected at large.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Appointed by state committee.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months; county, forty days. Registration closes forty days before the primary and general election. Must vote every four years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Clifford P. Case's (R) term expires
House: 15 seats
Electoral college: 17 electors (1968: 17 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	1,264,206
Nixon	1,325,467
Wallace	262,187
Total	2,875,395

Harrison A. Williams, Jr. Senator

Richard J. Hughes, National Committeeman; Finance Council Member

Mrs. Thelma Sharp, National Committeewoman

Salvatore Bontempo, State Chairman

Hon. John T. Connor, Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

James J. Howard
Frank Thompson, Jr.
Robert A. Roe
Henry Helstoski
Peter W. Rodino, Jr.
Joseph G. Minish
Cornelius E. Gallagher
Dominick V. Daniels
Edward J. Patten

Presidential Voting History:

18 Democratic, 14 Republican, 5 Other. 1824 D, 1828 NR, 1832 D, 1836-48 W, 1852-56 D, 1860 R, 1864-68 D, 1872 R, 1876-92 D, 1896-1908 R, 1912 D, 1916-28 R, 1932-44 D, 1948-56 R, 1960-64 D, 1968 R.

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

James J. Delaney
New Jersey
Arrangements Chairman
418 Union Avenue
Scotch Plains 07076

NEW MEXICO

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 20 Votes 18
Alternates 18

Selection process: delegates elected by state convention composed of delegates elected by county conventions composed of delegates elected by ward meetings. Delegates are bound for one convention ballot to the top two winners of June 6 presidential preference primary in proportion to the number of votes each received in the primary.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; county, ninety days; precinct, thirty days. Registration closes forty-two days before primary and general election. Must vote every two years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Clinton P. Anderson's (D) term expires
House: 2 seats
Electoral college: 4 electors (1968: 4 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	130,081
Nixon	169,692
Wallace	25,737
Total	327,350

Bruce King, Governor

Clinton P. Anderson, Senator

Joseph M. Montoya, Senator

Tom E. Brown, Sr., National Committeeman

Mrs. U. D. Sawyer, National Committeewoman

Mike Anaya, State Chairman

Harold O. Volden, Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBER OF CONGRESS:

Harold Runnels

Presidential Voting History:

9 Democratic, 6 Republican. 1912-16 D, 1920-28 R, 1932-48 D, 1952-56 R, 1960-64 D, 1968 R.

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Rudy Ortiz
New Mexico
Arrangements Chairman
P.O. Box 409
Albuquerque 87103

Shell Oil Company welcomes
The Delegates to the National Convention
and invites them to try one of our
high-quality Gasolines–Shell, Super Shell
or Non-Leaded Shell of the Future.

SHELL

Shell products perform.

NEW YORK

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 278 Alternates 120

Selection process: ninety percent of delegation elected by congressional district in closed primary June 20 with no preference listing allowed on ballots. Remaining ten percent of national delegation selected by state committee.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Chosen by delegates to National Convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, three months; county, three months; precinct, ten days. Primary registration closes prior to the preceding general election and on fourth Saturday prior to the general election. Must vote every two years to maintain registration.

General Elections:

House: 39 seats (1968: 41 seats)
Electoral college: 41 electors (1968: 43 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	3,378,470
Nixon	3,007,932
Wallace	358,864
Total	6,791,688

Presidential Voting History:

18 Democratic, 17 Republican, 2 Other. 1824-36 D, 1840 W, 1844 D, 1848 W, 1852 D, 1856-64 R, 1868 D, 1872 R, 1876 D, 1880 R, 1884 D, 1888 R, 1892 D, 1896-1908 R, 1912 D, 1916-28 R, 1932-44 D, 1948-56 R, 1960-68 D.

John English, National Committeeman

Shirley Chisholm, M.C., National Committeewoman

Joseph F. Crangle, State Chairman

John V. Lindsay, Mayor of New York City

Frank A. Sedita, Mayor of Buffalo

Leonard Davis, Finance Council Member

Hon. James A. Farley, Finance Council Member

James R. Kerr, Finance Council Member

Arthur B. Krim, Finance Council Member

Mrs. Albert D. Lasker, Finance Council Member

Hon. Howard Samuels, Finance Council Member

Louis Stulberg, Finance Council Member

Hon. Angier Biddle Duke, Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Otis G. Pike
Lester L. Wolff
Joseph P. Addabbo
Benjamin S. Rosenthal
James J. Delaney
Emanuel Celler
Frank J. Brasco
Shirley Chisholm
Bertram L. Podell
John J. Rooney
Hugh L. Carey
John M. Murphy
Edward I. Koch
Charles B. Rangel
Bella S. Abzug
William F. Ryan
Herman Badillo
James H. Scheuer
Jonathan B. Bingham
Mario Biaggi
John G. Dow
Samuel S. Stratton
James M. Hanley
Thaddeus J. Dulski

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Nathan Kalikow
New York
Arrangements Chairman
108-11 Queen
Boulevard
Forest Hills 11375

NORTH CAROLINA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 64 Alternates 42

Selection process: May 6 primary establishes proportional apportionment of delegate votes for top four vote-getting presidential candidates (to qualify, a candidate must receive at least fifteen percent of total vote). Delegates are bound for first convention ballot. Precinct caucuses May 9 choose delegates to county conventions May 27 which elect delegates to congressional-district conventions June 10 which elect seventy-five percent of National Convention delegation. District delegates meet at state convention June 20 and elect remaining twenty-five percent of national delegation at large.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Chosen by delegates to National Convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; precinct, thirty days. Registration closes twenty-one business days prior to primary and general election. Must vote every four years to maintain registration.

Robert W. Scott, Governor

Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Senator

B. Everett Jordan, Senator

Irwin Belk, National Committeeman

Mrs. John A. Winfield, National Committeewoman

John T. Church, State Chairman

C. C. Hope, Jr., Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Walter B. Jones
L. H. Fountain
David N. Henderson
Nick Galifianakis
Richardson Preyer
Alton Lennon
Roy A. Taylor

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

David P. Murray
North Carolina
Arrangements Chairman
1307 Wake Forest Road
Raleigh 27604

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: B. Everett Jordan's (D) term expires
House: 11 seats
Electoral college: 13 electors (1968: 13 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	464,113
Nixon	627,192
Wallace	496,188
Total	1,587,493

Presidential Voting History:

28 Democratic, 4 Republican, 5 Other. 1824-36 D, 1840-48 W, 1852-56 D, 1860 SD, 1864 no vote, 1868-72 R, 1876-1924 D, 1928 R, 1932-64 D, 1968 R.

NORTH DAKOTA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 20 Votes 14
Alternates 14

Selection process: state legislative district meetings elect delegates to state convention which elects National Convention delegation on June 14-16.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; county, ninety days; precinct, thirty days. No statewide registration necessary.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

House: 1 seat (1968: 2 seats)
Electoral college: 3 electors (1968: 4 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	94,769
Nixon	138,669
Wallace	14,244
Total	247,882

William L. Guy, Governor

Quentin N. Burdick, Senator

Gorman H. King, National Committeeman

Mrs. Liv Bjorlie, National Committeewoman

Richard Ista, State Chairman

Gordon K. Gray, Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBER OF CONGRESS:

Arthur A. Link

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Austin Engel
North Dakota
Arrangements Chairman
1902 East Divide Avenue
Bismarck 58501

Presidential Voting History:

5 Democratic, 14 Republican, 1 Other. 1892 one electoral vote for each candidate, 1896-1908 R, 1912-16 D, 1920-28 R, 1932-36 D, 1940-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

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Pipelines are a growing part of Santa Fe's transportation system, too. Gulf Central Pipeline moves anhydrous ammonia fertilizer from Louisiana through an 1,800 mile network to mid-U.S.A. farmlands.

Chaparral Pipeline transports natural gas liquids from the Southwest's Permian Basin to petrochemical and refining industries in the Houston area. Other petroleum pipelines serve Amarillo-Clovis and Los Angeles-San Diego.

In addition to transportation services, Santa Fe also offers the products of oil development, lumber, mining and plant site and real estate development on 48,000 available acres of Santa Fe land, as well as hundreds of private sites at other locations we serve.

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SANTA FE INDUSTRIES, INC.

OHIO

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 153 Alternates 78

Selection process: open primary May 2 elects seventy-five percent of national delegates by congressional districts and remainder by at-large slates. A candidate may indicate presidential preference.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Chosen by delegates to the National Convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months; county, forty days; precinct, forty days. Registration closes forty days prior to primary and general election. Must vote every two years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

House: 23 seats (1968: 24 seats)
Electoral college: 25 electors (1968: 26 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	1,700,586
Nixon	1,791,014
Wallace	467,495
Total	3,959,698


John J. Gilligan, Governor


Albert S. Porter, National Committeeman


Mrs. Betty J. Gaffney, National Committeewoman


William Lavelle, State Chairman


Thomas A. Luken, Mayor of Cincinnati


Harry Kessler, Mayor of Toledo


Joseph E. Cole, Finance Council Member


Marvin L. Warner, Finance Council Member

Presidential Voting History:

12 Democratic, 22 Republican, 3 Other. 1824-32 D, 1836-44 W, 1848-52 D, 1856-1908 R, 1912-16 D, 1920-28 R, 1932-40 D, 1944 R, 1948 D, 1952-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Thomas L. Ashley
John F. Seiberling
Wayne L. Hays
Charles J. Carney
James V. Stanton
Louis Stokes
Charles A. Vanik

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

John E. Jones
Ohio
Arrangements Chairman
88 East Broad Street
Columbus 43215

OKLAHOMA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 39 Alternates 30

Selection process: May 5 precinct meetings select delegates to county conventions May 20 which select delegates to congressional-district conventions June 13 which elect seventy-five percent of national delegation; congressional-district delegates meet at June 10 state convention to select remainder of national delegation at large.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months; county, two months; precinct, twenty days. Registration closes ten days prior to primary and general election. Must vote every four years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Fred R. Harris' (D) term expires
House: 6 seats
Electoral college: 8 electors (1968: 8 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	301,658
Nixon	449,697
Wallace	191,731
Total	943,086


David Hall, Governor


Fred R. Harris, Senator


J. C. Cobb, National Committeeman


Mrs. Daphfine Shear, National Committeewoman


J. C. Kennedy, State Chairman


Patience Latting, Mayor of Oklahoma City


Gerald G. Barton, Finance Council Member

Presidential Voting History:

10 Democratic, 6 Republican. 1908-16 D, 1920 R, 1924 D, 1928 R, 1932-48 D, 1952-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Ed Edmondson
Carl Albert
Tom Steed
John Jarman

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Charles Shoemake
Oklahoma
Arrangements Chairman
P.O. Box 1608
Oklahoma City 73101

The time at which I stand before you is full of interest.

The eyes of all nations are fixed on our Republic....

Great is the stake placed in our hands; great

is the responsibility which must rest upon the people

of the United States. Let us realize the importance

of the attitude in which we stand before the world.

Andrew Jackson

OREGON

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 34 Alternates 27

Selection process: closed binding primary May 23 elects thirty-two delegates by congressional districts; national committee members, elected at large in primary, fill the two remaining delegate positions to national convention. All delegates bound to primary presidential preference winner for two convention ballots.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected in primary.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months. Registration closes thirty days prior to primary and general election. Registration is permanent.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Mark Hatfield's (R) term expires
House: 4 seats
Electoral college: 6 electors (1968: 6 electors)

Blaine Whipple, National Committeeman

Mrs. Alice Corbett, National Committeewoman

Mrs. Caroline Wilkins, State Chairman

Monford A. Orloff, Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Al Ullman
Edith Green

MAYOR:

Terry D. Schrunk, Portland

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

James B. Kenin
Oregon
Arrangements Chairman
c/o Keith Burns
Standard Plaza Building
Portland 97204

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	358,866
Nixon	408,433
Wallace	49,683
Total	819,622

Presidential Voting History:

7 Democratic, 21 Republican, 1860-64 R, 1868 D, 1872-1908 R, 1912 D, 1916-28 R, 1932-44 D, 1948-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

PENNSYLVANIA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 182 Alternates 88

Selection process: closed non-binding primary April 25 elects seventy-five percent of national delegation by state senatorial district; elected delegates choose another fifteen percent of delegation; remaining ten percent appointed by state committee.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Appointed by state committee.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, ninety days; county and precinct, sixty days. Registration closes fifty days prior to primary and general election. Must vote every two years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

House: 25 seats (1968: 27 seats)
Electoral college: 27 electors (1968: 29 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	2,259,405
Nixon	2,090,017
Wallace	378,582
Total	4,747,928

Presidential Voting History:

13 Democratic, 21 Republican, 3 Other. 1824-36 D, 1840 W, 1844 D, 1848 W, 1852-56 D, 1860-1908 R, 1912 Pr, 1916-32 R, 1936-44 D, 1948-56 R, 1960-68 D.

Milton J. Shapp, Governor

Joseph M. Barr, National Committeeman

John Scales, State Chairman

Frank L. Rizzo, Mayor of Philadelphia

I. W. Abel, Finance Council Member

Philip I. Berman, Finance Council Member

S. Harrison Dogole, Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

William A. Barrett
Robert N. C. Nix
James A. Byrne
Joshua Eilberg
William J. Green
Gus Yatron
Daniel J. Flood
William S. Moorhead
Fred B. Rooney
Joseph M. Gaydos
John H. Dent
Joseph P. Vigorito
Frank M. Clark
Thomas E. Morgan

NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN:

position vacant

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

C. DeLores Tucker
Pennsylvania
Arrangements Chairman
302 North Capitol Bldg.
Harrisburg 17120

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Cars like Caprice.

Chevrolet

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RHODE ISLAND

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 22 Alternates 21

Selection process: Delegate-candidates run at large, individually or by slate, in closed binding primary May 23; those pledged to presidential preference winner are elected and are bound for one convention ballot.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; city or town, six months. Registration closes sixty days before primary and general election. Must vote every five years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Claiborne Pell's (D) term expires
House: 2 seats
Electoral college: 4 electors (1968: 4 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	246,518
Nixon	122,359
Wallace	15,678
Total	385,000

Presidential Voting History:

13 Democratic, 19 Republican, 5 Other. 1824 D, 1828-32 NR, 1836 D, 1840-48 W, 1852 D, 1856-1908 R, 1912 D, 1916-24 R, 1928-48 D, 1952-56 R, 1960-68 D.

Frank Licht, Governor

John O. Pastore, Senator

Claiborne Pell, Senator

Joseph A. Doorley, National Committeeman and Mayor of Providence

Mrs. Isabelle Leeds, National Committeewoman

John J. Hogan, State Chairman

James F. Twaddell, Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Fernand J. St Germain
Robert O. Tiernan

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Donald F. Shea
Rhode Island
Arrangements Chairman
26 Fenwick Road
Riverside 02915

SOUTH CAROLINA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 32 Alternates 26

Selection process: precinct meetings February 26 select delegates to March 6 county conventions which select delegates for state convention March 29 where delegates caucus by congressional district to select seventy-five percent of national delegation; remaining twenty-five percent selected at large by entire convention.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months; county, three months; precinct, thirty days. Registration closes thirty days before primary and general election. Must vote every four years to maintain registration. Statewide registration every ten years.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Strom Thurmond's (R) term expires
House: 6 seats
Electoral college: 8 electors (1968: 8 electors)

John C. West, Governor

Ernest F. Hollings, Senator

Hon. Robert E. McNair, National Committeeman; Finance Council Member

Mrs. Barbara Sylvester, National Committeewoman

Donald L. Fowler, State Chairman

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	197,486
Nixon	254,062
Wallace	215,430
Total	666,978

Presidential Voting History:

28 Democratic, 5 Republican, 4 Other. 1824-28 D, 1832 John Floyd, 1836-56 D, 1860 SD, 1864 no vote, 1868-76 R, 1880-1944 D, 1948 SR, 1952-60 D, 1964-68 R.

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Mendel J. Davis
Wm. Jennings Bryan Dorn
James R. Mann
Tom S. Gettys
John L. McMillan

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Donald L. Fowler
South Carolina
Arrangements Chairman
2825 Millwood Avenue
Columbia 29205

SOUTH DAKOTA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 20 Votes 17
Alternates 17

Selection process: closed primary June 6 elects National Convention delegation by at-large slates. Slates are assembled between January 15 and March 23 by party district meetings and a statewide meeting of supporters of respective presidential candidates. Slate may list preference in primary but then is bound for three convention ballots unless its presidential candidate fails to poll thirty-five percent of vote needed for nomination.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, 180 days; county, ninety days; precinct, thirty days. Registration closes fifteen days before primary and general election. Must vote every four years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Karl Mundt's (R) term expires
House: 2 seats
Electoral college: 4 electors (1968: 4 electors)

Richard F. Kneip, Governor

Mrs. Mary Wallner, National Committeewoman

George McGovern, Senator

James V. Guffey, State Chairman

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Frank E. Denholm
James Abourezk

NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN:

William Dougherty

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Gerald Andrews
South Dakota
Arrangements Chairman
Box 668
Pierre 57501

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	118,023
Nixon	149,841
Wallace	13,400
Total	281,264

Presidential Voting History:

4 Democratic, 15 Republican, 1 Other. 1892 R, 1896 D, 1900-08 R, 1912 Pr, 1916-28 R, 1932-36 D, 1940-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

TENNESSEE

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 49 Alternates 35

Selection process: precinct meetings April 7 select delegates to county conventions April 8 which elect delegates to congressional district conventions May 13 which elect eighty percent of national delegation. Congressional district delegates advance to state convention June 10 to elect remaining twenty percent of national delegates at large. National delegates chosen by district are bound for at least two convention ballots and at-large delegates are bound for at least one according to results of May 4 presidential preference primary; all national delegates may be bound for as many as two additional ballots, provided that the candidate continues to poll twenty percent of votes.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Appointed by state committee.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; county, three months. Registration closes thirty days before primary and general election. Must vote every four years to maintain registration.

Herbert S. Walters, National Committeeman

Beverly Briley, Mayor of Nashville

James Peeler, State Chairman

Edward W. Cook, Finance Council Member

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Howard H. Baker, Jr.'s (R) term expires
House: 8 seats (1968: 9 seats)
Electoral college: 10 electors (1968: 11 electors)

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Joe L. Evins
Richard H. Fulton
William R. Anderson
Ray Blanton
Ed Jones

NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN:

Mrs. Jean Livingston

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Joe C. Carr
Tennessee
Arrangements Chairman
3508 Hampton Avenue
Nashville 37215

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	351,233
Nixon	472,592
Wallace	424,792
Total	1,248,617

Presidential Voting History:

23 Democratic, 7 Republican, 7 Other. 1824-32 D, 1836-52 W, 1856 D, 1860 CU, 1864 no vote, 1868 R, 1872-1916 D, 1920 R, 1924 D, 1928 R, 1932-48 D, 1952-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

TEXAS

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 130 Alternates 70

Selection process: May 6 precinct meetings elect delegates to May 13 county or state senatorial district conventions which elect delegates to the state convention where seventy-five percent of national delegation is chosen by state senatorial district caucuses and remaining twenty-five percent at large by entire convention.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; county and district, six months. Registration closes thirty days before primary and general election. Registration is permanent.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: John G. Tower's (R) term expires
House: 24 seats (1968: 23 seats)
Electoral college: 26 electors (1968: 25 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	1,266,804
Nixon	1,227,844
Wallace	584,269
Total	3,079,216

Presidential Voting History:

25 Democratic, 3 Republican, 3 Other. 1848-56 D, 1860 SD, 1864-68 no vote, 1872-1924 D, 1928 R, 1932-48 D, 1952-56 R, 1960-68 D.

Preston Smith, Governor

Robert S. Strauss, National Committeeman

Roy Orr, State Chairman

Dee J. Kelly, Esq., Finance Council Member

Bernard Rapoport, Finance Council Member

Lloyd Bentsen, Senator

Mrs. William Patman, National Committeewoman

Albert S. Golemon, FAIA, Finance Council Member

John D. Murchison, Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

Wright Patman
John Dowdy
Ray Roberts
Earle Cabell
Olin E. Teague
Bob Eckhardt
Jack Brooks
J. J. Pickle
W. R. Poage
Jim Wright
Graham Purcell
John Young
Eligio de la Garza
Richard C. White
Omar Burleson
George Mahon
Henry B. Gonzalez
O. C. Fisher
Bob Casey
Abraham Kazen, Jr.

MAYORS:

Bert Williams,
El Paso
John Gatti,
San Antonio

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Earl Luna
Texas
Arrangements Chairman
1002 Dallas Federal
Savings
Dallas 75201

UTAH

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 20 Votes 19
Alternates 19

Selection process: precinct meetings May 15 select delegates for county conventions June 1-16 which select delegates to state convention in June where special district caucuses choose seventy-five percent of national delegation and entire convention chooses remaining twenty-five percent at large. (Though entitled to twenty delegates, Utah will choose only nineteen.)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months; county, sixty days. Registration closes in precinct on last Tuesday before primary and last Wednesday before general election. Registration with county clerk closes ten days before primary and general election. Must vote every four years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

House: 2 seats
Electoral college: 4 electors (1968: 4 electors)

Calvin L. Rampton, Governor

Frank E. Moss, Senator

Wayne L. Black, National Committeeman

Mrs. Jean Westwood, National Committeewoman

John Klas, State Chairman

George Hatch, Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBER OF CONGRESS:

K. Gunn McKay

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Wayne L. Black
Utah
Arrangements Chairman
3941 Mt. Olympus Way
Salt Lake City 84117

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	156,665
Nixon	238,728
Wallace	26,906
Total	422,568

Presidential Voting History:

8 Democratic, 11 Republican. 1896 D, 1900-12 R, 1916 D, 1920-28 R, 1932-48 D, 1952-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

VERMONT

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 20 Votes 12
Alternates 12

Selection process: town caucuses meet in April and select delegates for state convention in late May where national delegation is elected at large.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Chosen by delegates to national convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, city or town, ninety days. Check list system is used to maintain registration rolls.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

House: 1 seat
Electoral college: 3 electors (1968: 3 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	70,255
Nixon	85,142
Wallace	5,104
Total	161,404

Presidential Voting History:

2 Democratic, 28 Republican, 7 Other. 1824 D, 1828 NR, 1832 Anti-Masonic, 1836-52 W, 1856-1960 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

Daniel J. O'Brien, National Committeeman

Miss Margaret Hartigan, National Committeewoman

Francis Esposito, State Chairman

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Miss Margaret Hartigan
Vermont
Arrangements Chairman
Vermont Transit Travel
133 St. Paul Street
Burlington 05401

Great Movie Entertainm

From These Members of The Motion Picture Association of America

Warner Bros.
"Deliverance"
starring Jon Voight
and Burt Reynolds.

Columbia Pictures
Jack L. Warner's
production of
"1776."

Universal Pictures
"The Public Eye"
starring Mia Farrow
and Topol.
A Hal Wallis Production.

Allied Artists
"Cabaret" starring
Liza Minelli, Joel
Grey and Michael
York.

ment For All The World

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer
"Wrath Of God" starring Robert Mitchum, Rita Hayworth, Frank Langella, Victor Buono

United Artists
"Man of La Mancha" starring Peter O'Toole and Sophia Loren.

Paramount Pictures
presents "The Godfather."

JOSEPH E. LEVINE
PRESENTS
A MIKE NICHOLS FILM
"THE DAY OF THE DOLPHIN"
PRODUCED BY
RICHARD A. ROTH
DIRECTED BY
MIKE NICHOLS
SCREENPLAY BY
BUCK HENRY

Twentieth Century-Fox
"The Other," Thomas Tryon's best selling thriller produced and directed by Robert Mulligan.

An Avco Embassy Release.
Currently in production.

VIRGINIA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 53 Alternates 37

Selection process: mass meetings April 8 select delegates for county conventions April 22 which select delegates to state convention June 9-10 where congressional district caucuses elect seventy-five percent of national delegation; remaining twenty-five percent elected at large by entire state convention.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months; precinct, thirty days. Registration closes thirty days before primary and general election. At present registration is permanent; beginning December 31, 1974, must vote every four years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: William B. Spong, Jr.'s (D) term expires
House: 10 seats
Electoral college: 12 electors (1968: 12 electors)

William B. Spong, Jr., Senator

William B. Hopkins, National Committeeman

Mrs. A. Stuart Bolling, National Committeewoman

William G. Thomas, State Chairman

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Thomas N. Downing
David E. Satterfield III
Watkins M. Abbitt
W. C. (Dan) Daniel

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

John Hale Shenefield
Virginia
Arrangements Chairman
P.O. Box 1535
Richmond 23212

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	442,387
Nixon	590,319
Wallace	321,833
Total	1,361,491

Presidential Voting History:

27 Democratic, 6 Republican, 4 Other. 1824-44 D, 1848 W, 1852-56 D, 1860 CU, 1864-68 no vote, 1872 R, 1876-1924 D, 1928 R, 1932-48 D, 1952-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

WASHINGTON

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 52 Alternates 36

Selection process: precinct meetings March 7 elect delegates to county conventions April 29 which elect delegates to congressional-district conventions May 20 which elect forty-six National Convention delegates. Congressional district delegates meet as state convention June 24 to elect remaining six national delegates.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; county, ninety days; precinct, thirty days. Registration closes thirty days before primary and general election. Must vote every thirty months to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

House: 7 seats
Electoral college: 9 electors (1968: 9 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	616,037
Nixon	588,510
Wallace	96,990
Total	1,304,281

Presidential Voting History:

9 Democratic, 10 Republican, 1 Other. 1892 R, 1896 D, 1900-08 R, 1912 Pr, 1916 D, 1920-28 R, 1932-48 D, 1952-60 R, 1964-68 D.

Warren G. Magnuson, Senator

Henry M. Jackson, Senator

Luke Graham, National Committeeman

Mrs. Mary Weber, National Committeewoman

Neale Chaney, State Chairman

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Lloyd Meeds
Julia Butler Hansen
Mike McCormack
Thomas S. Foley
Floyd V. Hicks
Brock Adams

MAYOR:

Wes C. Ulhman
Seattle

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Evelyn Rosellini
Washington
Arrangements Chairman
618 Arctic Building
Seattle 98104

WEST VIRGINIA

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 35 Alternates 28

Selection process: closed non-binding primary May 9 elects delegates by congressional district and at large.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Appointed by state committee.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; county, sixty days. Registration closes thirty days before primary and general election. Registration is permanent but canvass is conducted every four years.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Jennings Randolph's (D) term expires
House: 4 seats (1968: 5 seats)
Electoral college: 6 electors (1968: 7 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	374,091
Nixon	307,555
Wallace	72,560
Total	754,206

Jennings Randolph, Senator

Robert C. Byrd, Senator

Hon. Hulett C. Smith, National Committeeman; Finance Council Member

Mrs. Hilda Long, National Committeewoman

Rudolph L. DiTrappano, State Chairman

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Robert H. Mollohan
Harley O. Staggers
John M. Slack
Ken Hechler
James Kee

Presidential Voting History:

15 Democratic, 12 Republican. 1864-72 R, 1876-92 D, 1896-1908 R, 1912 D, 1916-28 R, 1932-52 D, 1956 R, 1960-68 D.

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Rudolph L. DiTrapano
West Virginia
Arrangements Chairman
1400 Commerce Street
Charleston 25301

WISCONSIN

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 67 Alternates 44

Selection process: open primary April 4 elects eighty-three percent of delegates by congressional district and remainder at large. Congressional district caucuses of supporters of respective presidential candidates may meet March 11 or after primary to nominate National Convention delegates; at-large delegates are chosen by congressional district delegates pledged to statewide winner in presidential preference vote. Delegates are bound by congressional district and at large respectively until presidential candidate receives less than one-third of convention votes.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Elected by state convention.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, six months; precinct, ten days. Registration closes on second Wednesday before primary and general election. Must vote every two years to maintain registration.

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

House: 9 seats (1968: 10 seats)
Electoral college: 11 electors (1968: 12 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	748,804
Nixon	809,997
Wallace	127,835
Total	1,691,538

Patrick J. Lucey, Governor

William Proxmire, Senator

Gaylord Nelson, Senator

Donald Peterson, National Committeeman

Mary Lou Burg, National Committeewoman

M. William Gerrard, State Chairman

Henry W. Maier, Mayor of Milwaukee

David Carley, Finance Council Member

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

Les Aspin
Robert W. Kastenmeier
Clement J. Zablocki
Henry S. Reuss
David R. Obey

Presidential Voting History:

9 Democratic, 21 Republican, 1 Other. 1848-52 D, 1856-88 R, 1892 D, 1896-1908 R, 1912 D, 1916-20 R, 1924 Pr, 1928 R, 1932-40 D, 1944 R, 1948 D, 1952-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Marge Pattison
Wisconsin
Arrangements Chairman
406 West Gilman
Madison 53703

WYOMING

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 20 Votes 11
Alternates 11

Selection process: open county conventions March 1-15 elect delegates to state convention May 12. National delegate candidates must file with state chairman by May 2. From candidates list, a state delegate selection committee nominates seventy-five percent of the national delegation. The state convention must confirm nominations; it may add or refuse names presented. Remaining twenty-five percent of delegates are elected at large by the state convention.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Appointed by state committee.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS:

Residence requirements: State, one year; county, sixty days; precinct, ten days. Registration closes fifteen days before primary and general elections. Must vote every two years to maintain registration.

Gale W. McGee, Senator

Teno Roncalio, M.C., National Committeeman

DEMOCRATIC MEMBER OF CONGRESS:

Teno Roncalio

Mrs. June Boyle, National Committeewoman

Don Anselmi, State Chairman

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Don Anselmi
Wyoming
Arrangements Chairman
c/o Outlaw Inn
Rock Springs 82901

GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Senate: Clifford P. Hansen's (R) term expires
House: 1 seat
Electoral college: 3 electors (1968: 3 electors)

1968 Presidential Vote:

Humphrey	45,173
Nixon	70,927
Wallace	11,105
Total	127,205

Presidential Voting History:

8 Democratic, 12 Republican. 1892 R, 1896 D, 1900-08 R, 1912-16 D, 1920-28 R, 1932-40 D, 1944 R, 1948 D, 1952-60 R, 1964 D, 1968 R.

CANAL ZONE

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 6 Votes 3

Alternates 3

Selection process: elected by a zonal convention May 13 open to all Democrats.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Chosen by delegates to National Convention.

Richard M. Koster, National Committeeman

Miss Olive Brooks, National Committeewoman

Albert J. Joyce, Jr., Zone Chairman

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Sylvia Tesh
Canal Zone
Arrangements Chairman
Box 125
Balboa Heights

GUAM

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 6 Votes 3

Alternates 3

Selection process: elected at territorial convention composed of delegates selected at precinct caucuses.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:
Elected at territorial convention.

Jesus C. Okiyama, National Committeeman

Mrs. Madeleine Bordallo, National Committeewoman

Ricardo Bordallo, Territorial Chairman

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Richard F. Taitano
Guam
Arrangements Chairman
Post Office Box 1458
Agana 96910

PUERTO RICO

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 14 Votes 7
Alternates 7

Selection process: chosen by commonwealth committee.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:
Elected at commonwealth convention.

Rafael Hernandez Colon, National Committeeman

Dona Felisa Rincon de Gautier, National Committeewoman

Richard C. Durham, Commonwealth Chairman

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Richard C. Durham
Puerto Rico
Arrangements Chairman
Banco de Ponce
Building, #713
Ponce de Leon Avenue
Santurce 00907

VIRGIN ISLANDS

NATIONAL CONVENTION:

Delegates 6 Votes 3
Alternates 3

Selection process: elected by territorial convention.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS:
Elected by territorial convention.

Mrs. Ansetta de Chabert Clarke, National Committeewoman

Patrick N. Williams, Territorial Chairman

NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN:

Roy A. Gottlieb

CONVENTION INFORMATION:

Patrick N. Williams
Virgin Islands
Arrangements Chairman
P. O. Box 477
St. Thomas 00801

Distribution of 1972 Convention Votes, Delegates and Alternates by State

	Convention Vote	Alternates	Delegates	Total Delegation
Alabama	37	29	37	66
Alaska	10	10	20	30
Arizona	25	23	25	48
Arkansas	27	24	27	51
California	271	117	271	388
Colorado	36	28	36	64
Connecticut	51	36	51	87
Delaware	13	13	20	33
D.C.	15	15	20	35
Florida	81	51	81	132
Georgia	53	37	53	90
Hawaii	17	17	20	37
Idaho	17	17	20	37
Illinois	170	84	170	254
Indiana	76	48	76	124
Iowa	46	33	46	79
Kansas	35	28	35	63
Kentucky	47	34	47	81
Louisiana	44	32	44	76
Maine	20	20	20	40
Maryland	53	37	53	90
Massachusetts	102	61	102	163
Michigan	132	71	132	203
Minnesota	64	42	64	106
Mississippi	25	23	25	48
Missouri	73	47	73	120
Montana	17	17	20	37
Nebraska	24	22	24	46
Nevada	11	11	20	31
New Hampshire	18	18	20	38
New Jersey	109	63	109	172
New Mexico	18	18	20	38
New York	278	120	278	398
North Carolina	64	42	64	106
North Dakota	14	14	20	34
Ohio	153	78	153	231
Oklahoma	39	30	39	69
Oregon	34	27	34	61
Pennsylvania	182	88	182	270
Rhode Island	22	21	22	43
South Carolina	32	26	32	58
South Dakota	17	17	20	37
Tennessee	49	35	49	84
Texas	130	70	130	200
Utah	19	19	20	39
Vermont	12	12	20	32
Virginia	53	37	53	90
Washington	52	36	52	88
West Virginia	35	28	35	63
Wisconsin	67	44	67	111
Wyoming	11	11	20	31
Canal Zone	3	3	6	9
Guam	3	3	6	9
Puerto Rico	7	7	14	21
Virgin Islands	3	3	6	9
TOTALS	**3016**	**1897**	**3103**	5000

Tally Sheet: Democratic Presidential Nomination 1972

Order of the 1972 roll call of the states was determined by a drawing held January 19, 1972, in Washington, D.C. This new sequence, reflected in the tally sheet on pages 244-5, replaces the alphabetical listing of previous conventions.

Tally Sheet: Democratic Presidential Nomination 1972

CANDIDATES • ballot

State	1968 Balloting		1972 Delegate Votes										
				1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
CALIFORNIA	McCarthy McGovern Humphrey Other	91 51 14 18	271									
SOUTH CAROLINA	Humphrey	28	32									
OHIO	Humphrey McCarthy McGovern Other	94 18 2 1	153									
CANAL ZONE	Humphrey McGovern	4 1	3									
UTAH	Humphrey McCarthy Other	23 2 1	19									
DELAWARE	Humphrey Other	21 1	13									
RHODE ISLAND	Humphrey McCarthy Other	23½ 2½ 1	22									
TEXAS	Humphrey McCarthy Other	100½ 2½ 1	130									
WEST VIRGINIA	Humphrey McCarthy Other	34 3 1	35									
SOUTH DAKOTA	McGovern Humphrey	24 2	17									
KANSAS	Humphrey McGovern McCarthy	34 3 1	35									
NEW YORK	Humphrey McCarthy McGovern Other	96½ 87 1½ 5	278									
VIRGINIA	Humphrey McCarthy Other	42½ 5½ 6	53									
WYOMING	Humphrey McCarthy	18½ 3½	11									
ARKANSAS	Humphrey McCarthy Other	30 2 1	27									
INDIANA	Humphrey McCarthy McGovern Other	49 11 2 1	76									
PUERTO RICO	Humphrey	8	7									
TENNESSEE	Humphrey McGovern McCarthy	49½ 1 ½	49									
PENNSYLVANIA	Humphrey McCarthy McGovern Other	103¾ 21½ 2½ 2¼	182									
MISSISSIPPI	Humphrey McCarthy McGovern Other	9½ 6½ 4 4	25									
WISCONSIN	McCarthy Humphrey McGovern Other	49 8 1 1	67									
ILLINOIS	Humphrey McCarthy McGovern	112 3 3	170									
MAINE	Humphrey McCarthy	23 4	20									
FLORIDA	Humphrey McCarthy	58 5	81									
NEW HAMPSHIRE	McCarthy Humphrey	20 6	18									
ARIZONA	Humphrey McCarthy McGovern	14½ 2½ 2	25									
NORTH CAROLINA	Humphrey McCarthy McGovern Other	44½ 2 ½ 12	64									
MASSACHUSETTS	McCarthy Humphrey	70 2	102									

CANDIDATES • ballot

State	1968 Balloting		1972 Delegate Votes	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
NEBRASKA	Humphrey McGovern McCarthy	15 9 6	24									
GEORGIA	*regulars:* Humphrey Other *loyalists:* McCarthy Humphrey McGovern Other	17 5½ 13½ 2½ 1 3½	53									
NORTH DAKOTA	Humphrey McCarthy	18 7	14									
MARYLAND	Humphrey McCarthy McGovern	45 2 2	53									
NEW JERSEY	Humphrey McCarthy Other	62 19 1	109									
VERMONT	Humphrey McGovern McCarthy	9 7 6	12									
NEVADA	Humphrey McCarthy McGovern	18½ 2½ 1	11									
MICHIGAN	Humphrey McCarthy McGovern Other	72½ 9½ 7½ 6½	132									
IOWA	McCarthy Humphrey McGovern Other	19½ 18½ 5 3	46									
COLORADO	Humphrey McCarthy McGovern Other	16½ 10 5½ 3	36									
ALABAMA	Humphrey Other	23 9	37									
ALASKA	Humphrey McGovern McCarthy	17 3 2	10									
HAWAII	Humphrey	26	17									
WASHINGTON	Humphrey McCarthy McGovern	32½ 8½ 6	52									
MINNESOTA	Humphrey McCarthy Other	38 11½ 2½	64									
LOUISIANA	Humphrey Other	35 1	44									
IDAHO	Humphrey McCarthy McGovern	21 3½ ½	17									
MONTANA	Humphrey McCarthy	23½ 2½	17									
CONNECTICUT	Humphrey McCarthy Other	35 8 1	51									
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	Other Humphrey	21 2	15									
VIRGIN ISLANDS	Humphrey	5	3									
KENTUCKY	Humphrey McCarthy	41 5	47									
MISSOURI	Humphrey McCarthy Other	56 3½ ½	73									
NEW MEXICO	Humphrey McCarthy	15 11	18									
GUAM	Humphrey	5	3									
OREGON	McCarthy	35	34									
OKLAHOMA	Humphrey McCarthy McGovern Other	37½ 2½ ½ ½	39									
TOTALS	Humphrey McCarthy McGovern Other	1760¼ 601 146½ 114¼	3016									

Needed to Nominate: 1509

Responsive

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In the Fight Against Water Pollution...
For more than half a century, Rex has been involved in treating water and controlling water pollution. Now, new satellite plants to clean combined sewage and runoff water, modular on-site units to reclaim and re-use industrial wastewater, and technological breakthroughs for ever more efficient waste treatment systems are coming from Rex.

To Speed Jet-Age Luggage Delivery...
New concepts in automated luggage handling systems from Rex speed baggage safely to and from planes, increasing traveler comfort and convenience. Rex conveying systems also move bulk materials, store, retrieve, and deliver unit quantities via computer control.

To Help Keep a Nation Moving...
Much of the concrete that America rides on starts out riding on Rex, a leader in truck-mounted concrete mixers, road paving equipment, and automated concrete plants. Wherever you see America building, you see Rex.

In Keeping Our Natural Resources Flowing...
As the quality of ores in America's mines diminishes, more efficient processing systems are needed to maintain our raw materials output. Rex designs and builds the giant machines that grind, crush, and process valuable minerals from the rocks where they've been locked for ages.

REX

Rex Chainbelt Inc.
P.O. Box 2022
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

In Memory of

Elizabeth Walker
Chief Switchboard Operator
1935-70

Helen A. Yowell
Administrative Accounting Assistant
and Paymaster
1945-72

Maude Sisney
Mail Supervisor
1952-70

You can see what he's got on the ball. You can't see what he's got on his hair.

Pete Maravich has a reputation for the things he can do with a basketball. Just watch him.

Now watch his hair. It looks a little tougher to control. Pete manages that. And you can, too, with new Vitalis™ Dry Control.

It's a man's hair spray that keeps your hair dry and natural and casual.

Vitalis™ Dry Control

Democratic Telethon

The Democratic National Telethon, largest single fundraising project ever undertaken by the Democratic Party, is designed as a multi-million-dollar effort to help finance the 1972 convention, to pay an installment on the party debt and to start a campaign fund for the eventual presidential nominee.

Democratic National Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien and Treasurer Robert S. Strauss said that the telethon is a new channel for the average man who wants to help meet the cost of democracy.

John Y. Brown, Jr., President of Kentucky Fried Chicken, is chairman of the nineteen-hour convention-eve television presentation originating in the Deauville Hotel in Miami Beach and broadcast nationally by the ABC network. More than twenty-five star performers are providing entertainment for the show, and an estimated 10,000 volunteers throughout the nation will accept some hundreds of thousands of telephone calls pledging cash or contributions via Mastercharge and BankAmericard accounts. Telephone receiving centers under the direction of regional chairmen have been established in thirty-five cities throughout the United States. Regional chairmen include civic, business and political leaders prominent in their respective communities.

The National Telethon Committee, headed by Brown and headquartered in Louisville, includes four successful young Louisville businessmen: Larry G. Townsend, Dennis DeMichele, Ronald Dukes and Charles A. Greer. They are working in close cooperation with George L. Bristol, Fund Raising Director for the 1972 convention. Frank Doheny is Communications Center Comptroller, responsible for the tabulation of funds as reported by the regional directors. Running totals from the communications center will be shown on national toteboards during the telethon. Bill Suessbrick is Executive Director of the telethon, and Bob Banner is Executive Producer. Banner's staff includes Bob Wright and Dick Foster, Assistant Executive Producers; Carolyn Raskin, Producer; Bill Foster, Producer/Director in Los Angeles; and Dick Dunlap, Producer/Director in Miami.

DEMOCRATIC TELETHON COMMITTEE

From left to right: Frank P. Doheny, Communications Center Comptroller; Charles A. Greer, Communications Coordinator; Lawrence G. Townsend, Communications Center Coordinator; John Y. Brown, Jr., Chairman; Ronald F. Dukes, Publicity and Promotion Coordinator; Dennis V. DeMichele, Regional Chairmen Coordinator.

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As the years went by other airlines were formed. They too served meals and showed movies, so that today it's pretty standard fare on all long flights.

But somewhere along the line things began to get a little out of hand.

Some airline started telling you that their meals were better than the next guy's and the next guy retaliated by putting little things like woolen footwarmers on his planes.

And before you could turn around every airline (and we weren't innocent) started adding frills of one sort or another.

And while it's nice to be inundated with a lot of little frills, frills (and meals and movies for that matter) are not what airline service is all about.

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If you're wondering how well we live up to our promises: last year over 3 million Pan Am passengers were people who had flown with us before.

As we see it, that's the kind of thing that matters.

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IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. ——— We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world. ———

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. ——— He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. ——— He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. ——— He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. ——— He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. ——— He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within. ——— He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. ——— He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers. ——— He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries. ——— He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance. ——— He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our Legislatures. ——— He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power. ——— He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: — For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: — For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: — For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world: — For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent: — For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of Trial by Jury: — For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences. ——— For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: — For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments: — For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. — He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us. ——— He has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the lives of our People. ——— He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation. ——— He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands. ——— He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends. ———

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. ——— And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

Without man's imagination and courage, a piece of paper means nothing.

Convention Staff

Joseph A. Califano, Jr.

Joseph A. Califano, Jr., General Counsel for Democratic National Committee, has rendered invaluable legal services during the massive four-year-long Democratic Reform effort. Legal questions connected with reform involved at various times federal and state laws, as well as party regulations, and frequently there were no legal precedents. "Joe Califano has made a major contribution toward the goal we all seek—a strong, united Democratic party," said Democratic National Chairman Lawrence O'Brien. Califano, a partner in the Washington firm Williams, Connally and Califano, was special assistant to President Johnson from July, 1965 to January, 1969 during which he distinguished himself as one of the top administration advisers. From 1961-65 Califano was with the Department of Defense where he served as General Counsel for the Army and later as Special Assistant to Secretary to Defense. Califano was graduated Magna Cum Laude from Harvard Law School in 1955.

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The new Custom Power Cushion Polysteel tire.

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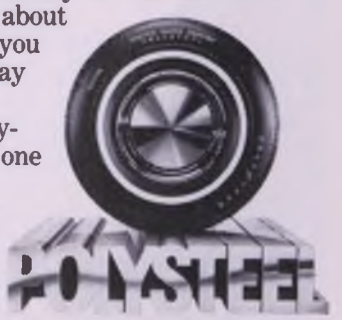

GOODYEAR

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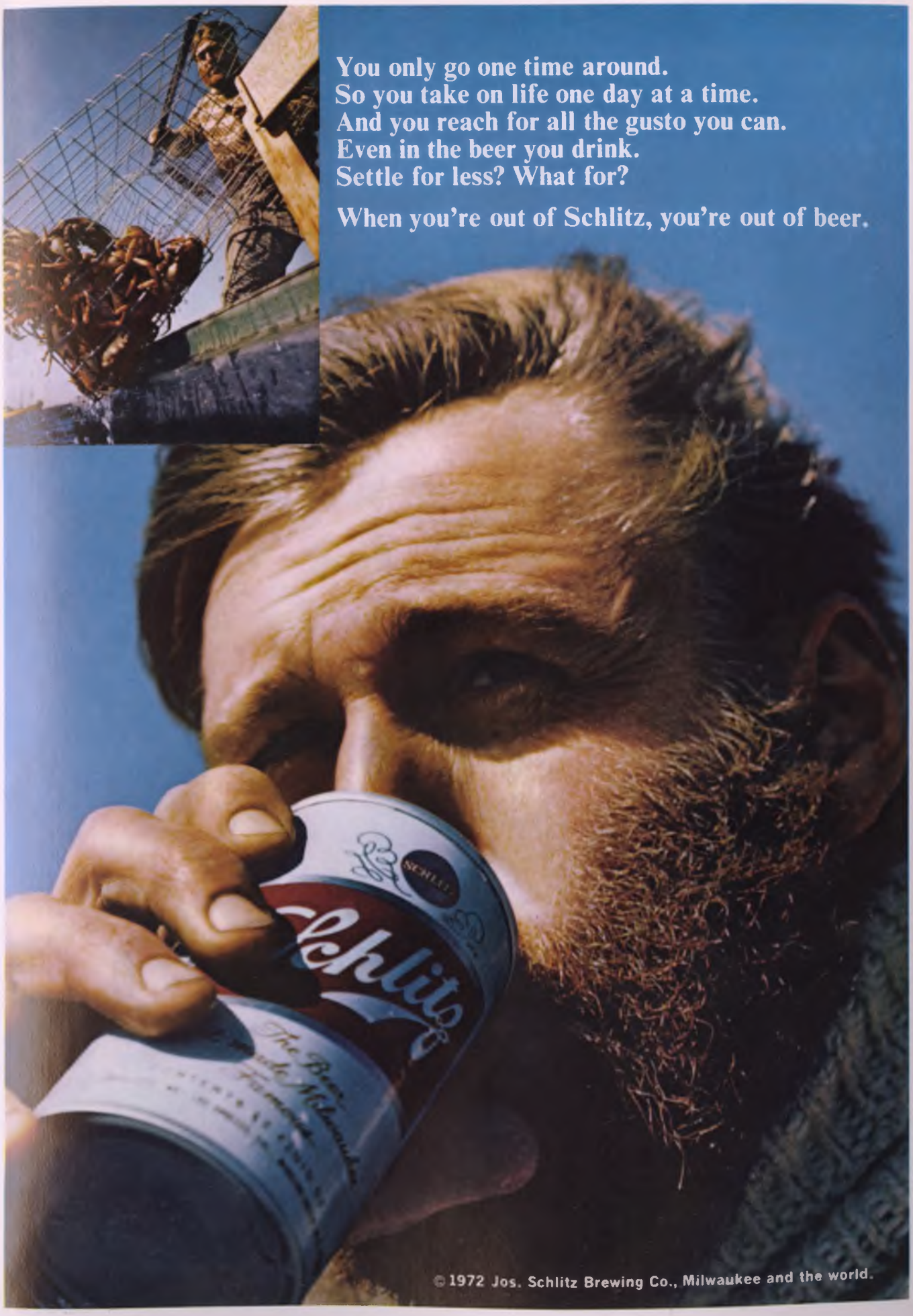
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