

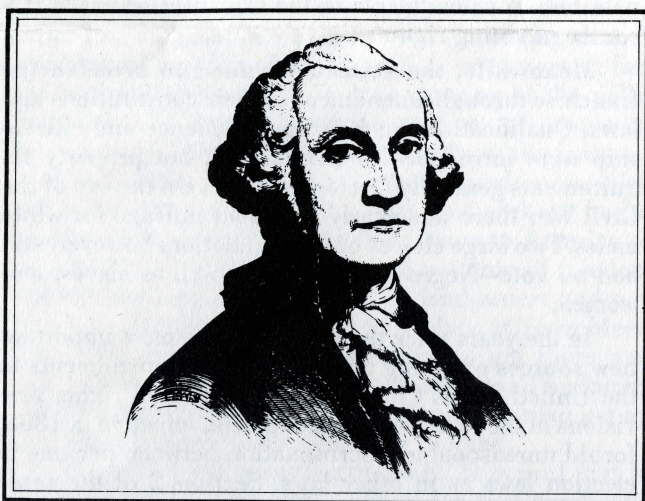
CAMPAIGN'64

BACKGROUND FILE

Just

THE FIRST NATIONAL ELECTIONS

In the Winter of 1789 the people of the United States chose their first national government under the newly-adopted Constitution. On January 7, Presidential electors were chosen in various states, either through the vote of the people or by state legislatures. On February 4, the members of the Electoral College cast their ballots. On April 30, 1789, the first President of the United States, George Washington, was inaugurated in New York City.



The 175th anniversary of the first U.S. national election finds many changes. When the original states took part in the 1789 elections, they were the pioneers of a revolutionary concept of government. The right to vote, in most of the world, was not a universal right but a restricted privilege.

The rights of voters are not the only things that have changed in the past 175 years. The whole machinery of campaigns and elections has been revolutionized. Radio first and television even more fully have enabled candidates to present their views simultaneously and personally in millions of homes. The once-tedious process of counting and totaling the vote has been speeded far beyond the dreams of the Founding Fathers.

But today, as 175 years ago, the process of Elections U.S.A. remains essentially the same, the will of a self-governing people, expressed in peaceful fashion at the polls. "Your every vote," said President Grover Cleveland, "as surely as your chief magistrate, under the same high sanction, though in a different sphere, exercises a public trust."

This is the heritage of 175 years of the people's choice.

THE 1964 ELECTIONS

In the 175th anniversary year of national elections, the people of the United States will elect a President and Vice President through the Electoral College, a brand new House of Representatives and one-third of the United States Senate, plus replacements for such Senators as have left before the completion of their terms.

Here is a list of the offices at stake:

All states and District of Columbia:

President of the United States

Vice President of the United States

All states:

(By Congressional district) United States Representatives (total 435)

Some states:

United States Senators (in most instances, only one of a state's two Senate seats is at stake, and in some states the terms of both Senators extend for another two years)

Governor and other state offices

Local offices

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BACKGROUND FILE

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DOCUMENTARY SOURCES OF THE FRANCHISE

by Gary Cowan, Chicago Member of the American Bar Association

Americans have been voting in elections since early colonial times. The first legislative body in this country met in 1619, in Jamestown, Virginia. Twenty-two representatives elected by the Jamestown settlers sat with the governor and his council in a joint assembly. To the North, colonists at Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay began in the next two decades to elect governors and their assistants as well as representatives.

Virginia and Massachusetts held the first elections because they were the first of the English colonies in America. In the other colonies later established along the Atlantic seaboard, elections were also part of political life. Each of the thirteen colonies that were to become states of the United States had some elected officers in its government, although there were substantial differences from colony to colony in their duties and powers.

Every colony placed limits on the franchise. Business organizations known as "joint stock companies" founded some of the earliest settlements, as at Jamestown and Massachusetts Bay. For a time, the settlements were governed as private businesses, under company charters. Naturally enough, company charters restricted voting to the company's shareholders. In colonies founded by joint stock companies, as in the rest of English America, lawmaking powers passed during the seventeenth century to legislatures, subject to varying degrees of control by executive officers and by the imperial government in London. Statutes then became the principal source of law regulating the right to vote.

Every one of the thirteen colonies had property qualifications for its voters. Most statutes, following the English tradition, limited the right to vote for colony officials to landowners and owners of property in certain boroughs and cities. Others were somewhat more liberal, extending the vote to owners of personal property or to those who paid more than a specified sum in annual taxes. Usually, property qualifications were less restrictive for voting in local elections than for voting in colony-wide elections.

Because land was relatively easy to acquire in colonial America, property qualifications may not have excluded a very large per cent of adult white males from the electorate. Such qualifications did in effect bar voting by women and by persons under twenty-one, who ordinarily had no title to property. And there were other restrictions on voting. Slaves were not allowed to vote, and four southern colonies denied the vote to free Negroes. Some colonies imposed religious tests.

A movement toward more universal suffrage began when the colonies declared their independence from Great Britain and adopted new state constitutions. Five constitutions—those of Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Georgia, and Maryland—liberalized voting qualifications. The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 granted the vote to all free, adult males who paid "public taxes."

None of the first constitutions of the thirteen original states went so far as to establish unqualified man-

hood suffrage. That was left to Vermonters, who declared their independence from New York, of which Vermont had been part, as well as from Great Britain. The Vermont Constitution of 1777 gave the vote to "every man of the full age of twenty-one years." The same provision was retained in a second constitution that was in effect when Vermont obtained admission to the Union in 1791.

The Constitution of the United States, as drafted in the Federal Convention of 1787, did not reduce the states' full authority to control the franchise. The Constitution said nothing about election of state officials. It provided that the elected officers of the new federal government be chosen by voters who met qualifications set by state laws. Over three-quarters of a century would pass before amendments to the Constitution made it a source of voting rights.

Meanwhile, the states continued to broaden the franchise through amendment of their constitutions and laws. Qualifications such as age, residence and citizenship were introduced or maintained, but property requirements generally lost significance. On the eve of the Civil War there was nearly universal suffrage for white males. Two large classes of the population, however, still had no vote—Negroes, free men as well as slaves, and women.

In the years since the Civil War, the most important new sources of voting rights have been amendments to the United States Constitution. Broad civil rights provisions in the Fourteenth Amendment, effective in 1868, forbid unreasonable discrimination between persons in election laws as in other laws. Section 2 of the same amendment threatens the states with loss of representatives in Congress as a penalty for denying adult male citizens the right to vote in state and national elections. The Fifteenth Amendment, effective in 1870, forbids abridgment of the right to vote "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude"; its purpose was to enfranchise male Negroes. The Nineteenth Amendment, effective in 1920, put an end to laws excluding women from the franchise, by forbidding abridgment of the right to vote "on account of sex." In 1961 the Twenty-third Amendment gave residents of the District of Columbia the right to vote in Presidential elections, a right previously held only by the residents of states. The most recent constitutional amendment, the Twenty-fourth, forbids denial of any citizen's right to vote for federal offices "by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax." This amendment received the necessary ratification by three-fourths of the states in January 1964, when it was approved by the legislature of South Dakota.

As documentary sources of the franchise, constitutions and statutes embody the laws that establish a right essential to democracy. But documents alone cannot insure anyone's right to vote. Rights must be protected by the courts, and laws enforced. Most of all, the right to vote must have the support of all citizens.

THE AMERICAN VOTER

by Mrs. Robert J. Phillips, Past President, League of Women Voters of the U.S., and member of the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation

In 1960 John F. Kennedy won the Presidency by fewer than 120,000 votes out of nearly 69 million cast—a plurality of less than one vote per precinct and an impressive demonstration that every vote counts. And yet in that same election more than 35 million Americans of voting age stayed away from the polls.

Not everyone who fails to vote in the United States does so out of indifference, however. A lot of people don't vote because they can't. This may be because they are away from home unexpectedly and can't vote by absentee ballot or they may have been unable to meet some legal requirement (a long pre-election residence in their precinct, for example) or because an administrative barrier has been put in their way (a complicated registration process, for instance).

But when all is said and done, apathy, reluctance to stand in a long line and wait to vote, the feeling that "I don't count"—call it what you will—is an important factor in the American voter's poor showing at the polls. Even in a Presidential election millions of people let some psychological factor keep them from the polls.

Was this attitude less prevalent in an earlier era when the privilege of voting was newer and perhaps had a greater status factor? It was. Men came to America to be free and voting was the symbol not only of freedom but of substance. Voters had to be landowners and pay taxes. In New England voting took place at Town Meeting. Men sometimes traveled miles to get there and when election time came the candidates stood up facing the Meeting. As the clerk called the roll each man got up and stood behind the candidate he favored.

The secret ballot came gradually. It is said that in the West beans were used—black for one candidate, white for the other. On Election Day the voters gathered in the saloon and cast their beans in a large bowl. There was nothing very secret about this method.

The use of paper ballots allowed for secrecy of a sort but at first paper ballots were printed and distributed by the candidates themselves until the 1880's. They varied in size, kind of paper, and print, and were carried to the polling place on Election Day by the voters. All kinds of corruption were possible.

Corruption or not there was great interest in voting. In 1876, 85.8 per cent of adult enfranchised males voted. The highest percentage in recent times was in the 1960 election when 64.3 per cent of the civilian population of voting age went to the polls.

No one who believes that the vote is the key to self-government is very proud of this record. President Kennedy was so concerned over the low turnout that in March 1963 he created a Commission on Registration and Voting Participation. In its Report submitted to President Johnson in December the Commission found that the answers to the question, "Why do so many Americans fail to vote on Election Day?" fall into two main categories: legal and psychological.

"Restrictive legal and administrative procedures for registration and voting are a major reason for low participation," the Report declares and goes on to name

them as residence requirements, registration and absentee voting procedures, literacy tests, and poll taxes.

According to the Commission's Report, four million citizens were not able to vote in 1950 because of residence requirements, five million in 1954, and eight million in 1960. (Changes in some state election laws since 1960 will allow more citizens to vote absentee in their former place of residence or to qualify in their new state under special provisions.)

Sometimes a change of address from one street to another in the same town can deprive a citizen of his vote temporarily. Set up to prevent multiple voting and other electoral frauds, registration systems sometimes inhibit participation by being difficult and inflexible.

Literacy tests—especially in places where they are unfairly administered—are another barrier to voting. And, until the Twenty-Fourth Amendment became part of the United States Constitution on January 23 of this year, poll taxes kept some citizens from participating in national elections in five states.

Legal barriers to voting are gradually being removed. Are psychological barriers to voting also on their way out? Perhaps. Those who think that "your vote makes a difference" can back up the claim with many instances when "just one vote" decided an important election, but voting can make a difference to the voter as well. Taking part in an election is an outward and visible sign of the American voter's belief in our way of governing ourselves.

The Report of the President's Commission gives impetus to an attack on both the psychological and the legal barriers to voting. As a spur to the former, the Commission calls for better training for citizenship in the schools, an increased use of go-see-it-for-yourself field trips, a vigorous continuation of registration and vote campaigns, the further cooperation of newspapers, radio, and television to keep interest in voting high and to provide information on when, where and how to register and vote, and a mobilization of organizations to step up their efforts.

To accelerate the removal of legal and administrative barriers to voting the Commission recommends 21 specific standards for consideration by the various states with the first standard a call for the creation of State Commissions on Registration and Voting Participation.

The other 20 standards include recommendations that state residence requirements not exceed six months, that local residence requirements not exceed 30 days; that new state residents be allowed to vote in Presidential elections; that registration be extended as close as possible to Election Day; that voter lists be kept current and used only for electoral purposes; that absentee registration be provided for those who cannot register in person; that poll taxes and literacy tests be eliminated; that voting by persons 18 years of age be considered; that the right to vote be extended to those living on federal reservations; and that absentee voting by mail be allowed for all absent from home on primary or general Election Day.

ELECTIONS IN THE AGE OF TELEVISION

NETWORK TELEVISION BEGAN COVERING ELECTIONS IN 1948; THESE PICTORIAL HIGHLIGHTS RECALL SOME OF THE SIGNIFICANT MILESTONES AND NOTEWORTHY CHAPTERS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREAT AMERICAN COMPETITION FOR THE VOTES OF THE PEOPLE SINCE TELEVISION BECAME PART OF THE POLITICAL SCENE.



1948—regarded as the last of the “whistle-stop” campaigners, Harry Truman became a familiar fighting political figure; television was only a witness to his triumph, not his basic tool in the contest.



1950—the impact of the Korean War, although in historical terms it was a minor war, was heightened by the immediacy of television news reporting. The War was the first to be covered by television.



1952—Eisenhower pledged to go to Korea. Later, his running mate, Nixon, used television to answer charges that had been made against him. For the first time, a candidate's technique on television became important.



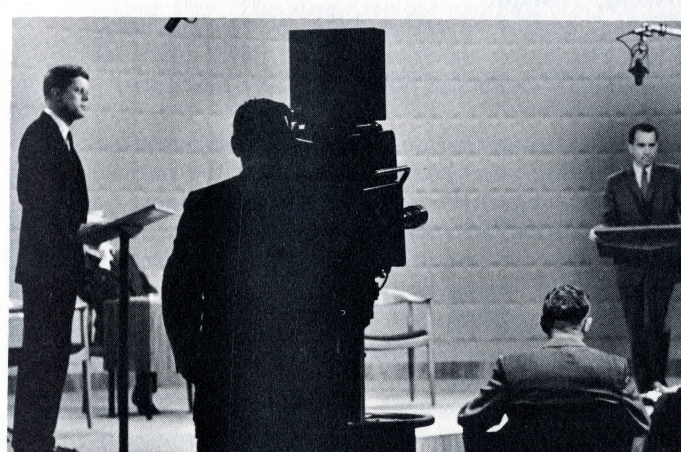
1954—the Army-McCarthy hearings this year had heightened awareness of the importance of what the people saw for themselves. A meeting of the President with his Cabinet was broadcast in October.



1956—the first President to use television consistently to speak to the American people, in a return contest with his 1952 opponent, was elected for a second term in the White House by an increased margin.



1958—television's impact is shown to be personal; the voters who supported Eisenhower did not give the same measure of support to the candidates of Eisenhower's party when they went to the polls.



1960—the confrontation. For the first time, the entire nation saw the two major candidates meet in discussion of the campaign issues on television. The debates of this campaign made political history.



1962—the big news was a combination of man and technology, the first trial of the Vote Profile Analysis of CBS News for the earliest reporting of election results, and the quickest naming of winners.



Republican convention site, San Francisco



Walter Cronkite



Democratic convention site, Atlantic City

The television age of American politics is radically different from what has gone before. A candidate becomes known more closely more quickly by millions upon millions of people. The voting in a distant primary, the balloting in a convention hall are witnessed in every part of America. The eye of television searches out the issues and places them before the people more graphically than ever before. This is the sight and sound of coast-to-coast democracy in action.

TELEVISION—RULE AND ROLE

THE STORY OF SECTION 315

The television and radio stations of the United States broadcast on channels allocated by the Federal Communications Commission. The basic regulations governing broadcasting are contained in the Communications Act of 1934 and subsequent amendments.

Under the law and regulations of the FCC, political material falls into various categories. Paid political broadcasts, labeled as such, are presented on time bought by parties or committees. There is no restriction on the amount of time that can be sold, but the rate charged and the availability of time must be comparable for all parties and all candidates. News broadcasts, regularly scheduled interview programs, news documentaries, and spot news coverage, under a 1959 amendment to Section 315, can be broadcast without the requirement of equal time for every candidate. But confrontations and face-to-face discussions, on time made available without charge by broadcasters, are not permitted under Section 315 unless every candidate for the particular office is offered an equal amount of air time. (In 1952 there were 18 parties with Presidential candidates.)

1960 SUSPENSION

In 1960, acting on a suggestion made by Frank Stanton, President of CBS, during hearings of the Communications Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee, Congress passed, and President Eisenhower signed, a bill providing for a suspension of the equal-time rule, in 1960 only, exempting the Presidential and Vice Presidential campaigns from the equal-time restrictions. It was this action that made the debates between the two major Presidential candidates possible. On September 26, 1960, at the studios of CBS Chicago via the facilities of all the major radio and television networks, Senator John F. Kennedy and Vice President Richard M. Nixon met in the first of their series of four broadcast discussions of the campaign issues.

PRESENT STATUS

Face-to-face confrontations of this kind are impractical under the equal-time restrictions of Section 315 except when there are no other candidates for the office or there has been a law enacted suspending the equal-time rule. Legislation suspending the equal-time provisions of Section 315 during the 1964 campaign for the nominees for the offices of President and Vice President was pending when this text was written.

Assuming the final enactment of enabling legislation, Dr. Stanton wrote to the chairmen of the Democratic and Republican National Committees on November 21, 1963, offering free prime time without sponsorship over the CBS Television and Radio Networks for an extended series of joint appearances of the major parties' candidates for President and Vice President during the eight-week period from Labor Day to Election Day. CBS placed no restrictions on the length of the individual broadcasts or the format.

The CBS offer, as expressed in Dr. Stanton's letter, was made on the principle that the vital consideration in regard to broadcast confrontations is not what is in the best interest of the candidates, or of broadcasters, or of any other group—but rather what is most helpful to

the people in the first business of democracy—the free and informed choice of its leadership.

OTHER OFFICES NOT EXEMPT

Since the present legislation contains no provision for extending the 1960 equal-time suspension for President and Vice President to the campaigns for the U. S. Senate, governorships, or other offices, it is unlikely that confrontations between candidates for these offices will take place on radio and television except when there are only two candidates. Because of the restrictions of the equal-time provisions of Section 315, the broadcast appearances of these candidates, in other than paid time, will usually be limited to interview and/or other news programs. This in turn means that local organizations interested in having the public meet the candidates would do well to maintain logs of upcoming broadcasts and disseminate the schedules to their membership. Individual stations will be glad to know the names of the appropriate officers or chapter chairmen to whom this information is furnished.

THE ROLE OF TELEVISION

Spot news coverage:

The events of a Presidential election year are varied and far-flung—primaries from coast to coast, conventions, campaign tours and, above all else, the counting of the votes.

Advertising Medium:

Political parties advertise. Like most advertisers, they use television extensively for paid political announcements, campaign talks and party functions.

Arena:

Television brings the candidates and their questioners candidly into your home as they face the nation. Vital issues are reported with depth and immediacy.

Look and listen before you vote. Consult your local station schedule for important campaign and election broadcasts.

THE EYES HAVE IT

by Bill Leonard, Executive Producer,
CBS News Election Unit

As the instrument through which an entire nation sees and hears for itself the candidates, the floor-by-play of the national conventions and the politicking of the campaign, television makes every viewer an eyewitness. It provides a front row seat for the counting of the votes. But it doesn't stop there.

Using the accumulated knowledge of 175 years of U. S. elections and the modern machinery of computers, memory machines, electronic analyzers and reporting devices, we will be able in 1964 to explain as well as explore, to give the meaning as well as the substance of events. In addition to a major mobilization of scientific tools, we will mobilize the largest force of correspondents, editors, reporters, writers, cameramen, sound technicians and assorted CBS News personnel ever assigned to a single continuing story.

The dimensions of the job grow not only because the power and meaning of the Presidential election process grow, but also because we are still developing and expanding television journalism. When you cast your vote the eyes have it.

PREPARING FOR NOVEMBER 3

CHOOSING DELEGATES

There are three methods of selecting the delegates from each state who vote for the nomination of a Presidential candidate at the national convention of the Democratic or Republican Party. In some states delegates to the conventions are chosen in primary elections. At least 16 states and the District of Columbia use this method. In other states the delegates are chosen by a state convention of the party or by a Congressional district convention; and in some states the party's state committee makes the selection. The states whose delegates are selected by primary elections include, customarily, almost half the votes cast in either convention.

CAMPAIGNING

A Presidential election campaign usually comes in two phases. The first is the campaign for the nomination (except in the case of an incumbent first-term President). This can start long before the first of the primaries, the March vote in New Hampshire. The second phase of the campaign comes after the parties have chosen their candidates, and traditionally gets under way on Labor Day. The stop-date for campaigning, of course, is Election Day, the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. Usually the candidate nominated in July or August takes a brief rest before embarking on the rigors of a nationwide campaign in September.

ARRANGING CONVENTIONS

Arrangements for the national convention are made by the National Committee of either political party, composed of a committeeman and committeewoman from every state and from the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands. The Committee picks the place for the convention and establishes the rules for allocating delegates votes to each state. Presidential nominating conventions began in the 1830's when Andrew Jackson was President. Previously candidates had been nominated by a caucus of Congressional leaders or state legislatures. The convention nominates candidates for President and Vice President and adopts a platform for the party. The platform is formulated by a committee of the convention, after public and private sessions, and is then submitted to the vote in open convention session.

COUNTING THE VOTES

Votes are counted originally at the polling places in each election district, then at central collection points to which the individual districts report their totals. The counting of votes is supervised by the state, not by the federal government. Today, with the increased use of voting machines which tabulate the votes automatically, and with immediate telephone communication between local polling places and election headquarters, quick tabulations are expected, even in close contests. Through Vote Profile Analysis, CBS News anticipates reporting of results earlier than ever before.

VOTE PROFILE ANALYSIS

VPA—short for Vote Profile Analysis—is a scientific selection and compilation of early voting results from key areas within individual states which provides information on statewide results and group voting patterns minutes after the polls close. In determining the outcome of an election and the reasons for that outcome early in the evening, it employs the results of years of field work examining the characteristics of virtually every voting precinct in every state.

In collaboration with Louis Harris & Associates and IBM, teams of researchers were in the field as long as a year and a half before Election Day of 1964, preparing the material necessary for VPA to begin reporting results of the election early and accurately. The CBS News Election unit, in developing the Election Night reportorial techniques of which VPA is such an impor-

tant part, has utilized the consultant services not only of Louis Harris but also of Theodore H. White, author of "The Making of the President 1960," and H. Meade Alcorn, former Republican National Chairman.

VPA will be used for the Presidential, Gubernatorial and Senatorial races on Election Night, not merely to enable the CBS News Election Unit to "call" races early and accurately, but also to provide an enormous amount of important information regarding the performance of the electorate, state by state, regionally, nationally and along the lines of economic or ethnic status and so forth. VPA is, basically, a modern scientific method of combining "shoe leather political reporting" with electronic science for the purpose of quicker and better information on and for the electorate.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION TIMETABLE

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| July 13 | Republican National Convention meets in San Francisco |
| August 24 | Democratic National Convention meets in Atlantic City |
| November 3 | Election Day |
| December 14 | Electoral College votes for the President |
| January 6 | Votes of Electoral College are counted in joint session of new 89th Congress |
| January 20 | President is inaugurated |

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