

i s s u e s o f
D e m o c r a c y



Special Issue
**GUIDE TO
ELECTION
2000**

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Guide to Election 2000

IN TODAY'S WIRED world, anyone interested in the U.S. presidential election can probably obtain basic news and information as the campaign moves forward. "But the television screens and the newspaper headlines give us the short view," as President John F. Kennedy once said.

Too often, the coverage of the election lacks depth and background, especially for foreign audiences who may not be as familiar as the domestic audience with American political history, or as knowledgeable about the evolution of the process.

For example, how does the Electoral College function? How are campaigns financed? What is the role of the modern media and campaign advertisements? What is the legal and constitutional framework within which elections are fought? It is the purpose of this guide to answer these and other complex questions that the worldwide daily coverage too often ignores.

The first section of the guide comprises a detailed interview with Thomas Mann, a leading authority on the U.S. election process. Mann, who is interviewed by Contributing Editor Paul Malamud, discusses the stakes in the upcoming presidential and congressional elections and gives his views about the key issues in the campaign. In particular, Mann speaks about the foreign policy platform of each major candidate, a topic of prime concern to foreign audiences.

In the second section of the guide, we answer “frequently asked questions” (FAQs) that readers abroad often have about U.S. elections such as: why so few Americans vote; the difference between the popular vote and the Electoral College vote; and, why federal elections are held on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November. The section also includes an analysis of the key congressional races around the country: all 435 seats in the House of Representatives are at stake, plus one-third of the Senate. The section concludes with a number of easy-to-read graphics highlighting the key House of Representatives and Senate races, and important election trends.

The third section of the guide includes a number of articles authored by Contributing Editor Stuart Gorin, detailing the key events of the campaign to date including stories on the acceptance of the presidential nominations by the leading contenders, Republican George W. Bush and Democrat Al Gore.

In the fourth section of the guide, we present a series of articles that provide context for the elections. Mostly authored by Contributing Editor David Pitts, they cover such topics as the role of television in the campaign, both regular

coverage and paid advertisements, the historical contribution of third parties and third party candidates, the importance of the ethnic vote and the significance of presidential oratory.

We round out the guide with a bibliography for further reading on elections and links to election websites. For more information on election websites, please visit our Election 2000 page at:

<http://www.usinfo.state.gov/topical/rights/elect2000/>

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Election 2000: A High Stakes Election

An Interview with Thomas E. Mann

In the following interview, Brookings Institution scholar Thomas E. Mann, a political scientist and leading authority on the U.S. electoral process, discusses the upcoming 2000 presidential election, with its domestic and foreign policy ramifications. Mann covers the current state of U.S. politics, the Bush-Gore contest, the likely foreign policies of both presidential candidates, the potential outcomes in the House of Representatives and Senate races, the role of minor parties and other election-related issues.

Question. A recent report by the Pew Charitable Trusts says there are many important issues in the upcoming election. Yet, the report also states that the American people aren't paying much attention. Do you agree with both parts of that assertion?

Mr. Mann. I think it's indisputably the case that this is a very high-stakes election. The presidency is up for grabs, as are control of the House and Senate, and control of state legislatures that will redraw congressional and state legislative district lines after the 2000 census [population count]. Also at stake are several seats on the Supreme Court, assuming some of the current justices retire. This election will determine all kinds of future policy directions, and possibly realign the party system.

It's an exciting election for people like me who pay a great deal of attention to this. And yet, at the same time, throughout this year, there's been little evidence of public interest in

the election. America is a hotbed of “social rest.” The country is doing exceptionally well.

Economically, Americans are feeling good about the direction the country is moving in, and they’re feeling good about their own personal financial situations. A whole host of social indicators have improved over the last couple of years. Real wages for low- and middle-income voters are, finally, moving up as well. There’s a lot of optimism in the country.

And yet Americans have a certain distaste for politics, especially the way in which Washington politics have been conducted in recent years. They were appalled by both the presidential scandal and the impeachment effort—perhaps, more by the latter than the former. And they don’t like the partisan bitterness that occurs. Americans tend to withdraw from active attention to public affairs, so there is this disjuncture between stakes and interest.

Having said that, it’s important to note that we’re beginning to see an uptick in public attention. After the party conventions, we saw increasing interest in the election, and we saw people who identify with one of the parties finding their way home to their candidates. I expect that, with debates and other major events in the campaign, we’ll see a little more interest than we’ve seen thus far.

Remember, America has permanent campaigns; they seem never to end. We can’t blame citizens for not paying attention year-round to these long, drawn-out affairs. Now we have a concentrated period of about two months. I think you’ll see more interest and attention.

Q. Is there a paradigm shift in American society? Do people feel that the federal government is becoming less important and has less effect on their lives? Are there other centers of power developing? Is that part of the problem?

A. Interestingly, we’re seeing a bit of the opposite occur. One impact of Bill Clinton’s presidency has been a restoration in a belief that the federal government has an important, if limited, role to play in American society.

Think back to the 1980 election and inaugural when Ronald Reagan defeated the incumbent, Jimmy Carter. Reagan said in his first inaugural speech, “Government is the not the solution, government is the problem.” Now come forward two decades to 2000. What are the candidates talking about? They’re talking about what the federal government can do to provide a new prescription drug benefit for seniors; they’re talking about new regulation of health maintenance organizations; they’re talking about a new federal role in improving public education in America. There’s a lot of focus on the federal government.

In spite of declaring the era of big government is over in one of his State of the Union speeches, President Clinton has managed to restore some credibility and confidence in the federal government’s ability to handle some important problems that can’t be dealt with strictly through economic markets, or at local and state levels.

We have a complex political economy. Markets are dominant. We have had an extraordinary economic revival, in part because of use of new technologies and the entrepreneurial spirit in America. We have a very complex, robust federal system in which responsibilities

are shared across different levels of government: federal, state and local.

All of that is true. And yet there remains an important role for the federal government. And I think Bill Clinton's triumph as president is that by embracing some Republican proposals, he has succeeded in neutralizing certain political wedge issues associated with budget deficits, crime and welfare. By doing that, he has managed to restore some public trust in and belief in the efficacy of a limited, but nonetheless substantial, role for the federal government.

Q. You mean, budget deficits, crime and welfare are less of a concern than they were when Clinton became president?

A. Well, there's no question that when you turn endless projections of budget deficits into projections of budget surpluses, you create a more favorable environment for governmental action. When you turn a welfare program into more of a jobs program, you get less public resentment of government give-aways to "undeserving" people. When you begin to show some improvement in crime statistics, then you begin to get a little more favorable public response to the government's ability to provide for the security of its citizens. So yes, I think successes in the performance of government and society over the last years have improved the climate for government.

Q. Is the success of Clinton's centrist liberal approach akin to the success of the center-left in Western Europe?

A. It is fascinating to note similarities across democratic countries. Center-left governments have been doing well in recent years, not just in the U.S. but throughout Europe and, indeed, in other parts of the world, as well. I think the forces of globalization have required old-style left governments to reconcile their public philosophies and ideologies with the market and the imperatives of the market.

Yet, at the same time, as globalization and new technology create enormous opportunities for economic growth and revitalization, they also create problems. There are problems of inequality, problems of losers in the new global economy. And I think many countries have come to believe that government is going to have to continue to play some role. Yes, in enhancing markets, but in supplementing markets, as well.

Q. Have both Governor Bush and Vice President Gore by now defined their international style and approach to foreign affairs?

A. I think we have a much better sense of each presidential candidate's approach to foreign policy now than we did six months ago. There are similarities and differences. Both Governor Bush and Vice President Gore are genuine internationalists. There is no isolationism, there's no protectionism, there's no turning away from the world or from the United States' special responsibilities in it.

There are no major differences in the approach to the Middle East and no great differences of either Gore or Bush with the Clinton administration's approach to trying to broker an agreement between the Israelis and the Palestinians. There are no major differences in our

relations with China. Both candidates support normal trading relations with China and basic engagement.

Having said that, differences are emerging. There are different philosophies, different orientations. I think it's fair to say that Vice President Gore is instinctively more multilateral in his orientation, while Governor Bush tends to be more unilateral. Bush emphasizes the importance of nurturing our most important alliances, but at the same time speaks forthrightly about moving forward with a national missile defense, whatever our European allies and whatever the Russians may think about it. The Bush camp has confidence that they can bring the allies around and bring the Russians around. They oftentimes speak of a limited set of important objectives on which the U.S. is prepared to move. National missile defense is an important element of that. Shoring up relations with our core allies, putting a high priority on North Asia—in particular, Korea, Japan, China, the Taiwan Straits—is also an important element.

I think there's also in the Bush camp less of a willingness to entertain committing U.S. troops for humanitarian intervention. There are already some rumblings of a desire to pull out the limited number of U.S. troops that remain stationed in the Balkans, a belief that the Europeans ought to provide all of the ground forces. This will not make for good alliance-building in Europe. But already the feeling is we ought to be focused on major areas that affect our national security. And so I think, in general, there's less of a willingness to join with the United Nations in peacekeeping operations, certainly, little interest in intervening in Africa.

The Bush foreign policy people believe in a sort of realism in politics, a set of limited objectives, as well as clarity in enunciating our interests and our positions. They have a willingness to move alone, if need be, at times, to advance those interests. But they also have a desire to shore up our central alliances and not have such a scattershot approach to foreign policy. They are not yet as involved in the “periphery,” as they define it.

The Gore conception is quite different. The Gore conception goes under the term “forward engagement.” It argues that the world has changed: the threats are diverse, are much different. The Gore people believe that AIDS and chemical and biological weapons proliferation are central threats to our national security in that we have to be out there engaged with those problems, trying to ward off more serious threats to our security that might occur.

They are more reticent about moving unilaterally on a national missile defense, more inclined to wait and see what the technology can do, more inclined to negotiate it with the Russians and with our allies.

I think the final nuance of difference I'd point to is international economic policy. I think the Bush notion of free trade is that it is essential to global growth and U.S. economic health. And they would push hard for fast-track authority to enter new regional and global negotiations to reduce trade barriers.

Q. A fast-track authority from Congress?

A. A fast-track authority from Congress, which, in effect, is sort of a parliamentary device that guarantees that when the president negotiates

an agreement with other countries, it comes to Congress under special rules that allow an up or down vote and no amendments that would take that agreement apart.

Vice President Gore has indicated his support for continued reduction of trade barriers. But he has promised to give more attention to labor standards, environmental standards, and to account for those in the broader international economic arena. Whether it's possible to do that and still reach agreements and get fast-track authority is a big question.

So Gore would lean more toward labor and the environmental groups than Bush would.

Q. Who are the major foreign policy players on each team at the moment?

A. Governor Bush has assembled an impressive team of advisors, many of whom have served in past Republican administrations—the Bush administration and the Reagan administration. The point person is Condoleezza Rice, who was a Soviet specialist on the National Security Council staff and then a faculty member and provost at Stanford University. She's working virtually full-time on national security matters. There are a whole host of others: Paul Wolfowitz, a former Reagan official, dean of the Johns Hopkins School of International Affairs; Richard Armitage, Richard Perle. There are many other former Republican officials who are counseling Governor Bush, who does not have extensive experience in foreign policy. Bob Zoellick is another one. He was deputy to Jim Baker at the State Department and in the White House and is a very experienced, intelligent foreign policy advisor. In some ways, their pres-

ence is reassuring to people in other countries because they know many of the advisors, if not the governor.

With Vice President Gore, who's been in the White House for seven-and-a-half years, there are a number of familiar figures in the Clinton administration. But I would say that some key people would emerge as important figures. A Gore administration would include Leon Feurth, his long-time advisor in Congress and in the White House, and Richard Holbrooke, who is now the U.S. Representative to the United Nations. It would include the person who is organizing his task force of foreign policy advisors, Bruce Jentleson, who's dean of the Terry Sanford School of Public Policy at Duke University.

Q. What are the differences in the relationships between the advisors and the candidate?

A. Bush is clearly being briefed and instructed by his seasoned advisors and is taking his cues from a team that has had a good deal of experience.

Gore has been working on these issues for decades. He's knowledgeable and self-confident about foreign policy and, therefore, he is more inclined to shape his advisors than vice versa. So there's no point in looking to the advisors to get a hint at what a Gore foreign policy would be. It would be better to look at the candidate.

Q. How about the congressional election? What is at stake here and which party is in line to dominate Congress after this election?

A. The outcome of the House and Senate elections remains uncertain. I think they are likely to be affected by the outcome of the presidential race. If Vice President Gore were to win the presidential race, say, with 52 or 53 percent of the major party vote, I think that would be enough to have a tipping effect in the House and produce the necessary gain for the Democrats to allow them to be the majority party there.

It still would be a bit of a reach in the Senate for the Democrats to achieve a majority. In one sense, their task has been eased. Senator Paul Coverdell, a Republican from Georgia, died recently and was replaced by former Democratic Governor Zell Miller, who is running for the rest of the term—four years—and he's very likely to win that election.

So now the Democrats are just four seats shy of a majority. And given the number of competitive Senate races, it's not inconceivable that they could pull it off. Ironically, if Gore won the presidential race, Lieberman would become vice president, and would have to give up being a senator from Connecticut. In Connecticut, there's a Republican governor who would, no doubt, appoint a Republican replacement.

There's also the possibility that the majority status in the Senate could shift over the course of the term. We have two very senior Republicans—Jesse Helms and Strom Thurmond—who represent states with Democratic governors. If one or both of them left the Senate, they would be replaced, and the margin could be so close as to shift the majority within a congressional term.

So the Senate remains likely to stay in Republican hands. But if Gore has a strong

showing in the presidential race, there are enough competitive seats up for grabs in the Senate to make a Democratic Senate possible, but it would probably be one that would not be fully stable during the course of the term.

In the House, I'd say that Democrats have a slight advantage in terms of there being more vulnerable, open Republican seats than Democratic seats. The most interesting observation to make about the House elections is that there are 435 House seats up, and yet only about three dozen in which there is a serious contest going on. Both parties are focusing on a very narrow band of engagement, and the outcome will be determined in those three dozen seats.

I'm guessing, if Gore wins, the Democrats will pick up sufficient seats in the House to produce a very narrow Democratic majority. If Bush were to win this election, the odds favor the Republicans holding their majority. So I think the most likely outcome is that we will have one party controlling both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, both the presidency and at least one house of the Congress.

Q. There have been several other candidates in this presidential election with popular appeal. Do the Democrat Bill Bradley and the Republican Senator John McCain, who opposed Gore and Bush in the primary contests within their own parties, still have a significant role to play in the upcoming election? And what about Ralph Nader on the left and Patrick Buchanan on the right representing third parties?

A. Bradley, in the end, became a good soldier. He endorsed Vice President Gore, indicated a willingness to campaign for him. But Bradley's

candidacy proved rather disappointing, and I think he will not be a significant factor in the race.

John McCain also proved to be a loyal soldier and supported Governor Bush. But I'm expecting him to play a more important role in individual congressional races. A number of Republicans in the House and Senate have asked him to come in and campaign for them. And I think, to the extent he has any impact, it will be seen in the congressional races.

As far as Pat Buchanan is concerned, his Reform Party had a chaotic convention. There remains a dispute over who should get the \$12.6 million in public financing that is due to the formal nominee of the Reform Party. The odds are that Mr. Buchanan will get those resources.* But he is so diminished as a candidate that even with \$12 million to spend, it's unlikely that he will garner more than 2 or 3 percent of the vote.

Ralph Nader seemed to have struck a chord with more liberal constituencies early in the year. But since the Democratic Convention in Los Angeles, most Democrats have come home to their party. Nader support has sunk from 6 or 7 to 2 or 3 percent in national polls.

In a very close election, it's conceivable that a 2 or 3 percent for Nader, say, in states like Michigan or Washington or Oregon or Maine could make the difference and tip the advantage to Bush. So we shouldn't discount any possibility. But right now it looks as if the conditions in the country are not right for dissidents. People are pretty content, they're generally satisfied with the two major party candidates. And

the best guess is that neither Buchanan nor Nader will hit 5 percent and neither will have a measurable impact on the outcome of the election.

Q. What are some of the important electoral groups in this election? Can you describe how the candidates are tailoring their thematic appeals to appeal to crucial swing voters?

A. Yes. I'll give several examples. First, there's great interest in older voters. They're the ones who have the highest rates of turnout in elections. Their partisan inclination has varied in recent years. Traditionally, they have been more Democratic, but the old New Deal generation is being replaced by people who came of age under Eisenhower.

I think many senior citizens were also especially offended by the president's bad behavior in the White House and so voted more Republican in the 1998 congressional elections. The reason you see so much attention to Medicare and prescription drugs and Social Security in campaign rhetoric is because both Gore and Bush are fighting hard for the senior vote. So that's one critical group.

Secondly, we've had a gender gap in our politics since 1980, with women tending to vote more Democratic and men more Republican. That gender gap is especially wide this year—a 20-point difference—in the latest polls. Women now are moving overwhelmingly toward Gore, men voting firmly for Bush. You're going to see and are seeing efforts by Bush to cut into women's support; his "compassionate conservatism" slogan, supporting the "social safety net" of government programs for disadvantaged people, is one way of trying to do that. Con-

*The FEC decided September 13 to give the money to Pat Buchanan.

versely, you also see Gore trying to appeal to more men. He's doing that by talking about economic prosperity and his plan for real improvements in the quality of middle-class life in America in the decade ahead.

I'd say, finally, there is a real debate about whether swing voters are disproportionately working-class whites or middle-class whites—that is, whether they are people who are really living on the “edge” and who find more economic populist appeals attractive or whether they are the “new economy” white middle class who have prospered in a free-market economy and like tax cuts and less government. That's the argument that's occurring right now.

Vice President Gore has added some populist rhetoric to his stump speech and has talked a lot about the working class and standing up for the working people against the powerful. Yet, at the same time, he's issued a large economic plan that appeals to the middle class. So that's a key focus.

Finally, we always think in terms of our ethnic and racial groupings. By all accounts, the Republicans will make little headway with African Americans this election; Democrats will hold 90 percent. Hispanics are a target group for Governor Bush; he's done well with them in Texas. But it's a hard sell. He just hopes to reduce the Democratic margin that exists there.

Q. Early polls, especially those following the Republican Convention, showed a strong Bush lead. Yet, the lead has now swung in Gore's favor. Why this volatility?

A. This has seemed like a remarkably volatile and unpredictable election year, with many

people speaking confidently about Governor Bush's election and now, after Labor Day, seeing Vice President Gore in the lead. The reality is that in times of peace and prosperity, when the party in the White House is seen as more centrist in its orientation, the odds strongly favor the return of that party to the White House. That's why Vice President Gore has moved into the lead.

We should keep in mind, however, that in spite of the centrist rhetoric, the two parties differ substantially on a whole range of issues, including tax cuts, social insurance, the propriety of abortion, gun control issues and others. The two party platforms, while largely dictated by the presidential nominees, are pretty reliable guides to what they would try to do in office.

One of the most important things to transpire between now and election day is whether the nature of the campaign will facilitate or impede governing at the election. The question now is, whether the candidates are preparing the public for the kind of realistic choices that we and they will face or whether they end up taking positions they can't possibly live with once the election is over. That's where much of the focus should be in the remaining weeks of the campaign.

The Process

WITH A CLOSE presidential election predicted in November, most U.S. and foreign media are focusing on the race between Vice President Al Gore and Texas Governor George W. Bush. But it is important to stress that, under the U.S. system, separate elections will be held for the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives.

In the United States, the president, the leader of the executive branch of government is elected by the votes of all of the people, as is his vice president. He is elected for a term of four years and may be reelected for another four-year term. But there is a two-term limit. The president appoints the members of his Cabinet who do not sit in the legislature, as is the case under parliamentary systems of government. This is because, in America, the three branches of government—executive, legislative and executive—are separate, and, under the Constitution, check and balance each other.

On the same day that Americans go to the polls to elect the next president, they also will separately elect senators and representatives. All 435 seats in the two-year-term House of Representatives, and one-third in the six-year-term Senate, are up for election. These elections are critical since a president can only pass his program with sufficient support in the two legislative bodies that form the U.S. Congress.

Currently, the United States has divided government at the federal level. The presidency is held by a Democrat, Bill Clinton. But both Houses of Congress have Republican majorities. The Republican majority in the House of Representatives, however, is slim—222–209, with two independents and two vacancies—and most commentators speculate that either party could win a majority in November. Current predictions are that the Republicans—with a 54–46 margin—will retain control of the U.S. Senate.

The separation of powers in the U.S. system may be confusing to some observers more familiar with parliamentary and other forms of government. But the U.S. Constitution provides for divided government, if that is what the people want. The principle is enshrined in the doctrine of separation of powers—of the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government—that the Founding Fathers believed was necessary to prevent arbitrary rule.

The importance of this doctrine in American governance has long been stressed by constitutional lawyers, but never more eloquently than by Louis Brandeis, one of the most renowned Supreme Court justices. Speaking in 1926, Brandeis said, “The doctrine of the separation of powers was adopted by the Convention of 1787 not to promote efficiency, but to preclude the exercise of arbitrary power. The purpose was not to avoid friction, but, by means of the inevitable friction incident to the distribution of governmental powers among three departments, to save the people from autocracy.”

The concept was rooted in the American experience of colonial domination by Great Britain. The Founding Fathers did not want to replace arbitrary power exercised from London with arbitrary power exercised from the U.S. capital. So they looked for a new model of government. A primary influence on their thinking was a Frenchman, the Baron de Montesquieu.

In his book, *On The Spirit of Laws*, published in 1748, Montesquieu argued for the idea of separate but equal powers among the three branches of government. “When the law making and law enforcement powers are united

in the same person,” he wrote, “there can be no liberty.”

James Madison, regarded as the Father of the U.S. Constitution, believed strongly in Montesquieu’s vision of the separation of powers and sought to include this principle in the U.S. system. “The accumulation of all powers—legislative, executive, judiciary—in the same hands, whether of one, a few or many, and whether hereditary, self-appointed or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny,” Madison wrote.

The Founding Fathers were aware that the separation of powers could lead to weak government. As far as is known, none of them used a word like “gridlock,” but they clearly knew that it could occur in a system based on separation of powers. But because of their experience with colonial rule, they were much more afraid of government that was too strong than government that was too weak.

As George Washington, the nation’s first president, remarked in his farewell address, “It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres; avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another.”

If the American people want strong government, they are free to elect a president and Congress from the same party—and more so, free to elect persons of the same ideological persuasion. But there have been many times in American political history when, in effect, the American people have voted to check the power of the president by electing a Congress domi-

nated by members of a different party or vice versa.

That is the case currently—with a Democratic president and Republican control of both Houses of Congress. In the 1980s the reverse was true. Republicans Ronald Reagan and George Bush held the White House, but the Democrats retained control of the House of Representatives throughout the 1980s and the U.S. Senate for part of the decade.

At other times, especially during crucial periods in the nation's history, Americans have voted for strong, undivided government. This was the case, for example, in 1932 when the country was facing the Great Depression. In that year, the people elected not only Democratic President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) but they also voted in an overwhelmingly Democratic Congress. The Democrats won 313 seats in the House of Representatives that year and 59 seats in the Senate. The Democratic sweep enabled FDR to pass extensive legislation known as the New Deal.

In more recent decades, however, divided government at the federal level has been more the rule than the exception. To some observers, such limits on the power of the central government—even when sanctioned by the people—may seem confusing, self-defeating and obstructionist.

But Americans believe the separation of powers has served their country well—and not only Americans. An Englishman once wrote in a widely quoted book, “The principles of a free constitution are irrevocably lost when the legislative power is dominated by the executive.” The Englishman was Edward Gibbon,

and the book was *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

House of Representatives

Seats at Stake

WHILE ALL 435 SEATS in the House of Representatives are at stake in the November 7 general election, political observers believe that only about 10 percent of them are at risk of changing political parties. The great majority of the races are considered “safe” Democratic or Republican.

Republicans currently have a 222–209 edge, and there are two seats held by independents and two vacancies.

Many, but not all, of the tightly contested races will be for “open seats” where the incumbent either retired or is seeking higher office.

The two Republican-held seats that are considered most vulnerable are Congressman James Rogan’s in California’s 1st District, and the open seat being vacated by Congressman Merrill Cook in Utah’s 2nd District.

Considered most vulnerable on the Democratic side are Congressman Michael Forbes’ seat in New York’s 1st District and retiring Congressman Owen Pickett’s in Virginia’s 2nd District.

There are four other California seats believed to be in play this election: the open seat in the 15th District belonging to Republican Congressman Tom Campbell, who is running for the U.S. Senate; the 22nd District seat of Democratic Congresswoman Lois Capps; the 36th District seat of Republican Congressman Steven Kuykendall; and the 49th District seat of Republican Congressman Brian Bilbray.

The rest of the tightly contested races, listed below from material provided by *Congressional Quarterly* magazine, are scattered throughout the country in two dozen different states. (Numbers refer to congressional districts.)

Colorado

6th, Republican Tom Tancredo

Connecticut

5th, Democrat Jim Maloney

Florida

8th, Republican open seat

Georgia

7th, Republican Bob Barr

Illinois

10th, Republican open seat

17th, Democrat Lane Evans

Indiana

2nd, Republican open seat

8th, Republican John Hostettler

Kansas

3rd, Democrat Dennis Moore

Kentucky

1st, Republican Edward Whitfield

3rd, Republican Anne Northup

6th, Republican Ernie Fletcher

Michigan

1st, Democrat Bart Stupak

8th, Democratic open seat

Minnesota

4th, Democratic open seat

6th, Democrat Bill Luther

Mississippi

4th, Democrat Ronnie Shows

Missouri

6th, Democratic open seat

Montana

Republican at-large, open seat

Nevada

1st, Democrat Shelley Berkley

New Hampshire

2nd, Republican Charles Bass

New Jersey

7th, Republican open seat

12th, Democrat Rush Holt

New Mexico

1st, Republican Heather Wilson

New York

2nd, Republican open seat

North Carolina

8th, Republican Robin Hayes

Ohio

12th, Republican open seat

Oklahoma

2nd, Republican open seat

Pennsylvania

4th, Democratic open seat

10th, Republican Donald Sherwood

13th, Democrat Joseph Hoeffel

Washington state

1st, Democrat Jay Inslee

2nd, Republican open seat

5th, Republican George Nethercutt

9th, Democrat Adam Smith

West Virginia

2nd, Democratic open seat

Senate Seats at Stake

THIRTY-FOUR OF THE 100 seats in the U.S. Senate at stake November 7, five of them open due to retirement. These are the seats that will be most in play as the Democrats and Republicans vie for control of the upper congressional chamber.

Republicans currently hold a 54–46 edge but also have 19 of the 34 seats being contested this year. According to *USA Today*, the Republicans currently appear certain to win nine of the races and six are leaning their way, while the Democrats are sure about 10 of the seats and two are leaning their way. The remaining seven races, *USA Today* calls toss-ups. They are in Delaware, Florida, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New York and Virginia.

Following is a list of the Senate races:

Arizona. Republican Jon Kyl, who initially won his seat by a 14 point margin six years ago, is being challenged in his reelection bid by Libertarian Barry Hess. Kyl has a 43 point lead in the polls as of September 16th.

California. Dianne Feinstein, the Democratic incumbent seeking a second full term, faces Republican Congressman Tom Campbell. After winning a special election in 1992, Feinstein captured the seat two years later by two percentage points. Feinstein has a 9 point lead in the poll as of October 14th.

Connecticut. Democrat Joe Lieberman is seeking reelection to a third term despite being on the Democratic ticket as Vice President Al Gore's running mate. His Republican opponent is Waterbury Mayor Philip Giordano. Six years ago, Lieberman kept the seat by a better than two-to-one margin. If Lieberman would be victorious in both contests, he would have to resign

the Senate seat. In that scenario, the state's Republican governor would appoint a Republican successor to fill the seat before another election is held. Lieberman has a 33 point lead in the polls as of October 1st.

Delaware. Bill Roth, the Republican incumbent is seeking a sixth term. His Democratic opponent will be Governor Tom Carper. In 1994, Roth was reelected with a 13 point margin. Roth has a three point lead in the polls as of October 5th.

Florida. Republican Congressman Bill McCollum and Democratic State Insurance Commissioner Bill Nelson are seeking to replace retiring Republican Connie Mack, who served two terms. Nelson has a three point lead in polls as of October 16th.

Georgia. Former Governor Zell Miller, a Democrat, was named to replace Paul Coverdell, a Republican who died in July 2000. In running to fill the seat for a six-year term, Miller is being challenged by former Republican Senator Mack Mattingly. Miller has an 18 point lead in the polls as of October 9th.

Hawaii. Democrat Daniel Akaka is seeking a second full term. His Republican challenger will be former Hawaii State Senator John Carroll. After winning a special election in 1990, Akaka captured the seat four years later by a nearly three-to-one margin. Akaka has a 36 point lead in the polls as of September 28th.

Indiana. Republican Richard Lugar seeks a fifth term. His Democratic challenger is attorney David Johnson. In 1994 Lugar won reelection by better than a two-to-one margin. Lugar has 36 point lead in the polls as September 28th.

Maine. Republican Olympia Snowe, is seeking a second term after initially winning her seat by 24 percentage points. Her Democratic challenger is Maine State Senate President Mark Lawrence. Snowe has a 44 point lead in the polls as of September 27th.

Maryland. Democratic incumbent Paul Sarbanes is seeking a fifth term, after winning his last election by 18 percentage points. His Republican challenger is former Howard County Police Chief Paul Rappaport. Sarbanes has a 22 point lead in the polls as of October 15th.

Massachusetts. After winning a special election in 1962 to fill the remaining two years of the Senate term of his older brother, President John F. Kennedy, the Democratic incumbent, Edward Kennedy, is now seeking his seventh full term. Kennedy won last time by a 17-point margin. His Republican opponent is businessman Jack Robinson. Kennedy has a 45 point lead in the polls as of September 27th.

Michigan. Republican Spencer Abraham, who initially won his seat by a 9-point margin, is seeking a second term. His Democratic challenger is Congresswoman Debbie Stabenow. Abraham has a 10 point lead in the polls as of October 12th.

Minnesota. Republican Rod Grams is seeking a second term. His Democratic challenger is department store heir Mark Dayton. Grams first won his seat by a 5-point margin. Dayton has a 14 point lead in the polls as of October 14th.

Mississippi. Incumbent Republican Trent Lott, the Senate majority leader, is seeking a third term after being reelected six years ago by 38 percentage points. His Democratic challenger

is educator Troy Brown. Lott has a 28 point lead in the polls as of September 25th.

Missouri. Senator John Ashcroft is seeking a second term. Although Ashcroft's Democratic challenger, Governor Mel Carnahan, was killed on October 16th in a plane crash, his name will remain on the ballot, according to Missouri state law. Ashcroft won his first election by 24 percentage points. Ashcroft has a ten point lead in the polls as of October 12th.

Montana. Republican Conrad Burns is seeking a third term. His Democratic opponent is rancher Brian Schweitzer. Burns had a 24-point margin of victory in the last election. Burns has a nine point lead in the polls as of October 12th.

Nebraska. With incumbent Democrat Bob Kerrey retiring, the race will be between Democratic former Governor Ben Nelson and Republican Nebraska State Attorney General Don Stenberg. Nelson has a six point lead in the polls as of October 1st.

Nevada. With Democrat Richard Bryan retiring, the race will be between Democratic attorney Ed Bernstein and Republican former Congressman John Ensign. Ensign has a 13 point lead in the polls as of September 12th.

New Jersey. With Democrat Frank Lautenberg retiring, the race will be between Republican Congressman Bob Franks and businessman Jon Corzine. Corzine has a 13 point lead in the polls as of October 14th.

New Mexico. Incumbent Democrat Jeff Bingaman is seeking a fourth term. His Republican challenger is former Congressman Bill Redmond. Six years ago, Bingaman won reelection by 8 percentage points. Bingaman has a 19 point lead in the polls as of September 26th.

New York. This race is drawing the most media attention because First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is running for the seat being vacated by retiring Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan. The Republican challenger is Congressman Rick Lazio. Clinton has a four to seven point lead in the polls as of October 11th.

North Dakota. Incumbent Democrat Kent Conrad is being challenged by Republican former U.S. Navy officer Duane Sand. Conrad has been in the Senate since 1986, although he retired in 1992, then won a special election that same year to fill a vacancy in the state's other Senate seat. Six years ago, Conrad won reelection by 16 percentage points. Conrad has a 41 point lead in the polls as of October 5th.

Ohio. Republican Mike DeWine is seeking a second term. His Democratic challenger is businessman Ted Celeste. DeWine won his initial term by 14 points. DeWine has a 24 point lead in the polls as of October 7th.

Pennsylvania. Republican incumbent Rick Santorum is seeking a second term after winning his initial one by two percentage points. His Democratic opponent will be Congressman Ron Klink. Santorum has a 15 to 20 point lead in the polls as of October 12th.

Rhode Island. Republican Lincoln Chafee, who was appointed to fill the remaining 14 months of the term of his late father, John Chafee, is seeking his first full term. His Democratic challenger is Congressman Robert Weygand. Chafee has a 16 point lead in the polls as of October 13th.

Tennessee. Republican incumbent Bill Frist, who won his first term by 14 points six years ago, is seeking reelection. College professor Jeff

Clark is his Democratic challenger. Frist has a 26 point lead in the polls as of October 15th.

Texas. Republican incumbent Kay Bailey Hutchison is seeking a second full term after winning a special election seven years ago and then winning a six-year term by a 23 point margin. Her Democratic challenger is attorney Gene Kelly. Hutchison has a 32 point lead in the polls as of October 11th.

Utah. Republican Orrin Hatch is seeking a fifth term. His Democratic opponent is businessman Scott Howell. In the last election, Hatch won by 41 points. Hatch has a 41 point lead in the polls as of September 27th.

Vermont. Incumbent Republican James Jeffords, who is seeking a third term, won last time by nine percentage points. His Democratic challenger is Vermont State Auditor Ed Flanagan. Jeffords has a 23 point lead in the polls as of October 11th.

Virginia. Democrat Charles Robb is seeking a third term. His Republican opponent is former Governor George Allen. Six years ago, Robb won reelection by three points. Allen has a 3 point lead in the polls as of October 2nd.

Washington State. Republican Slade Gorton, who is seeking a fourth term, had a two-year hiatus in the 1980s when he lost one Senate seat but then won the other one. His margin of victory six years ago was 12 points. Gorton's Democratic opponent will be Internet executive and former Congresswoman Maria Cantwell. Gorton has a six point lead in the polls as of October 12th.

Wisconsin. Incumbent Democrat Herb Kohl is seeking a third term. His Republican opponent will be John Gillespie, founder of a charitable

ranch for boys. Last time, Kohl won by 17 percentage points. Kohl has a 23 point lead in the polls as of October 14th.

West Virginia. Democrat Robert Byrd is seeking his eighth term, after winning his last election by better than a two-to-one margin. Republican electrical contractor David Gallaher is his opponent. Byrd has a 49 point lead in the polls as of September 27th.

Wyoming. Republican Craig Thomas, who won his initial term six years ago by 20 points, is seeking reelection. His Democratic opponent is coal miner Mel Logan. Thomas has a 54 point lead in the polls as of September 17th.

Frequently Asked Questions About U.S. Elections

Primary and general elections

Question: What types of elections are there?

Answer. There are three basic types—primary, general and local. In addition, “special elections” can be called which are limited to one specific purpose, e.g., filling a vacancy.

Q. What is a primary election?

A. A primary election is a nominating election in which a candidate is chosen by a political party. A primary election can be either “open” or “closed.” If a primary election is closed, only those who are members of the respective party may vote. An open primary is one in which any eligible voter, regardless of party affiliation, may vote.

Q. What is a general election?

A. A general election is an election held to choose among candidates nominated in a primary (or by convention or caucus) for federal, state and local office. The purpose of a general election is to make a final choice among the various candidates who have been nominated by parties or who are running as independent or write-in candidates. In addition, where nonpartisan races have not been decided in the primary, the runoffs are held at the general election. Statewide measures also can be placed on the November ballot.

Q. When is a general election held?

A. It is held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November in even-numbered years.

Q. Can anyone run for office? What is necessary to become a candidate?

A. Each elected office has different requirements. To run for president of the United States the candidate must:

- A. Be a natural-born citizen of the United States
- B. Be at least 35 years of age
- C. Be a resident of the United States for at least 14 years.

U.S. Constitution, Article 2, section 2, paragraph 5

Senate candidates shall be at least 30 years of age, a U.S. citizen for nine years, and a resident of the state when elected.

U.S. Constitution, Article 1, section 3

Congressional representative candidates shall be at least 25 years of age, a U.S. citizen for seven years, and a resident of the state when elected.

U.S. Constitution, Article 1, section 2

State and locally elected officials are subject to the requirements of their jurisdictions.

Q. Why are federal elections held on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November?

A. The Tuesday after the first Monday in November was initially established by federal law in 1845 for the appointment of presidential electors in every fourth year. In 1875, lawmakers established this day for electing representatives in every even numbered year. In 1914, it also became the day for electing U.S. senators.

Why early November? For much of our history, America was a predominantly agrarian society. Lawmakers therefore took into account that November was perhaps the most convenient month for farmers and rural workers to be able to travel to the polls. The fall harvest was over, (spring was planting time and summer was

taken up with working the fields and tending the crops) but in the majority of the nation the weather was still mild enough to permit travel over unimproved roads.

Why Tuesday? Since most residents of rural America had to travel a significant distance to the county seat in order to vote, Monday was not considered reasonable since many people would need to begin travel on Sunday. This would, of course, have conflicted with church services and Sunday worship.

Why the first Tuesday after the first Monday? Lawmakers wanted to prevent election day from falling on the first of November for two reasons. First, November 1st is All Saints Day, a Holy Day of Obligation for Roman Catholics. Second, most merchants were in the habit of doing their books from the preceding month on the 1st. Apparently, Congress was worried that the economic success or failure of the previous month might prove an undue influence on the vote!

Q. Why do so few people vote? Is there no penalty for not voting, like in Australia?

A. Several factors seem to influence voter turnout. Many observers believe that current registration laws hinder voter turnout. Demographic composition of the electorate, long periods of political or economic stability, predictable outcomes in many races, and lack of some candidates' appeal are other factors determining voter turnout. Turnout tends to be higher in general elections than in primary elections.

Although seriously discussed, compulsory voting has never been enacted into law in the

United States. Regard for the vote as a right and a privilege rather than a duty might have its foundation in the Constitutional establishment of a group of “electors” who were designated within the states for the single, specific purpose of choosing a president. (U.S. Constitution, Article 2, section 1.) Although the franchise now extends to almost every citizen 18 years or older, in the beginning of the Republic, the right to vote was limited to adult males who either owned property or paid taxes.

Electoral College

Q. Can you please explain the difference between the popular vote and the Electoral College vote?

A. The Electoral College system gives each state the same number of electoral votes as it has members of Congress. The District of Columbia also gets three electoral votes. There are a total of 538 votes, and a candidate must get 270 to win. All but two states have a winner-take-all system, in which the candidate who gets the most popular votes in the state gets all that state’s electoral votes. In most states, electors are chosen at district and state party conventions. The electors of the party of the winning candidate are the ones who vote in the Electoral College. The electors usually gather in their state capitals in December to cast their votes. The electoral votes are then sent to Washington, where they are counted before a joint session of Congress in January. Legislation is introduced in Congress periodically to drop the Electoral College and pick a president based on popular vote. The legislation usually doesn’t get very far.

Q. Has any president been elected without a majority of the popular vote?

A. There have been 17 presidential elections in which the winner did not receive a majority of the popular vote cast. The first of these was John Quincy Adams in the election of 1824 and the most recent Bill Clinton in 1996.

The electoral college system generally gives all of a state’s electoral votes to the winner in that state, no matter how slim the margin. Thus it has happened that candidates have been elected even though they received fewer popular votes than their opponents. Both Rutherford B. Hayes, in 1876, and Benjamin Harrison, in 1888, were elected in this manner. In the case of Hayes, a special electoral commission was called in 1877 to decide the contested returns.

John Quincy Adams also received fewer popular votes than his opponent, Andrew Jackson, in the election of 1824, but his election was decided by the House of Representatives because Jackson failed to win a majority of Electoral College votes. On several occasions, the popular vote pluralities of the Electoral College victors have been razor thin or even questionable. One instance was the election of John F. Kennedy over Richard M. Nixon in 1960.

Miscellaneous FAQs

Q. Why does the president swear on a Bible for inauguration if there is a separation between church and state in the U.S.?

A. When presidents and other federal officials take their oaths of office, they often place their hand on a Bible and conclude their oaths with the words “so help me God.” However, the Con-

stitution of the United States, Article 2, section 1, paragraph 8, reads “I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the duties of the Office of President...” The “(or affirm)” was inserted in this section to allow presidents to avoid swearing oaths to God as a condition of taking office.

Elected representatives shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support the Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Q. What are the symbols of the Republicans and Democrats?

A. The elephant represents the Republican Party and the donkey represents the Democratic Party. Both images were created by political cartoonist Thomas Nast for the publication *Harper's Weekly* in 1874. Nast created a marauding elephant to represent the “Republican vote.” The symbol was quickly embraced by Republicans as their party’s own. Speaking of the Democrats in the Minnesota Legislature, Ignatius Donnelly remarked, “The Democratic Party is like a mule—without pride of ancestry or hope of posterity.”

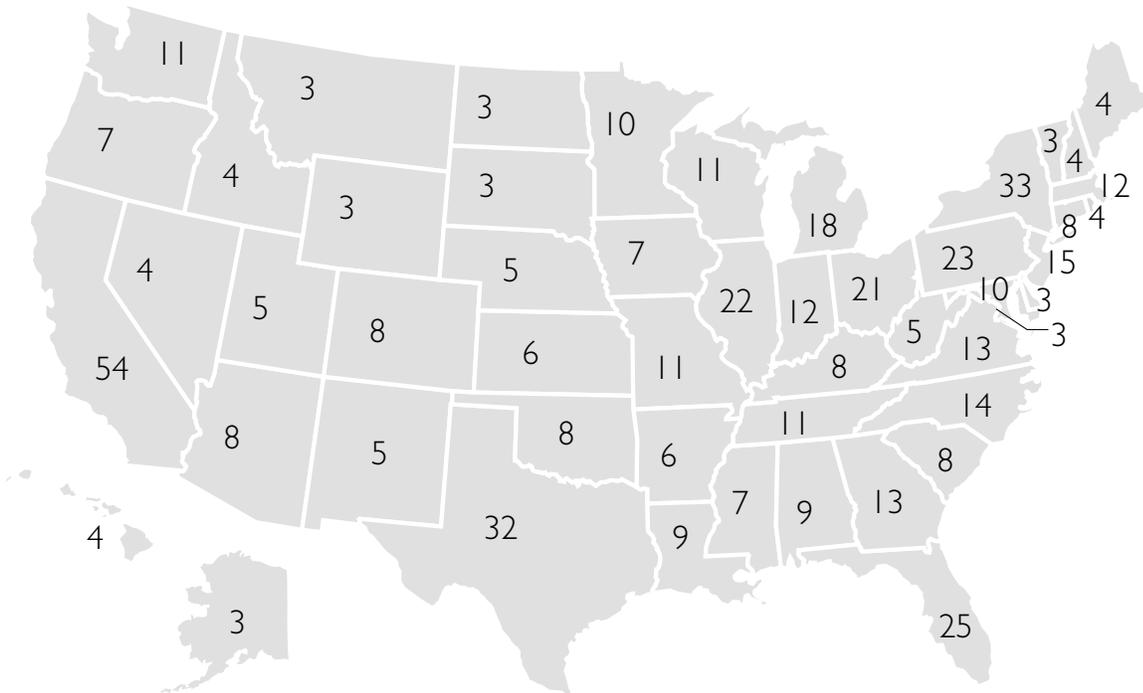
Q. Do labor unions and other organizations tell people how to vote? What does it mean when a union or newspaper “endorses” a candidate?

A. Voting in U.S. elections is conducted by secret ballot, and a voter’s choice is private. Historically, especially in the early and mid-20th century, labor unions wielded a strong political influence over their members. Since the Vietnam War era, however, differences

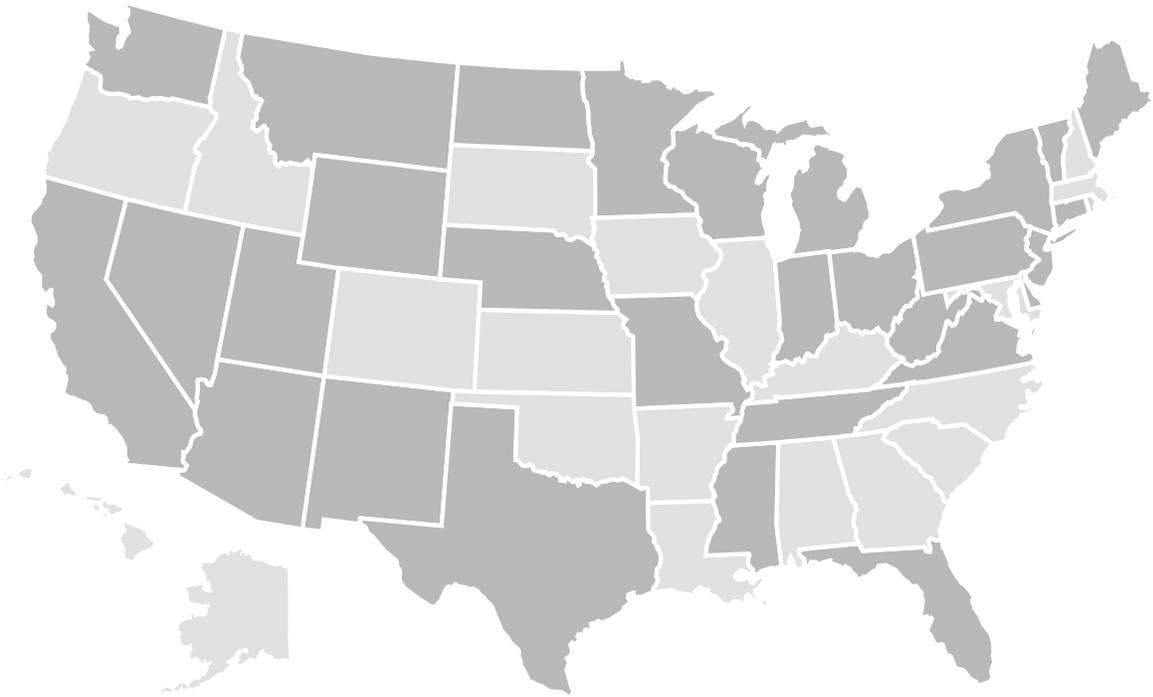
between union leaders and members have become more common. The “endorsement” of a candidate by a union means the union publicly supports the candidate and approves the candidate’s stand on issues. While unions encourage members to join in that support, it would be unlawful to coerce a member to vote against his or her own judgment.

Maps

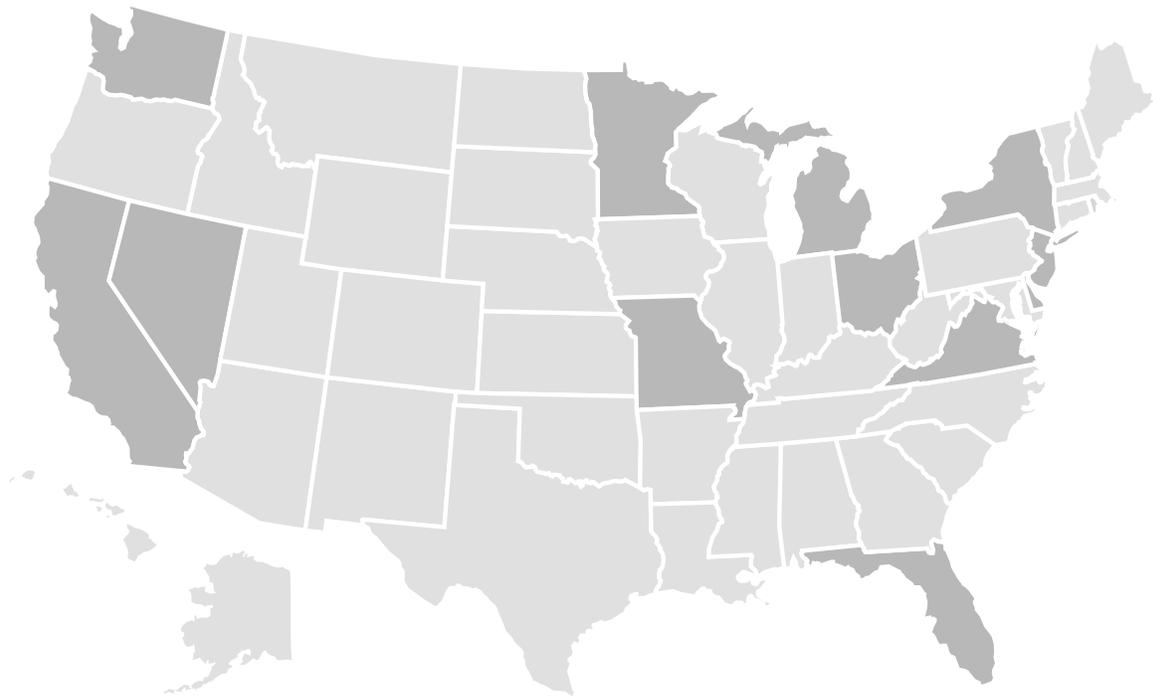
Electoral Votes by State

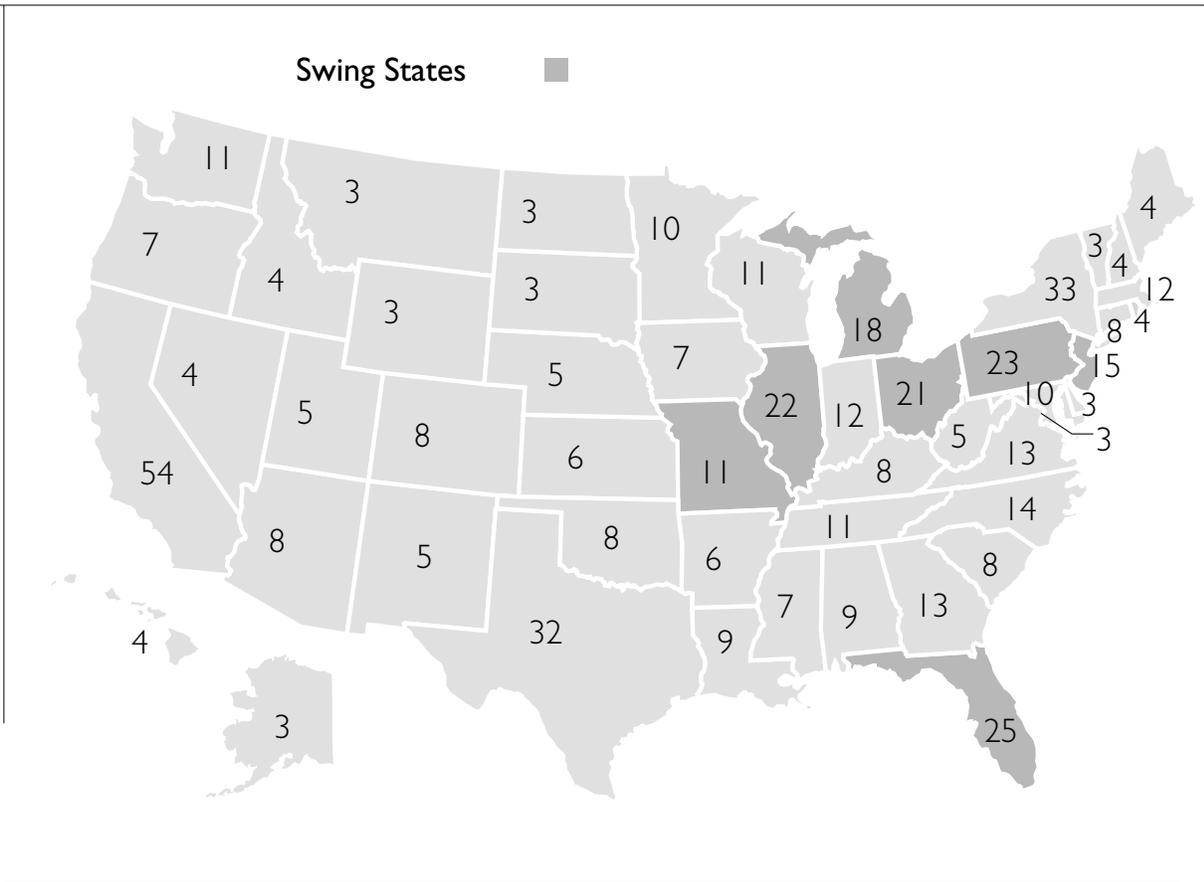


Senate Races



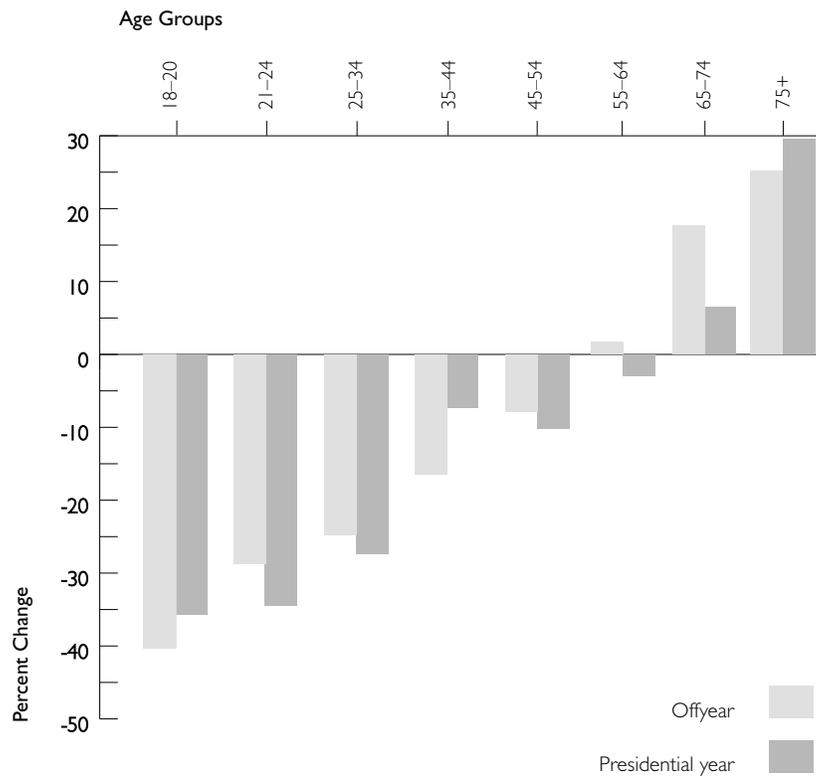
Key Senate Races





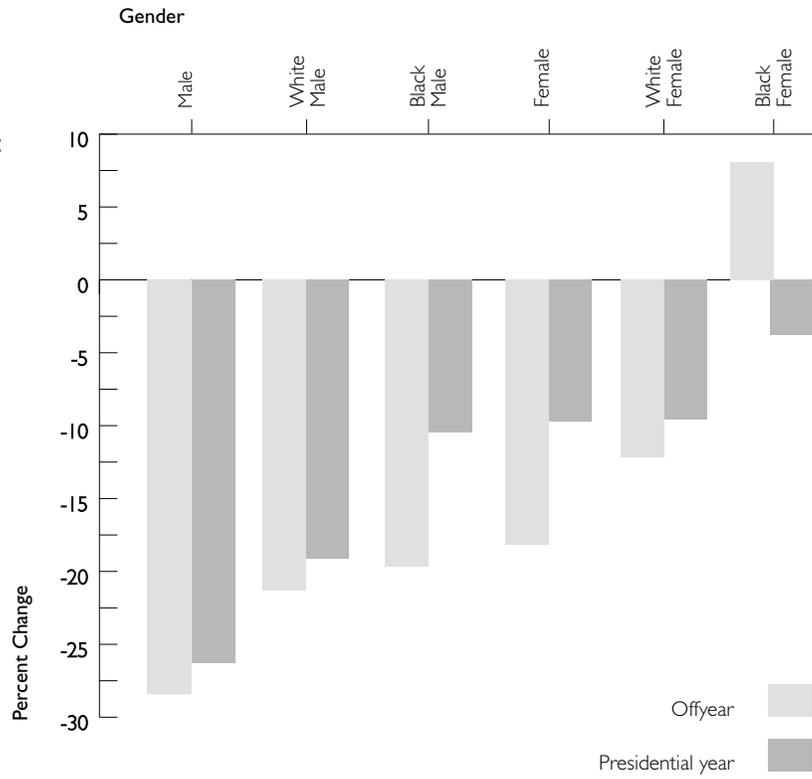
Graphs

Turnout by Age:
% Change from
1972 to 1998

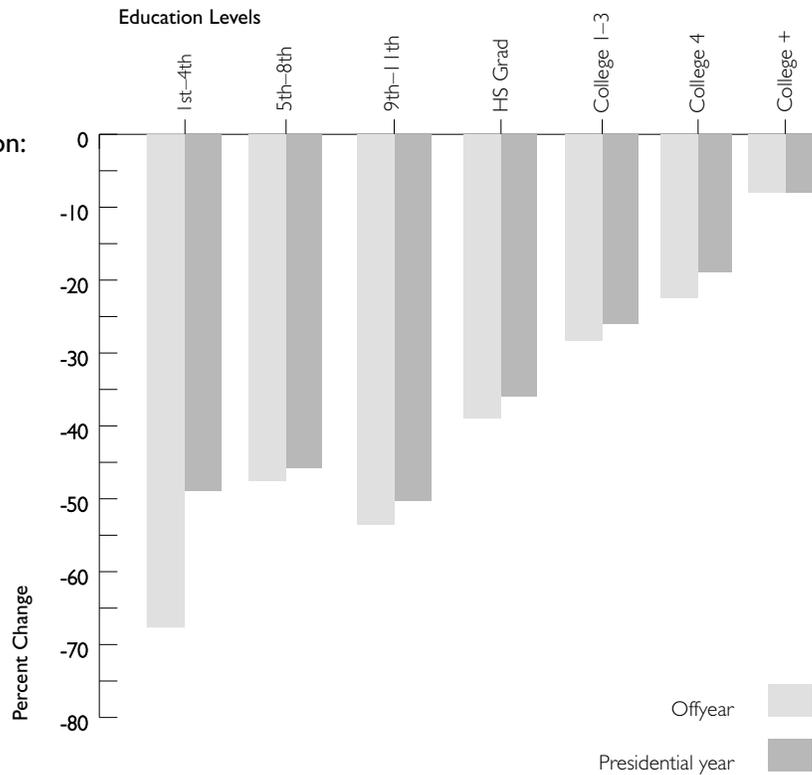


Prior to 1972, 18-20 year olds did not have the vote.

Turnout by Gender:
% Change from
1964 to 1998

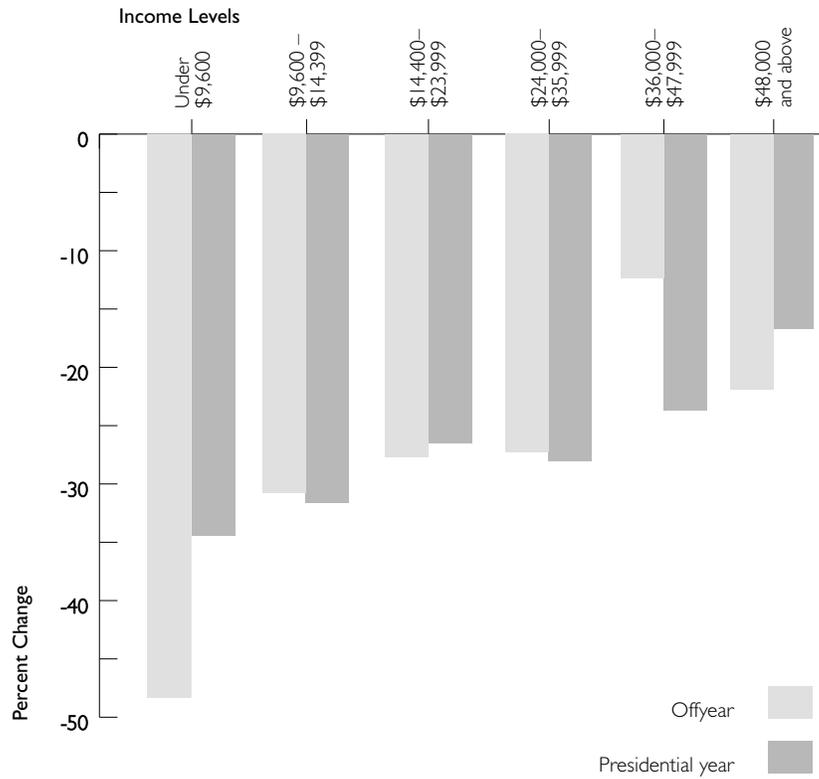


Turnout by Education:
% Change from
1964 to 1998



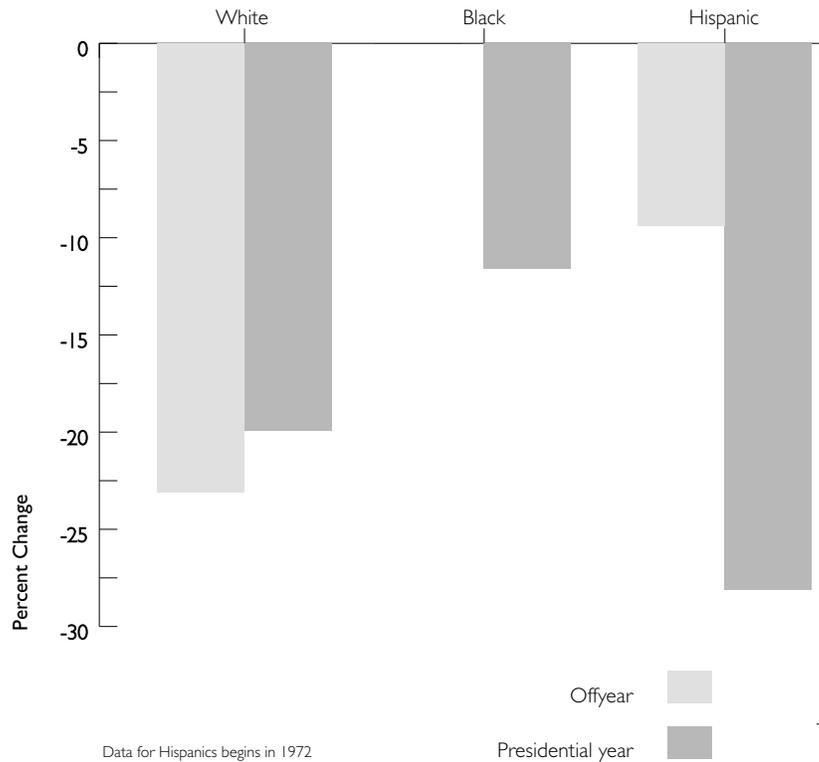
Offyear data for 1st-4th and 5-8th uses 1994 data because the 1998 Census report does not include this data. There is not College+ data in 1964 or 1966. There is also not 1st-4th or 5th-8th data for this period.

**Turnout by Income:
% Change from
1964 to 1998**



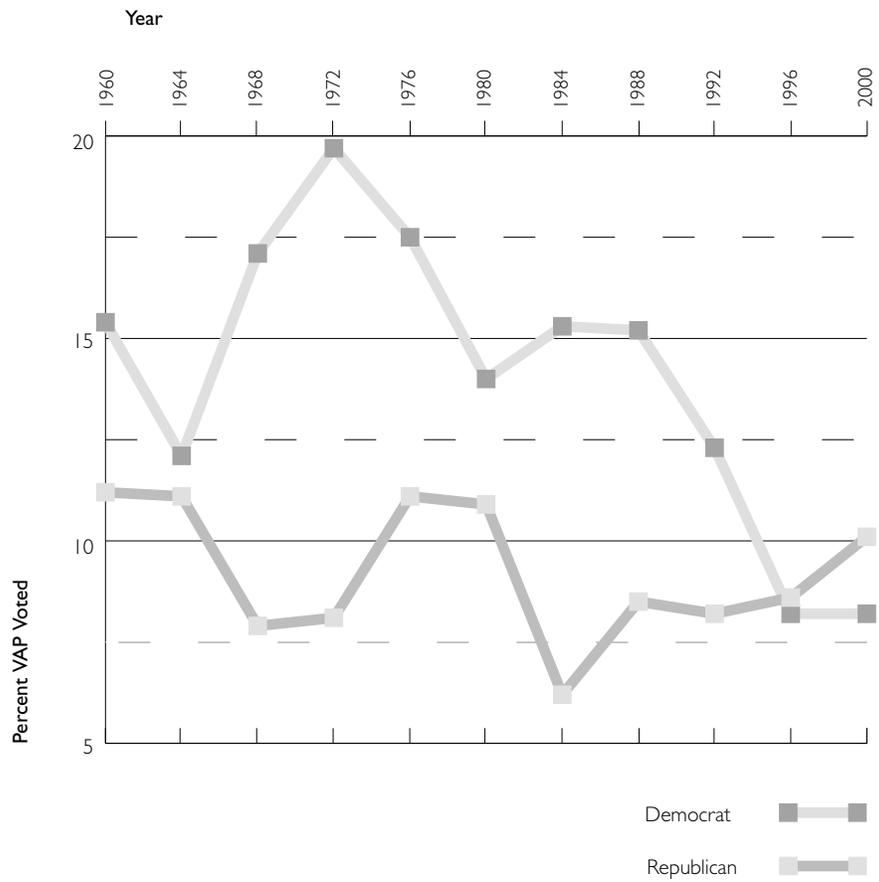
1996 and 1998 Monetary Divisions: Under \$9,999; \$10,000-14,999; \$15,000-24,999; \$25,000-34,999; \$35,000-49,999; \$50,000+.

**Turnout by Race:
% Change from
1964 to 1998**



Partisan Presidential
Primary Trend
1960 to 2000

% of Voters
Voting Against
Their Party



Election Year 2000 Officially Kicks Off

THE PROCESS to select the next president of the United States and determine which political parties will control Congress and the 50 state governments in 2001 officially kicked off with the January 24 Iowa Caucuses and the February 1 New Hampshire Primary Election. It will end with the November 7 general election and the January 20, 2001 inauguration.

Caucuses are local-level meetings where voters, many of whom are political party activists, gather to state their preference for a specific candidate and select a proportional number of delegates to attend a state-level meeting to continue the process.

Primaries are elections held at the state level to indicate the voters' candidate preferences and select delegates to the party nominating conventions. The primaries may be either "closed" to registered voters of a particular party, or "open" to voters who may cross over from one party to vote the other's ballot.

Unofficially, Campaign 2000 has been underway since the day after the 1996 election, when potential candidates for office began to formulate their plans, line up support and money sources, and "test the waters."

Vice President Al Gore is the best known of the presidential candidates by virtue of serving in the number two post for the past seven years. But he is being vigorously challenged for the Democratic nomination by former New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley.

Six candidates are still vying on the Republican side after several others announced their candidacies last year and then dropped out. Going into the first events will be Texas Governor George W. Bush, the acknowledged front-runner; Arizona Senator John McCain, who has been rapidly rising in early public opinion polls; millionaire publisher Steve Forbes and former Ambassador Alan Keyes, who both ran unsuccessfully in 1996; Utah Senator Orrin Hatch; and conservative activist Gary Bauer.

Conservative commentator Pat Buchanan, who broke rank with the Republican Party, is among a number of hopefuls seeking the Reform Party nomination.

The primary and caucuses season will run through June 6, although an unofficial determination of the candidates should be made earlier in the year as a result of individual state contests.

The Republicans then will hold their convention July 31–August 3 in Philadelphia, and the Democrats will meet August 14–17 in Los Angeles. The Reform Party scheduled its event for August 10–13 in Long Beach, California.

After the conventions, the heavy campaigning between the parties' nominees begins in earnest. There will be nearly non-stop travel nationwide, several nationally televised debates, and countless news conferences, culminating with the November 3 general election.

Also at stake in the election are 33 of the 100 Senate seats, all 435 seats in the House of Representatives, 11 gubernatorial seats and thousands of state and local level offices. Nineteen of the 33 Senate races are for seats currently held by Republicans, who currently hold a 54-46 majority in the upper chamber. The party also currently has a 10-seat majority in the House.

Bush Accepts Republican Presidential Nomination

AS THE REPUBLICAN National Convention came to a close August 3, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Texas Governor George W. Bush accepted the party's presidential nomination, saying he is eager to start on the work ahead and he believed "America is ready for a new beginning."

The sports arena was packed with delegates, party members and their guests who were ready for his remarks, and a smiling, confident Bush was ready for them. His 38-minute speech took 52 minutes to deliver because of prolonged periods of applause.

At the conclusion, as members of Bush's family joined him on the platform and the audience cheered non-stop, there was a 15-minute demonstration featuring red, white and blue balloons and confetti cascading from the rafters, loud music and explosions of multicolored indoor fireworks.

Bush first entered the arena at the conclusion of a video about his family and life in Midland, Texas. Basking in the glow of applause, he began his speech talking about his family—his wife and daughters, and mother—and referred to his father, former President George H.W. Bush, as "the most decent man I have ever known." He added, "And Dad, I want you to know how proud I am to be your son."

With millions of Americans watching on national television, Bush used the occasion to try to convince voters that he is prepared for the presidency. Earlier public opinion polls showed that the public views him as more compassionate than Democratic nominee Vice President Al Gore, but they also showed that Gore is believed to be the more knowledgeable candidate.

Considered the most important address of his political life to date, Bush began working along with his aides on the first of numerous drafts nearly two months ago.

He spelled out what he saw as problems in America and said what he would do to remedy them. Bush said Gore considers his proposals to be “risky schemes.”

Incorporating humor into his remarks, the Texas governor said “If my opponent had been there at the moon launch, it would have been a ‘risky rocket scheme.’ If he’d been there when Edison was testing the light bulb, it would have been a ‘risky anti-candle scheme.’ And if he’d been there when the Internet was invented, well—I understand he actually was there for that.”

Bush said that when he is president, “We will seize this moment of American promise. We will confront the hard issues—threats to our national security, threats to our health and retirement security—before the challenges of our time become crises for our children.”

Noting that President Bill Clinton has talents, charm and skill, Bush said that “instead of seizing this moment, the Clinton-Gore administration has squandered it.” He faulted the administration for its stands on education, the military, Social Security and health care.

“They had their chance. They have not led. We will,” the Republican nominee told the cheering delegates.

Bush noted that there is a wall within America. “On one side are wealth and technology, education and ambition. On the other side of the wall are poverty and prison, addiction and despair,” he said.

The wall must be torn down, he said, but “big government is not the answer.” He said the alternative is to put conservative values and ideas into the fight for justice and opportunity.

“This is what I mean by compassionate conservatism. And on this ground we will govern our nation,” Bush added.

“The world needs America’s strength and leadership, and America’s armed forces need better equipment, better training and better pay,” he said. “We will give our military the means to keep the peace, and we will give it one thing more—a commander-in-chief who respects our men and women in uniform, and a commander-in-chief who earns their respect.”

Bush said a generation shaped by Vietnam “must remember the lessons of Vietnam.” When America uses force in the world, “the cause must be just, the goal must be clear and the victory must be overwhelming,” he added.

The nominee also said he will work to reduce nuclear weapons and nuclear tension in the world and at the earliest possible date to deploy missile defenses to guard against attack and blackmail. Now is the time, Bush said, “not to defend outdated treaties, but to defend the American people.”

Bush closed his acceptance speech quoting Texas artist Tom Lea, who said he lives on the east side of the mountain and can see the day that is coming, not on the west side to see the day that is gone. “Americans live on the sunrise side of the mountain. The night is passing and we are ready for the day to come,” Bush said.

On August 2, former Defense Secretary Dick Cheney accepted the nomination of cheering delegates to the Republican National Convention to be their vice presidential candidate, with a pledge to work with Texas Governor George W. Bush to make a fresh start in Washington and “change the tone of our politics.”

In the first speech delivered at the Philadelphia convention that mentioned Democratic President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore by name, Cheney said “The wheel has turned and it is time for them to go. George W. Bush will repair what has been damaged.”

Entering the convention hall to the musical strains of “God Bless the U.S.A.,” Cheney, who does not have the reputation of being a dynamic speaker, was forceful and determined in his address, according to observers. He was interrupted numerous times with cheers and shouts of his name.

Cheney, who was in the private sector when Bush selected him to be his running mate, accused Clinton and Gore of doing nothing to help children or save the Social Security system, and of depleting U.S. military power. “Those days are ending,” he said.

As defense secretary, Cheney served Bush’s father, former President George H.W. Bush. “I have seen our military at its finest, with the best equipment, the best training and the best leadership,” Cheney said. “I’m proud of them. I have had the responsibility for their well-being. And I can promise them now, help is on the way.”

Cheney earlier served as a member of Congress from Wyoming and as White House chief of staff. He hadn’t been planning on a return to public office, he said, but told his audience he was now glad to have been given the opportunity “to serve beside a man who has the courage, and the vision, and the goodness, to be a great president.”

He said that Bush will “show us that national leaders can be true to their word, and that they can get things done by reaching across

the partisan aisle and working with political opponents in good faith and common purpose.”

Cheney was introduced at the convention by his wife, Lynne, a former chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, who said her husband not only has an impressive resume but is also a fabulous father to their daughters. He will be “a very, very good vice president,” she said.

Gore Accepts Democratic Presidential Nomination

VICE PRESIDENT Al Gore presented his case to be the next president of the United States in a speech to the concluding session of the Democratic National Convention on August 17 that stressed a more just nation as well as a more prosperous one.

“Tonight, I ask for your support on the basis of the better, fairer, more prosperous America we can build together,” he declared in formally accepting the Democratic nomination.

In a speech that was heavy on specifics, he made it clear he was proud of the Clinton-Gore record of the last eight years, saying, “Instead of the biggest deficits in history, we now have the biggest surpluses ever. And the lowest inflation in a generation. Instead of losing jobs, we have 22 million new jobs.” He paid tribute to the “job that’s been done by Bill Clinton.”

But Gore also made it clear that the nation can do even better. “For all our good times, I am not satisfied,” he said. “The future should

belong to everyone in this land. We could squander this moment, but our country would be the poorer for it. Instead, let’s lift our eyes, and see how wide the American horizon has become.”

Towards the end of his speech, Gore briefly discussed foreign policy. He mentioned that he “broke with many in our party” to support the Gulf War, and that early in his public service, “I took up the issue of nuclear arms control and nuclear weapons because nothing is more fundamental than protecting our national security.” He assured voters that “I will keep America’s defenses strong. I will make sure our armed forces continue to be the best-equipped, best-trained and best-led in the entire world.”

He also said he would “defend our enduring interests—from Europe to the Middle East, to Japan and Korea” and “strengthen our partnerships with Africa, Latin America and the rest of the developing world.” He said he welcomed free trade, but wants fair trade.

But by far the majority of the speech was devoted to the specifics of his policies. He presented a detailed list:

- “A prescription drug benefit for all seniors under Medicare.”
- “A real enforceable Patient’s Bill of Rights.”
- A campaign finance reform bill, which “will be the very first bill that Joe Lieberman and I send to Congress.”
- The saving and strengthening of Social Security and Medicare “not only for this generation but for generations to come.” He also said he would put Social Security and Medicare in “an iron-clad lock box where the politicians can’t touch them.”
- “Affordable health care for all” and moving “toward universal health care coverage, step by step, starting with all children” by the year 2004.
- “The single greatest commitment to education since the G.I. Bill” (military veterans benefits) and “higher standards and more accountability.” He also said he would oppose any plan “that would drain taxpayer money away from our public schools and give it to private schools in the form of vouchers.”
- A “full range of targeted tax cuts to working families.” He also said he would reform the estate tax and put an “end to the marriage penalty, the right way, the fair way,” and raise the minimum wage.

- A “crime victims’ bill of rights, including a constitutional amendment to make sure that victims, and not just criminals, are guaranteed rights.”
- “Mandatory background checks to keep guns away from criminals, and mandatory child safety locks to protect our children.”

Tipper Gore, the vice president’s wife, introduced the nominee, calling him “a decisive leader with strong values, deeply held convictions and an unwavering commitment to making the American dream a reality.” She added: “But I also want you to know that as a husband, father and grandfather, Al has always been there for our family, and he will always be there for yours.”

Earlier, people who have known Gore personally through the years discussed his childhood, college years, service in Vietnam and career in public service. A short video depicting Gore in a relaxed setting with his family was produced and completed earlier this week, but it was shown to the delegates on the previous day, outside of the prime-time schedule.

At the State Department’s Foreign Press Center at the convention that day, former Senator James Sasser, former U.S. ambassador to China and an advisor to Gore, discussed foreign policy in a Gore administration if the vice president is elected in November. Gore is a “committed internationalist,” whom, Sasser predicted, will be “more interested and focused on international affairs than President Clinton was when he came to office,” the ambassador said.

He said this is because Clinton had been a governor before being elected president with no

foreign policy experience, whereas Gore's experience is "much broader than that."

The watchword of a Gore foreign policy would be "forward engagement," said Sasser, which he defined as "preventive diplomacy." A Gore administration "will act early through diplomatic channels" to nip crises in the bud, he added. He also said Gore would "reach out to old enemies" and "renew old friendships" with U.S. allies.

On August 16, in a speech that was heavy on biography as well as issues, Connecticut Senator Joe Lieberman, the Democrats' nominee to be vice president of the United States, urged Americans to vote Democratic this November, saying, "I will work my heart out to make sure Al Gore is the next president of the United States." He praised the vice president as "a man of courage and conviction."

"Forty years ago, we came to this city and crossed a new frontier," said Lieberman. "Today we return to this same great city with prosperity at home, and freedom throughout the world that John F. Kennedy could have only dreamed about." He continued, "We may wonder where the next frontier really is. I believe that the next frontier isn't just in front of us, but inside of us—to overcome the differences that are still between us, to break down the barriers that remain, and to help every American claim the limitless possibilities of our own lives."

Lieberman broadly discussed the issues Democrats are raising in this campaign, such as education, the environment, health care, Social Security, how to use the nation's budget surplus and campaign finance reform—drawing a contrast with the Republican positions. Echoing

Gore, he said, "It's not just the size of our national feast that is important, but the number of people who can sit round the table. There must be room for everybody."

In a short reference to foreign policy, Lieberman said he and Gore had "crossed party lines to support the Gulf War." The vice presidential nominee added: "I was there in the room when he forcefully argued that America's principles and interests were at stake in Bosnia and Kosovo." Brushing aside Republican criticism of the condition of the U.S. military, Lieberman said, "Our fighting men and women are the best-trained, best-equipped, most powerful fighting force in the history of the world, and they will stay that way when Al Gore and I are elected."

Few Americans knew much about Lieberman before he was selected as the Democrats' vice presidential nominee. In his speech, he told Americans about his working class and immigrant roots—his grandmother came from Central Europe—and how he became "the first person in my family to graduate college." He also discussed his role as the "people's lawyer," while Connecticut's attorney general. "You know what, we even sued oil companies who were trying to gouge consumers at the pump," he told the delegates.

He made a point of stressing his commitment to civil rights. "In the early 1960s, when I was a college student, I walked with Martin Luther King in the March on Washington," he said. "I went to Mississippi where we worked to register African Americans to vote," he added. "In my life, I have tried to see the world through the eyes of those who have suffered discrimination," Lieberman continued. "The time has

come to tear down the remaining walls of discrimination based on race, gender and sexual orientation.”

Lieberman was introduced by his wife Hadassah, who is the daughter of Holocaust survivors. “For Joe, family, faith, neighborhood, congregation and community are the guideposts of his life,” she remarked. “Community keeps Joe grounded and reminds him of his commitment to respectful living,” she added.

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Presidential Candidates Favor Active Roles in Foreign Policy

THE NEXT PRESIDENT of the United States—whether it is Vice President Al Gore or Texas Governor George W. Bush—will play a strong, active role in U.S. foreign policy.

These were the consensus views of two separate panels of experts participating in recent discussions at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) on how the candidates would govern.

AEI brought together advisors, think tank observers and journalists to explore such aspects of foreign policy as how the candidates conceptualize the world, how they would respond to crises and how they would build support for their initiatives. In the opinion of Thomas Mann of the Brookings Institution, foreign policy “is typically the least discussed but most important responsibility” for a new president.

In the panel discussing the vice president, his national security advisor, Leon Fuerth, said Gore has the ability to spot events coming up, to

recognize things of major import long before many others do, and to start gathering information and thinking about the policy implications at an early stage. “If it is an issue that is international in its repercussions,” Fuerth said, “his next stage is how to begin influencing opinion abroad in order to create the kind of international climate that will be needed one day to sustain an American initiative.” Gore has done this on such issues as global warming and arms control, Fuerth added.

Noting that Gore was one of the first people in the Clinton administration to urge a Western Hemisphere summit, Fuerth said the vice president recognizes the hemisphere is the country’s biggest economic partner, and culturally the United States is now demographically a nation which is, in part, Hispanic in its roots.

Discussing the vice president’s role in the Gore-Chernomyrdin meetings with Russian foreign ministers on arms control and other matters in the mid-1990s, Fuerth said he would

“leave it to historians” to figure out their lasting consequences, but “I think we did have an impact.”

Attorney Dale Bumpers, a former U.S. senator from Arkansas who served with Gore in the Senate, said he believes Gore’s foreign policy would be very similar to that of President Clinton but also more aggressive and more hawkish. “He’s going to be a hands-on president and I think he understands all the problems with China, India, Pakistan, all of those things as well or better than anybody,” Bumpers added. “So I’m going to feel very comfortable with him.”

Attorney James Woolsey, a former director of central intelligence in the Clinton administration who worked with Gore on the intelligence budget, said he believed there would be “far more focus on long-term objectives and on substance” in a Gore administration.

Former New York Congressman Steven Solarz said the major strategic challenge Gore faces is to get the benefit of the successes of the Clinton administration while making it clear to the American public that a Gore administration will not be an exact replica of Clinton’s. “One of the areas where the vice president has an opportunity to do that is in the area of foreign policy, particularly in the area of what we need to do about Saddam Hussein and Iraq,” Solarz said.

Los Angeles Times journalist Doyle McManus said that while there would be a lot of continuity between Clinton and Gore, there are several points where the vice president would differ. “One is use of force,” McManus said. “He has been readier to consider and to support military intervention, from Grenada in 1983, which was

not the universal consensus among Democrats, to the Gulf War, to Bosnia in 1993. He is not a prisoner of the Vietnam syndrome.” McManus added that while Clinton’s interest in foreign policy has been “episodic,” Gore “has been interested in foreign policy for a very long time and would immerse himself in the agenda more deeply and more passionately.”

In the panel discussion on how Bush would govern, one of his foreign policy advisors, Robert Zoellick, a former undersecretary of state for economics, said the Texas governor has five priorities, the first of which is to focus on the big powers, “in particular, China and Russia, and to a degree India, and doing that through alliance relationships.”

Zoellick said the other priorities are to get a fresh look at nuclear security issues, deal with the Western Hemisphere, trade issues and a Middle East peace process based on Israel’s security.

Calling Bush a “big picture person,” American Enterprise Institute resident fellow Richard Perle said that “on the occasions that I’ve heard the governor grappling with foreign policy issues, I’ve been impressed at how quickly he goes to the heart of the matter and how instinctively he understands the use of power.”

Criticizing Clinton and Gore for what he called “unsuccessful” dealings with “the Saddam Husseins and the Milosevics and the Kim Jong IIs and others,” Perle said “that will not happen in a Bush administration.”

He said Bush has made it clear he would support opposition forces in Iraq by providing them with materiel and other assistance. Perle added that Bush believes the Iraq Liberation

Act is “the right approach” and one that is capable of success.

Robert Kagan, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, said that by referring to China as a “strategic competitor” of the United States, Bush did a “very clever thing—he distanced himself not only from Clinton, but to some extent his father’s (former President George H.W. Bush) old policy.” China, Kagan added, is going to be “the most interesting and hard to predict element” of Bush’s foreign policy.

Noting that the Texas governor has the ability to “bond” and has excellent relations with Mexico, *Wall Street Journal* writer Carla Robbins said Bush was willing to take risks because he is “a committed internationalist” and “a committed free trader.”

Bush seems to think that “good relationships with good people and free trade is the fundamental of the foreign policy with Mexico,” Robbins added. “It’s an interesting start for a guy who, when I went into this, I thought had no experience at all and came out thinking that I learned something from it.”

Syndicated columnist Georgie Anne Geyer said that when she talks with foreigners, her judgment is that they feel “rather secure” with Bush, and “they have felt remarkably unsecure in the last seven years.”

Transcripts of the two panel discussions are available at the American Enterprise Institute website: <http://www.aei.org/governing>

Republicans, Democrats Prepare “Centrist” Platforms

DESPITE PRESSURES from the left and the Republicans from the right, the platform committees of the two major political parties have drafted “centrist” position policy statements to present to their respective national conventions.

Republican Party officials, whose nominating convention begins in Philadelphia the end of this month [July], want to prevent the ideological battles between conservatives and moderates, especially over the abortion issue, that damaged the party’s chances in the 1992 and 1996 elections.

Texas Governor George W. Bush reportedly has agreed to retain an anti-abortion plank in the proposed Republican platform to appease conservative forces.

The plank calls for enactment of a constitutional ban on the procedure and for prospective judges to make their views known prior to

being appointed to the bench. It is expected to remain in the platform even though Bush does support abortions in the cases of protecting the life of the mother, rape and incest, and he opposes the requirement for prospective judges.

In exchange, the conservatives reportedly indicated a willingness to accept changes in other planks that would move the party toward the center on such issues as immigration, education and women’s health. These are issues on which the party hopes to appeal to key swing voters.

Democratic Party officials, preparing for the presidential nomination of Vice President Al Gore at their mid-August convention, have prepared planks in their proposed platform that affirm Gore’s support for free trade and for federally mandated certification for school teachers.

The proposed platform also will stress Gore’s position on debt-reduction fiscal respon-

sibility and reject efforts by many advocacy groups to use the nation's budget surplus to create new spending programs. The Gore campaign is determined to regain the political middle that it surrendered during the primary season when it moved left to appease supporters of former New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley.

Some rhetoric in the Democratic draft platform is critical of the Republicans, including references to economic problems and rising crime rates during the 1988–1992 administration of Bush's father, President George H.W. Bush. Some Republicans, on the other hand, want their platform to stress their own party values and not focus on the Democrats.

Other aspects of the proposed centrist Democratic platform propose modest tax cuts and tougher penalties for violent criminals. As concessions to liberals, however, it also calls for enforcing worker rights, human rights and environmental protections in trade accords; and supporting "the full inclusion of gay and lesbian families in the life of a nation."

Presidential nominees are not bound by these multi-page platforms prepared by the parties, and in fact, most of the voters in the November general election are unaware of what they contain. But for the party faithful, the platform planks are strong indications of what they stand for and in what direction they believe the nation should be headed. And the candidates will still try to make the opposing parties' platforms a campaign issue.

Labor Day Begins Final Lap in U.S. Presidential Race

FIRST CAME THE PRIMARY election cycle; after a brief lull there were the national nominating conventions.

In days gone by, the political parties' presidential nominees would then rest and plan for the start of the "real" race on Labor Day, traditionally the end of summer and the time when voters return to work from their vacations.

But now there are no breaks in timing, and this September 4 Labor Day found Vice President Al Gore and Texas Governor George W. Bush campaigning as they have since formally accepting their nominations. If anything, the holiday weekend marks the start of the race's final lap to the November 7 election.

It also marks the closest U.S. presidential race in 20 years, with most polls showing Bush and Gore in a statistical tie, but with the advantage shifting toward the vice president following his post-convention "bounce." A *Newsweek Magazine* poll had Gore ahead by 10 points, outside of the "margin of error."

News organizations were split in their analyses of the all-important electoral votes within the individual states. "The Hotline," an electronic publication which reports on the news media's election coverage, says Bush currently leads Gore 234 electoral votes to 217, with 270 needed for election.

Reporting on other analyses, Hotline has the Texas governor ahead by varying numbers in the counts made by *U.S. News and World Report*, ABC News and the *Washington Times*, while the Associated Press, the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Houston Chronicle* put the vice president ahead by varying numbers.

Pew Research Center polls watcher Curtis Gans, noting the recent shifts in polling, said "You have to respect the amount of instability in the public opinion surveys and come to the conclusion that this is really anyone's race."

While the two candidates are delivering speeches and attending rallies, their campaign staffs are debating about debates. Both cam-

paings are aware that nationally televised debates are one of the most effective ways for them to reach a large audience of voters, and they want the environment to be one that puts their candidates in the best possible light.

The bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates chose dates—all in October—and locations for three 90-minute meetings between Gore and Bush and one between the vice presidential candidates, Democratic Connecticut Senator Joe Lieberman and Republican former Defense Secretary Dick Cheney.

Gore agreed to the times and venues, however Bush balked, suggesting instead one-hour debates, and that the first event take place in September and that two of the three meetings be with individual television networks as opposed to all of them providing coverage. Gore rejected that proposal as insufficient, and representatives of the two candidates were trying to reach an agreement.

Skirmishes over debates have long been a factor in presidential campaigns as rivals maneuver for favorable terms.

Over the Labor Day weekend, Gore took part in a non-stop, 27-hour campaign throughout four states—Pennsylvania, Michigan, Florida and Kentucky—that he called “an American workathon,” since he visited with construction workers, hospital workers, fire fighters and bakers.

Brookings Institution political observer Stephen Hess called the sleep-defying as marathon event “a gimmick” but said it made sense as a way to build voter interest in the campaign.

The vice president also delivered six speeches throughout the time period, parti-

ipated in a Labor Day parade and attended a rally at a motor speedway. Connecticut Senator Joe Lieberman, Gore’s running mate, joined him for part of his events and then split off to meet with union members in Ohio.

Also on Labor Day, the wives of the Democratic ticket were in Chicago to campaign and met privately with about 40 leaders of the Islamic Society of North America, a Muslim group holding a convention. A spokesman for the Gore campaign described it as “an informal meet-and-greet.”

Bush, campaigning in Pennsylvania September 5, announced details of his proposed 10-year \$110,000 million health care plan to strengthen the federal health program Medicare for senior citizens, and a 4-year \$48,000 million program to subsidize prescription drug costs.

The immediate plan would cover all the costs of prescriptions for senior citizens earning up to \$11,200 annually and part of the cost for those earning more, according to a fact sheet issued by the Bush campaign. It added that the longer-range plan would guarantee Medicare benefits for all and cover catastrophic costs totally.

An advisor to Gore, who last week proposed his own 10-year \$253,000 million program to add a prescription drug benefit to Medicare, said Bush’s plan favored “the big drug companies” and would leave millions of senior citizens without any coverage.

Bush started his Labor Day campaigning in Illinois, delivering a speech and taking part in a parade. Accompanied by Dick Cheney, his vice presidential running mate, the Texas governor spoke at one rally where he made a

disparaging remark about a journalist that was supposed to be private but was picked up by a microphone. Bush later said he regretted making the remark but he did not apologize for it.

He also visited a peach festival in Michigan, while Cheney remained in Illinois to attend a Polish food festival.

During the weekend, the Republican Party began running a television ad that attacks the credibility of the vice president by alluding to past campaign fundraising activities, among other things. The 30-second spot is airing in 17 states. Later this week, the Democrats plan to run their own 30-second TV ad in nine states, questioning some of Bush's policies as governor of Texas. The question of "negative" campaigning has been raised throughout the primary and election season as a problematic aspect of the U.S. electoral system.

On September 2, Bush received a secret briefing on the world situation from the Central Intelligence Agency. He was joined by several of his foreign policy advisors and afterwards told journalists that the classified briefing was "an important part of the process" to prepare presidential candidates for the responsibilities of the White House.

The Clinton administration arranged for the CIA briefing for Bush following a tradition that began since President Harry Truman arranged them for the presidential candidates in the 1952 race.

One national security issue that will affect whoever wins the presidency is missile defense, since President Clinton decided last week to defer to his successor a decision on

such deployment. Gore and Bush each welcomed that announcement but from different perspectives.

Gore said he would continue to test the feasibility of building a defense shield but he believed the presumed threat of a missile attack did not necessarily require one. He also said he would go ahead with deployment of a land-based system if he were convinced the technologies were ready.

Bush said he would welcome the chance as president to make the decision on deployment but he also criticized the "Clinton-Gore administration" for leaving behind what he called "important unfinished business."

The Electoral College

WHEN AMERICAN VOTERS go to the polls to vote for president, many believe that they are participating in a direct election of the president. Technically, this is not the case, due to the existence of the Electoral College, a constitutional relic of the 18th century.

The Electoral College is the name given to a group of “electors” who are nominated by political activists and party members within the states. On election day these electors, pledged to one or another candidate, are popularly elected. In December, following the presidential vote, the electors meet in their respective state capitals and cast ballots for president and vice president. To be elected, a president requires 270 electoral votes.

In recent history, the electors have never cast their ballots against the winner of the popular vote. For all intents and purposes, the Electoral College vote, which for technical reasons is weighted in favor of whoever wins the popular election, increases the apparent majority of

the winning candidate and lends legitimacy to the popular choice. It is still possible, however, that in a close race or a multiparty race the Electoral College might not cast 270 votes in favor of any candidate—in that event, the House of Representatives would choose the next president.

The electoral college system was established in Article 2, Section 1, of the U.S. Constitution. While it has been the subject of mild controversy in recent years, it is also seen as a stabilizing force in the electoral system.

How the Electoral College Works Today

- Registered voters in the 50 states and the District of Columbia cast ballots for president and vice president on the first Tuesday following the first Monday in November in a presidential election year.

- The candidates who win the popular vote within the state usually receive all the

state’s electoral votes. (Technically, all the electors pledged to those candidates are elected.)

○ A state’s number of electors equals the number of senators and representatives from that state. The District of Columbia, which has no voting representation in Congress, has three electoral votes.

○ The electors meet and officially vote for president and vice president on the first Monday following the second Wednesday in December in a presidential election year. A majority of the vote is required for a candidate to be elected. Since there are 538 electors, a minimum of 270 is necessary to win the electoral college.

○ If no candidate for president receives a majority of the electoral votes, the House of Representatives must determine the winner from among the top three vote-getters in the Electoral College. In doing so, members of the House of Representatives vote by states, with each state delegation casting one vote.

○ If no candidate for vice president receives a majority of the electoral vote, the Senate must determine the winner from among the top two vote-getters in the Electoral College.

The president and vice president take their oath and assume office on the next January 20, following the election.

Voting Strength by State

| | |
|-------------|----|
| Alabama | 9 |
| Alaska | 3 |
| Arizona | 8 |
| Arkansas | 6 |
| California | 54 |
| Colorado | 8 |
| Connecticut | 8 |
| Delaware | 3 |

| | |
|----------------------|-----|
| District of Columbia | 3 |
| Florida | 25 |
| Georgia | 13 |
| Hawaii | 4 |
| Idaho | 4 |
| Illinois | 22 |
| Indiana | 12 |
| Iowa | 7 |
| Kansas | 6 |
| Kentucky | 8 |
| Louisiana | 9 |
| Maine | 4 |
| Maryland | 10 |
| Massachusetts | 12 |
| Michigan | 18 |
| Minnesota | 10 |
| Mississippi | 7 |
| Missouri | 11 |
| Montana | 3 |
| Nebraska | 5 |
| Nevada | 4 |
| New Hampshire | 4 |
| New Jersey | 15 |
| New Mexico | 5 |
| New York | 33 |
| North Carolina | 14 |
| North Dakota | 3 |
| Ohio | 21 |
| Oklahoma | 8 |
| Oregon | 7 |
| Pennsylvania | 23 |
| Rhode Island | 4 |
| South Carolina | 8 |
| South Dakota | 3 |
| Tennessee | 11 |
| Texas | 32 |
| Utah | 5 |
| Vermont | 3 |
| Virginia | 13 |
| Washington | 11 |
| West Virginia | 5 |
| Wisconsin | 11 |
| Wyoming | 3 |
| Total | 538 |

Financing the Campaign

An Interview with Danny McDonald

The Federal Election Commission (FEC) is an independent U.S. regulatory agency responsible for administering and enforcing federal campaign finance laws. It was established in 1974 and is comprised of six commissioners—three Democratic and three Republican.

Question: Commissioner McDonald, could you briefly comment on the creation of the FEC and its role in the U.S. election process?

Answer. The Federal Election Commission was created in 1974 as an outgrowth of the Watergate scandal. Although much attention was given then to the break-in of the Democratic National Committee headquarters, the underlying issues in the 1972 presidential campaign were that large sums of money being used in the campaign were not reported to the general public. The theory behind the statute that created the FEC was that the public had a right to know

where politicians were getting their money, how much money they were getting and when they were receiving their money.

The underlying theory of the law is that we need full disclosure in our political campaigns so the public may properly gauge who they may or may not want to support, based on the money that has been received by the candidates of their choice.

Disclosure is the number one item under the 1971 Federal Election Campaign Act. The number two item that came out of the creation of the Federal Election Commission was the matching fund program, under which eligible candidates in the presidential primaries may receive public funds to match the private contributions they raise. The 1976 presidential election was the first time we ever had public funding in this country, and it was initiated on the basis that there might be a level playing field created for candidates for the parties' nominations.

Q. What are the key principles of campaign finance law, and why is there a need for such regulation?

A. I think the key principle is the relationship and correlation of money in the political process to politicians. The theory is that the public needs to have an understanding of where politicians get their money, so it can evaluate the kind of votes they make and the kind of interest groups they are supported by.

The law is like any statute. It is a barometer from which you can measure what is going on in your political system. Money clearly drives the political process in our country. It is an extremely necessary thing because it takes a great deal of money to participate. So without parameters on where money can come from and how much money a candidate may have and what kind of money he or she may utilize, voters would not have an opportunity to know who actually is participating in the process and trying to influence the outcome of the process.

Q. How does public funding work during a presidential election?

A. Public funding means that qualified candidates receive federal government funds to pay for the valid expenses in their primary and general elections. The national parties also receive funds for their nominating conventions. To qualify, the candidates and party committees must agree to limit their campaign spending to a specified amount, and they receive matching funds after establishing eligibility by showing broad-based public support.

Q. Do you feel the amount of money that individuals are allowed to contribute to a political candidate needs to be raised?

A. I think what is clear is that the \$1,000 limit that was set when the process started is now worth only about \$300. So you could certainly make an argument that these limits should be adjusted. But you could also make the counter argument, which is that the Congress really did intend for the process to be diluted over time and spread out for more people to become involved by making contributions.

But clearly on the basis of dollars and cents, we are going to see a problem in the public funding of the presidential campaign this year. We are going to have a shortfall, it appears, from the presidential checkoff system on income tax returns. So there is no question that the amounts are worth substantially less than they were when the act was created.

Q. You mentioned the taxpayer checkoff system. How does that work?

A. When the system was first created, it was designed so that you, as a taxpayer, could designate on your tax form that you wanted one dollar of U.S. Treasury money to go to the presidential campaign. Now, sadly, most people thought that meant they were paying a dollar more in tax, which they were not. The money is already set aside at the U.S. Treasury. What you are doing when you ask taxpayers if they want to participate is merely asking them if they, in fact, want a dollar to go to the fund. The dollar amount was changed a few years ago, and now it is three dollars per taxpayer.

The system is based on candidates' abilities to raise their own money. That is to say, they don't get money simply because they are candidates for president. They raise money based on their own ability, and the FEC will match the first \$250 of an individual contribution made to a candidate. So the theory behind matching funds is that you must be able to meet threshold requirements to get the initial money, and then, we will match money based on your own performance. If you fail to get at least 10 percent of the vote in two successive primaries, we stop your funding. If you receive 20 percent of the vote in a subsequent primary, your eligibility can be reactivated.

Q. In the last 20 years, there has been a tremendous increase in the number of political action committees (PACs) that are active in making contributions to candidates and engaging in other election-related activities. Could you comment on their role in the political process?

A. Let's take both the pro and the con. The con is that PACs represent special interests, and special interests dominate Washington politics.

On the other hand, you can certainly take just as strong a position that PACs represent nothing more than a group of individuals with like interests pooling their resources to try to have an impact on the political process. It seems pretty natural that most people get together with people who have like interests to support candidates of their choice.

You can also say that a lot of individuals do not have this opportunity to participate in a PAC and are not in an environment that affords it to them, so their influence is somewhat diluted.

In either case, you still have limits under which all individuals can participate. Obviously, the political action committees like to pool their resources because it makes them a much stronger voice in the political process.

Q. Please explain the difference between "hard" and "soft money" in an election campaign.

A. What we call "hard dollars" under the federal election campaign law are monies that are permissible to affect the outcome of a federal election. And that is to say that there are PAC limits. There are individual limits. Under federal election law you cannot take corporate money. You cannot take labor money. But you can take money from their respective political action committees.

On the other hand, we have what are known as "soft dollars." That is money that is not permissible in a federal election, but it is permissible in terms of what we call "generic" voter activity—for example, contributing to a party's efforts to register voters. And that does allow corporate dollars and labor dollars to go into the political process.

This is clearly the most controversial aspect of the federal election campaign law. The opponents of soft dollars say that they create a major loophole. And you can certainly make a convincing argument that that is the case, because while you have limits on individuals, you may have large corporations or large labor unions giving a substantial amount of money, over and above the limit that they might be able to give for a federal election, that they may be able to utilize in non-federal activity, or generic voter activity.

Clearly it is an extremely controversial area—soft dollars in relationship to the political process. There have been a number of pieces of legislation to try to either curtail or abolish soft dollars. The fight will go on for some time, I believe.

Q. In recent years there have been many calls for campaign finance reform. What are the pros and cons of this debate?

A. We have had public funding for the presidential campaigns since 1976. The proponents of reform believe strongly that you need to take money away from private interest groups and make it a more detached sort of system, so that more individuals might participate and candidates would not be beholden to special interests.

Clearly, the other side of that argument is that many people ask, why should we use public money for politicians, why do they not have to go out and gather support on their own and stand on their own two feet in terms of their ability to participate in the political process?

The Supreme Court said in *Buckley v. Valeo*, which was the landmark case in relationship to the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974, that there is a compelling interest for campaign spending limits for publicly funded presidential candidates.

But the court also recognized the free speech issue. What it basically said was that a candidate may raise and spend as much money as he or she wants. The court struck down limits on candidates' own money being spent because it was felt that you could not corrupt yourself with your own money. The exception is

that if candidates are using public funds, they can spend only \$50,000 of their personal funds for that election. In other words, the court said there should be limits when you get your money elsewhere, because that is a different concern. So it is always a balancing act, and you can make very persuasive arguments, I think, on both sides about how the political process ought to be handled.

Q. Pertaining to the 2000 presidential election, what will be the scale of spending? And with that, would you explain the difference between candidates' accepting or not accepting public funds?

A. Under the federal statute, the way we set aside our money is first for the national party nominating conventions, and second for the general election in the form of block grants to the party nominees for the Republicans and the Democrats, and for the Reform Party as well this year. And last comes the first part of the cycle, which is the presidential primaries.

All of this involves forecasting, and it is a little bit tricky because we are not sure how many candidates we have. If we estimate 15 candidates, we project about \$100 million to be spent in the primary process. We are only going to be able to give candidates about 32 or 33 cents on the dollar up front, which means that for the first time, candidates may have to go into fairly substantial debt. We will be able to make up that money over time, but under the worst case scenario, we could have a shortfall into April of 2001. Candidates will get, for their block grants, around \$67 million apiece, once they are the nominees of their political parties.

To the next critically important point, candidates do not have to take public money. Why

would candidates not do that? A candidate might assess that it would not be in his or her interest to take public money in the primary season because the candidate may be facing an opponent who doesn't need matching funds and can spend a lot more than the amount agreed to under this program. It is also conceivable that a candidate who would not want public money in the primary season would still like to receive it in the general election season.

If you are an independently wealthy candidate, you simply say you don't think taxpayer money should be utilized. If you are not independently wealthy, you say you utilized the money based on public support you have gotten.

In either case, you still have to fulfill the reporting requirements to the general public, so it knows how much money is being utilized in the presidential campaign. The theory is that the presidency is such an important office that the public has a right to know where you get your money.

Q. Could you comment on the FEC ruling allowing political contributions to be made over the Internet?

A. I think it was just a realization by the commission that since the statute was written, a lot of new ways of making a financial commitment have come into existence. We are simply trying to get ourselves up to speed in an environment that is changing pretty dramatically. We are trying to be accommodating, as long as we have an affirmation from the contributors that they, in fact, are the ones who have made those contributions.

Q. There is a ban on contributions to candidates from foreign nationals. Why is that?

A. I think it is very strongly felt that it simply is not right for foreign nationals to be involved in the U.S. political process. Clearly it is a very sensitive area and one that, over time, people have felt very strongly about.

It is a complete ban. It even goes to state and local elections, which is unusual, because we normally do not regulate state and local elections. But the theory is very straightforward, which is that foreign nationals simply should not be determining American politics.

Q. Finally, Commissioner, we have been speaking primarily of federal elections, but I understand that the FEC also advises the states. Could you explain what that role is?

A. We have a national clearinghouse on election administration that works with all 50 states. And we try to work with them on a variety of topics in an advisory capacity because we know that the states are 50 independent states that take their independence pretty strongly.

We work with the states on the standards for voting equipment, on budgetary matters, on ballot access, any one of a number of things that, when we are able to pool all 50 states' resources, we can give information to other states on what each one of them is doing. Hopefully we can help them consolidate their efforts and have an even more effective role than they normally have.

A Primer on Campaign Finance

FEDERAL CAMPAIGN finance law applies to elections involving the president and vice president of the United States and members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. The Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) of 1971 and its amendments cover three broad areas: public disclosure of funds raised and spent to influence federal elections, restrictions on contributions and expenditures, and the public funding of presidential campaigns.

The FECA requires all candidates, committees of political parties, and political action committees (PACs) to file periodic reports on funding with the Federal Election Commission (FEC). Candidates, for example, must identify all party committees and PACs that give them contributions and all individuals who give them more than \$200 in a single year. And they must disclose all payments that exceed \$200 per year to an individual or vendor.

The law places limits on contributions by individuals and groups to candidates, political parties, and PACs. An individual may give \$1,000 to a candidate per election, \$20,000 to a national party committee per calendar year, and \$5,000 to any other political committee per calendar year; an individual's total contributions cannot exceed \$25,000 per year. Groups that contribute to election campaigns also must abide by specific limits depending on the nature of their organization.

The FECA prohibits corporations, labor organizations, federal government contractors and foreign nationals from making contributions to election campaigns and from spending money directly—for example, on advertising—to influence federal elections. However, corporations and labor unions may form separate PACs that raise money and support federal candidates and political committees.

Qualified presidential candidates may receive public money for their campaigns from

a special fund maintained by the U.S. Treasury. This fund is financed exclusively by voluntary contributions from U.S. taxpayers, who may choose to contribute \$3 of their annual federal income tax to the fund. Candidates may accept public money for either their primary or general election campaign or for both. However, if they do accept public funds, they must comply with spending limits and other restrictions imposed by the FEC.

Candidates in the presidential primaries are eligible to receive public money to match the private contributions they raise from individuals; contributions from groups are not matched. While individuals may contribute up to \$1,000, only the first \$250 is “matchable.” To become eligible to receive public funds, candidates must raise \$5,000 in matchable contributions in each of 20 different states.

The nominees of the Democratic and Republican parties are each eligible to receive a grant from the FEC to cover all the expenses of their general election campaign, and they may not spend more than the amount of the grant. In 1996, the grant was \$61.82 million per candidate. A third party presidential candidate may qualify to receive some public funds after the general election if he or she receives at least 5 percent of the popular vote.

Each major political party also receives public funds to pay for its national convention. In 1996, the two major parties each received \$12.36 million. Other parties may be eligible for partial public financing of their conventions if their nominees received at least 5 percent of the popular vote in the previous election.

Public Opinion Polling

FROM THE VIEWPOINT of those running for public office, election campaigns are mostly composed of an extensive effort to communicate with divergent audiences. Candidates must get their message across to party officials, party members, potential contributors, supporters, volunteers, journalists, and, of course, voters. Ultimately, all campaign activities are secondary to a candidate's efforts to communicate with voters. Accordingly, it is not surprising to learn that the largest share of campaign resources is poured into this two-way communication: advertising to send persuasive messages to voters, and polling to learn the concerns that voters have and the opinions they hold.

Over the past three decades, polling has become a principal research tool for developing campaign strategy in American elections. The major elements of that strategy consist of the answers to two simple questions: (1) what are the target audiences that a campaign must reach? (2) what messages does it need to de-

liver to these audiences? Polling is essential for answering both of these questions.

Surveying Voters' Attitudes

By and large, the technique most frequently employed for these purposes is the cross-sectional, random-sample survey in which the campaign's polling firm telephones a random sample of citizens and asks them an inventory of standard questions. Sampling theory dictates that if the citizens are selected at random and are sufficiently numerous, their answers to these questions will deviate only slightly from the answers that would have been given if every eligible voter had been asked. Completing such a survey before new, major events change the attitudes of voters can also be very important, so most polls are conducted over a three- or four-day period. That means that a large number of interviewers—either paid or volunteer—have to be used to reach several hundred voters each evening between the hours of 5:00 and

10:00 P.M. They ask the same questions in the same way to all potential voters.

Surprisingly, most campaign pollsters do not base their sample upon the population of all citizens of voting age. As is widely known, in the United States substantial numbers of eligible voters do not actually cast their ballots on election day. Campaigns have learned through much hard experience that it is more efficient to concentrate their efforts on likely voters. Accordingly, the first few questions on most survey instruments try to ascertain how likely it is that the citizen being questioned will actually vote. The interviewer will thank the unlikely voters and move on to other calls. As a result, campaign communications strategy is built around the interests of likely voters, and campaigns rarely make major efforts to attract votes among hard-core nonvoters.

After identifying likely voters, the first task of the survey is to divide them into three groups: confirmed supporters of the candidate in question, confirmed supporters of the opponent and the “undecideds.” Then, the basic principle of American election campaigns can be reduced to three simple rules: (1) reinforce your base of support, (2) ignore the opponent’s base and (3) concentrate most attention upon the undecideds. That is, in the United States most of the energy of election campaigns is directed at the approximately 20 to 30 percent of the voters who may potentially change their votes from Democratic to Republican or vice versa.

Though most candidates are desperately interested in who is more popular with voters, the usefulness of the cross-sectional survey goes far beyond simply measuring the closeness

of the election contest. Campaigns need an accurate measurement of voter opinions, but they also need to know how to change (or preserve) these opinions. The term “cross-sectional” refers to the differences among groups of citizens; the survey technique is designed to record opinion among the various subsections that differentiate the pool of voters. If there are gender differences in the way voters look at the election, for example, the survey will be able to measure these distinctive attitudes. The campaign that discovers itself doing better with male voters, among all those who have already decided how they will vote, will begin to concentrate its efforts upon men who are still undecided, because those voters are likely to be easier to win over.

Determining Appropriate Messages

By asking many questions about voters’ preferences for different public policies, the political poll also provides candidates with insights about the messages they need to deliver to critical groups of voters. Late in an election race, for example, undecided voters may be those who are more cynical about election politics. This result may tempt the candidate to attack his opponent for a poor attendance record or some action that can be pictured as favoring a particular interest group over the general public. In the case of gender differences, a campaign that is doing poorly among females may discover some special concerns held by women through polling and attempt to devise a message specifically for them.

Normally, the process of creating the messages that will move critical groups relies on

statistical methods; the answers of supporters, opponents and the undecideds are analyzed to determine the strength of the association between candidate support and public-policy attitudes. A strong association is a good indication that the policy area in question may be “driving” the choice of candidates. Other questions will give the campaign an idea of how to deliver the appropriate message to the target group. Voters are asked about their radio listening habits, the organizations they belong to, the television programs they watch and the newspapers they normally read.

Constructing the Survey

Polling is both science and art. Constructing a random sample, designing the questionnaire, fielding the survey instrument and analyzing the results constitute the science of public-opinion research. All these aspects rely upon well-established, validated techniques. The art comes in writing the questions. Question wording can markedly affect the results obtained. Consider, for example, two different questions: “Do you support sending U.S. troops to Kosovo to enforce the recent peace accord?” versus “Do you support President Clinton’s plan to send U.S. troops to Kosovo to enforce the recent peace accord?” Voters are likely to react differently to these questions; some opinions will be altered either in favor of or against the proposal simply by the association with the president. Which of these wordings is more appropriate depends upon the judgment of the pollster and the purposes of the survey.

In general, when polls are to be used to develop strategy, the consultants labor to write questions that are fair and impartial so they can

achieve an accurate measurement of public opinion. Lately, however, campaigns have been resorting to so-called push questions to test possible campaign themes. In these questions, voters are asked to react to questions that have been deliberately worded in very strong language. Consider the following example: “If you knew that one of these candidates had voted to cut welfare payments to the poor, would that increase or decrease the chances that you would vote for that candidate?” When the poll data reveal that many undecided voters back away from a candidate when confronted with this information, then the candidate sponsoring the poll is likely to use this approach in attacking his or her opponent.

At times this technique has been carried too far, and some unscrupulous campaigns have conducted surveys with the sole intention of planting negative information about their opponent. Though it is difficult to prove a campaign’s real intent, the American Association of Political Consultants has recently condemned “push polling” as unethical. Nevertheless, within appropriate bounds, a few push questions normally are used in most campaign polls to test possible messages.

Increasingly, political pollsters combine focus group research with random sample surveys in order to develop campaign messages. In the typical focus group, voters are telephoned at random and asked to participate in a collective discussion on a given evening. In these group sessions involving between eight and 15 voters, pollsters are able to gather a qualitative, in-depth view of citizen thinking. Often focus group discussions will provide a more detailed interpretation of the survey results. Knowing how voters reach their conclusions can be just

as important as the quantitative distribution of opinion gathered by surveys. Focus groups can also provide pollsters with question wording that captures the thought processes of citizens, so that the influential messages they work into campaign advertising will have maximum impact.

Tracking the Campaign

Behind the scenes, most major political campaigns rely on polling from the beginning to the end of the election race. The typical candidacy will be formulated on the basis of a “benchmark” poll taken about eight months before the election. This expensive survey may take as much as 30 minutes to complete over the phone and will include a large enough sample (usually around 1,000 to 1,500) so that inferences can be drawn about important subgroups of voters. Once the campaign has begun and voters are being bombarded with competing campaign messages, the pollster returns to the field, often several times, using much shorter questionnaires in order to get an idea of how the opinions have changed from the original benchmark.

A number of well-funded campaigns—usually those for president or for senator or governor in larger states—recently have begun using “tracking surveys” to follow the impact of campaign events. The pollster completes, say, 400 interviews on each of three nights. The resulting 1,200 voters constitute an adequate sample with an error rate of about 3 percent. On the fourth night, the pollster calls another 400 voters and adds that to the database, dropping off the answers of those voters reached on the first night. And this process continues, some-

times for six months of campaigning, so that the sample rolls along at a constant 1,200 drawn from the previous three nights. Over time, the resulting database will allow the pollster to observe the effect of campaign events—such as televised debates, a major news story or the start of a new advertising theme—upon voter attitudes and preferences. If, for example, the lines indicating support for two candidates are roughly parallel until the point at which the opponent started attacking on the basis of character rather than policies, and after that point the two lines start to diverge as the opponent’s support increases, then the pollster had better figure out a way of countering the character message being used by the opponent or the race will be lost.

Figuring out how to counter the opponent’s attack may involve examining particular subgroups in the electorate, or it may call for a new message from the injured campaign, but in either case, the response will be based on survey research. Polling, American politicians would agree, has become an essential ingredient of campaign strategy.

Presidential Oratory: The Importance of Words in Politics

WHEN REVIEWING the speech prepared for delivery to Congress after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941—“a date that will live in history”—Democratic President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) spotted the cliché and changed history to “infamy.” Like the greatest presidents, FDR knew that one word, not just one speech, can make a difference.

The most revered U.S. presidents are remembered for far more than their speeches. But all the presidents considered great by historians have been accomplished communicators. Often, their words linger in the people’s imagination far longer than their specific achievements, testimony to their sense of history as well as their capacity for language.

Perhaps the greatest communicator who ever occupied the office of president—certainly the most eloquent—was Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican president (1861-1865), who led the country during the Civil War. His

Gettysburg Address (1863), considered by many to be the finest political speech in the English language—and only 271 words long—ends with these timeless words: “that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, and that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

No less eloquent, however, was Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address, on March 4, 1864. Again Lincoln saved his most memorable words for his closing sentence: “With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation’s wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.”

Lincoln was president during the greatest threat to the Republic's survival. A later Republican President, Theodore Roosevelt (1901–1909), led the nation at a more tranquil time when the United States was emerging onto the world stage. His famous dictum, "Speak softly and carry a big stick," entered the general, and not just the political, lexicon—one of a number of blunt admonitions from the former leader of the "Rough Riders" (the name of the cavalry unit he led during the Spanish-American War).

But Theodore Roosevelt also was capable of eloquence as well as bluntness. "The credit belongs to the man," he said, "who is in the arena, whose face is marred by sweat and dust and blood—who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions, and spends himself in a worthy cause—who, at best, if he wins, knows the thrill of high achievement—and if he fails, at least fails, while daring greatly."

In the second half of the 20th century, the eloquence of two presidents with very different ideological views is most remembered—Democrat John F. Kennedy (1961–1963) and Republican Ronald Reagan (1981–1989). Both had a keen awareness of the power of language in connecting with voters and took great care with both the preparation and delivery of their speeches. Their words resonate long after particular programs and policies are forgotten.

"Let the word go forth from this time and place—to friend and foe alike—that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans, born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage, and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human

rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today, at home and around the world." John F. Kennedy's inaugural address, given on a cold, snowy day in January 1961, is perhaps the best remembered of all inaugural speeches. Thus began the world's love affair with the presidency of John Kennedy that lasted just two years and 10 months.

Twenty years after the election of the nation's youngest elected president, another leader strode confidently onto the American and world stage—Republican President Ronald Reagan who boldly declared that America should never be a land of "small dreams." In his second inaugural address, given in January 1985, Reagan spoke of the right to democracy. "Since the turn of the century, the number of democracies has grown fourfold," he noted. "Human freedom is on the march, and nowhere more so than in our own hemisphere. Freedom is one of the deepest and noblest aspirations of the human spirit."

But perhaps Reagan's best-remembered words were those he spoke on January 28, 1986, following the "Challenger" space shuttle tragedy. The whole speech is unforgettable—its last sentence particularly—devoted to the memory of those who died aboard the ill-fated flight. "We will never forget them, nor the last time we saw them this morning, as they prepared for their journey, and waved goodbye and 'slipped the surly bonds of earth to touch the face of God.'"

Not all U.S. presidents, who are remembered for their gift with words, were noted for their eloquence. Some were admired for their use of direct, no-nonsense language—

none more so than Democratic President Harry Truman (1945–1953). Two of his most famous contributions are used in everyday language today—“the buck stops here”(a slogan he kept on his desk), and “if you can’t stand the heat, get out of the kitchen.”

Harry Truman came to the presidency after the sudden death of Franklin Roosevelt on April 12, 1945. FDR had been president of the United States longer than anyone else—12 years—during the two greatest threats to the nation’s survival since the Civil War, the Great Depression and World War II. For the manner in which Roosevelt dealt with those challenges, many historians consider him to be the greatest U.S. president, certainly of the last century.

But Roosevelt’s capacity with language, as well as his achievements, was surely part of his enormous success with the American people. He had a way of encapsulating large issues in simple sentences, of communicating to the common man in an uncommon way—and not only to Americans. As the writer Isaiah Berlin said, he became a hero to “the indigent and oppressed far beyond the confines of the English-speaking world.”

On one occasion—in 1937—FDR spoke of his hopes for the future: “You ought to thank God tonight if, regardless of your years, you are young enough in spirit to dream dreams and see visions—dreams and visions about a greater and finer America that is to be; if you are young enough in spirit to believe that poverty can be greatly lessened; that the disgrace of involuntary unemployment can be wiped out; that class hatreds can be done away with; that peace at home and peace abroad can be maintained; and that one day a generation will possess this land,

blessed beyond anything we know now, blessed with those things—material and spiritual—that make man’s life abundant. If that is the fashion of your dreaming, then I say, hold fast to your dream. America needs it.”

Presidential Humor: Its Importance in U.S. Politics

WHEN REPUBLICAN President Ronald Reagan (1981–1989) was shot and seriously injured not long after his presidency began in 1981, he reportedly asked his doctors: “Please assure me you are all Republicans.” Later he joked about his close encounter with death with his wife, Nancy. “Honey, I forgot to duck,” he remarked.

The president’s humor—under the most trying of circumstances—endeared him to the American people, even to many who disagreed with him ideologically. Americans always have liked presidents who don’t take themselves too seriously. For this reason, a good sense of humor is politically important. Some presidents have had one. Others, conspicuously, have not.

Ronald Reagan clearly fell into the category of presidents with a strong sense of humor. Sometimes, the humor was evident in his speeches. But often it was spontaneous, such as in response to a question. One of his most famous lines occurred in a 1984 presidential

debate with his Democratic opponent, former Vice President Walter Mondale. Asked whether age would be a problem in a second term, Reagan responded: “I am not going to exploit, for political purposes, my opponent’s youth and inexperience.”

Reagan was the oldest president ever elected. The youngest elected president, Democrat John F. Kennedy (JFK)(1961–1963), was widely admired for his wit. Typical was Kennedy’s remark—now legendary—made at a dinner for Nobel Prize winners: “I think this is the most extraordinary collection of human knowledge that has ever been gathered at the White House—with the possible exception of when Thomas Jefferson dined alone.”

JFK’s romance with the English language served his natural sense of humor well. A prodigious reader, he once complained about what he viewed as a decline in the quality of books being published. “I’m reading more and enjoying it less,” he quipped. In his formal speeches,

Kennedy frequently invoked the memory of another Democratic president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR).

FDR (1933–1945), who was president during the two greatest crises the country faced since the Civil War—the Great Depression and World War II—also had an impeccable sense of humor, at no time more evident than in the famous Fala episode, in which Roosevelt responded to Republican charges that he used taxpayer money to rescue his pet dog. The speech, which was filmed, shows FDR’s incredible timing and delivery, as well as his way with words. He said:

“These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks on me, or my wife, or on my sons. No, not content with that, they now include my little dog, Fala. Well, of course, I don’t resent attacks, and my family doesn’t resent attacks, but Fala does resent them. You know, Fala is Scotch, and being a Scottie, as soon as he learned that the Republican fiction writers, in Congress and out, had concocted a story that I had left him behind on the Aleutian Islands and had sent a destroyer back to find him—at a cost to the taxpayers of two or three, or eight or twenty-eight million dollars—his Scotch soul was furious. He has not been the same dog since.” FDR’s humor disarmed his Republican opponents much more than a righteous defense of his action could possibly have done—a prime example of the political effectiveness of humor.

FDR was also author of two funny lines about political ideologues. “A conservative,” he once said, “is a man with two perfectly good legs who has never learned to walk forward.” But he also said: “A radical is a man who has

both feet firmly planted—in the air.” On one occasion, when someone asked him how he held his composure and maintained his humor through the turbulent times of the 1930s and 1940s, the irrepressible FDR, who had contracted polio as a young man, responded: “If you spent two years in bed trying to wiggle your big toe—after that everything would seem easy.”

FDR had a great sense of the irony in life, which he was able to communicate to the common man as well as to the political sophisticate. But it is not just 20th century presidents who used humor to connect with voters. Earlier presidents also knew the power of laughter.

Republican Abraham Lincoln (1861–1865), often thought of as a somber leader, was frequently witty. Once, becoming bored at one of the many ceremonies he felt obliged to attend in his honor, he said: “I feel something like a man being ridden out of town on a rail. If it weren’t for the honor of the thing, I’d rather walk.”

“You can fool all the people part of the time and part of the people all of the time, but you can’t fool all the people all the time,” is a witty remark still often quoted today. But few people know that it was Lincoln who coined the phrase. Once referring to a lawyer, the nation’s Civil War president exclaimed: “He can compress the most words into the smallest ideas better than any man I ever met.”

Few presidents had a greater wit than Republican President Theodore Roosevelt (1901–1909), author of many a humorous admonition. “A man who has never gone to school may steal from a freight car; but if he has a university education, he may steal the whole

railroad”; and, “He has no more backbone than a chocolate éclair,” are just two of his more well-known quotes.

Not all the presidents known for their humor are considered accomplished leaders. Republican President Calvin Coolidge (1923–1929) was reputed to often sleep 12 hours a day and was prone to such few pronouncements that he was known as “Silent Cal.” He once remarked, “If you don’t say anything, you won’t repeat it.” At the time, Coolidge was known as rather solemn, but he confronted that criticism head on saying, “I always figured the American people wanted a solemn ass for a president, so I went along with them.” When Coolidge died, Dorothy Parker, a writer known for her wicked wit, quipped, “How can they tell?”

Coolidge may not be regarded as one of the country’s great presidents, but he is remembered for his sense of humor, according to Vic Fredericks, author of *The Wit and Wisdom of the Presidents*. Fredericks says the American people are somehow reassured by leaders who can appreciate the less serious side of life—evidence perhaps of a well-rounded stability that is important in those exercising great power.

Presidents in the Age of Television

WITH HIS FIRESIDE chats broadcast to the entire nation, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1933–1945) was considered to be a master of radio, the predominant broadcast media of his time. But few know that FDR appeared on television as well—the first president ever to do so. The occasion was the New York World’s Fair.

On the evening of April 30, 1939, FDR broadcast a short address to approximately 1,000 viewers then owning television sets. The *New York Times* reported that the signal was sent by RCA’s mobile TV van to a transmitter atop the Empire State Building and rebroadcast to the tiny television audience. The picture was “clear and steady,” the newspaper added.

No one knew it at the time, but the president’s broadcast was the beginning of a media revolution that would eventually transform American politics, particularly the presidency. But it would take a while. FDR’s attention, and that of the nation at large, would soon be diverted by the outbreak of war in Europe, a conflict

that would in time engulf the world, involving the United States and many other nations. Television was put on hold.

Even after World War II ended in 1945—during the presidency of Harry Truman (1945–1953)—television was not a major player in politics. The dominant political media continued to be radio and the nation’s vibrant print press. Television sales, which had ceased during the world conflict, were still small. As late as 1951, there were only 1.5 million television sets in the United States, according to the Media History Project. But this was a tenfold increase in one year and sales of sets would soon skyrocket.

By the time Dwight Eisenhower (1953–1961) was inaugurated president in 1953, television sales had taken off. Millions of Americans were tuning into shows like, “I Love Lucy,” starring Lucille Ball. On January 19, an episode of “I Love Lucy,” portraying the birth of little Ricky, her on-screen son, was watched by

44 million Americans, more than had watched the president's inauguration the next day. "They liked Ike, but they loved Lucy," quipped the late actor Walter Matthau.

By the late 1950s, journalists and political scientists had recognized that television had changed everything in politics, including the presidency. Said Theodore White, chronicler of key postwar presidential campaigns, "Television is the political process; it's the playing field of politics. Today, the action is in the studios, not in the backrooms." For better or for worse, politicians knew that they would have to master the new medium.

Eisenhower, however, was personally not very comfortable with television and gave relatively few speeches specifically tailored to the television audience. His press conferences, for example, were televised, but not live—and only after the filmed recording was edited. Little attention was paid to staging and background. The "photo op" lay in the future.

John F. Kennedy (1961–1963), who succeeded Eisenhower, was, however, considered a master of the infant medium—the nation's first real television president. With his good looks, youth and vitality, Kennedy was a natural for the prying eye of the camera. The young president sensed the political power of the new medium almost instantly and set about exploiting it for his own purposes.

Kennedy was the first president to allow live coverage of news conferences, a critical vehicle for conveying the policies of his "New Frontier." He also allowed television to record meetings and discussions previously off limits through the then-new technique known as film

or television *verite*. Television addresses to the nation, although not unprecedented, became more frequent and publicized, particularly Kennedy's televised speeches on the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962 and on civil rights in June 1963.

Cameras also were allowed to cover the personal life of the president as never before. The American people saw their leader not only in formal settings, but also driving his car, swimming in the ocean and playing touch football. Kennedy instinctively knew that personal popularity and political approval were closely linked in this most personal of offices. He used television to achieve both.

Unfortunately, the same was not true of his successor, Lyndon Baines Johnson (1963–1969). Johnson, who was elected in his own right in a landslide election victory in 1964, was nervous and uncomfortable before television cameras. His somewhat awkward appearance seemed magnified by the television lens. Reporters, perhaps for the first time, sensed that television had now become, for better or for worse, so important in politics that presidents who could not master it, were doomed to ineffectiveness, if not outright failure.

Johnson's successor, Richard Nixon (1969–1973), was somewhat better than Johnson on television. Nixon, after all, had learned in his televised debates with John Kennedy in the 1960 election how important television had become in American politics. Polls showed that those Americans listening on radio to the debates thought that Nixon had won, or at least was even, with Kennedy. But those watching on television—by 1960 far more than were listening on radio—gave the edge to Kennedy, no

doubt influenced by his suave appearance compared with Nixon.

Nixon had worn a gray suit, which blended into the background set. Worse, he had refused makeup. His heavy beard shadow made him look menacing and shifty to many in the audience. He learned the lesson the hard way—that in politics in the television age, appearance was as important as message. By the time he became president in 1969, Nixon was much improved.

But the real successor to John Kennedy in terms of mastery of television was Ronald Reagan (1981–1989). A former movie star who also was familiar to television audiences as host of “Death Valley Days” and other shows, Reagan was a natural before the television camera. It was not long before journalists dubbed him, “the great communicator.” His formal speeches and television addresses in particular, were expertly delivered with impeccable timing. He was less successful, however, at impromptu events such as news conferences.

In the current campaign for president, neither Republican candidate George W. Bush nor Democratic candidate Al Gore has scored a knockout against the other in terms of television skills. Each has had both successful and awkward moments. But the key television event in the campaign is yet to come—their televised presidential debates in the fall. Whatever the outcome of the election, however, television is sure to play an important, if not critical, role.

Broadcast Presidential Debates

Staple of American Politics

THE BIPARTISAN Commission on Presidential Debates has chosen dates—all in October—and locations for three 90-minute meetings between Democratic Vice President Al Gore and Republican Texas Governor George W. Bush. The vice presidential candidates, Democratic Connecticut Senator Joe Lieberman and Republican former Defense Secretary Dick Cheney will also debate one another once in October.

Debates among candidates are rare in most countries. But they have become a staple of American politics, particularly during the last 25 years. “Presidential debates remain the most effective voter education events of American political campaigns,” says Paul Kirk, Jr., chairman of the Kennedy Library Foundation Board of Directors, the likely site of one of the major presidential debates this Fall. Kirk, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, is co-chair of the Commission on Presi-

dential Debates along with Frank Fahrenkopf, former chairman of the Republican National Committee.

The debates are a “key test” of the strength and abilities of the candidates, says CNN analyst Jeff Greenfield. A candidate cannot package himself in debates the way he can in party advertisements but must be quick on his feet to respond to unanticipated questions and criticisms, he adds.

The unforgettable debate quip that can deflate a candidacy is the worst nightmare of any presidential hopeful. “There you go again,” Ronald Reagan’s memorable retort to President Jimmy Carter, was a line that stuck with both viewers and commentators in the 1980 presidential campaign. Carter went on to lose.

Another example—Vice President Walter Mondale’s deadly question to Senator Gary Hart, his main competitor in the 1984 Democratic primaries, “Where’s the beef?” Mondale

borrowed the line from a hamburger commercial that had used the phrase, “where’s the beef?” to suggest that competing products shortchanged the consumer. Mondale, in effect, suggested that Hart’s ideas were short on substance.

The potential of debates to damage a vulnerable presidential hopeful is one reason why some candidates, particularly frontrunners, are reluctant to risk their chances in such an uncontrolled environment—and the fewer debate rules there are, the less control the candidates have. But broadcast presidential debates, both in the primaries and in the general election, are now routine and expected by the American people. It is a major opportunity to examine the talents and skills of the candidates in a spontaneous format where the questions are not known in advance. Consequently, it now is all but impossible for candidates to decline to participate in at least some debates.

It was not always so. Face-to-face presidential debates began their broadcast history in 1948 when Republicans Thomas Dewey and Harold Stassen faced each other in a radio debate during the Oregon Republican presidential primary. The first broadcast television debate between the two major party nominees was in 1960 when Senator John F. Kennedy faced Vice President Richard Nixon. The four debates were considered crucial to Kennedy’s narrow victory.

Interestingly, Americans who heard the debate on radio thought Nixon won. But the far larger television audience applauded Kennedy’s performance, testimony to the importance—in the television age—of image as well as substance. The point is Americans are

concerned not just with a leader’s policies and ideology, but also with his character and temperament. In the contentious atmosphere of a debate, such personal attributes are easier for voters to judge than in pre-packaged campaign commercials or formal speeches.

Because television debates were deemed so crucial to the outcome of the 1960 election—dooming Richard Nixon to a narrow loss in the opinion of many analysts—the presidential nominees in the subsequent three presidential elections shied away from debates, feeling the risks were too great. Not until 1976 when Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter confronted President Gerald Ford was there another presidential debate. Since then, there have been debates in each of the presidential election years. The American people now expect them and it is doubtful a candidate could refuse to participate, analysts say.

Since 1987, the presidential debates have been organized by a bipartisan organization, the Commission on Presidential Debates. Its purpose is to sponsor and produce debates for the presidential and vice presidential candidates of the two major parties.

This year, the Commission set a threshold for the participation of third party candidates in the debates. They must show they have the support—as evidenced in a number of opinion polls—of at least 15 percent of the population. So far, none have.

Whatever the quality of the Fall debates, they are unlikely to equal the most famous political debates in American history which occurred long before the invention of radio and television.

In 1858, Stephen Douglas debated Abraham Lincoln for a U.S. Senate seat. The debates were held at seven sites throughout Illinois, one for each of the seven congressional districts. Douglas, a pro-slavery Democrat, was the incumbent. Lincoln was anti-slavery. "Honest Abe," as he was endearingly called, lost the Senate race, but two years later was elected the first Republican president of the United States. The Lincoln-Douglas debates are still heralded for the quality of the discourse at a crucial time in the nation's history.

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TV Campaign Spots Important Part of Presidential Campaigns

TELEVISED DEBATES among the major candidates running for the presidency of the United States have been a key factor influencing public opinion in presidential races for decades. The air time for the debates is provided free of charge by the television networks as a public service.

But even more significant, say some analysts, are the paid political campaign spots that air during regular programming. The reason, they say, is that many more Americans see the 30- or 60-second campaign spots than either the debates or regular public affairs programming.

The first televised campaign spots in a presidential campaign were aired in 1952. In a series of commercials, Dwight Eisenhower, the Republican candidate for president, answered questions from average citizens. These spots were titled “Eisenhower Answers America” and featured dramatic footage of “the Man from

Abilene” interacting with voters. (Eisenhower was from Abilene, Kansas.)

The Democratic candidate for president, Adlai Stevenson, also aired television spots but they were considered by the experts to be much more wooden, less well produced and less effective. Since many Americans did not own television sets in 1952, the cost of the campaign spots was relatively cheap since the audience was small at that time. Consequently, some of the spots were much longer than the 30- or 60-second political ads commonplace today. A few were 30 minutes long.

The most famous 30-minute political commercial during the 1952 campaign featured Senator Richard Nixon, the Republican vice presidential candidate. Nixon had been accused of corruption and took to the airwaves, courtesy of the Republican National Committee, to defend his record. This was the so-called “Checkers” speech, named after a dog Nixon had received as a gift. Nixon said he would not

give up the dog and he hoped the American people would not give up on him. The broadcast was so successful that Eisenhower, who had considered dropping Nixon from the ticket, kept him on.

Eisenhower and Nixon handily won the general election and probably would have without the televised campaign commercials. But pollsters documented that the ads helped much more than any of Eisenhower's campaign managers believed at the time. From that point on, paid political television commercials became a vital component of presidential campaigning. The spots became increasingly sophisticated—and expensive—as the television audience grew throughout the 1950s.

By 1960 when John F. Kennedy faced Richard Nixon in the presidential election of that year, there was no doubt that television, and television ads in particular, were a vital part of campaigning for the presidency—much more important than traditional door-to-door campaigning or newspaper or radio ads. Television was now in nine out of 10 homes. The late Theodore White, who chronicled the 1960 campaign, said “Television is the political process; it's the playing field of politics. Today, the action is in the studios, not in the backrooms.”

Occasionally, the campaign spots became a controversial component of presidential campaigns. The most famous early example was in 1964 when the Democrats aired a commercial suggesting that the Republican nominee for president, Barry Goldwater, was not to be trusted with nuclear weapons—the famous Daisy commercial featuring a little girl. “These are the stakes—to make a world in which all of

God's children can live,” intoned the voice of Lyndon Johnson, the Democratic candidate for president.

Although the spot was withdrawn after one airing because of the furor that followed, analysts said it worked—by hinting that Goldwater was too reckless for the nuclear age. “The ad was important also because it got so much free play,” says analyst Kathleen Hall Jamieson. “It was a news ad. The intent was to get news play.”

In the current campaign, Vice President Al Gore, the Democratic candidate for president, offered to pull his political campaign spots if his Republican opponent, Texas Governor George W. Bush, would do the same. Gore challenged Bush to twice-weekly debates on the issues instead. But Bush declined the offer indicating that the television spots are a major means for him to get out his message.

The buying of airtime for political messages is forbidden in many countries but is commonplace in the United States. Defenders of the practice say it is one way an unpopular or little-known candidate who is drawing little media attention can attract the notice of voters. They also are informative, says Jamieson. “If I had a choice between watching what you typically see in news about campaigns and your typical ad, I would watch the typical ad.” But critics complain that the system is now too costly and involves candidates and political parties in the raising of enormous sums of money to pay for the ads.

During the 1990s, candidates increasingly looked for other opportunities to get out their message that did not involve paying the broadcasters. In the 1992 presidential campaign, for example, then-Governor Bill Clinton started a

new trend by appearing on “Donahue,” a daytime talk show, and also on other entertainment shows, as well as on the cable network music program MTV. Third party candidate Ross Perot made repeated appearances on the “Larry King Show” on CNN.

Television historians point out that the appearances were not completely unprecedented. Both John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon, the major presidential candidates in the 1960 election, had appeared on the “Jack Paar Show,” a highly rated entertainment talk show of the time. But until the 1992 campaign, such appearances were relatively rare. Diana Mutz, a journalism professor at the University of Wisconsin, points out that Perot campaigned “almost exclusively on television, and, if elected, promised to keep in touch with voters through electronic town meetings.”

With the increasing proliferation of cable and satellite channels, the number of outlets for candidates to air their political ads is growing exponentially, but so are the costs—one reason they make more appearances as guests on regularly scheduled programs. The effects of a 500-channel television universe on the political system have scarcely been examined since it is so recent.

Some candidates and pundits welcome new vehicles for expressing political messages. Others feel overwhelmed by what Michael O’Neill, author of the book *Roar of the Crowd*, has warned is a broadcasting maze too difficult for any campaign to effectively navigate. O’Neill warns of a ‘Tower of Babel’ emerging in which it will be increasingly difficult for a politician to reach his targeted audience.

It’s all a far cry from 1952, when the “Man from Abilene” commercials helped Dwight Eisenhower win the presidency. Back then, most American cities had two or three television stations, national TV networks were only a few years old, and the promise of global television via satellite and cable a science fiction dream.

Candidates, Rather Than Parties, Increasingly the Focus in the U.S.

“I DON’T BELONG to an organized political party. I’m a Democrat,” the late humorist Will Rogers once said. Rogers often poked fun at institutions, but in his comment about the Democratic Party he was alluding to a basic tenet of American political life. Political parties in the United States are much less structured and much less homogeneous than in many other countries.

From the beginning, American political parties were umbrella organizations accommodating a wide range of political views and interests, says political scientist Stephen Rockwood, author of *American Third Parties Since the Civil War*. That is a major reason why third parties have largely been unsuccessful in the United States, he adds.

The early Democratic Party, for example, was a coalition representing farmers, traders and artisans who often disagreed on policy and ideology. The coalition evolved into the modern

Democratic Party, mushrooming to include groups as diverse as organized labor and business interests. In addition, the party encompasses geographical and regional distinctions. Southern Democrats, for example, tend to be much more conservative than Northern or even Western Democrats. Sometimes called Boll Weevils (named after an insect that infests cotton plants typically in the South) or more recently Blue Dogs (named from paintings by Louisiana artist George Rodrigue that feature a blue dog in political settings), these conservative Democrats often have voted with the Republican Party.

Similarly, the Republican Party also is a grand coalition—of business interests, conservative social groups and those favoring traditional values. Although the ideological chasm between conservative and moderate Republicans is not as wide as that between liberal and conservative Democrats, the Republican Party also remains far from homogeneous.

The umbrella nature of American political parties directly affects the political process. For example, electing a Democratic president and Democratic Congress is no assurance that the president's legislative program will be passed. For example, Southern Democrats, who tend to be conservative, might vote with the Republicans on any number of issues and help defeat particular bills.

On the other hand, on some issues, many Northern Republicans might vote with the Democratic Party. Party whips, a hallmark of parliamentary systems, are much less powerful in the U.S. political system and rarely can compel a particular lawmaker to vote a particular way. Votes in the U.S. Congress are not typically cast wholly along party lines, as is the case in many parliamentary systems.

In addition, the separation of powers in the U.S. system ensures the independence of Congress from the executive branch—even if the same party occupies the executive and legislative branches. The saying “all politics is local” is a very powerful refrain in American political life, signifying that American lawmakers are much more prone to vote the interests of the district or state they represent, even if that conflicts with the interests of the executive branch, the party or even the national interest.

Because of weaker political parties in the United States, Americans tend to vote for the candidate as much as the party, and this trend is increasing, spurred by political reforms that began in the Progressive Era at the turn of the last century and that accelerated, beginning in the late 1960s, says political scientist Sandy Maisal. Americans identify much less with

political party labels than in many other countries, he adds.

Maisal's point is illustrated by U.S. opinion polling. According to a 1995 Gallup Poll, “twice as many Americans did not self-identify as belonging to one of the major political parties as had been the case when John F. Kennedy was running for president in 1960.” The polls indicate that more than 40 percent of the electorate now considers itself to be independents, a much higher figure than in most countries with competing two-party systems.

Political parties in the United States always have been less structured organizations than elsewhere, says political historian Joel Sibley in his article, “The Rise and Fall of American Parties.” Sibley, too, says the tendency has been increasing, partly because of the growth in the number of primaries that has transferred power from party organizations and officials to the voters.

Sibley adds that it is important not to exaggerate the point. Political parties in the United States, he says, are healthy organizations that are well funded and continue “to play a political role.” But “they can hardly be seen as the vigorous, robust and meaningful players within the nation's political system that they once clearly were,” he adds.

Some commentators bemoan the relative weakness of political parties in the United States, the lack of party discipline and the emphasis on character and personality at the expense of issues. But others extol the benefits of a system they see as more democratic than parliamentary or other systems of government because it is the will of the individual candidate

or lawmaker—and the people he or she represents—that is paramount rather than the interests of the party.

Whatever the benefits, or drawbacks, of the party political process in the United States, the important point to keep in mind is that a win for a political party in the United States does not necessarily mean a fundamental ideological shift, as is the case in many other countries. Local concerns, and the character and personality of the candidate, may play as much a part in voter preference as the party platform and ideology.

For better or for worse, the United States has moved “from a party-dominated system of campaign politics to a candidate-centered system,” says Paul Herrnson, author of *National Party Organizations at Century’s End*. He, and other observers, argue the trend will likely continue because of the growing importance of personality-dominated media as well as the acceptance of reforms instituted by the parties themselves.

U.S. Radio and TV Stations Required to Give Candidates Equal Time

UNDER THE FIRST Amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing freedom of the press, radio and television stations in the United States have enormous latitude in their coverage of candidates and elections. But according to experts, one regulation that has remained, and is likely to remain, is the Equal Time rule.

Under a provision of the 1934 Communications Act, if a broadcast station provides time for one political candidate, it must do so for his or her opponents. This provision—Section 315 of the law—is known as the Equal Time rule. It states: “If any licensee shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any political office to use a broadcasting station, he shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting station.”

It is a simple concept, but interpretation of the Equal Time rule has evolved over the years as politics and technology have changed. It

continues to evolve. In a recent interview, Robert Baker, of the political program section of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), the government regulatory agency for the U.S. communications industry, said that “the three principal components of the rule are a requirement that if broadcasters sell time to political candidates they must treat them all equally, allow them to purchase time at favorable rates and not attempt to censor the content of their ads.”

In addition to paid political advertising, the law also applies to some programs paid for by the stations in which candidates may appear without purchasing the airtime. Baker explained that as a result of an amendment to Section 315 in 1959, the rule does not apply to regular news and public affairs programming. Thus, if a “legally qualified” candidate appears on a bona fide news program, the station is under no obligation to provide time to other candidates.

The question of what is a bona fide news program, however, at a time when news and entertainment are often mixed in the same program is a subject of much debate in the communications industry. According to Dwight Teeter and Don Duc, authors of *Law of Mass Communications*, the FCC “has expanded its category of broadcast programs exempted from political access requirements to include entertainment shows that provide news or current event coverage as regularly scheduled segments of the program.”

The act stipulates certain requirements for a candidate to be “legally qualified,” the most important of which is that he or she be a declared candidate in accordance with applicable state and federal laws. According to broadcast historians, one of the most celebrated tests of this aspect of the rule occurred in December 1967 when the three major commercial television networks carried an hour-long interview with President Lyndon Johnson, a Democrat. It was only a few months before the New Hampshire primary, the first major test in the 1968 race for the presidency.

Eugene McCarthy, who had announced his own candidacy for the Democratic Party’s presidential nomination before the broadcast, requested “equal time” from the networks on the grounds that President Johnson was a legally qualified candidate for the same nomination. The appeal was denied because Johnson had not, at that point, declared that he was a candidate for reelection. This is one reason why candidates time an announcement that they are running for office very carefully, so as not to trigger the Equal Time rule requiring stations to give broadcast time in equal measure to their opponents.

There are certain, narrow exceptions to the Equal Time rule that have evolved over the years, however. The most important exception concerns national televised debates involving the major presidential candidates. Not long after debates among the leading candidates for president became a standard component of campaigns in 1976, the FCC moved to exempt them from the Equal Time rule.

Since November 1983, the FCC has allowed the debates to be considered “bona fide news events,” thus triggering the exemption. Under the old rule, even minor candidates could have requested equal time during the presidential debates, a problem that led organizations, such as the League of Women Voters, to cover the debates, which the networks then covered as news events. Baker explained that although there is now no requirement that all candidates be included in the presidential debates, the FCC has urged broadcasters not to “favor or disfavor” any particular candidate.

Although the Equal Time rule is concerned with equal access, not initial access, for candidates, a 1979 ruling by the FCC, in effect, required stations to give candidates for federal office “reasonable access” to the airwaves. The case resulted from a request by then-President Jimmy Carter to buy airtime for his reelection campaign. The networks denied the request on the grounds that no equal time provision was at issue and it was too early in the campaign. The FCC, and ultimately the Supreme Court, ruled that the networks should have provided the time. This is now known as the “reasonable access” rule.

In the past, the Equal Time rule was often confused with the Fairness Doctrine, which

required that broadcasters “operate in the public interest and afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public interest.” The Fairness Doctrine ceased to be a requirement in 1987. Baker explained that although a few minor elements remain, “essentially the Fairness Doctrine was abolished.”

Critics have complained that since the Fairness Doctrine was shelved, stations have become less responsible in the coverage of issues. But opponents of the Fairness Doctrine say it was an unnecessary regulatory requirement on broadcasters that other media, such as newspapers, were never required to meet. Since there are now many more broadcast stations than newspapers, opponents say viewers have enough choice on coverage of issues without regulation, especially in an age of hundreds of stations courtesy of cable and satellite television companies.

As new democracies around the world wrestle with issues of regulation in broadcasting to ensure fairness for political candidates in elections, the U.S. experience is an indication that even simple rules are not always easy to implement in practice and must be periodically re-evaluated in the light of changing circumstances, both technological as well as political.

Third Parties Also Wooing Voters in Presidential Election

IF AMERICANS VOTE in November in the traditional way, either Vice President Al Gore, the Democratic nominee, or Texas Governor George W. Bush, the Republican nominee, will be the next president of the United States. That is because the United States basically has a two-party system. But there also is a long tradition of third party bids for the presidency. The year 2000 is no exception.

The three leading third parties in this year's election are the Green Party, whose nominee is consumer advocate Ralph Nader, the Reform Party, whose nominee is political commentator Pat Buchanan, and the Libertarian Party, whose nominee is Harry Browne, a former investment advisor. Currently, Nader stands at between 2 and 4 percent in the polls, depending on the poll. His supporters include Green Party enthusiasts as well as disaffected Democrats and Republicans who dislike the nominees of their respective parties.

The Greens are a worldwide movement committed to environmental causes, economic empowerment and to various social issues. The movement has had particular success at the ballot box in Western Europe. Green Party USA was organized in the 1980s and now has grassroots organizations in all 50 states. This is the second time that Nader, who is a household name in America, has been the party's nominee. He was on the ballot in 22 states in 1996 but won none of them. In a recent appearance on NBC's "Meet the Press," he said he would be on the ballot in at least 45 states this year.

The Reform Party was founded by multi-millionaire Texas businessman Ross Perot in the early 1990s. It was an outgrowth of his organization, "United We Stand America," formed in 1992. The party stands for term limits for lawmakers, campaign finance reform and protection for American workers against what it regards as unfair free trade policies. It tends to be liberal to moderate on social issues.

A conflict of interest between two factions at the Reform Party convention resulted in a squabble over \$12.5 million dollars in federal campaign funds. Pat Buchanan, the Reform nominee received the money.

The Libertarian Party was established in 1971. Its major principles are commitment to individual rights, freedom of communication, the abolition of the income tax and an end to the prosecution of victimless crimes, including drug offenses. The Libertarians oppose intrusive action by governments of the Left or the Right. The party's statement of principles says individuals "have the right to live in whatever manner they choose, so long as they don't forcibly interfere with the equal rights of others."

In addition to the Greens, the Libertarians and the Reform Party, many other political parties will be fielding presidential candidates this year. Based on historical precedent, however, the overwhelming odds are in favor of the Democratic or Republican nominee winning the presidency, although a strong third party showing by one or more of the third parties could affect the outcome of the race between the two leading candidates.

The reason why a third party nominee stands little chance of winning the presidency lies in the nature of the American political system and American history. Stephen Rockwood, author of *American Third Parties Since the Civil War* cites several, specific reasons:

- The U.S. election system, which is based on "winner-takes-all" rather than proportional representation

- The tradition of two main parties acting as "large umbrellas" for a variety of interests

- Media concentration on the two major parties rather than the myriad of smaller parties

Even so, there have been significant, third party attempts to win the presidency at numerous times in American history. Although not successful, they have significantly affected the public debate and the policies of the two major parties. Since World War II, for example, there have been six noteworthy third party presidential bids.

- 1948. The Dixiecrats led by Strom Thurmond, currently a senator from South Carolina. The Dixiecrats were a group of dissident Democrats who opposed the racial integration policies of Democrat nominee Harry Truman. Thurmond garnered only 2.4 percent of the popular vote, but because he confined his campaign to the South, won four states there. Thurmond's purpose was not to win the presidency, but to deny victory to Truman by winning traditional Democratic states in the region. The effort failed, however. Truman won without the four Southern states.

- 1948. The Progressive Party led by Henry Wallace, a former vice president of the U.S. in the Roosevelt administration. Wallace ran to Truman's left favoring a radical continuation of New Deal policies and cooperation with the Soviet Union. But Wallace won only 2 percent of the vote, partly because of perceived Communist influence in his campaign. Truman beat back all three challenges—from Wallace, Thurmond and his major opponent, Republican Thomas Dewey—and won, despite all predictions.

○ 1968. The American Independence Party led by George Wallace, the pro-segregation governor of Alabama. Wallace, who won just under 14 percent of the vote, took votes away from both major party nominees, Democrat Hubert Humphrey and Republican Richard Nixon. Nixon narrowly won the election. Wallace ran again in 1972 as a Democrat, but his effort was effectively aborted when he was shot and seriously wounded while campaigning in Maryland.

○ 1980. The National Unity Movement led by former Illinois Congressman John Anderson, a liberal-to-moderate Republican. Anderson won seven percent of the vote, again taking votes away from both major party nominees, Democrat Jimmy Carter and Republican Ronald Reagan. In the end, however, Anderson did not dampen what turned out to be a Reagan landslide.

○ 1992. United We Stand America led by billionaire businessman Ross Perot. This was the precursor group of the Reform Party. Perot's strong showing—19 percent of the vote—was documented to have most hurt Republican nominee President George Bush. Democrat nominee Bill Clinton won the election.

○ 1996. Reform Party led by Ross Perot. Perot's showing was much weaker than in 1992—8.5 percent of the vote—but is still considered significant by third party standards. Perot, however, did not significantly affect the presidential race since Bill Clinton won a comfortable victory over Republican nominee Senator Bob Dole.

Third parties, while occasionally significant in presidential races, tend to be short-lived in American politics. "It's very rare that a third party candidate lasts more than one election," says historian Michael Beschloss. Perot is an exception, although it is considered unlikely that he will be the Reform Party's nominee this year. "The general tradition in American history is that these third parties are organized around usually a single person or issue or both, and usually that does not extend to a long period of time," Beschloss adds.

While sometimes having significant impact at the presidential level, third parties historically have had negligible effect in races for Congress. Only the two major parties have the resources to mount campaigns in all the congressional districts across the United States and that is unlikely to change, according to experts. Currently, there are only two independents in the U.S. House of Representatives—Bernard Sanders of Vermont, and Virgil Goode of Virginia. All the rest are either Democrats or Republicans.

African American Vote Overwhelmingly Democratic

MOST AFRICAN Americans will vote Democratic in the Fall election. That is the conclusion of polls and research conducted at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, the nation's leading think tank on African American issues.

Although the campaign is still underway and viewpoints might change, David Bositis, the Center's principal researcher, says support among African Americans for Democratic nominee, Vice President Al Gore, remains strong essentially because of African Americans' support of the Clinton administration.

In recent polling among African Americans, 77 percent gave Clinton an excellent rating compared with 27 percent for the Republican-controlled Congress. "Al Gore is Clinton's chosen successor. That's why blacks are supporting him. The vast majority of African Americans think Clinton has been the best president since Lyndon Johnson and so they are supporting his man," Bositis noted.

Most African Americans are telling pollsters they are doing better economically, which Bositis says is another reason for supporting Gore. In both 1998 and 1999, for the first time ever, more blacks than whites indicated they were financially better off than the previous year, according to Joint Center research. "Black poverty and unemployment are at record low levels," Bositis noted. Among the other reasons African Americans hold a high opinion of the Clinton-Gore administration, Bositis cited "a large number of African American appointments to government, defense of affirmative action, the president's race initiative and trade with Africa."

African Americans have given overwhelming allegiance to the Democratic Party since 1936 when Franklin Delano Roosevelt was re-elected president in a landslide victory. Before Roosevelt, African Americans voted primarily for the Republican Party because President Abraham Lincoln, who issued the Emancipa-

tion Proclamation and was revered as the president who “freed the slaves,” had been a Republican.

Although there is nothing to suggest that African Americans are about to bolt the Democratic Party in large numbers, Joint Center analysts do say there is increasing evidence they are becoming more conservative, but only on some issues.

In a Joint Center/Home Box Office study completed a few years ago, as many as one-third of African Americans surveyed identified themselves as conservatives, contrary to the conventional wisdom that they are almost all liberal. Leading conservative columnists seized upon the study as evidence that African Americans are increasingly mirroring a conservative trend among whites. But Bositis, who headed the study, said it was misinterpreted in two fundamental respects.

“First, voters are quite capable of holding both liberal and conservative attitudes, depending on the issue. The fact that one-third of African Americans identify themselves as conservative does not mean they are conservative on all issues. In fact, a breakdown of the data indicates that, on most issues, even African Americans who identify themselves as conservatives are, in fact, still mostly liberal,” he said. African American voters are becoming more conservative on some social issues. “For example, 48 percent now favor capital punishment,” Bositis added. “But the point is that even on this issue, where blacks are most conservative, the figure is far lower than for whites, 85 percent of whom favor capital punishment,” he noted.

In addition, Bositis said that attitudes don’t automatically “translate into voting behavior. An individual may identify himself as conservative, but vote for a liberal candidate,” Bositis said. “Clearly, one-third of blacks are not voting conservative, even though they say they are conservative,” he added.

Results in recent elections support Bositis’ conclusions. In presidential elections, for example, African Americans have consistently and overwhelmingly voted for the more liberal candidate—in all cases in recent history, the Democratic candidate.

The Congressional Research Service, part of the Library of Congress, reports that in 1976, 83 percent of African Americans voted for Jimmy Carter over Gerald Ford; in 1980, 83 percent voted for Jimmy Carter over Ronald Reagan; in 1984, 91 percent voted for Walter Mondale over Ronald Reagan; in 1988, 89 percent voted for Michael Dukakis over George Bush; in 1992, 83 percent voted for Bill Clinton over George Bush, despite a concerted Republican Party campaign, led by then-Republican National Chairman Lee Atwater, to attract more African American voters; and, in 1996, 84 percent of African Americans voted for Clinton.

Asked if any of the data compiled by the Joint Center would indicate a trend away from preponderant support for liberal and Democratic candidates in the primaries and in the general election, Bositis said, “No, not at this time. My prediction would be, based on our research, preponderant support for Gore.”

According to Bositis, the attitudes of African Americans and voting behavior “are

rooted in their experience. Many more blacks than whites perceive racism as still a problem, and blacks are still disproportionately represented in the lower economic strata of society. So long as that continues to be the case, blacks will likely remain attracted to more liberal candidates.” African Americans comprise about 12 percent of the U.S. population and are a significant voting bloc in numerous states, particularly in the South.

Issues of Democracy, IIP Electronic Journals, Vol. 5, No. 3, October 2000

Asian American Vote Split Among Democrats, Republicans

ALTHOUGH ASIAN Americans tend to be slightly more conservative than other minority groups in the United States, their vote in recent elections has been almost evenly split between the Republican and Democratic Parties and therefore could swing either way in particular elections, according to experts who have analyzed Asian American voting patterns.

Nevertheless, data compiled by the Population Reference Bureau (PRB), a nonpartisan organization that collects and analyzes information based on U.S. Census data, indicates a trend toward the Democrats in recent years. This is attributed to concern among Asian Americans about the immigration views of some Republican officeholders.

“Japanese Americans and Filipino Americans tend to vote Democratic,” says Gregory Rodriguez, an expert on Asian Americans at the California-based Pepperdine Institute for Public Policy. “Vietnamese Americans lean Republican and Chinese Americans check the

‘decline to state’ category on their registration cards more than either major party. Korean Americans divide almost evenly between the two major parties.”

Asian Americans tend to be more conservative “because in general they are wealthier and better educated than most other groups, including whites,” says Karl Haub, PRB’s expert on the Asian American community. “This is particularly true among the longer standing groups such as the Chinese and the Japanese—less true among the newer Asian American communities, particularly those who came here from Southeast Asia during the refugee migrations of the 1980s.” The statistics indicate that 40 percent of Asian Americans hold a college degree compared to 25 percent of whites, for example.

Currently, there are an estimated 10 million Asian Americans in the United States, just under 4 percent of the population—a much smaller percentage of the population than His-

panics or African Americans. But the Asian American population increased about a third in the 1990s and is increasing faster than the African American or Hispanic population, according to PRB. There are over one million Chinese Americans, for example, in California alone.

The first Asian immigrants to the United States were Chinese and Japanese. Today, Asian American ethnic groups include not only East Asians such as Chinese, Japanese and Koreans, but also Filipinos, Asian Indians and Vietnamese. The figures break down as follows: Chinese 24 percent; Filipinos 21 percent; Asian Indians 13 percent; Vietnamese 11 percent; Korean 10 percent; Japanese 10 percent; and, “other” 11 percent. Three Southeast Asian groups that were displaced by the Vietnam War—Cambodians, Hmong and Laotians—make up about 5 percent of the “other” category.

Immigration into the United States from Asia averaged only about 15,000 people per year in the 1950s, according to PRB. But as a result of the 1965 Immigration act, which prohibited discrimination in immigration, the numbers surged. By the 1980s, immigration from Asia averaged more than 270,000 people per year. The majority of Asian Americans—about 54 percent—live in the western states.

Because many Asian Americans came to the United States recently, they are not as well organized politically as other minority groups, says Phil Tajitsu Nash, a writer with *Asian Week*, a publication aimed at Asian Americans. But Nash says that is changing as more Asian American officials are elected. Organizations such as the 80-20 Group, a coalition of mostly Chinese Americans, are not only working to get

more Asian Americans elected, he adds, but also are seeking to gather Asian Americans into more of a voting bloc so that they can more directly affect the outcome of elections.

In this regard, Asian Americans are acting much like other groups that came to the United States and saw their path to improvement through the formation of civic and other organizations which helped them to impact the political system. As far as issues are concerned, “many of our leaders focus on immigration, education, affirmative action, and other issues that directly impact us,” Nash says. So far, “few have gone beyond race-related issues to speak out on issues of wider concern like the economy and abortion rights,” he adds.

That is likely to change, however, as the number of Asian Americans continues to grow. “The Asian American population is growing at a breathtaking pace,” says Sharon Lee, a writer on Asian American issues. Even though their numbers represent fewer than 4 percent of the U.S. population, “their influence on U.S. society is accentuated by their geographic concentration in a handful of states and cities and their above average income and educational levels,” she adds.

Hispanic Vote in U.S. Growing Larger, but Diverse

HISPANICS ARE an important political force in the United States. According to the latest figures from the U.S. Census Bureau, the Hispanic population now is roughly equal to the African American population—at just over 30 million people, but growing more rapidly. “Hispanics are wielding a greater influence in America than ever before,” says Ana Radelat of *Hispanic Magazine*.

The voting age population of Hispanics has increased 25 percent this decade to approximately 20 million, and Hispanics will be the largest minority group by 2015 in the United States if current trends continue, the Census Bureau says. Moreover, the data indicate that a greater percentage of Hispanics is voting. For example, only 15 percent of newly registered Hispanics voted in California and Texas in 1990. But in 1996, two-thirds did—a higher turnout rate than for the overall electorate.

However, whereas African Americans vote overwhelmingly for the Democratic Party, Hispanics, although voting preponderantly Democratic, are much more diverse in their party affiliation and voting behavior, explains Rudolfo De La Garza, an expert on the Hispanic vote and a professor at the University of Austin in Texas. That’s one big reason why the Hispanic vote is being aggressively courted by both Vice President Al Gore and Texas Republican Governor George W. Bush. Both candidates speak Spanish.

A major reason why the Hispanic vote is diverse in the United States is that Latinos emigrated here from some 20 different countries, De La Garza continues. “Their experience in the United States is much less uniform than African Americans. The interests of Mexicans and their descendants in California, for example, tend to be very different than the interests of Cubans and their descendants in Florida. In

addition, the racial makeup of the Hispanic population is diverse. Most classify themselves as white, but a significant minority regard themselves as persons of color.” For these and other reasons, there is a lack of political cohesion in the Hispanic community that is likely to continue, he adds.

Currently, 44 percent of Hispanics say they are Democrats, 16 percent Republicans, and 40 percent independents, according to a recent survey conducted by the *Washington Post*, the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, and Harvard University. The same survey showed most Latinos supporting larger government but a conservative position on social issues—in effect, a mixture of conservative and liberal views. The large number of independents among Hispanic voters and the difficulty in clearly labeling them as conservatives or liberals is one reason they are being so assiduously pursued by both major political parties, according to analysts.

One concern for the Republicans is a perceived insensitivity to minorities, says Ronald Elving, author of a publication titled, *Courting the Hispanic Vote*. Elving says Republicans “in the 1980s, did relatively well among Hispanic voters overall,” but that ebbed in the 1990s because of Republican support for measures viewed by many Hispanics as anti-immigration and anti-minority. As a result, Hispanics supported Bill Clinton overwhelmingly in 1992 and 1996. Clinton won over 75 percent of the Hispanic vote in 1996.

According to the Census Bureau, California has the largest Hispanic population in the United States at just under 10 million people, followed by Texas, New York, Florida and Illi-

nois. These are large states critical to any candidate who wants to win the presidency. Together, their combined vote in the Electoral College constitutes more than half of what a candidate needs to win the White House.

B i b l i o g r a p h y

Further Reading on U.S. Elections

Barnes, James A.

"Rules of the Game," *National Journal*, vol. 31, no. 45, November 6, 1999, pp. 3202–3207.

The early selection of delegates favors the presidential nomination of well-known candidates who have the backing of the two parties' establishments, says *National Journal* staff correspondent Barnes. This "front-loading" has been rapidly increasing in U.S. election cycles since the early 1980s.

Briand, Michael K.

Practical Politics: Five Principles for a Community that Works. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

This guide to practicing democracy will be valuable to community grass-roots organizations, by showing how people can make a difference and make democracy work in their communities.

Cannon, Carl M.

"Madam President," *National Journal*, vol. 31, no. 30, July 24, 1999, pp. 2142–2147.

Recent polls indicate that some 92 percent of Americans would vote for a woman candidate. The number is triple what the surveys showed 60 years ago. But the question, Cannon asks, is how long will we have to wait?

Conway, M. Margaret

Political Participation in the United States. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2000.

Conway analyzes patterns of political participation by citizens and offers different explanations for those patterns based on recent research findings. She also considers the reasons for, and the consequences of, non-participation. She concludes with a discussion of the impact of participation on individuals and on the policies and processes of government in the United States.

Cook, Rhodes

Race for the Presidency: Winning the 2000 Nomination. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2000.

Rhodes provides detailed information on the 2000 presidential nominating process by including state-by-state delegate selection rules for both parties. The historical roots, background and evolution of the nominating system also are explained.

Denning, S. Lance

Finding Virtue's Place: Examining America's Civic Life. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999.

Denning dissects today's debate over civic virtue as a remedy to America's social and political ills. He argues that the conservative focus on moral behavior excludes other essential factors contributing to social changes and affecting America's civic behavior. He also asserts that civic life

appears vibrant and active, in contrast to common perceptions.

Elkin, Stephen L. and Karol Edward Soltan, eds.

Citizen Competence and Democratic Institutions. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.

An examination of what "citizen competence" is, how much it exists in the United States today, and what can be done to increase it. The book explores new and revitalized forms of democratic participation as well as the kind of participation that is likely to foster a wide variety of citizen competencies.

Frankovic, Kathleen A.

"Election Polls: The Perils of Interpretation," *Media Studies Journal*, vol. 14, no. 1, Winter 2000, pp. 104–109.

CBS News' Frankovic points out that polls highlight the role of public opinion in the political process, but when employed inappropriately, they can be used to create an exaggerated sense of precision that misleads more than it informs.

Gastil, John

By Popular Demand: Revitalizing Representative Democracy Through Deliberative Elections. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Gastil challenges conventional assumptions about public opinion, elections and political expression in this treatise on how to revitalize the system of representative democracy in the United States. He argues that American citizens have difficulty developing clear policy interests, seldom reject unrepresentative public officials and lack a strong public voice. The growing awareness of a flawed electoral system is causing increased public cynicism and apathy. The most popular reforms, however, will neither restore public trust nor improve representation.

Goldstein, Michael L.

Guide to the 2000 Presidential Election. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2000.

Goldstein walks the reader through the context of the election, the preliminaries leading up to the

nomination, the actual process of getting the nomination, the full campaign and the essential issues the winner will confront in office. In the course of this book, the author informs and educates about campaign financing, access to the ballot, the media's role, the use of advertising and other topics in the news.

Golway, Terry

"The Conventional Wisdom: Why It's Wrong," *American Heritage*, vol. 51, no. 4, July/August 2000, pp. 50–59.

Journalist Golway provides a historical look at the political parties' quadrennial events, observing that while many believe the conventions today have lost their relevance in the political process, they still provide an important function for party activists and mark the beginning stage for voters to focus on the election.

Heineman, Robert

"The Constitution and Campaign Reform," *The World and I*, vol. 15, no. 3, March 2000, pp. 46–51.

Recent high court decisions have expressed a willingness to allow flexibility in political campaign strategy and expenditures, especially in the use of unlimited "soft money" given to political parties rather than individual campaigners.

LeMay, Michael C.

The Perennial Struggle: Race, Ethnicity and Minority Group Politics in the United States. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2000.

LeMay contrasts different minority groups at varying stages of political participation to review each group's reaction and strategic and tactical approach to coping with its minority status. He discusses the complex processes of race and ethnic relations within society while emphasizing public policy and its effect on groups in minority status.

Mathews, Forrest David

Politics for People: Finding a Responsible Public Voice. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Mathews explores how individuals and communities can create a political system relevant to their

everyday lives, and discusses social problem-solving at the grass-roots level.

O'Connell, Brian

Civil Society: The Underpinnings of American Democracy. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999.

O'Connell explores the idea and reality of citizen participation, including government's essential responsibility to preserve the freedoms that allow and encourage it.

Pascoe, Bill

"The Hidden War for Control of the States," *The World & I*, vol. 15, no. 7, July 2000, pp. 56–61.

Pascoe talks about the "hidden war" going on under the media's radar scope for control of U.S. governors' mansions and state legislative bodies. Their importance lies in the determination of who controls the redistricting process, thereby influencing the outcome of the next five Congresses.

Rakove, Jack N.

"Origins of the Presidency," *National Forum: The Phi Kappa Phi Journal*, vol. 80, no. 1, Winter 2000, pp. 9–12.

Given their strong suspicion of the potential abuse of executive power, the framers of the Constitution encountered difficulties designating the responsibilities of a national republican executive. Another obstacle was choosing a mode of election, whether by the people, the new Congress or Electoral College. The author discusses how these dynamics gave rise to the organization of political parties in the U.S.

Rochelle, Warren G.

"The Literary Presidency," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 2, June 1999, pp. 407–420. Rochelle outlines the constitutional qualifications and responsibilities of the president of the United States, and describes the grander presidential image that American citizens draw upon when evaluating the candidates' fitness for the office and the sources that have contributed to that image.

Rozell, Mark J.

Interest Groups in American Campaigns: The New Face of Electioneering. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1999.

Rozell focuses exclusively on the role of interest groups in federal elections. He describes the complex system of campaign finance, grass-roots and activist politics in American nominations and elections, and also assesses the advantages and disadvantages of interest group activity in the American electoral process and democracy.

Rubin, Barry R.

A Citizen's Guide to Politics in America: How the System Works & How to Work the System. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2000.

From realizing a plan of action to the process of lobbying decision-makers and using information to the best advantage, Rubin provides basic information on influencing the political process, from media involvement to mobilizing coalitions.

Thomas, Robert J.

How to Run for Local Office: A Complete Step-by-Step Guide That Will Take You Through the Entire Process of Running and Winning a Local Election. Westland, MI: R&T Enterprise, 1999.

Written by the mayor of Westland, Michigan, this 128-page manual describes the campaign process step-by-step, by advising potential candidates on such topics as campaign signs, fundraising, door-to-door canvassing, literature, mailings, targeting the voters, election day and other aspects of a campaign.

"What Candidates Have to Say About Campaigning: Special Survey Report," *Campaigns & Elections*, vol. 20, no. 7, August 1999, pp. 20–28, 32–36.

The article reviews and analyzes responses from interviews, surveys and focus groups with a nationwide sampling of candidates from congressional, statewide, judicial and municipal campaigns. Candidates discuss the prospects of issue-focused campaigns, changes needed in current campaign-funding practice, professional campaign assistance and third party and independent candidates' views.

Internet Sites on Elections

This is just a sampling of the many sites on the Internet. For more websites on Election 2000, please go to our expanded links page at:

<http://www.usinfo.state.gov/topical/rights/elect2000/links.htm>

Al Gore (Democratic)

<http://www.algore2000.com/>

Ralph Nader (Green)

<http://www.votenader.org/>

Harry Browne (Libertarian)

<http://www.HarryBrowne2000.org/>

John Hagelin (Natural Law)

<http://www.hagelin.org/main.htm>

Pat Buchanan (Reform)

<http://www.gopatgo2000.org/>

George W. Bush (Republican)

<http://www.georgebush.com/>

Democratic National Committee

<http://www.democrats.org/index.html>

Green Party

<http://www.greenparty.org/>

Libertarian Party

<http://www.lp.org/campaigns/>

Natural Law Party

<http://www.natural-law.org/index.html>

Reform Party

<http://www.reformparty.org/>

Republican Party

<http://www.mnc.org/>

American University Campaign Finance website

<http://www.l.soc.american.edu/campfin/index.cfm>

The Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP)

<http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp/index.html>

A university-based research, education and public service center dedicated to promoting greater understanding and knowledge about women's participation in politics and government and to enhancing women's influence and leadership in public life.

The Center for Public Integrity

<http://www.publicintegrity.org/reports/campaign2000/>

Provides the American public with the findings of its investigations and analyses of public service, government accountability and ethics-related issues.

The Center for Voting and Democracy

<http://www.igc.apc.org/cvd/>

Studies how voting systems affect participation, representation and governance and disseminates its findings to civic organizations, elected officials, journalists and the general public.

The Commission on Presidential Debates

<http://www.debates.org/>

Established in 1987 to ensure that debates, as a permanent part of every general election, provide the best possible information to viewers and listeners. The commission's primary purpose is to sponsor and produce debates for leading presidential and vice presidential candidates in the U.S. elections and to undertake research and educational activities relating to the debates.

The Council on Foreign Relations Campaign 2000

<http://www.foreignpolicy2000.org/home/home.cfm>

Sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations, a national think tank dedicated to fostering America's understanding of other nations, the Campaign

2000 website deals exclusively with foreign policy and the U.S. presidential election.

The Electoral College

<http://www.nara.gov/fedreg/elctcoll/proced.html>

The Electoral College was established as a compromise between election of the president by Congress and election by popular vote. The Electoral College is a popularly elected body chosen by the states and the District of Columbia on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November. (This year it falls on November 7, 2000.)

Federal Election Commission (FEC)

<http://www.fec.gov/>

In 1975, Congress created the Federal Election Commission to administer and enforce the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA)—the statute that governs the financing of federal elections. The FEC, which is an independent regulatory agency, discloses campaign finance information and enforces the provisions of the law, such as the limits and prohibitions on contributions, and oversees the public funding of presidential elections.

Issues2000

<http://www.issues2000.org/>

Issues2000 provides nonpartisan information to voters about the presidential election so that votes can be based on issues rather than on personalities and popularity. Information is gleaned daily from newspapers, speeches, press releases and the Internet.

The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

<http://www.jointctr.org/>

A national, nonprofit institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and other minorities.

The League of Women Voters

<http://www.lww.org/>

A nonpartisan political organization that encourages the informed and active participation of citizens in government, works to increase understanding of major public policy issues, and influences public policy through education and advocacy.

Project Vote Smart

<http://www.vote-smart.org/>

Praised by the *New York Times*, CNN, PBS and virtually every other major media outlet as the most trusted and comprehensive source for information on candidates and issues.

University of Michigan Documents Center: Elections

[http://www.lib.umich.edu/libhome/
Documents.center/psusp.html#elec](http://www.lib.umich.edu/libhome/Documents.center/psusp.html#elec)

Comprehensive site on both past and present elections, issues and candidates, sponsored by the the University of Michigan.

Voter.com

<http://www.voter.com/>

Voter.com is a private, first-of-its-kind web site created exclusively to educate and empower the voter.

Youth Vote 2000

<http://www.youthvote2000.org/>

Youth Vote 2000 is the largest nonpartisan coalition committed to encouraging civic participation among American young people. Youth Vote 2000 demands accountability by politicians on the issues of importance to young people today.

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