

THE IMPACT OF CANDIDATE-ORIENTED
ORGANIZATION UPON THE DEMOCRATIC
PARTY AT THE GRASS-ROOTS LEVEL:

PAYNE COUNTY, OKLAHOMA--

A CASE STUDY

By

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Bachelor of Arts

Central State University

Edmond, Oklahoma

1970

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College
of the Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
May, 1975

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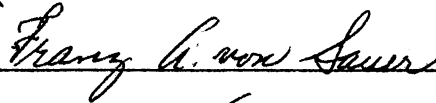
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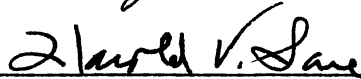
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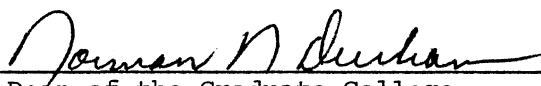
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This thesis is dedicated to the Vietnamese
child, not yet born, who can reach adult-
hood in a nation at peace.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express his appreciation to his major adviser, Dr. Clifford A. L. Rich, for his guidance and assistance throughout this study. Appreciation is also expressed to the other committee members, Dr. Franz A. von Sauer and Mr. Harold V. Sare, for their invaluable assistance in the preparation of the final manuscript. A special note of thanks is given to all of those people who had to put up with me during the final weeks of preparation of the study. Appreciation is also due Mrs. Carolyn Hackett for typing the final copy of the study.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

George McGovern's presidential campaign formally began and practically ended with the Democratic Party convention. With very few exceptions (the disastrous 1968 Chicago convention is one), nominees customarily make great gains in the polls immediately after a national convention; for a week or so, a party has been given a monopoly by the media, the electorate has heard repeated attacks on the opposition and has witnessed a demonstration of party unity at the end of the convention. But in the 1972 campaign, virtually no change was registered in public support for McGovern after the convention that nominated him-- a phenomenon which occurred only only before in modern election history, in the case of Barry Goldwater. Richard Nixon, on the other hand, increased his support in the polls twice, the first time immediately after the Democratic Party convention, when support for him jumped from 53 to 56 per cent, and then again, after the Republican Party convention, when it increased from 57 to 64 per cent.¹

In the case of McGovern, even more than that of Goldwater in 1964, the negative image that helped destroy his campaign was fixed by the convention itself. As with the subsequent campaign, what created the

¹Operational Directive #3, "The Utilization of National Polling Results," McGovern for President Committee (Washington, September 8, 1972), p. 6.

poor image was the way in which the McGovern forces appeared to be disregarding traditional due process, not the political issues which emerged from the convention. A consistent pattern was being followed. Adult white males were being symbolically ignored or even, as in the case of the duly-elected Daley delegation from Illinois, expelled from the convention.² Party regulars and representatives of labor and of traditionally Democratic ethnic blocs were being systematically passed over and displaced in an apparently high-handed manner by a faction identified with the "new" constituencies: the young, the poor, women, blacks, radicals, and homosexuals. At the head of this faction stood George McGovern.³

McGovern himself seemed aware that he was an outsider in the traditional party, and not only from the point of view of the older politicians. At the post-convention Al Smith dinner in New York City, he commented, "I feel a little like Al Smith addressing the Baptist League of East Texas."⁴ This was an amazing statement coming from the presidential nominee of the Democratic Party. The Al Smith dinner, after all, is not only a Catholic commemoration: it is de facto a significant Democratic Party festival; Protestants and Jews like Harry Truman, Lyndon Johnson, and Herbert Lehman have addressed it in their time, men who were not and who could not be ill at ease among the core constituency

² Credentials Committee Report, "Challenges and Decisions," 1972 National Democratic Party Convention (Washington).

³ Platform Committee Report, "Alternatives and Results," 1972 National Democratic Party Convention (Washington).

⁴ McGovern for President Newsletter #9, "The Al Smith Dinner--The Candidate Speaks," McGovern for President Committee Washington, September 23, 1972), p. 2.

of New York's Catholic Democrats. But the real irony of the moment lay in McGovern's comparison: for the hard-necked Southern Baptists before whom Al Smith spoke during his campaign ended up voting for Herbert Hoover.⁵

But if the new McGovernite politicians were factionalists, they also had qualities generally associated with extremism: they were ideological, moralistic, and evangelistic. These are characteristics which a coalition party, containing sharply diverse factions, cannot afford to harbor or encourage. In a system based on two competing coalition parties, there has to be a much greater capacity for fudging issues, for hedging, for ideological compromise and impurity, than in multi-party systems in which each party appeals to limited sectors of the nation during an election. Only thus can a coalition party reflect the needs of a highly diversified society. But the Democratic Party convention, like McGovern himself, shunned political compromise and embraced instead a fundamentally religious notion of purity, suitable more to a third-party movement than the standard-bearers of a coalition party.

In this, the McGovern campaign clearly resembled another Democratic campaign of three-quarters of a century ago, that of William Jennings Bryan, who also lost heavily among traditional Democratic voters, particularly Catholics and Jews. Both combined an evangelical Protestant outlook and style with an effort to push the country to the left. McGovern, like Bryan, moved through his campaign with the "deep inner certitude of godly men." They both engaged in the "politics of the

⁵ Ibid., p. 7, listed a geographical breakdown of election results since 1912.

revival tent."⁶ A critical sector of the American electorate has a highly developed distaste for political moralism of this kind, and the combined experience of 1964 and 1972 shows that this distaste extends in both directions, to the left as well as to the right.⁷

Statement of the Problem

George McGovern and his strategists totally misjudged the character of the American electorate. The convention and the campaign were conducted as though the American public consisted of two large factions: one basically alienated from the American order, the other dedicated to turning back the clock. There undoubtedly are such factions in the country, but they are hardly large ones, and they do not represent the great majority of the American electorate. Throughout the 1960's and especially since 1965, many Americans have felt that they were experiencing an enormous amount of cultural change, and the last man they wanted for president in 1972 was one identified with those who proposed to carry cultural change further, when the social order was already in turmoil. This does not mean that these same Americans were prepared to reject programs of social reform in areas such as health, educational opportunity, equal rights, or the economy. The opinion surveys indicated clear and continuing majorities in favor of extending opportunity to the underprivileged, to those facing discrimination, to the

⁶ McGovern for President Newsletter #12, "The Move to the Middle," McGovern for President Committee (Washington, October 6, 1972), p. 3.

⁷ Ibid., p. 12. Deals with the Goldwater experience of 1964 and how to avoid such comparisons.

handicapped, while at the same time restoring a sense of personal security to those who live in the urban areas.⁸

Furthermore, the majority of Americans would still prefer the "party of compassion" to the party they associate with the business elite; nothing attests to this fact more strikingly than President Nixon's failure in the election to carry Republican congressional or local candidates on his coattails. The GOP decline in governorships over a four-year period from 31 in 1968 to 19 in 1972 was a prolonged land-slide in reverse. Indeed, in many ways the president was a tellingly weak candidate. In each of his previous national races, 1960 and 1968, as well as the California gubernatorial contest in 1962, his Democratic rivals had started considerably behind in the polls and had managed to close the gap: Hubert Humphrey, for example, came from 16 points behind to an almost dead heat in 1968. In 1970, when the president campaigned vigorously for Republican congressional candidates, he failed to sway the electorate. From this point of view the Nixon election victory was an amazing phenomenon; it occurred in spite of the fact that his campaign style and personality had a negative effect on the public, and in spite of the fact that a majority of Americans still prefer the Democratic to the Republican Party.⁹

Through a peculiar accident of history, the Democratic Party in 1972 was divided among a number of candidates. The representative of the smallest faction of a major party ever to secure the presidential

⁸ Operational Directive #5, "What the People Want: An Analysis of Recent Opinion Polls," McGovern for President Committee (Washington, September 24, 1972), p. 5.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

nomination won out within the party--and then continued to act like a factional leader. The result was a landslide for a Republican candidate who never possessed widespread charismatic appeal, and who polled more "reluctant" votes than any candidate in recent political history. There are lessons to be drawn from this event. The Republicans learned theirs after 1964; whether the Democrats do likewise remains an open question.

Thus a framework has been developed for some basic questions concerning the McGovern campaign and its consequences:

1. How is it possible for a minority element within the Democratic Party to secure the presidential nomination?
2. What structural aspects of the Democratic Party contribute to the success of candidate-oriented organization?
3. What impact, if any, did the McGovern-Fraser Guidelines have on the 1972 delegate-selection process?
4. Is there a viable organization on a continuing basis within the Democratic Party?

The reality of the situation does not lie in any god-like pronouncements arrived at through hindsight, but rather through a critical analysis of the organizational structure of the McGovern campaign at the grass-roots level of American politics. In such an analysis, a viable starting point is the pre-convention strategy of the campaign activists. It is at this point that the attitudes and subsequent strategies which lasted throughout the campaign were developed. The merit of such analysis lies in the fact that the post-convention campaign was organized by the same individuals who organized the pre-convention campaign.

Hypotheses

The ability to successfully organize within the Democratic Party as opposed to being successful in organizing the Democratic Party is evidenced by the very nature of the Democratic Party. Major political parties in the United States have always been coalitions of different groups and interests. An American party, to be successful, must adopt a program that is broad enough to attract almost anyone, from the mid-western farmer to the northern industrialist, the urban easterner to the rural Californian, the executive to the laborer. Because a plurality wins a position in the American electoral system, a party must build as large an electoral base as it possible can.

It is this broad electoral base within the Democratic Party that allows a minority element of its rather tenuous coalition to organize and gain control of the party. This makes for a paradox of both strength and weakness within the same political organization: the strength of a broad electoral appeal; and the weakness of continuity regarding any form of effective leadership within the organizational framework. The relevant aspects of organization within the Democratic Party are the precinct and county levels of the organizational heirarchy. The precinct is the smallest unit of organization within the Democratic Party and the job of the precinct officials is to get voters registered, see that they know about times and places of voting, supply them with sample ballots and candidates' literature and get them to the polls on election day. The most important level of organization within the Democratic Party is the county central committee. The county central committee is the principal money-raiser; it organizes and conducts campaigns, secures

candidates for local office, and handles the bulk of recruiting party members and similar organizational activity. The aforementioned characteristics of the two major organizational levels are theoretical in nature and do not necessarily correspond to the reality of their merit in campaigns (presidential campaigns in particular).

Somewhere between the urban machines, with their orientation toward material incentives, and the reform clubs, with their emphasis on policy incentives, lie the vast majority of American party organizations. The overwhelming majority of these could be described as skeletal in nature. They consist of only a handful of activists, often too few to fill all the precinct and county committee posts established by statute and party rules. In few local party organizations are the essential tasks of registration, canvassing, membership solicitation, fund raising, record keeping, and recruitment performed with any vigor; in many, these tasks are not even attempted. The absence of party organization, rather than its effectiveness, is the most notable characteristic of great stretches of the county.

In skeletal parties (such as the Democratic Party) the mix of incentives almost certainly runs heavily to social and psychological satisfactions. Many activists are socialized into party work at an early age by their parents. For them affiliation with a party is as natural as affiliation with civic clubs and religious sodalities. The standing in the community of a party position, especially when such standing costs little energy, is another attractive feature of party activism.

Another widespread misconception about the Democratic Party is that the party organization is hierarchical in structure and leadership.

Civics texts have too often portrayed American parties as neat pyramids with the national party chairperson at the apex, followed in descending order by the national party committees, the state party committees and chairpeople, the congressional district committees and chairpeople, the county and city committees and chairpeople, and the ward and precinct clubs. In this political mirage, the barking of orders in backrooms at the top brings obedient responses throughout the ranks. No image could be further from reality.¹⁰

The Democratic Party is more like a mosaic than a pyramid. Each party unit is a separate piece with its own individual place in the whole. In a mosaic some pieces are larger, more brightly colored, more crucial to the design, and more polished than others. So it is with party units. Some are more effective in marshalling votes and may therefore lie nearer the center of party politics, particularly if the votes they deliver are numerous and for the "right" candidates. But each unit stands essentially by itself, for the incentives of politics are primarily local. For a party whose important incentives are social and psychological, the association with fellow partisans at the local level is important. Even for the issue-oriented activists, the local party unit is the main arena, since it is there that issues are discussed and resolutions passed.

The party process is decentralized in yet another way. The main resources of politics are accumulated at the local level. The workers

¹⁰This image is conveyed by a variety of American government textbooks. For further reference see: James MacGregor Burns and J. W. Peltason, Government by the People (8th ed., Englewood Cliffs, 1972), pp. 251-267; and John H. Ferguson and Dean E. McHenry, The American Federal Government (New York, 1971), pp. 249-278.

gather in local units. The money is often raised by local committees. Convention delegates who select candidates and construct platforms are chosen in local caucuses. Local primaries, because they are poorly attended by the electorate, are often influenced by the activists, who are more important opinion leaders in the primary than in the general election, where turnout is greater and party label provides voters with a tool for easily making ballot choices. Registration, canvassing, and getting out the vote are all local activities, conducted by local party units without significant assistance from those whose titles suggest higher standing in the party organization.

Where party leaders in the higher ranks have significant incentives at their command, they may effectively organize an army of local party committees. Ordinarily though, party leadership at the higher levels must rely on less tangible incentives to bring the party together and activate the many independent elements in the political army. The charisma of the candidates, the policy stands by party leaders, the personal loyalties built by mutual deference and respect, and the deeply ingrained sense of party loyalty are the glue that holds in place--albeit uncertainly--the party mosaic.

When the glue dissolves, there is little that party leaders can do. The southern Democratic leaders who sulked over the national party's civil rights commitments in every election from 1948 to 1972 could not be punished by the national party chairperson because the resources and strength of the Democratic Party are local and the "rebels" rather than the "leaders" are in the strategic positions. When incentives are unavailable, when issues divide the party, when candidates are lack-luster, when the harmony of personal relationships is disrupted, or when

attachment to the party declines, the coalition that usually assembles under the Democratic banner comes apart easily. Party leadership in America, then, demands the artful orchestration of thousands of fiercely independent players by improvising a score that allows each player a worthy role and emphasizes common concerns rather than rivalries.

This rivalry has given rise to a new phenomenon on the political scene, particularly in the area of urban politics. This is the development, especially since the 1952 presidential campaign, of ideologically motivated grass-roots party organizations with the Democratic Party.¹¹ The ideology in question is liberalism: most of the reform organizations are led and staffed by college-educated intellectuals, many of whom were politically activated by the candidacy of Adlai Stevenson. In a few localities, there have been grass-roots Republican organizations motivated by ideological considerations: in the Republican case, Goldwater conservatism.

New-style reformers differ in two major ways from old-style reformers: their ideological concerns extend beyond a preoccupation with governmental efficiency alone. They favor racial integration and improved housing and sometimes devote much of their energy to advocating "liberal" causes at the national level; secondly, their strategy is to work within and take control of the parties, rather than to reject the legitimacy of parties. They do resemble old-style reformers in their preoccupation with the evils of "bossim" and machine politics.

There also is an important resemblance between the new reform politician and the old-style organization man the reformer seeks to

¹¹David Berry, The Sociology of Grass Roots Politics: A Study of Party Membership (London, 1970), pp. 31-47.

replace. In both cases the politician emphasizes extensive face-to-face contact with the voters. Where reformers have been successful, it often has been by beating the boss at his own game of canvassing the election district, registering and keeping track of voters, and getting them to the polls.¹²

The successes of this new class of reform party politician have vindicated a portion of the classical strategy of urban party politics, i.e., the extensive reliance upon canvassing and other personal relations along with the possibility of organizing such activities with virtually no reliance on patronage and other material rewards.

Thus it is possible to put forth the following answers (hypotheses) in conjunction with previously mentioned data:

1. The constitutional rules of the Democratic Party of Oklahoma, while providing free and open access to all participants, did in fact permit a small but well organized minority to gain control of the organization.
2. Poor attendance by traditional Payne County Democrats contributed significantly to the success of the McGovern organization in capturing control of the Democratic Party County Convention.
3. The McGovern-Fraser guidelines had a significant impact on the delegate selection process in Payne County by eliminating proxy voting, thus increasing the representation of the McGovern organization.

¹²Ibid., pp. 103-114.

4. The success of the Payne County McGovern organization in capturing control of the Democratic Party County Convention was due to the oligarchical role of its leadership core in fashioning the McGovern organization and in its participation within the Payne County Democratic Party.

Methodology

In order to confirm or deny these tentative hypotheses, a methodology must be incorporated which will be viable, have a realistic chance of being operationalized, and not be overly susceptible to bias on the part of the investigator. It is for these reasons that the case study approach has been selected as the operational method of investigation. The effectiveness of the case study approach depends upon the common sense and imagination of the investigator, the pertinence of the subject of investigation (the Democratic Party's nomination of George S. McGovern for President of the United States), the understanding sought (the nature of the Democratic Party which made it possible for George S. McGovern to win the nomination, including the viability of organization within and of the Democratic Party), and the thoroughness and objectivity with which the study is carried out.

The operational unit of investigation will be the Democratic Party of Payne County, Oklahoma. This organization will provide the boundary as far as investigative activities are concerned and, from this element of the Democratic Party, inferences will be made concerning the Democratic Party as a whole. The core of the investigation will be the Payne County McGovern organization and its involvement in the delegate-selection process within the Payne County Democratic Party. It is at

this level that the strategies were developed which determined the organizational activity throughout the country. These organizational activities and strategies will be examined in relationship to similar activity of the non-McGovern element of the Payne County Democratic Party concerning the delegate-selection process.

Along with the case study approach will be the utilization of participant observation. This research method is applicable when the investigator becomes a member of the group to be examined, i.e., the Payne County McGovern organization. This methodology gives the investigator a dual role as he becomes both a participant in the group and an observer of its behavior. As a participant, the investigator becomes familiar with the perspectives and assumptions of group members and over a period of time acquires the capacity to think and act as one of them. As an observer, he tries to view his own behavior and theirs objectively. The investigator thus becomes socialized to new values and biases, yet tries to eliminate these biases from the analysis. The success of this form of inquiry rests heavily upon the investigator's ability to combine the two roles successfully. The participant-observer technique is useful for studying groups in depth from the inside. It also minimizes the risk that the researcher's preconceived notions will distort his observations of the group's behavior. On the negative side, participant observation often requires a lengthy period of field work (seven months with the Payne County McGovern organization); however, this negative aspect can be offset by the positive contributions to be garnered by the study.

The data to be utilized in conjunction with the above-mentioned research methodology will be provided by a variety of sources. That

data which pertain to the Payne County McGovern organization is of primary significance. Information regarding the structural aspects of the organization is available along with its day-by-day record of organizational activities. Included in the available data is a file of all the McGovern activists and their activities, i.e., roles during the delegate-selection process. Additional data are available concerning a comprehensive list of characteristics of the above-mentioned activists, including such items as age, sex, marital status, occupation, previous political experience, and the primary reason for their involvement in the campaign. This data will be supplemented with the complete records of the Payne County Democratic Party at the time of the delegate-selection process. This will provide information concerning the structural aspects of the traditional framework in which the activists were to pursue their goals. The analysis of this data will entail a certain familiarity with the constitution of the Democratic Party of the State of Oklahoma. This document will be examined in so far as it adheres to the constitution of the national Democratic Party and the reform guidelines initiated prior to the 1972 campaign. It is these reforms that provided a great deal of the impetus for the McGovern organization to achieve its success, as many of the rules which favored the traditional power centers within the Democratic Party were struck down and new rules adopted which gave political organization, i.e., organizing within the Democratic Party, a new significance.

Literature Review

In order to properly analyze a political organization of this type, the investigator should be familiar with other attempts to analyze

similar organizations. The study of political party organization, as that of all other areas of political science, needs to be guided by theory. Facts have little meaning in and of themselves; theory gives meaning and enables us to interpret the significance of "facts." However, the study of political parties has been hindered by the lack of the kind of theory that serves to stimulate enlightening research. Granting this point, we may turn to an examination of the literature on political parties, which yields a variety of party typologies or models, mostly of the structural variety.

The classic example is Michels' oligarchic model: the well-integrated centralized bureaucratic organization.¹³ In a broader comparative analysis, Duverger categorized parties in terms of their basic structural element or organizational unit: the caucus, an "archaic," nineteenth century organization form, still characteristic of American parties; the branch, for Duverger the "modern" form of party organization, the prototype of which is the European social democratic party; and the cell (or militia), a centralized, highly disciplined, agitational organizational form which is characteristic of the Communist and Nazi parties. In a more widely used distinction based on party membership, Duverger contrasted two polar types, the mass (membership) party with the cadre party.¹⁴ The mass membership party consists of a large number of formally enrolled, active, dues-paying members, well-organized and structurally integrated on the basis of branches (European socialist parties). The cadre party, of which the major American parties are

¹³Robert Michels, Political Parties (New York, 1959).

¹⁴Maurice Duverger, Political Parties (New York, 1954).

examples, lacks formal members, has a looser, committee (caucus) style organization, is decentralized and loosely integrated. Sorauf and Epstein have made extensive use of these two basic party types in their analyses of political parties.¹⁵

Eldersveld, holding Michels' hierarchical model inappropriate for the analysis of American parties, formulated a stratarchy model involving limited organizational integration and control and considerable subunit autonomy.¹⁶ Niemi and Jennings contrast the oligarchic control model, the stratarchy model, and the decentralization model, which involves local autonomy in terms of intraorganizational communications and is more prevalent in American parties. The central notions involved in the party typology are the distribution of authority and control within the party structure and the extent of organizational integration.¹⁷

Sigmund Neumann utilized an essentially functional typology in contrasting the party of individual representation, an older conception of "an ephemeral party as a mere electoral committee" which is "characteristic of a society with a restricted political domain and only a limited degree of participation," with a new type, the party of (social) integration, the mass membership party which makes more extensive demands of its members. Neumann makes a further distinction between the party

¹⁵ Leon D. Epstein, "The Comparison of Western Political Parties," Political Research and Political Theory, ed. Oliver Garceau (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 163-189; and Frank J. Sorauf, Party and Representation: Legislative Politics in Pennsylvania (New York, 1963).

¹⁶ Samuel J. Eldersveld, Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis (Chicago, 1964).

¹⁷ Richard G. Niemi and M. Kent Jennings, "Intraparty Communications and the Selection of Delegates to a National Convention," The Western Political Quarterly, 22 (March, 1969), pp. 29-46.

of democratic integration, an internally democratic party (European socialist parties) and the party of total integration, the non-democratic form represented by the Communist and Nazi parties.¹⁸

The above typologies have been used mainly to analyze European political parties and to differentiate American (cadre) from non-American (mass) parties. Several additional models serve to contrast different organizational types found within American parties. The above-mentioned decentralization model may be taken as characteristic of much of American party organization. Two additional structural party types represent minority patterns, or statistically deviant cases. The first is the "machine" model, the highly organized, efficient, patronage-based, old-style city machines (Gosnell, Forthal, and Greenstein), whose few remaining examples today include Chicago (Snowiss) and Gary, Indiana (Rossi and Cutright).¹⁹ A more recent and polar opposite minority pattern is the "club movement" party, with formal membership criteria and emphasis on member participation, as typified by the California Democratic Council and the Democratic political clubs in New York (Wilson, Carney, and Sorauf.)²⁰ There are sharp differences between the

¹⁸ Sigmund Neumann, "Toward A Comparative Study of Political Parties," Modern Political Parties, ed. Sigmund Neumann (Chicago, 1956), pp. 395-421.

¹⁹ Sonya Forthal, Cogwheels of Democracy: A Study of the Precinct Captain (New York, 1946); and Harold F. Gosnell, Machine Politics: Chicago Model (Chicago, 1937); and Fred I. Greenstein, The American Party System and the American People (Englewood Cliffs, 1963); and Peter Rossi and Phillips Cutright, "The Impact of Party Organization in an Industrial Setting," Community Political Systems, ed. Morris Janowitz (New York, 1961), pp. 81-116.

²⁰ Francis Carney, The Rise of Democratic Clubs in California, Eagleton Foundation Case Studies in Practical Politics (New York, 1958); and Frank J. Sorauf, Political Parties in the American System (Boston, 1964); and James Q. Wilson, The Amateur Democrat (Chicago, 1962).

pragmatic, "get-out-the-vote" orientation and centralized authority of the machine and the policy-orientation and participation of the club party.

A similar typology exists with more of a functional tinge in Wilson's differentiation of "professional" and "amateur" party organizations, a distinction based on the predominant political style or orientation of the party activists. The political "professional" is power-oriented and interested in winning, rather than being interested in issues; for him, politics is an end-in-itself. In contrast, the "amateur" views political activity as a means to attain policy ends: "The amateur politician sees the political world in terms of ideas and principles rather than in terms of persons." The "amateur" is motivated by the purposive, and the "professional" by material, incentives. Wilson's typology links up with the machine-club party distinction in that the old-style city machine is a classic illustration of the professional organization, whereas the club-movement party is the purest manifestation of the amateur style. There are important organizational consequences of these two political styles involving recruitment characteristics, ideological orientations, and party processes. There are sharp contrasts between the lower-status, patronage or career-oriented, pragmatic, obedient "professional" and the urban-suburban, middle to upper-middle class, volunteer activist who is policy-oriented and who demands a say in party decision-making.²¹ A sizable number of recent studies have utilized the contrasting professional and amateur models (Conway and Feigert; Hirschfield et al.; Salisbury; Soule and Clarke;

²¹Ibid., Wilson.

and Ippolito).²² It should be noted that these are "pure" types and that all party organizations (or individual activists) do not fall neatly into one or the other type.

Each of the party typologies and models mentioned is useful for particular purposes; however, each is of limited utility, since typologies tend to be based on a single criterion or dimension.

Significance

The significance of this study, when compared to the others previously mentioned, is centered on the type of investigation to be utilized. The investigator will have the advantage of unlimited access to all pertinent material concerning the Payne County McGovern organization. The investigation will be conducted from within instead of from without, which should result in a more precise analysis. The sources to be utilized concerning this organization are primary sources,²³ which should enable both the investigator and reader to acquire a better understanding of the impact that candidate-oriented organization has on traditional American political party structure.

²²M. Margaret Conway and Frank B. Feigert, "Motivation, Incentive Systems, and the Political Party Organization," The American Political Science Review, 62 (December, 1968), pp. 1159-1173; and Robert S. Hirschfield, et al., "A Profile of Political Activists in Manhattan," The Western Political Quarterly, 15 (September, 1962), pp. 489-506; and Dennis Ippolito, "Political Perspectives of Suburban Party Leaders," Social Science Quarterly, 49 (March, 1969), pp. 800-815; and Robert H. Salisbury, "The Urban Party Organization Member," Public Opinion Quarterly, 29 (Winter, 1956-66), pp. 550-564; and John W. Soule and James W. Clarke, "Amateurs and Professionals: A Study of Delegates to the 1968 Democratic National Convention," The American Political Science Review, 64 (September, 1970), pp. 888-898.

²³See page 14, second paragraph.

Hopefully, the results of this study should provide additional information and insight to those who may continue research in the area of political party organization; particularly those doing research on the relationship between the structural aspects of political parties and the role of the activist within this structure.

CHAPTER II

THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

In attempting to assess the environmental situation in which a candidate-oriented organization must operate at the county level within the Democratic Party, certain basic considerations must be made. These include a brief description of both the Sixth Congressional District and Payne County, Oklahoma (basic social, economic, and political characteristics), along with a descriptive analysis of both the viability of precinct organization within Payne County, and of procedural considerations, such as guidelines and reforms stated in both the McGovern-Fraser Commission Report and in the Constitution of the Democratic Party of the State of Oklahoma.

The Sixth Congressional District

The Sixth Congressional District occupies the northwest corner of the state and includes the panhandle that abuts both the Colorado and New Mexico borders. Aside from Tulsa, this is the most conservative and Republican section of the state; in this respect, it is more like western Kansas than southern Oklahoma. Most of the district is agricultural, with the plains growing more arid and less productive as one heads west. The country here was settled largely by Yankees from across the Kansas border, who thought that the land was more fertile than it actually was. In 1907, at the time of statehood, there were 411,000

people living within the current boundaries of the 6th district; according to the 1970 census, there were 397,000.¹ This number probably has dropped since the taking of the most recent census due to a crippling drought which struck the area--the worst since the dust storms of the 1930's sent many Oklahoma residents to California in search of a more promising existence.²

In 1967, the state legislature made radical changes in the boundaries of the state's congressional districts. Most of what is now the 6th district was part of the old 1st district which then included Tulsa; the old 6th consisted of the panhandle and the western counties of the state all the way down to the Red River. (It was at this time that Payne County became part of the 6th district, having previously been in the 4th district.) The old 6th elected its first Republican congressman in 1966, James V. Smith. After the redistricting, Smith decided to challenge Democrat Tom Steed in the new 4th district in 1968. This resulted in Steed winning reelection along with the Republican candidate in the new 6th district.

The Republican was John N. (Happy) Camp, a staunch conservative with 20 years experience in the Oklahoma legislature as a member of the House of Representatives. Camp served on the Interior and Insular Affairs and the Science and Astronautics committees in the U. S. House

¹U. S. Bureau of the Census, "Population Characteristics for Counties: 1970," 1970 Census: Oklahoma, 38, Table 107, p. 309.

²Between 1930 and 1940 the population of the 6th district dropped 22 per cent. Due to the drought, income from agriculture decreased 39 per cent and 1,139 farms were abandoned. In an agricultural district where the annual rainfall is minimal, such as the 6th district, a period of sustained drought will affect the income from agriculture and, in turn, have a significant impact on the economic base of the district.

of Representatives. He won reelection easily in 1970 with 64 per cent and again in 1972 with 68 per cent.³

The economic base of the 6th district consists primarily of agricultural productivity in the form of cash grain crops and livestock (extensive feedlot operations). There also exist fairly substantial crude petroleum and natural gas operations within the district along with various manufacturing operations (primarily in non-electrical machinery) scattered throughout the district. Higher education provides an economic base of particular significance to the southeast section of the district due to the presence of Oklahoma State University at Stillwater, in Payne County.

The number of registered voters in the 6th district was 200,205 of which 130,832 were Democrats, 68,032 were Republicans, and 1,342 were independent or affiliated with another political grouping. The employment profile of the district is 35 per cent white collar and 65 per cent blue collar. The ethnic composition is overwhelmingly Caucasian with only five per cent being either Black or Indian.⁴

The voting patterns indicate Democratic strength at the city and county levels with Republican strength at the district level. Party identification (including registration) was established during the political realignment of the "Great Depression" and "Dust Bowl." Prior to these events a majority of the population was enlisted in the Republican Party. From 1933 to the mid-1950's the 6th district voted

³Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa, and Douglas Matthews, The Almanac of American Politics (Boston, 1972), pp. 666-667.

⁴Ibid., pp. 669-670.

Democratic with predictable regularity. At this time the economic situation of the district had improved considerably and prospects for the future looked encouraging. With this came an increase in the percentage won by the Republican Party at the polls for various district and state offices. Control of county and city offices remained in the hands of the Democratic Party. A primary answer for this maintenance of control was and still is that the Republican Party does not bother to contest many of these offices and in those it chooses to contest the level of competition is minimal. (Local candidates do not receive extensive organizational support from the party and candidates running for district and state offices tend to dissociate themselves from these local office seekers.) Also to be considered is the lack of both name-recognition and substantive issues at the county and local levels.

This voting pattern, if viewed from a political profile of the district, is more understandable. The district is predominantly rural, with only 23 per cent of the population considered urban. Only a small minority of the labor force has union membership. The ethnic minorities comprise only five per cent of the population and are too scattered to be sufficiently mobilized in a district-wide campaign. In the category of religious affiliation, approximately 90 per cent of the district is Protestant. The 6th district has the lowest percentage of any district in the state of its population on public assistance, and any candidate or party identified with "supporting welfare programs" is speaking to a very limited audience. The aforementioned characteristics of the 6th district would, by definition, favor the Republican Party and help explain the difference between party registration and voting behavior. (Senator Barry Goldwater carried the current 6th district in 1964.)

Payne County

Payne County is located in the north-central section of the state and forms part of the 6th district's eastern boundary. With a population of 50,654, it is the second largest county in the district. The primary population centers are Stillwater, Cushing, Yale, and Perkins. Of these population centers, Stillwater is the largest and acts as the hub of most county activity. Cushing, while being the county's second largest population center, has experienced a decline in population over the past 20 years. The principal economic factors benefiting Cushing are an independent petroleum refinery and a significant light manufacturing district. Yale, the third largest population center in the county, is primarily a shopping center for the eastern side of the county, with its footnote in history being that it was the birthplace and home of Jim Thorpe (renowned Indian athlete). Perkins is a rural center and serves as a focal point for a great many of the county's agricultural activities. Both Yale and Perkins provide housing accommodations for people employed in Stillwater and are attractive due to their comparatively low cost.⁵

The importance of Stillwater is due primarily to two specific factors: the first, Oklahoma State University; and the second, it being the county seat. This, from the outset, makes Stillwater both the cultural and political center of the county. According to occupational groupings, the predominant occupation is education (both instruction and administration), with government service in second place. Out of a

⁵U. S. Bureau of the Census, "Social Characteristics for Counties: 1970," 1970 Census: Oklahoma, 38, Table 119, p. 315.

county-wide labor force of 20,729, a total of 6,098 are employed in either education or government. Those involved in retail trade, manufacturing, and agriculture, in that order, comprise the other significant occupational groupings within the county.⁶

Education as a force in the county is evidenced by the fact that the college enrollment for the county is over 17,000 and the total number of people enrolled in any type of educational institution is over 25,000. This means that approximately 50 per cent of the county's population is enrolled in a school of one type or another. This significant involvement with the business of education provides another statistic which contributes to Payne County's unique position within the 6th district. On a comparative basis, 63 per cent of the men and 60 per cent of the women over the age of 18 have completed their high school education, while the average for the district is 41 per cent and 38 per cent, respectively.⁷

The registered voters in the county are predominantly Democratic, with approximately 71 per cent being so registered. The employment profile of the county is 45 per cent white collar and 55 per cent blue collar. The ethnic composition is overwhelmingly Caucasian with only three per cent being either Black or Indian.⁸

The voting patterns indicate Democratic strength at the city and county levels, with Republican strength at the district and state levels.

⁶Ibid., "Occupation and Earnings for Counties: 1970," Table 122, p. 337.

⁷Ibid., "Educational and Family Characteristics for Counties: 1970," Table 120, p. 323.

⁸Figures courtesy of the Payne County Election Board, Stillwater, Oklahoma, Nolda Self, Secretary.

These patterns would seem to be influenced by two primary considerations. The first involves a history of failure to contest local and county offices and when contested to offer minimal competition. The Republican Party organization in Payne County habitually concerns itself with supporting candidates for district and state level offices while neglecting those at the local and county level. The second consideration concerns the political profile of the county. Of basic importance is the lack of traditional centers of Democratic Party strength. The major exception to this is the existence of labor union affiliation in Cushing. The student vote was not a factor prior to the 1972 elections due to the age requirement and various place of residence rulings. The lack of substantive issues at the local and county levels when compared to district and state levels must also be considered as a possible cause for this discrepancy between political party registration and voting behavior.

Democratic Party of Payne County, Oklahoma

There exist varying opinions concerning the role of political parties in the electorate. On the one hand, it is possible to view a political party as a major social structure mediating directly between the individual citizen and national, state, or local government. Public policy is viewed as being influenced by the party and its platform, interest groups aggregated through the party, social conflict resolved, public support mobilized, and public opinion represented. It is argued that the role of the party does not stop with elections. The party in

power, as well as the party in opposition, together constitute a viable system through which citizens influence governmental actions.⁹

On the other hand, it is possible to view political parties today as obsolete, ineffective, atrophied, and incompetent, and to point out that the looseness of the party structure, the tenuousness of membership, the fluidity of affiliation mean that parties seem to be organizations in name only. Legislators and executives often appeal directly to their constituents or deal with pressure groups, circumventing the party mechanism. Party unity, responsibility, and discipline, it is pointed out, are much weaker in the United States than in Europe. In many areas parties will not take an official position regarding primary nominees; yet, paradoxically, informal party endorsements of primary nominees are often repudiated by the electorate in the primary. In this day of mass media and Madison Avenue, the local parties, it is claimed, have lost their competitive and integrative functional roles.¹⁰

The Payne County Democratic Party will be examined relative to the viability of organizational leadership. This leadership function will be examined in relationship to the precinct chairpeople within the county, i.e., the type of leadership that existed within the structural framework, if any, which contributed to the viability of the party organization.¹¹

⁹Democratic National Committee, The American Political Party: Organization or Club (February 17, 1972), pp. 7-12. (A sampling of opinion from county chairpeople of Democratic Party.)

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 13-17.

¹¹This method is used with the assumption that an examination of those individuals in leadership positions of the basic organizational unit within the Payne County Democratic Party would illuminate the structural framework in which a candidate-oriented organization would work.

Leadership is a complex phenomenon, and at least five dimensions can be identified as significant for local organizational purposes: (1) the leader as the organizer of his own precinct workers, the internal function; (2) the leader as the communication center between the party organization above him and his precinct organization, the representative function; (3) the leader as the influential contact with the outside community, the external function; (4) the leader as the administrator of standard organizational practices, the administrative or institutional function; and, finally, (5) the leader's strength of motivation to carry out these various functions.¹²

Concerning these factors, various questions were asked about the leader's activities. The major areas of examination are listed below:

1. Internal Leadership. Was the precinct leader able to organize a local group of activists? For example, how many helpers did he mobilize and activate to work with him?
2. Representative Leadership. How much communication did the precinct leader have within the party? For example, how much contact did he have with the county chairperson, the congressional district chairperson, and the county committee?
3. External Leadership. How well did the precinct leader relate to groups and people in his electorate? What were his contacts and group memberships outside the party?
4. Administrative and Institutional Leadership. How well did the precinct leader follow the role prescriptions for mobilizing

¹²These five dimensions were derived on the basis of qualities stated in memos from the Democratic National Committee and the State Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Oklahoma concerning precinct chairpeople.

the vote? Did he follow through on the standard operating procedures of maintaining records and files of voters? Did he keep them up to date? Were his files checked against official registration records?

5. Strength of Motivation. Did the precinct leader plan to stay on with the party in his job? Did he aspire to a more responsible position within the party? What things would he miss if he were to leave his position as precinct leader?¹³

The precinct worker is often glorified by the political party as the key person for maintaining contact between the party and people at the personal grass-roots level. The figures presented in Table I on page 32 provide partial evidence that the precinct leader who carries out all his tasks is the exception rather than the rule. In this all-important activity of grass-roots contact between party and people the Payne County Democratic Party failed to demonstrate significant organizational ability. Only 15 per cent of the precinct leadership had participated in any type of fund raising activity, which is an excellent method of mobilizing support, i.e., if a person contributes money, his support can reasonably be assumed. In three equally important areas of grass-roots contact 25 per cent or less of the precinct leadership had so participated: (1) 25 per cent had canvassed by telephone; (2) 20 per cent had canvassed door-to-door; and (3) 25 per cent had distributed literature within the precinct. These figures decreased this already limited contact further as those precincts with some type

¹³ These questions were formulated as a method of determining whether the Democratic Party was in fact more of a loosely knit club than a viable political organization.

TABLE I
LEADERSHIP DIMENSIONS OF THE PAYNE
COUNTY DEMOCRATIC PARTY¹⁴

Leadership Activity of Precinct Leaders	Percentage of Positive Response
Did something to register voters	61
Kept some kind of record of voters in the precinct	42
Had fairly complete records of own supporters and independents	10
Knew whether voters in precinct were registered or not	30
Had helpers for precinct work	68
Had meetings of these precinct workers during campaign	30
Participated in fund raising in precinct	15
Contacted people in precinct by phone	25
Distributed literature in precinct	25
Contacted door-to-door canvassing	20
Had contact with Payne County executive committee	80
Had contact with Sixth Congressional District executive committee	20

of activity taking place were not organized to the fullest extent.

Party organization will often by-pass the precinct leader, and such by-passing is both an effect and a cause of weak precinct organization. Since the precinct leaders, with their partial involvement and marginal

¹⁴The data involved includes all records of the Payne County Democratic Party from 1967 up to and through the delegate-selection process in May of 1972. The bulk of these records dealt with various organizational activity within the individual precincts, such as: fund-raising activities, canvassing for the party's nominees at all levels of governing, the keeping of records concerning volunteers within the precinct, activity in voter registration drives, and attendance at Payne County of 6th District Democratic Party meetings and gatherings.

time, are not in the position of being the most reliable sources of help, special campaigns and activities will be sponsored and carried out by higher levels in the organization. But, in turn, this by-passing of the local precinct leader lowers his morale and involvement in party activities.¹⁵

Rules of the Game

The Democratic National Convention of 1968 had before it a study and recommendations made in the summer of that year by an unofficial, privately funded Commission on the Democratic Selection of Presidential Nominees, of which former governor and Senator Harold E. Hughes of Iowa, was chairman. This commission was brought together on the initiative of a few delegates who were members of the convention's credentials and rules committees.¹⁶

While accepting the value of the winner-take-all primary in a few states, the Hughes commission recommended absolute abolition of the unit rule at all levels of the delegate-selection process, and abolition also of the practice in convention states of electing delegations by successive majority votes, thus denying representation to minority views. It recommended further that all systems of direct appointment of delegates, in whole or in part, by state party committees or other officials be abandoned, and that no members of the Democratic National Committee elected at prior conventions be seated at the convention.

¹⁵This assumption is based on the results from the analysis of the data in Table I.

¹⁶Report of the Commission on the Democratic Selection of Nominees, Democratic National Committee (Washington, July, 1968), p. 3.

More affirmatively, the commission also recommended that delegates be selected by procedures which "permit meaningful popular participation" within a period of "not more than six months before the convention itself." Meaningful participation, the commission said, required "clarity of purpose for the voter at all levels of the nominating process such that he may register his choice for delegate-candidates without having thereby to select the same individuals as state party officers," and fair apportionment of a state's delegation.¹⁷

The 1968 Democratic convention addressed itself to some of the issues raised by the Hughes commission. The convention decided no longer to enforce the unit rule in balloting at the convention itself. Thus, it effectively abolished it at that level. Somewhat to everyone else's surprise, and perhaps also to its own, the convention went on as well to declare its understanding that "in selecting and certifying delegates and alternates to the Democratic National Convention" a state Democratic party "thereby undertakes to assure that all Democrats of the state will have meaningful and timely opportunities to participate fully in the election or selection of such delegates and alternates." Then, on August 27, 1968, the convention capped the edifice of reform, causing general surprise, by adopting the following resolution offered by a minority of its Rules Committee:¹⁸

It is understood that a state Democratic Party, in selecting and certifying delegates to the National Convention, thereby undertakes to assure that such delegates have been selected through a process in which all Democratic voters have had full and timely opportunity to participate. In

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 11-39.

¹⁸ Final Report of the Democratic National Convention of 1968, Democratic National Committee (Washington, September, 1968), pp. 5-41.

determining whether a State Party has complied with this mandate, the convention shall require that:

- (1) The unit rule not be used in any stage of the delegate-selection process; and
- (2) All feasible efforts have been made to assure that delegates are selected through party primary, convention, or committee procedures open to public participation within the calendar year of the National Convention.¹⁸

This was, to all appearances, a substantial part of the Hughes commission's recommendations. Plainly, most professional appointment practices were now out, although appointment of some delegates, as in New York, by a state committee itself elected in the year of the convention remained possible. The unit rule was out, but whether minority-exclusion practices in convention, let alone in primary, states were also abolished was questionable. And the phrases "full and timely opportunity to participate," and "procedures open to public participation" were certainly not entirely self-explanatory. At any rate, as the Hughes commission also suggested, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee was instructed to set up a special committee charged to help the state parties implement the new policies.²⁰

Such a committee was appointed in February, 1969, by Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, then chairman of the Democratic National Committee. It was called the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, and was headed by Senator George S. McGovern of South Dakota as chairman, and by Senator Harold E. Hughes of Iowa, chairman of the earlier study commission that bore his name, as vice-chairman.²¹

¹⁹Ibid., p. 52.

²⁰Ibid., p. 60.

²¹The Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, Report #1, National Democratic Party Executive Committee (Washington, March, 1969), p. 3.

In November, 1969, the McGovern commission issued a set of guidelines to state Democratic parties. The commission viewed most of the provisions of its guidelines as implementing the decisions of the 1968 convention, and as binding on state parties, unless reversed or modified by the 1972 convention. Hence the commission required state parties to comply with these provisions, warning that noncompliance would constitute grounds for refusing to seat a delegation at the 1972 national convention. If compliance proved impossible without changes in the statutory or constitutional law of a state regulating the delegate-selection process, then the commission required state parties to make "all feasible efforts" to achieve the necessary changes.²²

The commission required state parties to adopt and make readily available "statewide party rules and statutes which prescribe the state's delegate-selection process with sufficient details and clarity"; in all but rural areas, to see to it that party caucuses and other meetings, as well as other party events, such as enrollment periods, take place on uniform dates, at uniform times, and in easily accessible places; to abolish proxy voting; to set "quorums at not less than forty per cent for all party committees involved in the delegate-selection process"; whenever other party business is mixed in with delegate selection, as it always is under a system of committee appointment and sometimes in convention systems, "to make it clear to voters how they are participating in a process that will nominate the party's candidate for President"; "to give every candidate for delegate or for membership on

²² Report #1 of the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, Democratic National Committee (Washington, November, 1969), pp. 1-4.

the ballot at each stage of the delegate-selection process an opportunity to state his preference," and to list him as "uncommitted" if he so chooses; to prohibit any practices by which officials elected or appointed before the calendar year (of the national convention) choose nominating committees or propose or endorse a slate of delegates--"even when the possibility for a challenge to such slate or committee is provided"; to limit the portion of any delegation to the national convention chosen by committee procedures to "not more than ten per cent of the total number of delegates and alternates"; to ensure that slates of candidates for delegate positions, if any, are made up openly, with adequate public notice, and "that the right to challenge the presented slate is more than perfunctory and places no undue burden on the challengers"; to forbid use of the unit rule, strictly defined as "the practice (of) instructing delegates to vote against their stated preferences at any stage of the delegate-selection process"; to prohibit the designation of ex-officio members of a delegation to the national convention; to see to it that alternates for delegates to the national convention are selected by the same method by which the delegates are selected, and to fill vacancies on a delegation by action of the state committee, of a convention, or of the delegation itself; not to make any mandatory financial assessments on delegates or alternates to the national convention; to keep costs, such as filing fees, to a maximum of ten dollars; and to hold the number of signatures needed on petitions entitling a person to be a candidate for delegate to not more than one per cent of Democratic strength in the state.²³

²³Ibid., pp. 5-56.

Without purporting to impose a binding requirement on the state parties, the McGovern commission urged them to dispense with fees of all sorts in the delegate-selection process, otherwise to seek to ease the financial burden of delegates and candidates for delegate, and to end entirely the practice of committee appointment of delegates. In addition, the commission's guidelines dealt also, by way both of requiring and urging action, with the practice of electing delegations by successive majorities, thereby foreclosing representation of minority views; with the problems of access to the party and apportionment within a state of its delegation to the national convention; and with the need to represent racial and ethnic minorities, women, and the young in the national convention.²⁴ Here was a cluster of complex issues of rather a different order of magnitude than most of the other provisions of the guidelines, and they called for separate treatment.

The minority representation principle may be implemented either by the method of proportionality or the method of districting. Proportionality can be achieved in an elective system by various techniques, with varying degrees of precision. It has been tried on occasion, but has never gained widespread acceptance in American elective politics, chiefly because it overly fragmented legislatures. (Note the French Republic and the German Federal Republic.) For a legislature to be effective, a good bit of coalition formation needs to have taken place before the legislature convenes. But this consideration has little, if any, application to a convention that sits only once, and that has as its sole task the formation of a coalition.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 58-59.

In a caucus and convention system, proportionality of one or another degree of precision can be achieved by taking straw votes, which indicate the range of opinion in an assemblage, and then at each stage assigning proportionate membership in intermediate and final delegations to the various groups, and perhaps allowing each group separately to select members to represent it.

Attempts to achieve minority representation by the method of proportionality will tend to direct attention to presidential preferences, and to deemphasize other views and attitudes having to do with issues more than with personalities; and this may be considered a drawback, since, as was particularly evident in 1968 and 1972, the convention plays a role in committing the party on issues as well as in choosing the presidential nominee, and a delegate's stand on issues may be as significant as his preference for a candidate. Moreover, at the time a delegate is selected not all the candidates who will be in the running may as yet be known, and some states may for this reason wish to select some uncommitted delegates. Yet the method of proportionality will tend to focus the proceedings on candidate preferences, however premature.

Districting is a way of achieving a rough measure of minority representation. It is the method by which we represent minorities in our legislatures and in Congress. Districting can be used in a caucus and convention system as well as in an elective system, but--and this is of essence--it can be used meaningfully only if intermediate and final state conventions do not operate on the principle of majority rule, but reflect the minority representation that districting may have achieved; this is to say that a caucus and convention system can achieve

minority representation simply by virtue of being districted only if majority rule does not prevail in intermediate or state conventions, and the final state delegation is made up by assigning membership in it to different opinion groupings that districting has produced in proportion to their strength.

For a primary or convention system to achieve any measure of minority representation by districting, the districts should be relatively small. If delegates are selected in large, multi-member districts, then minority representation may be ensured by adopting a system of proportionality in the district election. Districting, of course, raises issues of apportionment and of gerrymandering.

The Hughes commission, as previously stated, answered in the affirmative the question--as formulated subsequently by Congressman Donald M. Fraser of Minnesota, a member of both the Hughes and McGovern commissions--whether "minority views should be preserved to the highest level of the nomination process, to the floor of the convention itself." A strong argument can be made that an affirmative answer to this question, applicable to convention states, or even to both convention and primary states, is implicit in the decision of the 1968 national convention to abolish the unit rule at all levels of the delegate-selection process. For to permit successive majorities to govern that process is to achieve precisely the effect of the unit rule. Instead of requiring all of the delegates from a particular county to cast their votes together in a state convention, the state party can simply allow the majority in the county to choose all of the delegates to the state convention in the first place. This is functionally indistinguishable from forcing all of the county's vote to be cast in the same

way. If abolition of the unit rule is to have its intended impact, this this procedure must be prohibited. The only difference is that the elemental unit rule may force one or another individual to cast a vote against his conscience.²⁵

This difference impressed itself on a substantial majority of the McGovern commission. The successive-majorities practice in delegate selection did not seem to the McGovern commission to be quite the functional equivalent of the unit rule, and the commission found no implication of condemnation of the former practice in the decision of the 1968 convention to abolish the latter rule. The McGovern commission, moreover, had great difficulty distinguishing, as the Hughes commission had done, between the successive-majorities practice in convention states and the winner-take-all feature of state-wide primaries such as California's. It tended to view these two as functional equivalents, and could not bring itself to believe that it had a mandate from the 1968 convention to forbid winner-take-all primaries.²⁶ So the McGovern commission concluded that the decision of the 1968 convention abolishing the unit rule related only to the practice of requiring an entire delegation, after it has been selected, at whatever level, to vote as a unit in accordance with the wishes of a majority of its members, and did not in any way touch the process of delegate

²⁵ Report of the Commission on the Democratic Selection of Nominees, pp. 6-22.

²⁶ In effect, the practice of successive-majorities enables 50.1 per cent of those in attendance at each stage of the delegate-selection process to elect 100 per cent of the representatives to the next stage, thus negating the representation of 49.9 per cent of the Democrats at that particular stage.

selection, or the question of representation of minority views in a delegation.²⁷

Although it thus concluded that it had no mandate to lay down requirements to state parties concerning representation of minority views, the McGovern commission nevertheless expressed its belief "that a full and meaningful opportunity to participate in the delegate-selection process is precluded unless the Presidential preference of each Democrat is fairly represented at all levels of the process." The commission, therefore, urged the state parties "to adopt procedures which would provide fair representation of minority views on Presidential candidates," and it recommended that the 1972 convention "adopt a rule requiring state parties to provide for the representation of minority views to the highest level of the nominating process."²⁸

In the meantime, the commission did require state parties with convention systems "to select at least 75 per cent of their delegations to the national convention at congressional district or smaller unit levels." This being one effective method of ensuring representation of minority views, it can certainly be stated that the McGovern commission, despite its doubts about its mandate, met the issue halfway, and quite possibly better than halfway.

The commission required also, with respect to apportionment of district and other local conventions, and of state conventions or committees selecting those delegates who are still permitted to be

²⁷ Report #1 of the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, pp. 61-65.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 72.

selected at large, that a formula be adopted "for each body actually selecting delegates to state, district and county conventions which is based upon population and/or some measure of Democratic strength.

Democratic strength may be measured by the Democratic vote in the preceding presidential, senatorial, congressional or gubernatorial election, and/or by party enrollment figures.²⁹

In sum, then, states which do not select an entire delegation at large in a primary must use an apportionment formula based on population and the vote at the last presidential election. In convention states, this formula must control distribution over various parts of the state of at least 75 per cent of the total number of delegates allocated to the state. For primary states, the McGovern commission prescribed no percentage of delegates who must be selected by district or smaller unit and may not be selected at large. In convention and committee states, the state convention or committee which selects at-large delegates--no more than ten per cent by committee or 25 per cent by convention--or the smaller unit convention which selects the districted delegates, must itself be fairly apportioned over the area it covers, except that here the formula need not take account of population, and may use other election statistics than the last presidential ones.

An additional area of concern to the McGovern commission involved the development of guidelines with the intent of eliminating racial discrimination. The commission's guidelines required state parties to add to their rules and to apply six detailed antidiscrimination

²⁹Ibid., p. 47.

standards promulgated in January, 1968 by the Democratic National Committee. State parties were required to "overcome the effects of past discrimination by affirmative steps to encourage minority group participation, including representation of minority groups on the national convention delegation in reasonable relationship to the group's presence in the population of the state"--the commission adding its understanding that "this is not to be accomplished by the mandatory imposition of quotas."³⁰

The Hughes Commission on the Democratic Selection of Presidential Nominees had recommended in 1968 that in the case of a challenge to a delegation to the national convention based on credible evidence of racial discrimination--such as a showing of one or more instances of exclusion on grounds of race at any level of party activity, or a showing that the representation of blacks on the delegation was grossly disproportionate to their percentage of the population of the state--the burden of proof before the credentials committee of the convention should shift from the challenger to the challenged delegation. An analogous shift in the burden of proof was a technique central to the enforcement machinery provided in the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Under Section 4 (a) of that act, a state or county wishing to reinstitute a literacy test for voting, for example, which was suspended by the act, had to come into federal court and prove that for a period of five years no such test had been used for the purpose, or with the effect, of discriminating against black voters. Relying on the strong substantive

³⁰ Report #2 of the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, Democratic National Committee (Washington, January, 1970), pp. 31-33.

requirements it laid down, the McGovern commission, however, did not adopt this procedural recommendation.³¹

The McGovern commission required state parties to overcome, not only the effects of past discrimination against blacks, but also the effects of what was assumed to have been past discrimination against women and young people--the latter "defined as people of not more than thirty nor less than eighteen years of age." Again, with the understanding that no mandatory quotas were to be imposed, the commission required that the representation of women and the young be encouraged in reasonable relation to their proportion of a state's population.³²

An examination of the Democratic Party of the State of Oklahoma and its compliance with the McGovern commission guidelines concerning the delegate-selection process can begin with an analysis of the policy rules of said organization. These rules open, to all members of the Democratic Party, all public meetings at all levels regardless of "race, color, creed, or national origin." Concerning these various meetings: (1) the time and place for all public meetings of the party on all levels should be publicized fully and in such a manner as to assure timely notice to all interested persons; (2) such meetings must be held in places accessible to all party members and large enough to accommodate all interested persons; (3) the party in each county should publicize fully and in such a manner as to assure notice to all interested parties a full description of the legal and practical

³¹ Ibid., pp. 37.

³² Report #3 of the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, Democratic National Committee (Washington, April, 1970), pp. 11-15.

procedures for the selection of party officers and representatives on all levels; and (4) publication of these procedures should be done in such a fashion that all prospective and current members of each county party will be adequately informed of the pertinent procedures in time to participate in each selection procedure at all levels of the party organization.³³

Two major changes in the state party constitution in compliance with the McGovern commission guidelines were the elimination of the unit rule (no rule shall be adopted by an unit of the Democratic Party which would require any person to cast a vote or be recorded as voting contrary to that person's judgment), and the elimination of proxy voting (no proxies may be voted at any stage of the delegate-selection process to the national convention). The importance of this ruling on the use of proxies is evidenced by the fact that in 1968 21 per cent of all votes cast in the delegate-selection process were by proxy.³⁴

The delegate-selection process in Oklahoma consists of four levels. The first level is the precinct meeting. At this level delegates are selected to the county convention. These meetings are to be held on the second Saturday in May of the year in which presidential elections are held, with the number of delegates elected being equal to one delegate for each twenty Democratic votes cast in the preceding presidential election within the precinct. These delegates meet at the second level, the county convention, on the third Saturday in May at

³³Constitution of the Democratic Party of the State of Oklahoma, Democratic State Central Committee (Oklahoma City, March, 1971), p. 7.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 7 and 10.

which time they elect delegates to the third level, i.e., the district convention. The only requirement is that these delegates be from the rank-and-file of those voters in the county who are registered and do vote Democratic. The number of delegates is to be specified by the State Central Committee of the Democratic Party. The delegates so selected are also delegates to the state convention, i.e., the fourth level.³⁵

The election of delegates and alternates to the national convention takes place at the district and state conventions. These districts shall have the same boundaries as the various congressional districts. These district conventions shall meet on the first Saturday in June in the year in which presidential elections are held and at least three-fourths of the delegates and alternates to the Democratic National Convention shall be elected. The remainder of the delegates and alternates shall be elected at the state convention on the third Saturday in June of the same year.³⁶

The subsequent delegate distribution called for the election of 39 delegates: 30 at the district level, five each per district, and nine at the state level; and 28 alternates: 24 at the district level, four each per district, and four at the state level.

The most noticeable area of noncompliance with the guidelines concerned the encouragement of minority group representation in the delegate-selection process. While not denying the right of any

³⁵Ibid., pp. 20-21.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 21-22.

minority group member to participate,³⁷ the state party did not make a positive effort to include their participation in the process. The state party organization was primarily concerned with avoiding a challenge of its delegation at the national convention. While failure to implement a plan to encourage minority representation in the delegate-selection process was contrary to the spirit of the national constitution, it was not in violation of its letter. The lack of any organized minority strength within the state party facilitated this reticence of effort on its behalf as only four areas within the state had significant minority populations: Oklahoma City, Tulsa, Lawton, and Muskogee, and these were outnumbered by the remainder of the population.³⁸ This lack of encouragement also applied to those in the category of the "young."³⁹ Concerning the representation of women in the delegate-selection process, the state party pursued a policy of equal representation: "In no event shall more than sixty per cent of the delegates to any convention or committee, or the appointees to any committee of the Democratic Party, be of the same sex, unless such a ratio is mathematically impossible to achieve, in which event the ratio shall be as near to that set out herein as is mathematically possible."⁴⁰

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 1-23.

³⁸ This was the explanation given by J. C. Kennedy, Chairperson and Loray Dyson, Co-Chairperson of the Democratic Party of the State of Oklahoma.

³⁹ A partial explanation might be the average age of the State Central Committee which was 54.7, along with a fear concerning a "generation-gap" struggle within the party.

⁴⁰ Constitution of the Democratic Party of the State Of Oklahoma, p. 23.

Thus the environment was established in which the Payne County McGovern organization had to function. It was the recognition of and the dealing with this environment that was to spell the success or failure of the organization. Without a working knowledge of this particular environment, the local organization would have been adrift in a sea of rhetoric lacking a relevant goal orientation.

CHAPTER III

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PAYNE COUNTY

MCGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT EFFORT

Staffing the great number of organizational positions which exist within the Democratic Party (consider "only" the 3,000 counties in the United States, with the party trying to find able and willing people for three or four primary within each unit posts) remains one of the overall problems, ranking close behind the raising of money and the recruiting of candidates for elective office. It has been suggested that organization workers (activists) are attracted for the following reason: the hope of reward through a patronage position (such jobs have been in steady decline); aspirations for an elective political career; anticipation of preferments, such as the awarding of a public contract; the desire for socio-economic mobility; the social and psychological satisfaction of being part of the "gang" or bolstering one's ego; and commitment to ideology and policy issues, ranging from the calls of conservatives for more efficient government to demands by the proponents of the "new politics" for confrontation and widespread reordering of priorities.¹

In order to staff the Democratic Party organization and subsequent organizations within the structure, probably of single most importance

¹Frank Sorauf, Party Politics in America (2nd ed., Boston, 1972), pp. 87-96.

is party identification and its development within the rank-and-file. Although the manner in which party attachments develop may show some fluctuation during a lifetime, there tends to be more party loyalty than change. An individual's attachment to the Democratic Party is not necessarily a rigid fixation, but typically is a persistent adherence which has a strong resistance to contrary influences.²

In the American Voter study, when people were asked to recall their first presidential vote, two-thirds still identified with the same party and 56 per cent said they had never crossed party lines in a presidential election. Moreover, the same study indicated that there is a steady increase in party attachment as people grow older. One-half of these individuals over 65 thought of themselves as strong party identifiers compared to only 24 per cent of those in the 21 to 24 age bracket.

An organization operating within, but separate from, the Democratic Party, in order to be effective, confronts a challenging task in its organizational activity on behalf of a particular candidate. The Payne County McGovern organization operated within this party environment in its attempt to further the candidacy of Senator George S. McGovern.

Organization and Recruitment

The organizational structure of the Payne County McGovern effort developed without the aid of a definitive purpose concerning its existence. The original coordination of the organization was provided by an

²See Angus Campbell, et al., "The Development of Party Identification," The American Voter (New York, 1964), chapter 6.

eight-member group of students (six graduate students in political science, one graduate student in history, and one undergraduate student in zoology).³ In an attempt to expand the organization and thus increase its power base, this group utilized the "supporter" lists of Senator Fred Harris, Eugene McCarthy, and the late Robert F. Kennedy. This effort yielded an additional 31 members to the organization of whom 12 became members of the coordinating committee. By this time the coordinating committee had the official sanction of the National McGovern for President Committee (January 24, 1972).⁴

From this point in its development the organization seemed to be adrift in a sea of rhetoric. The coordinating committee, at its weekly meetings, spent a great deal of time proclaiming its virtue and virtually no time concerned itself with the advancement of Senator McGovern's candidacy in the delegate-selection process. Discussion at these meetings invariably turned to a condemnation of Richard M. Nixon (the man and his administration) along with a glorification of the "liberal ethic" (the beliefs and values held in common by the group). The minutes of the first seven meetings reveal that, after spending approximately seventeen hours together as a group, the only decision arrived at concerned the official name for the organization (The Payne County McGovern for President Committee).⁵ Occasionally a member would

³As used in this chapter, student refers to anyone enrolled on a full-time basis at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma. The investigator was one of the five political science graduate students.

⁴At this time the investigator was appointed county coordinator for the Payne County McGovern organization by the national organization.

⁵Minutes of the Payne County McGovern for President Committee, January 17, 1972, through March 13, 1972.

inquire as to the group's purpose, at which time the subject was quickly changed (usually back to Richard M. Nixon). The group's most notable accomplishment during this time period was its consumption of ten pounds of ground coffee.

This type of operation continued until mid-March, 1972, at which time three members of the coordinating committee took it upon themselves to give a degree of goal-orientation to the organization. These three (the county coordinator, William J. Tusing, and two graduate students in history, Tom P. Brown and Glen R. Roberson) decided to utilize the organization as a public relations device to enable a supporter of Senator McGovern to be elected at the 6th District convention as a delegate to the national Democratic Party convention. The organization began to surface publicly at this time while structuring itself for the recruiting of members. With the making of the above-mentioned decisions, this group became the de facto coordinating committee of the Payne County McGovern organization.

The "going public" of the organization involved, among other things, the publication of articles concerning its existence in three daily newspapers.⁶ This publicity was obtained by contacting representatives of these newspapers and asking them if they would be interested in doing an article on the organization. To the committee's surprise, these inquiries were successful and the articles were published. (Due to the conservative nature of the editorials published in these newspapers, the coordinating committee viewed the chance for publication as minimal.)

⁶"McGovern Support at OSU," Tulsa World (March 17, 1962), p. 8; "OSU Students Involved in Campaign," Stillwater News Press (March 19, 1972, p. 3; "Students Working in Campaign," Daily O'Collegian (March 11, 1972), p. 1.

The coordinating committee hoped to achieve three basic goals with the publication of these articles: (1) demonstrating support for Senator McGovern and thus enhancing the aspect of name identification; (2) communicating with other McGovern supporters by making them aware of an "organized" effort on the Senator's behalf; and (3) presenting to the public an image of youthful Democrats working within the party structure on behalf of a comparatively unknown presidential aspirant.

These goals were realized through the information published in the articles. None of the articles made any mention of policy issues and the only reference to Senator McGovern mentioned his being from South Dakota and a candidate seeking the Democratic Party's nomination for President of the United States in 1972. The Payne County McGovern organization, as portrayed by these articles, conveyed the image of a well-meaning group of students whose primary political activity centered around the distribution of campaign buttons and bumper stickers. There was no mention of the organization's involvement or potential involvement in the delegate-selection process. The coordinating committee, fearing the development of an anti-McGovern movement, welcomed this lack of attention given the delegate-selection process. The committee did not want the traditional power structure to believe itself threatened and thus stimulate activity on behalf of any other presidential candidate.⁷

This publicity brought requests for information and volunteers to serve in various capacities within the organization. These early

⁷The traditional power structure, as viewed by the committee, consisted of any and all members of the Democratic Party who did not support the candidacy of Senator McGovern.

respondents were primarily from three University-related groups: (1) graduate students in the behavioral sciences; (2) faculty members in the behavioral sciences; and (3) faculty and student wives of the aforementioned two groups. With the number of volunteers growing, it was decided to initiate a file system to keep track of these individuals for future reference and to provide manpower in the delegate-selection process. The file system organization consisted of listing volunteers alphabetically by precinct to facilitate their eventual utilization by the coordinating committee.

The Payne County McGovern organization, having operated as an independent unit until April 2, 1972, now became a part of the state-wide effort. (The Payne County McGovern organization was the first activity of this type in the state.) The county coordinator became a member of the state-wide steering committee and attended weekly meetings in Oklahoma City throughout the delegate-selection process. These meetings dealt primarily with the organizational activity in the Oklahoma City area. The reason for this orientation involved the 5th District being entirely in one county (Oklahoma County, i.e., Oklahoma City). The strategy to be employed seemed obvious, i.e., whoever controls Oklahoma County, controls the 5th District, and whoever controls the 5th District elects five delegates to the national Democratic Party convention. This committee's membership included people with significant political expertise (the 5th District chairperson, the Oklahoma County chairperson, and a former campaign manager of Senator Fred Harris), and as a result, the Payne County coordinator's major function at these meetings involved being a "good listener." This was due primarily to the coordinator being a political novice who desired to

"learn the ropes" and preferred listening as opposed to speaking. The state organization's primary contribution to the Payne County effort concerned the provision of "hard" campaign material (buttons, bumper stickers, posters, leaflets, and position pamphlets) for distribution at the county and local levels. The National McGovern for President Committee provided the county organization with "soft" campaign material (operational directives and campaign strategy suggestions) on a bi-weekly basis.⁸

The coordinating committee expanded its publicity function with additional organizational activity. The distribution of 200 bumper stickers was the first such activity and involved three basic considerations: (1) due to limited financial resources at the county and state level, the committee found itself limited to only 200 bumper stickers for the entire county (the organization had not engaged in any significant fund-raising activity except to encourage McGovern supporters to send contributions to the national organization); (2) making sure of their distribution to supporters who would display them and not regard these bumper stickers as souvenirs; and (3) demonstrating support for Senator McGovern in a traditional manner. The committee next undertook the distribution of 100 campaign buttons for the purposes of: (1) having them worn by supporters who projected a "conservative" image; (2) stimulating interest in the campaign among those who observed the campaign buttons; and (3) providing a sense of accomplishment to the

⁸The Payne County McGovern organization received greater input from the national organization concerning the delegate-selection process until after the county convention. This was due to the state organization not being able to develop a feasible strategy until the delegates to the district and state conventions had been elected.

coordinating committee. The lack of financial resources limited the number of campaign buttons available for distribution. (These campaign buttons cost 15 cents each and the committee could only afford the \$30 necessary to purchase 200 of them.) The committee received 35 McGovern for President posters from the national organization. These were distributed to various graduate teaching assistants and professors at Oklahoma State University with the understanding that they be displayed in a position of prominence within their university offices. The reasoning behind this activity centered on the belief that students were at the same time inquisitive and impressionable and by taking advantage of these characteristics the recruitment of volunteers would be facilitated.⁹ Additional activity concerning this recruitment function was undertaken at this time. This involved the establishment of a post office box address, in an attempt to project an image of permanency and legitimacy, along with the placing of classified ads in the Stillwater News-Press and the Daily O'Collegian (the daily student newspaper at Oklahoma State University), which would give potential volunteers a means of contacting the organization.

The Candidate

With the organization now functioning in a somewhat systematic manner, the coordinating committee turned its attention to the election of a delegate to the national convention. The committee selected as its candidate Richard L. Tucker, a senior and zoology major from

⁹The graduate assistants and professors with whom these posters had been placed were given the information pertinent to the recruitment of volunteers such as who to contact along with when and how this contact should be made.

El Reno, Oklahoma. In addition, Mr. Tucker was planning to enter the school of veterinary medicine the following fall, which the committee assumed would not hurt his chances for election at the 6th District Convention. The coordinating committee obtained a list of all county and precinct chairpeople within the 6th District from state Democratic Party headquarters. This was the first effort in an attempt to develop support for the candidate within the traditional party structure.¹⁰ After obtaining this list, the committee devised a flyer (extolling the virtues of the candidate) along with a cover letter, both of which were mailed to the precinct and county chairpeople within the district except those in Payne County. It was assumed that the candidate would have the support of the Payne County Democratic Party due to his being a precinct chairperson and enjoying the support of the county chairperson. In addition, the candidate, being a student, enjoyed the support of other precinct chairpeople with university affiliation including the city chairperson of Stillwater. This was considered to be sufficient strength within the traditional party framework. It should be noted that this was personal support for the candidate and not support for Senator McGovern. As a result of this local strength for the candidate, the organization's efforts were directed toward the remainder of the 6th District.

¹⁰"Candidate" as used from this point on in the study will refer to the Payne County McGovern organization's nominee for national delegate.

The Sixth District Candidate Effort:

Response and Rejection

The district-wide effort on behalf of the candidate was initiated with the mailing of 400 letters to Democratic Party office-holders within the 6th District. Included in this correspondence were: (1) a flyer with the personal and political history of the candidate; (2) a cover letter explaining the purpose of the correspondence; and (3) a stamped, self-addressed envelope to encourage a greater response.¹¹

The flyer included information which the coordinating committee felt would project a favorable image among 6th District Democrats. This information emphasized the following characteristics of the candidate: (1) geographic--being a native of the district, i.e., not an "outsider;" (2) age and occupation--youthful (21), but not a teenager and a student at the district's only major university; (3) grade point--Dean's Honor Roll with overall B+ grade average (meant that he was a "serious," i.e., there to get an education, student; (4) pre-veterinary major--studying something "worthwhile," i.e., in a predominantly agricultural district this professional goal is extremely meaningful; (5) party official--(precinct chairperson) worked within the system, i.e., should not be considered a threat to the district's traditional power structure; and (6) campaign worker--had worked in the 1972 Democratic Party's gubernatorial campaign.

The cover letter explained the candidate's desire to be a delegate to the national convention. It mentioned that the flyer was

¹¹These letters were mailed on April 5, 1972, from Stillwater, Oklahoma.

enclosed to demonstrate his qualifications to represent the young people from the 6th District at the national convention. (The coordinating committee was of the opinion that an effort would be made to represent the youth element on the district's delegation.) The letter also attempted to use flattery to the candidate's advantage by asking advice of the recipients concerning the delegate-selection process and alluding to their "valuable experience" in party politics and hoping that they would share this experience with the candidate. It should be noted that in neither the flyer nor the cover letter was there any mention of Senator McGovern or the candidate's support of the senator's effort to become the Democratic Party's nominee for President of the United States. This omission was due to the coordinating committee's conviction that personality played the most significant role in the delegate-selection process. Hence, why confuse 6th District Democrats by mentioning either presidential candidates or issues?

This effort was made possible by a \$100 donation from a member of the "liberal establishment" within Payne County who desired to remain anonymous. This contribution proved vital as the postage expense alone was \$64. The organizational expense for the entire operation totaled slightly more than \$133. This expense did not include labor such as typing, envelope stuffing and stamping, which was provided by volunteers at no expense to the organization.

Response to the Candidate Effort

The district-wide response to these efforts on behalf of the candidate was less than enthusiastic. Of the 400 letters mailed throughout the district, only 23 per cent received a response (92

replies were received by the candidate, i.e., the committee). This low percentage in and of itself demonstrated a definite lack of enthusiasm concerning the candidate's chances of being elected a delegate to the national convention and, in addition, of those who did respond 55 per cent were unfavorable concerning his chances of being elected a delegate to the national convention from the 6th Congressional District. Thirty-five per cent of the respondents stated that they favored having a "young person" on the delegation and that the candidate seemed qualified to be that "young person." In these so-called favorable responses there was not a single open endorsement of the candidate.

These responses centered around two basic themes: first, that young people do not participate in party politics and therefore fail to "deserve" a delegate position, and second, that delegate positions were "awarded" to those Democrats who had done the most for the party. The responses, while not being favorable, were not hostile. The candidate was encouraged to stay in the party and become acquainted with some of the more experienced Democrats. This seemed to confirm the coordinating committee's opinion that the delegate-selection process was more of a personality contest than anything else and that these unfavorable responses were due to the candidate not being known throughout the district and not necessarily the result of the candidate being a young person.

Fifteen per cent of the responses were noncommittal. These replies conveyed the impression of uncertainty on the part of the respondent as to the purpose of the delegate-selection process. There were requests for more information concerning the process itself along

with a question of why the candidate thought that they could be of assistance in his election as a delegate to the national convention. (One precinct chairperson in a neighboring county inquired as to the date of the presidential primary in Oklahoma!)¹²

The favorable responses were overwhelmingly from women (76 per cent), while the unfavorable responses came primarily from men (63 per cent). The male-female ratio of those responding was 50 men and 42 women. Geographically the candidate received a preponderance of his support from neighboring counties with support diminishing as the distance increased from Payne County. The noncommittal type of response was evenly distributed through the district. The only variation in this pattern of response came from a county with a state-teachers college. (The distance was considerable, but the response was favorable.) This variation "could" be due to the influence of the college. The data are insufficient for anything more than speculation as to the cause of this variation.¹³

The Organization: Response and Redirection

As a result of this response, the orientation of the organization turned to the election of delegates at both the precinct and county level. This activity was necessary to insure sufficient voting strength to elect McGovern supporters as delegates to the national

¹²The respondent was the Chairperson of Precinct #11 in Ponca City (Kay County) Oklahoma, who later attempted to have this investigator incarcerated during the state convention in Oklahoma City.

¹³The sources used for material in this section include the complete records of the Payne County McGovern organization during the months of March and April, 1972.

convention at the district convention. To accomplish its goals, the organization turned to the recruitment of volunteers to attend the precinct meeting in order to elect delegates to the county convention. For this purpose the following methods were incorporated: (1) the chartering of OSU Students for McGovern (this gave the organization access to university facilities. University regulations require that any organization which is involved in solicitation, of whatever type, on university property must register and be approved by the university administration. Access to the student union and its continual flow of potential volunteers was essential in the organization's recruitment program.); (2) initiating a petition drive which made it possible to identify supporters and obtain volunteers; (3) holding election watch parties which served the dual purpose of fund-raising and morale boosting; and (4) holding work parties for the purpose of maintaining an up-to-date file system along with keeping the volunteers active until the precinct meetings. This demonstration of activity yielded an abundant supply and variety of volunteers which would eventually provide the necessary manpower for a realistic effort at the precinct meetings.

This recruitment effort yielded 519 volunteers in the Payne County area. In order to utilize the seeming abundance of manpower, it was necessary for the coordinating committee to first ascertain exactly what the organization had at its disposal.

Social Characteristics of the Volunteers

This section of the study contains an examination of the characteristics exhibited by the Payne County McGovern volunteers. The

results of this examination would determine what type of precinct organization the coordinating committee would attempt to develop. The committee conducted this examination in an attempt to determine those characteristics, if known about, which would contribute to a successful organizational effort in the delegate-selection process. These characteristics were examined by placing the volunteers in the following categories: (1) age; (2) sex; (3) occupation; (4) educational level; (5) previous political experience; and (6) the primary reason for joining the organization.

TABLE II
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
VOLUNTEERS: AGE

Age Group	Percentage
18 - 22	28.4
23 - 29	23.7
30 - 39	14.1
40 - 49	15.2
50 - 59	10.5
60 - 65	6.3
Over 65	2.8

Census: Entire universe--size 519.

Source: Payne County McGovern organization volunteer files, February 1972 through May, 1972.

The results of this examination yielded the following information concerning the age groupings of the organization. As shown in Table II, the recruiting effort had yielded primarily youthful volunteers. Fifty-two per cent of the organization's population was 29 years of age or younger. This characteristic was viewed as both an asset and a

liability: an asset in that the young tend to be more energetic, and a liability in that the young at times make judgments based primarily on emotion. The remaining age distribution was evenly divided between the ages of 30 and 59.

Due to recent party reforms the gender of those people elected at any stage of the delegate-selection process became a matter of concern to the committee. As evidenced by Table III, the organization had recruited twice as many men as women. The significance of this result concerns the recruitment of nominees for delegate position to the county convention. With at least 40 per cent of the delegates elected at the precinct meetings required to be female, the volunteer population from which to choose did not allow as much leeway as the committee would have liked. The distributions listed in Tables II and III are best related by the distributions listed in Table IV. With 56 per cent of the volunteers coming from the university's student population, and with this population being overwhelmingly male and youthful, it was not unreasonable to assume that the McGovern volunteers would be predominantly male and youthful.

The occupation of the volunteers was the next category to be examined while searching for a discernable characteristic. As indicated in Table IV, the results left no doubt as to the university-oriented occupational pattern of the volunteers. With 61 per cent of the volunteers having been recruited from the university community, the committee decided to concentrate its effort in the Stillwater area. This would facilitate communication between the committee and the volunteers and provide a reservoir of members necessary to attend the upcoming precinct meetings.

TABLE III
 SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
 VOLUNTEERS: SEX

Sex	Percentage
Male	67.7
Female	32.3

Census: Entire universe--size 519.

Source: Payne County McGovern organization volunteer files, February, 1972 through May, 1972.

TABLE IV
 SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
 VOLUNTEERS: OCCUPATION

Description	Percentage
High School Student	1.3
Undergraduate Student	28.9
Graduate Student	17.7
Graduate Assistant	9.7
Instructor	.8
Professor	3.7
Housewife	11.5
Business (Retail and Wholesale)	8.7
Professional	7.1
Labor	
Union	2.6
Non-Union	1.8
Retired	5.5
Unemployed	.7

Census: Entire universe--size 519.

Source: Payne county McGovern organization volunteer files, February, 1972 through May, 1972.

Of concern to any goal-oriented political organization is the previous political experience of its membership. Knowledge of this experience provided the coordinating committee with an estimate of how much of an organizational effort must be expended to provide this group of volunteers with the necessary cohesiveness to insure successes in the delegate-selection process. As demonstrated by Table V, this characteristic provided conclusive proof concerning the amateur standing of the Payne County McGovern organization. Seventy-five per cent of the volunteers had no previous political experience other than voting. The committee viewed this as a demonstration of commitment to Senator McGovern and hoped this would result in the contribution of greater effort to the organization's success by the volunteers. The major drawback would probably be the mistakes made by the organization's combined lack of experience.

TABLE V

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VOLUNTEERS:
PREVIOUS POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

Type	Percentage
None	21.3
Voting Only	53.6
Financial contribution to campaign	22.4
Worked in campaign	
(less than 4 hours per week)	7.1
(more than 4 horus per week)	.4
Held office within Democratic Party	2.6

Census: Entire universe--size 519.

Source: Payne County McGovern organization volunteer files, February, 1972 through May, 1972.

Whenever Democrats gather together resolutions are passed, and whenever resolutions are passed, the probability of division increases. As a result, the committee chose to examine the reasons why the volunteers did in fact volunteer. It was assumed by the committee and verified by the results listed in Table VI that there were a variety of reasons why persons joined the organization. With over 50 per cent of the volunteer population emphasizing Indochina, the military budget, or a preoccupation with foreign policy as primary political concerns, there existed an eminent possibility that the discussion of resolutions on the convention floor would be less than tranquil. Of particular concern was a group of ERA supporters within the organization whose militancy on this particular issue was unquestioned. Without support from the other McGovern volunteers in favor of an ERA resolution, there existed the distinct possibility that they would bolt the effort. Being in the position of needing every vote at the convention, the McGovern organization could not afford the slightest deflection and still hope to be successful. The committee thus decided that the organization would stress passing resolutions as the last order of business after the election of delegates as they did not want McGovern support to become factionalized over resolutions and negate its effectiveness concerning the election of delegates.

The remaining category to be examined by the committee concerned the educational level of the organization. As Table VII shows, over 50 per cent of the volunteers had at least a college education (this was to be expected considering the university-oriented characteristics of the organization in addition to the percentage of college graduates among the faculty and student wives sector of the organization). With

TABLE VI

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VOLUNTEERS:
PRIMARY REASON FOR JOINING ORGANIZATION*

Reason	Percentage
Opposition to conflict in Indochina	36.5
Advocate of strong civil rights stance	17.2
Return government to the people	11.2
Want domestic orientation in government	6.1
Position on education	5.7
Reduction of defense budget	13.8
Equal rights for women	9.5

*Why they supported Senator McGovern's candidacy.

Census: Entire universe -- size 519.

Source: Payne County McGovern organization volunteer files, February, 1972 through May, 1972.

TABLE VII

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE
VOLUNTEERS: EDUCATION

Level Completed	Percentage
Grade School	.3
Junior High	1.7
High School	31.1
Junior College	10.8
College - B.A., B.S.	46.5
College - M.A., M.S.	6.9
College - Ph.D., EdD, M.D., LLB	3.7

Census: Entire universe--size 519.

Source: Payne County McGovern organization volunteer files, February, 1972 through May, 1972.

an unusually high educational level there existed the possibility that these same volunteers might be too independent to follow the committee's dictates concerning procedural matters and the selection of delegates at both the precinct meetings and county convention. The committee also felt that this characteristic could lead to problems in the organization's ability to deal effectively, if successful at the county convention, with delegations from other counties at the district and state conventions. The committee feared that there would be resentment of the Payne County delegation due to its educational level which was not characteristic of the state.

Strategy

The strategy employed by the committee utilized the concept of majority rule as it applied to the delegate-selection process. To gain control of the county convention necessitated a majority of 50.1 per cent of the delegates in attendance. An examination of the number of delegates to be elected to the convention and the number to be elected from each precinct took place. As a result of this examination, the decision made involved concentrating the organizational effort in Stillwater. The primary reason for this decision was that Stillwater constituted the area from which an absolute majority of the delegates to the county convention were to be elected. Logistical considerations also had a significant impact on the decision to concentrate the effort in Stillwater, due to availability of supporters within the area (17,000 (+) students, 2,500 (+) faculty and staff), from which 60 per cent of the volunteers were eventually obtained, and any attempt to

develop support in the remainder of the county entailed extensive time and travel which the committee hoped to avoid.

The committee then began to organize Stillwater by precinct. This effort developed around eighteen precinct coordinators (Stillwater precincts 1-17 plus Stillwater Township). It was the function of these coordinators to organize their respective precincts for the upcoming meetings. This was facilitated by using the volunteer file system which provided each coordinator with a list of volunteers within his precinct. The committee met with these coordinators individually and in small groups in an attempt to maintain communication and insure a successful effort in the delegate-selection process.

The next chapter will concern the implementation of this organizational effort at the precinct meetings and county convention (the strategies involved and the effect of recent party reforms).

CHAPTER IV

THE DELEGATE-SELECTION PROCESS

The Payne County McGovern organization next turned its attention to the development of an effective strategy to be employed at the precinct meetings. This aspect of the campaign provided the focal point concerning the organization's success or failure in the county delegate-selection process. The coordinating committee's responsibility in this area dealt with the planning and implementation of a successful strategy.

The Precinct Meetings: Organization and Strategy

The precinct meetings were scheduled to start at 7:00 p.m., Friday, May 5, 1972. These meetings were to be open to any registered Democrat or any unregistered person who would be 18 years of age by November 7, 1972 (the date set for the general election), and was otherwise qualified to vote who would state in writing that he or she intended to register as a member of the Democratic Party. This statement had to be witnessed by any registered Democratic voter within the same precinct.¹ This meant that any unregistered McGovern supporter could write on a piece of paper, "I intend to register to

¹The Constitution of the Democratic Party of the State of Oklahoma, Article XII, pp. 22-23.

vote and to register as a Democrat," then sign the document and have it witnessed. The supporter would then be eligible to vote at the meeting. The committee urged all supporters to be at their designated precinct meeting place by 6:45 p.m. to insure that they be present for the nomination of delegates.²

The committee next decided that, whenever possible, all supporters in a precinct should meet prior to the official precinct meeting at 7:00 p.m. (it was suggested that 5:30 p.m. at a supporter's home on May 5, 1972, would be a convenient time as this would allow ample time to accomplish the necessary pre-meeting goals in addition to being past the normal quitting time of the average workday). The purpose of the meeting entailed an agreement on those supporters to be nominated as delegates at the precinct meeting. Hopefully, there would be agreement on a list of nominees which conformed to the McGovern-Fraser guidelines and contained a proportionate number of males, females, youths and minority members. Each precinct organization, whenever possible, was encouraged to support the same number of McGovern delegates as there were slots in the precinct. If more supporters desired to run for delegate than there were openings, there would be an election in advance at the caucus to determine which nominees to support. This would keep McGovern support at the precinct meeting cohesive and eliminate the prospect of it being splintered and thus neutralized.

If enough supporters in a particular precinct had not been identified to insure the election of all McGovern delegates from that

²The number of delegates to be selected at each precinct meeting was determined by the votes cast in the previous presidential election for the party's nominee. The ratio derived at allocated one (1) delegate for each twenty (20) votes cast.

precinct, a different approach was utilized. The supporters were to arrive at the meeting early in an attempt to convince others to vote for McGovern delegates. In the event that this effort fell short, there was to be a decision concerning which uncommitted nominees to support in return for the support of McGovern nominees. Only as a last resort were nominees who favored another presidential candidate to be supported, and then only in return for supporting McGovern nominees.

As the precinct nominations were to be made from the floor, any individual could place in nomination one or more names for delegate to the county convention. Nominations were required to be kept open by the precinct chairperson until all persons had made the nominations they wished to make. Each precinct organization had decided in advance upon the supporter who would nominate each McGovern nominee. There was no rule, however, preventing an individual from nominating himself. In addition, no seconding speeches were required, but were permitted.³

After a motion was adopted to close nominations, each person who had been nominated was afforded the opportunity to state whether he or she intended to support a specific presidential candidate, or remain uncommitted. This was crucial in marginal precincts where the organization lacked a majority. (McGovern nominees were told to run as uncommitted delegates in such instances.) Each nominee's name and stated position was required to be placed on a blackboard, sign, roster, large piece of cardboard or other such device in order that this information was visible prior to the voting. A person need not to have been present to be nominated and elected a delegate. This rule proved beneficial in

³The Constitution of the Democratic Party of the State of Oklahoma, Article IV, Section 2a, Sub-Section C.

the organizational effort, as there were supporters who could not attend the precinct meeting, but who could attend the county convention and vice versa.⁴ If a nominee was not present, the person who made the nomination would state the position of the nominee (McGovern, uncommitted, etc.) and that position would be noted next to the nominee's name prior to voting.⁵ The importance of attending the precinct meetings became even more apparent because of the elimination of proxy voting in electing delegates.

Another consideration at this stage of the delegate-selection process centered around which precinct boundaries were to be used in determining precinct attendance. After the 1970 census, precinct boundary lines had been redrawn to eliminate population discrepancies in the existing arrangement. The state party had not instituted similar changes within its organizational structure, thus causing uncertainty in attempting to determine which precinct meeting interested Democrats should attend. The state executive committee of the Democratic Party ruled that the precinct boundaries in existence prior to the realignment in 1971 would be utilized in the 1972 delegate-selection process.⁶

The possibility existed that at some precinct meetings there would be less people in attendance than the number of delegates to be elected. The coordinating committee had to develop a viable strategy

⁴The Constitution of the Democratic Party of the State of Oklahoma, Article XIII, Section C, p. 23.

⁵Ibid., p. 24.

⁶Memo from the executive committee of the Democratic Party of the State of Oklahoma to all county party chairpeople establishing the precinct boundary requirements as those in effect for the 1970 general election. State of Oklahoma Democratic Party Headquarters, Oklahoma City (February 19, 1972), J. C. Kennedy, Chairman.

to meet such an eventuality. In these cases the McGovern supporters were to be prepared in advance with a list of names and addresses. This list was to provide nominees who were supporters or possible supporters even if they could not attend the precinct meeting. If these supporters were elected, the committee had two weeks to convince them to attend the county convention and there vote for McGovern delegates. The primary reason for this strategy was the denial of delegate positions to those people who would not support the McGovern effort at the county convention. Even if these delegates, so-elected, could not attend the county convention, their election would prevent the election of delegates who, at the county convention, might have voted for delegates pledged to another presidential candidate.⁷

In order to be elected a delegate at the precinct meeting, a nominee had to receive a majority of the votes cast at the meeting. For this reason the committee proposed to the precinct coordinators that at the meeting they move for the election of delegates one position at a time. In addition to insuring a majority vote for each delegate elected, this procedure would facilitate the election of the required ratio of male-female delegates. It was critical that this ratio be observed as its violation constituted grounds for a major challenge to the precinct's delegation.⁸

In any precinct where there were not many McGovern supporters an evaluation had to be made concerning the chance of the organization's nominee of being elected. If it appeared that announcing support for

⁷The Constitution of the Democratic Party of the State of Oklahoma, Article IX, Section 3, p. 20.

⁸I-bid., Article XIII, Section 1, Sub-Section A, p. 23.

Senator McGovern would hinder a nominee's chances of being elected, the nominee would then announce as being uncommitted. This judgment could only be made by the nominee; however, the committee recommended that if this proved necessary to be elected, the nominee should announce his or her position as uncommitted. The nominee, if elected, could still vote for McGovern-pledged delegates at the county convention and could run for a position as a county delegate. The stating of a nominee's position provided an additional criterion on which those voting could make their decision, but it was not in any way binding on the nominee. The state party constitution stated that: "no rule shall be adopted by any unit of the Democratic Party which would require any person to cast a vote or be recorded as voting contrary to that person's judgment."⁹

McGovern supporters were instructed by the coordinating committee not to try to convert anyone present at the precinct meeting who was hostile to Senator McGovern's candidacy. (It could not be done in ten minutes and would probably alienate someone who might otherwise vote for a McGovern nominee.) The supporters were requested to be accommodating and to set aside personal differences in order that the organization's goal (the election of as many people who support Senator McGovern as delegates as possible) might be realized.

The coordinating committee made an effort to insure that all precinct coordinators knew the rules concerning the delegate-selection process. Copies of the state party constitution were distributed to these coordinators with the passages pertaining to the delegate-selection process underlined. If any of the coordinators believed the rules were

⁹ Ibid., Article II, Section 7, Sub-Section C, p. 7.

not being followed at their respective precinct meeting, two telephone locations were established with coordinating committee members available to answer any and all questions concerning the rules.¹⁰

One McGovern supporter from each precinct was selected to write down the names and addresses of all the delegates elected at the meeting and report this information to the coordinating committee. Additional information was to be reported concerning each delegate's stated position or presidential leaning. This requirement, when analyzed, would determine what type of strategy to utilize at the county convention.

May 5, 1972: The Day of Reckoning

The evening of May 5, 1972 would bring success or failure to the Payne County McGovern organization. This section of the study is devoted to an analysis of the results of the precinct meetings. To facilitate this analysis and present a clearer picture of the results, tables will be used to illustrate the precinct meetings.

Precinct Meeting Results: Stillwater

The coordinating committee, as previously stated, had decided to concentrate the organization's effort in Stillwater. If this strategy was to be successful in securing control of the county convention, the results of the precinct meetings would have to give an overwhelming victory to the organization in Stillwater. As Table VIII indicates, the

¹⁰This procedure proved to be quite valuable as many precinct chairpeople were not familiar with the reforms instituted within the Democratic Party. Another consideration was that, hopefully, disagreements concerning the rules could be settled at the precinct level and thus a challenge at the county convention.

TABLE VIII

PRECINCT MEETING RESULTS--STILLWATER

Precinct Number	Delegate** Slots Open & Elected		Qualified Voters Attending	McGovern Supporters Attending		McGovern Supporters Elected as Delegates		Stated Position of Nominees Runing for Delegate Slot			Number Delegates Elected In		Male- Female Ratio of Delegates Elected
	#O.	#E.		#	%	#	%	McGovern	Uncommitted	Other	Absentia		
1	9	9	32	28	87.5	9	100	9	3	0	0	4 - 5	
2	11	11	30	23	76.7	8	72.7	8	3	0	0	6 - 5	
3	9	9	12	5	41.6	5	53.6	0	9	0	0	6 - 3	
*4 & 17	13	13	44	38	86.4	13	100	13	0	0	0	7 - 6	
5	9	9	26	24	92.3	9	100	9	1	1	0	4 - 5	
6	5	5	16	12	75	5	100	5	4	0	0	2 - 3	
7	14	14	61	58	95	14	100	14	0	0	0	6 - 8	
8	7	7	21	17	80.9	7	100	7	3	1	0	3 - 4	
9	10	10	27	22	81.4	10	100	10	4	1	0	5 - 5	
10	12	12	15	4	26.6	3	25	0	12	0	0	6 - 6	
11	12	12	35	31	88.5	10	83.3	10	2	0	0	6 - 6	
12	10	10	24	22	91.6	10	100	10	0	0	0	4 - 6	

TABLE VIII (CONTINUED)

Precinct Number	Delegate** Slots Open & Elected		Qualified Voters Attending	McGovern Supporters Attending		McGovern Supporters Elected as Delegates		Stated Position of Nominees Running for Delegate Slot			Number Delegates Elected In Absentia	Male- Female Ratio of Delegates Elected
	#O.	#E.		#	%	#	%	McGovern	Uncommitted	Other		
13	11	11	31	22	70.9	9	81.8	9	7	1	0	5 - 6
14	6	6	17	17	100	6	100	6	0	0	0	3 - 3
15	7	7	25	24	96	7	100	7	0	0	0	4 - 3
16	9	9	38	34	89.4	9	100	9	0	0	0	4 - 5
Township	8	8	21	16	76.3	8	100	8	2	2	0	4 - 4

*Due to the use of old precinct boundary lines.

**#O. - number open; #E. - number elected.

Source: Payne County Democratic Party Records and files for county-wide precinct meetings, May 5, 1972; and Payne County McGovern Organization records and files for county-wide precinct meetings, May 5, 1972.

organization's efforts were rewarded with an overwhelming success at the precinct meetings. The concentration of effort in the Stillwater precincts proved to be the correct assessment of the delegate-selection process in Payne County.

The following results more clearly demonstrate the magnitude of the organization's success (in the Stillwater area): (1) in 12 of the 18 area precincts, 100 per cent of the delegates elected were McGovern supporters; (2) in four of the remaining six precincts at least 70 per cent of the delegates elected were McGovern supporters; (3) in one of the two remaining two precincts 53 per cent of the delegates elected were McGovern supporters; (4) in the remaining precinct 25 per cent of the delegates elected were McGovern supporters. In the two precincts where the organization elected less than 70 per cent of the delegates, 89 per cent of the McGovern supporters in attendance were elected. This fact gives credibility to the coordinating committee's decision to run the organization's nominees as "uncommitted" in precincts where numerical strength was lacking (see Table VIII).

Another characteristic demonstrated by the results of the Stillwater precinct meetings was the non-attendance of non-McGovern Democrats. Without exaggerating, it is possible to conclude that were it not for the McGovern organization's participation, the precinct meetings would have resembled an organized boycott on the part of all non-McGovern Democrats. In 16 of the 18 precincts McGovern supporters comprised at least 70 per cent of all Democrats in attendance (see Table VIII).

Additional results concerning the Stillwater precinct meetings show that: (1) 100 per cent of the delegates elected were present at their respective precinct meetings, i.e., no delegates were elected in

absentia; (2) 100 per cent of the delegate positions to be elected to the county convention were elected, i.e., Stillwater would have its maximum representation at the county convention; and (3) the male-female ratio of the delegation elected fell within the ratio set by the party constitution, i.e., the delegation had to be within the prescribed percentage ratio of 60 - 40 and the male-female ratio actually achieved was 52 per cent male and 48 per cent female (see Table VIII).

The coordinating committee did not devote any substantial organizational effort to the rest of the county and the results bear this out. However, it would be pure speculation to assume that such an effort would have proved successful or unsuccessful without having made such an effort. The reader is invited to view the results and make his or her own conclusions. The investigator will not speculate on the probable effect of such an effort in an attempt to keep the biases within this study to a minimum.

Precinct Meeting Results: Cushing

In Cushing, Payne County's second largest population center, the results of the precinct meetings would have to be described as less than encouraging. As listed in Table IX, the most noticeable characteristic concerning Cushing's participation in the delegate-selection process was its failure to participate. Two of the 11 precincts failed to have meetings at all and seven of the remaining nine precincts had eight or less Democrats in attendance. These figures indicate that interest in the delegate-selection process had yet to reach mass proportions in Cushing, Oklahoma. The two precincts (three and four) which failed to meet had been plagued with a lack of participation at the leadership

TABLE IX

PRECINCT MEETING RESULTS--CUSHING

Precinct Number	Delegate* Slots Open & Elected		Qualified Voters Attending	McGovern Supporters Attending		McGovern Supporters Elected as Delegates		Stated Position of Nominees Running for Delegate Slot			Number Delegates Elected In Absentia		Male- Female Ratio of Delegates Elected
	#0.	#E.		#	%	#	%	McGovern	Uncommitted	Other			
1	9	7	7	0	0	0	0	0	6	1	0	4 - 3	
2	8	8	6	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	2	5 - 3	
3**	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
4**	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
5	6	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1 - 2	
6	7	6	5	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	1	4 - 2	
7	6	6	10	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	3 - 3	
8	6	6	11	2	18.1	2	33.3	0	6	0	0	3 - 3	
9	4	4	8	1	12.4	1	25	0	4	0	0	2 - 2	
10	4	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	2 - 2	
11	3	3	7	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	2 - 1	

*#0. - number open; #E. - number elected

**No precinct meeting was held.

Source: Payne County Democratic Party Records and files for county-wide precinct meetings, May 5, 1972;
and Payne County McGovern Organization records and files for county-wide precinct meetings,
May 5, 1972.

level for over a year. The two primary precinct positions of chairperson and co-chairperson were vacant during this period and the county chairperson, Ms. Barbara Freed, was unsuccessful in her attempts to fill them. This resulted in their having to meet with another precinct and this information was duly posted in each of the polling places. The evening of the precinct meetings not one Democrat was in attendance at the prescribed meeting place of either of these precincts.

Of additional interest was the fact that 18 delegate positions to the county convention were not filled. This was significant in that it reduced the number of delegates who would be attending the county convention and in turn reduced the number of delegates the Payne County McGovern organization needed to elect to control (by having a majority) the county convention. Another example of this lack of participation concerning the election of three delegates in absentia by the Cushing Democrats (see Table IX).

Other results concerning the precinct meetings in Cushing revealed that: (1) of those Democrats running for a delegate position all but one ran as uncommitted nominees; (2) the organization only had three supporters in attendance at the precinct meetings and all of them were elected as "uncommitted" delegates ("what you see isn't always what you get"); (3) the prescribed percentages of the male-female ratio were met, as 45 per cent of the delegation was male and 55 per cent of the delegation was female. Cushing was unique within Payne County as its delegation not only had the highest percentage difference concerning the prescribed sex ratio, but that this percentage difference favored the female segment of the Democratic Party (see Table IX). Participation in Democratic Party activities in this section of Payne County

has traditionally been the forte of the various Democratic Women clubs in Cushing. Their involvement has included everything from bake sales to opening and operating a party headquarters during the various election campaigns. In a situation of female participation and male acquiescence this uniqueness is quite understandable.

Precinct Meeting Results: Yale and Perkins

The two other population centers in Payne County (Yale and Perkins) were considered together by the coordinating committee. (This was due primarily to the similarity of their differences with Stillwater.) The results of the precinct meetings did not exhibit the degree of apathy witnessed in Cushing. As Table X indicates, Democrats in Yale and Perkins did participate in significantly greater numbers than Democrats in Cushing, but in significantly lesser numbers than Democrats in Stillwater. (This is proportional--not actual--participation.) This was primarily due to the county chairperson residing in Perkins and the county co-chairperson residing in Yale, as each was actively involved in a telephone canvass in his respective town to encourage attendance of and participation in the delegate-selection process.

At these precinct meetings all of the delegate positions were filled and there was even competition for these positions in three of the four precincts. Additional characteristics exhibited by Democrats in Yale and Perkins were: (1) all nominees running for a delegate position ran as uncommitted nominees; (2) six McGovern supporters were in attendance at these precinct meetings--five ran for a delegate position--four were elected as "uncommitted" delegates to the county convention; (3) there were no delegates elected in absentia; and (4) the prescribed

TABLE X

PRECINCT MEETING RESULTS--YALE AND PERKINS

Precinct Number	Delegate* Slots Open & Elected		Qualified Voters Attending	McGovern Supporters Attending		McGovern Supporters Elected as Delegates		Stated Position of Nominees Running for Delegate Slot			Number Delegates Elected In Absentia	Male- Female Ratio of Delegates Elected
	#0.	#E.		#	%	#	%	McGovern	Uncommitted	Other		
Yale												
1	4	4	6	2	33.3	1	25	0	4	0	0	2 - 2
2	9	9	18	2	11.1	2	22.2	0	11	0	0	5 - 4
Perkins												
**1 * 2	11	11	21	2	9.5	1	11.1	0	14	0	0	6 - 5

*#0. - number open; #E. - number elected

**Due to the use of old precinct boundary lines.

Source: Payne County Democratic Party records and files for county-wide precinct meetings, May 5, 1972;
and Payne County McGovern Organization records and files for county-wide precinct meetings,
May 5, 1972.

percentages of the male-female ratio were met with 53 per cent of the delegation being male and 47 per cent of the delegation being female (see Table X).

The importance of running as an "uncommitted" nominee is again demonstrated by the fact that 20 per cent of the organization's nominees were elected to the county convention. It was highly improbable that these nominees would have been elected if they had openly declared their support for Senator McGovern. Without numerical superiority at these precinct meetings, it was not worth risking defeat by such a declaration.

Precinct Meeting Results: Rural

The rural Democrats in Payne County demonstrated an unwillingness to attend their precinct meetings. Four of the 15 rural precincts did not have meetings and, of the remaining 11 precincts that held meetings, ten had eight or less Democrats in attendance. This resulted in 14 delegate positions not being filled and further reduced the number of delegates that the Payne County McGovern organization needed to elect to control the county convention. As Table XI reveals, the rural element had a significant effect in facilitating the organization's ability to control the county convention. This lack of participation by the rural element of the Payne County Democratic Party was primarily attributable to three variables, none of which was conducive to attendance at precinct meetings: (1) it was a very busy time of year for those Democrats actively engaged in agriculture; (2) the population from which Democrats were to be drawn to attend these precinct meetings was considerably smaller than the city precincts; and (3) the distance and

TABLE XI

PRECINCT MEETING RESULTS--RURAL

Precinct Name	Delegate** Slots Open & Elected		Qualified Voters Attending	McGovern Supporters Attending		McGovern Supporters Elected as Delegates		Stated Position of Nominees Running for Delegate Slot			Number Delegates Elected In Absentia		Male- Female Ratio of Delegates Elected
	#O.	#E.		#	%	#	%	McGovern	Uncommitted	Other			
Cherokee*	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clayton	3	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1 - 2
Clear- Creek*	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eden	2	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1 - 1
Elm Grove	5	5	10	1	10	1	20	0	5	0	0	0	3 - 2
Henry Township	5	5	8	2	25	2	40	0	5	0	0	0	2 - 3
Indian	5	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	3	0	2 - 3
Mound	2	2	5	2	40	2	100	0	2	0	0	0	1 - 1
North Union 1	5	5	7	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	2 - 3
North Union 2	3	3	4	1	25	1	33.3	0	3	0	0	0	1 - 2

TABLE XI (CONTINUED)

Precinct Name	Delegate** Slots Open & Elected		Qualified Voters Attending	McGovern Supporters Attending		McGovern Supporters Elected as Delegates		Stated Position of Nominees Running for Delegate Slot			Number Delegates Elected In Absentia	Male- Female Ratio of Delegates Earned
	#0.	#E.		#	%	#	%	McGovern	Uncommitted	Other		
Paradise	3	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	2 - 1
Pawnee	2	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1 - 1
South Union*	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ripley	4	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	2	2 - 2
Glencoe *	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

*No precinct meeting was held.

**#0. - number open; #E. - number elected.

Source: Payne County Democratic Party records and files for county-wide precinct meetings, May 5, 1972; and Payne County McGovern Organization records and files for county-wide precinct meetings, May 5, 1972.

type of travel involved to participate presented a greater commitment on the part of rural Democrats. This was a contributing factor to the organization's success in this process.

Other characteristics of Payne County rural Democrats, as revealed by the precinct meetings, were: (1) all nominees running for delegate positions ran as uncommitted nominees; (2) six McGovern supporters attended the precinct meetings and all of them were elected delegates running as "uncommitted" nominees; (3) there were six delegates elected in absentia; (4) there was not any competition for the delegate positions--this seems to indicate that the major requirement to be elected a delegate was the desire or willingness to be a delegate; and (5) the prescribed percentages of the male-female ratio were met with 47 per cent of the delegation being male and 53 per cent of the delegation being female (see Table XI).

Precinct Meeting Results: Comparison by Area

Stillwater provided the Payne County McGovern organization with both the necessary operational base and the key to success in the delegate-selection process. Eighty-eight per cent of the delegates elected in Stillwater were McGovern supporters. This provided the needed strength to offset non-McGovern support in the remainder of the county. The organization did manage to elect 13 delegates from the other areas throughout the county. As evidenced by Table XII, the most notable characteristic, on a comparative basis, was the lack of participation in Cushing, Yale, Perkins, and rural Payne County along with an abundance of participation in the Stillwater area (precincts 1-17 and Stillwater Township). In addition, the only area where

TABLE XII
 PRECINCT MEETINGS RESULTS:
 TOTALS BY AREA

	Stillwater	Cushing	Yale Perkins	Rural
Number of Delegates to be Elected	162	65	24	53
Number of Delegates Elected	162	47	24	39
Number of Qualified Voters in Attendance	475	62	45	51
Number of McGovern Supporters in Attendance	397	3	6	6
Percentage of McGovern Supporters in Attendance	83.5	4.8	13.3	11.7
Number of McGovern Supporters Elected as Delegates	142	3	4	6
Percentage of McGovern Supporters Elected as Delegates	87.6	6.4	16.6	15.3
Stated Position of Nominees Running For Delegate Slot				
McGovern	136	0	0	0
Uncommitted	50	44	28	39
Other	6	1	0	0
Number of Delegates Elected <u>In Absentia</u>	0	3	0	6
Male-Female Ratio of Delegates Elected	79-83	26-21	13-11	18-21

Source: Payne County Democratic Party records and files for county-wide precinct meetings, May 5, 1972; and Payne County McGovern organization records and files for county-wide precinct meetings, May 5, 1972.

nominees ran for delegate positions as McGovern supporters (pledged to Senator McGovern) was Stillwater. All McGovern nominees, throughout the remainder of the county, ran as "uncommitted" nominees for delegate positions.

Precinct Meeting Results: Payne County

After the completion of the precinct meetings segment of the delegate-selection process in Payne County, the most glaring result was the minimum participation of non-McGovern Democrats in this process, particularly if consideration is given to the allegation that Senator McGovern represented only a small minority within the Democratic Party. If this was actually the case, what happened to the majority in Payne County? County-wide, 633 Democrats attended the precinct-meetings and, of this number, 412 were supporters of Senator McGovern. (This may have been the only 67 per cent minority in the history of electoral politics.)

Two additional characteristics deserve consideration at the county level (considering all of Payne County, not just a particular area within the county). First, the male-female ratio of the delegation elected to the county convention was exactly 50 per cent male and 50 per cent female. (this was the only county in Oklahoma with such a ratio.) The second characteristic was the unexpected contribution to the McGovern effort by the non-McGovern element. Thirty-two delegate positions were not filled outside the Stillwater area, which reduced the number of delegates necessary to control the county convention. As Table XIII indicates, this changed the county convention from a

TABLE XIII
 PRECINCT MEETINGS RESULTS:
 TOTALS FOR PAYNE COUNTY

Number of Delegates to be Elected	304
Number of Delegates Elected	272
Number of Qualified Voters in Attendance	633
Number of McGovern Supporters in Attendance	412
Percentage of McGovern Supporters in Attendance	67.1
Number of McGovern Supporters Elected as Delegates	155
Percentage of McGovern Supporters Elected as Delegates	56.9
Stated Position of Nominees Running for Delegate Slot	
McGovern	136
Uncommitted	161
Other	7
Number of Delegates Elected in Absentia	9
Male-Female Ratio of Delegates Elected	136-136

Source: Payne County Democratic Party records and files for county-wide precinct meetings, May 5, 1972; and Payne County McGovern organization records and files for county-wide precinct meetings, May 5, 1972.

potentially marginal situation to one in which the McGovern organization had a fairly comfortable margin.

The County Convention: Organization and Strategy

The development of a concrete organizational structure for the county convention necessitated waiting until after the precinct meetings. At this time, it would be possible to determine McGovern support based upon the results of these meetings. The critical factor in this area centered around the delegate strength of the McGovern organization at the county convention. As a result of the organizational effort at the precinct meetings, delegates pledged to the support of Senator McGovern's candidacy would constitute a numerical majority at the county convention.

The coordinating committee next turned its attention to the establishment of a communications mechanism which would insure that the McGovern delegates, after being elected, would attend the convention. This was facilitated by selecting one delegate from each precinct where the organization had support whose function it was to contact the other delegates within the precinct and make certain they attended the convention. This person was provided with a list of all of the organization's delegates within the precinct including addresses and telephone numbers. In those precincts with two or less organization delegates the committee handled the communication process.

The selection of nominees to run for delegate positions at the county convention was the next decision to be made. This constituted the most "undemocratic" action taken by the coordinating committee

during the campaign. The county coordinator, without consultation, chose those people who would be the organization's nominees at the convention. In this selection process, three considerations were weighed: (1) contribution to the organization (work as opposed to financial); (2) political clout (ability to further the organization's effort at the district and state conventions); and (3) geography (to evenly divide the nominees among the organization's delegates to the convention).

The county coordinator next met with the Payne County Democratic Party chairperson concerning the operating committees at the county convention (credentials, rules and resolutions). Since the McGovern organization constituted a majority at the convention, it was allocated majority strength on the three operating committees (each committee consisted of seven members with McGovern delegates holding four of the positions). The organization's members on these committees were then contacted concerning positions to take regarding their particular committee. This included three basic considerations: (1) credentials--insuring that only those delegates from precincts which had filed lists with the county executive committee were allowed to participate; (2) rules--electing the delegates by secret ballot in the following sequence: 14 female delegates, 14 male delegates, and one at-large delegate; and (3) resolutions--insuring that resolutions came out of committee endorsing Senator McGovern's nomination for President of the United States and the organization's nominee as a delegate to the national convention.

The coordinating committee's last function prior to the convention involved having copies of the nominee list printed and distributed to

each McGovern delegate. A meeting was scheduled at 10:00 a.m. on the day of the convention with each communication coordinator who, in turn, would distribute the copies to all McGovern supporters within their respective precincts. Also on the list was the organization's nominee for permanent chairperson of the convention.

May 20, 1972: The Beginning or the End

The afternoon of May 10, 1972, would provide the Payne County McGovern organization with its ultimate moment of triumph or failure. This section of the study concerns itself with an analysis of the results at the county convention. To facilitate this analysis and present a clearer picture of the results, tables will be utilized to illustrate the county convention.

The County Convention

At the Payne County Democratic Party Convention, as with any party convention meeting to elect delegates, there were two crucial considerations. The first was the number of elected delegates that actually attended the convention. The second involved the Payne County McGovern organization's ability to have its elected delegates attend the convention. As revealed in Table XIV, Stillwater continued to dominate the county in participation statistics with 160 of 162 elected delegates in attendance. Cushing and the rural precincts continued their precinct meetings' performance with 40 of 47 elected delegates in attendance from Cushing and 27 of 39 elected delegates in attendance from the rural precincts. This was another contribution to the McGovern effort by

TABLE XIV
 COUNTY CONVENTION ATTENDANCE:
 TOTALS BY AREA

Area	Number Elected	Number Attended
Stillwater	162	160
Cushing	47	40
Yale-Perkins	24	22
Rural	<u>39</u>	<u>27</u>
Total	272	249

Source: Payne County Democratic Party County Convention records, May 20, 1972; and Payne County McGovern organization records, County Convention, May 20, 1972.

non-McGovern Democrats as the number of elected delegates necessary to control the county convention again decreased.

As Table XV demonstrates, the Payne County McGovern organization proved capable of having its delegates in attendance. The communication mechanism had performed almost to perfection with 154 of the 155 elected delegates pledged to Senator McGovern in attendance. This radically changed the composition of the county convention. The organization then possessed an almost insurmountable numerical superiority of 154 McGovern delegates as compared to 94 uncommitted delegates (nothing was guaranteed and the cohesiveness of the McGovern strength would not be determined until the voting results were known).

Table XVI indicates that the Payne County McGovern organization was cohesive in its voting for delegate positions. The organization, with 62 per cent of the voting strength, elected 100 per cent of the

TABLE XV
 COUNTY CONVENTION ATTENDANCE: TOTALS BY
 STATED POSITION OF DELEGATES

Area	McGovern	Uncommitted	Other
Stillwater	141	19	0
Cushing	3	37	0
Yale-Perkins	4	18	0
Rural	<u>6</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	154	94	1

Source: Payne County Democratic Party County Convention records, May 20, 1972; and Payne County McGovern organization records, County Convention, May 20, 1972.

TABLE XVI
 THE PAYNE COUNTY DEMOCRATIC PARTY CONVEN-
 TION: THE ELECTION OF DELEGATES

Number of Delegates to be Elected	29
Number of Delegates Elected	29
Percentage of McGovern Supporters in Attendance	62.2
Percentage of McGovern Supporters Elected as Delegates	100
Stated Position of Nominees Running for Delegate Slot	
McGovern	24
Uncommitted	17
Other	1
Number of Delegates Elected <u>in Absentia</u>	1

Source: Payne County Democratic Party County Convention records, May 20, 1972; and Payne County McGovern organization records, County Convention, May 20, 1972.

delegates. All 29 of the nominees on the list distributed by the precinct coordinators to the McGovern supporters were elected as delegates to the district and state conventions. Twenty-four of these delegates ran as committed to Senator McGovern and the remaining five delegates ran as "uncommitted." (These were the delegates elected by the Payne County Democratic Party convention.) The non-McGovern Democrats only contested 13 of the 29 delegate positions. One delegate was elected in absentia; this did not result from a lack of interest but from an illness in the delegate's family.

Social and Political Characteristics of
The Payne County Delegation

The Payne County McGovern organization had accomplished its objective--the completion of a successful county-wide effort in the delegate-selection process on behalf of Senator George S. McGovern. Further evidence concerning the orientation of the organization is provided by Table XVII which pertains to the social and political characteristics of the Payne County delegation to the district and state conventions. The following characteristics demonstrate that the pattern of organization throughout the delegate-selection process was continued in the composition of the delegation: (1) male-female ratio (15 male delegates and 14 female delegates); (2) 24 of the delegates were Stillwater residents, two of the delegates were rural residents, and Cushing, Yale and Perkins were each represented by one delegate; (3) 22 of the delegates were connected with Oklahoma State University; (4) 23 of the delegates were under 40 years of age; and (5) only nine of the delegates had previous experience within the traditional Democratic Party structure.

TABLE XVII

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PAYNE COUNTY
DEMOCRATIC PARTY DELEGATION TO THE
DISTRICT AND STATE CONVENTIONS

Male-Female Ratio	15 - 14
Age Group	
17 - 21	8
22 - 30	7
31 - 40	8
41 - 50	5
Over 50	1
Residency	
Stillwater	24
Cushing	1
Yale	1
Perkins	1
Rural	2
Occupation	
Student	13
Undergraduate	7
Graduate	6
Instructor	4
Professor	5
Housewife	6
Unemployed	1
Previous Political Experience within Traditional Party Structure	
County Chairperson	2
City Chairperson	2
Precinct Chairperson	5
None	20

Source: Payne County Democratic Party County Convention records, May 20, 1972; and Payne County McGovern organization records, County Convention, May 20, 1972.

Table XVIII reveals the soundness of the coordinating committee's decision to postpone the voting on resolutions until after the election of delegates. The voting on these resolutions was close in some instances and on two separate occasions there was heated debate among McGovern supporters concerning the resolutions being voted upon. If these resolutions had been voted on at the beginning of the convention, the cohesiveness of the McGovern support might have been threatened.

TABLE XVIII

MAJOR RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE PAYNE
COUNTY DEMOCRATIC PARTY CONVENTION

Resolution	Vote*	
	Yes	No
Endorsement of George McGovern for President of the United States	147	56
Endorsement of Richard Tucker as Delegate to National Convention	Unanimous	
U. S. Withdrawal from S. E. Asia	161	52
Legalization of Marijuana	105	103
Legalization of Abortion	112	107
Strict Gun Control Legislation	163	61
Decrease Department of Defense Budget	166	71
Elimination of Capital Punishment	138	81
Increased Emphasis on Education	170	58

*Not all delegates in attendance voted on all resolutions. Figures denote those present and voting.

Source: Payne County Democratic Party County Convention records, May 20, 1972; and Payne County McGovern organization records, County Convention, May 20, 1972.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study indicated that (for all intent and purpose), there was no viable organization on a continuing basis within the Democratic Party at the grass-roots level in Payne County, Oklahoma, during the delegate-selection process in 1972. This is not meant to imply that there was "no" organization of consequence within the Payne County Democratic Party, but that the existing organization was either not capable of or interested in the mobilization of its membership during the delegate-selection process. The effort which existed on behalf of Senator McGovern within the county was the only appreciable participation at this stage of the campaign.

The single most significant characteristic of the traditional party organization was the poor attendance it exhibited during the delegate-selection process. This was manifested in a noticeable lack of participation by this element prior to and during this process. This failure to stimulate significant interest in the selection of delegates was vividly demonstrated at the county-wide precinct meetings held on May 5, 1972. The traditional party element, i.e., those Payne County Democrats who were not members of the Payne County McGovern organization, failed to participate in significant enough numbers for those present to fill all the available delegate positions. Without the McGovern effort at this stage of the delegate-selection process,

37 per cent of all delegates elected would have been elected in absentia, if elected at all. This absentee rate continued at the Payne County Democratic Party convention as 17 per cent of those delegates who had been elected failed to attend this, the next stage of the delegate-selection process.

Poor attendance was found to be a contributing factor, if not the most crucial one, to the success of the Payne County McGovern organization. In winner-take-all environments such as precinct meetings and the county convention, the "name of the game" became numbers in attendance. In this type of political activity (where there was anything less than consensus concerning presidential candidates and their delegates), when one element of the Democratic Party failed to attend its respective meetings (precinct or county), any other element, by definition, had to be the beneficiary of such neglect, in this case the Payne County McGovern organization.

The McGovern-Fraser Guidelines had a definite impact on the delegate-selection process in Payne County. These guidelines eliminated proxy voting, which placed a premium on attendance at the various Democratic Party meetings held during each ensuing stage of the campaign. This was of particular significance in the rural areas of Payne County where traditionally representation at the county convention had been by proxy due for the most part to it being an important time of year in the agricultural cycle. This did in fact increase the rewards for organizational activity as organizations were and still are the primary determinant concerning participation in political party functions. Success, or the lack thereof, in such endeavors depended upon how well an organization was "organized." It was this ability to

"organize" the Payne County McGovern organization as opposed to the Payne County Democratic Party's inability to "organize" itself which provided a major determinant to the outcome of the delegate-selection process.

The decentralized structure of the Payne County Democratic Party did facilitate the successful effort of the Payne County McGovern organization. A highly centralized structure with a viable communication mechanism would have made it extremely difficult for a candidate-oriented effort to be successful within its confines. This decentralized party structure rewarded the McGovern organization, which was able to mobilize a modicum of supporters to attend their respective precinct meetings on behalf of Senator McGovern's candidacy. This ability to mobilize its supporters in significant numbers was rewarded by the election of twenty-nine delegates in support of Senator McGovern. The non-McGovern element might have been unaware of both party structure and reform guidelines and thus assumed that the 1972 delegate-selection process would be business as usual, i.e., minimal participation.

The Payne County McGovern organization did not function effectively, if at all, until a three-member coordinating committee emerged from the 21-member coordinating committee, i.e., the coordinating committee became involved in goal-oriented activity instead of having a meeting whose only output was discussion. This emergence of an oligarchy within an oligarchy gave the organization a sense of direction. The oligarchical role of this leadership core was significant in the organization's success within Payne County.

The social and political characteristics of the Payne County McGovern organization provide an interesting comparison with other studies in the area. Using the criteria of William Wright concerning whether an organization is "professional" or "amateur," the Payne County McGovern organization would be labeled as "professional"; but if the criteria of James Wilson are utilized, this same organization would be labeled as "amateur." This discrepancy would provide a further area of inquiry involving grass-roots political organization.

The data provided by the study tend to support certain of the literature concerning political party organization; e.g., the "caucus" organization of Maurice Duverger along with his modern distinction of a "cadre" style organization, the stratarchy model of Samuel Eldersveld with its low levels of integration and control along with considerable subunit autonomy, i.e., the Payne County McGovern organization, and both the decentralization and oligarchic control models of Niemi and Jennings as manifested in the Payne County Democratic Party and the Payne County McGovern organization. In the aforementioned literature there was a lack of emphasis concerning the recruitment of candidates for delegate positions within the selection process which was found to be of significance in this study.

Cushing and the rural area to a lesser extent, and the sections of Payne County which had the least amount of participation in the delegate-selection process had the highest percentage of Democratic Party electoral strength. This tends to support the emphasis on campaigns, as opposed to recruitment, which has been theorized by Samuel Eldersveld, Samuel Barnes, Henry Valen, Daniel Katz, Lewis Bowman, and G. R. Boynton among others.

The impact of the Payne County McGovern organization's success was primarily a consequence of three variables working in and upon the same political arena, i.e., the Payne County Democratic Party: (1) the organizational structure of the arena; (2) a lack of participation by the traditional element in the arena; and (3) the candidate-oriented organization's ability to effectively organize within this arena.

Hopefully, the findings of this study will provide additional information and insight to those who may continue research in the area of political party organization; particularly those doing research on the relationship between the structural aspects of political parties and the role of the activist within this structure.

It seems evident that, if this long-term trend toward a politics without parties continues, the policy consequences will be profound. One can put the matter with the utmost simplicity: political parties, with all their well-known human and structural shortcomings, are the only devices thus far invented by the wit of Western man that can, with some effectiveness, generate countervailing collective power on behalf of the many individually powerless against the relatively few who are individually or organizationally powerful. Their disappearance as active intermediaries, if not preliminary screening devices, would only entail the unchallenged ascendancy of the already powerful, unless new structures of collective power were somehow developed to replace them, and unless conditions in America's social structure and political culture came to be such that they could be effectively used. It was within the political arena of the Democratic Party that the collective

power of many of the individually powerless was exercised in an attempt to present a viable countervailing force to the public practices and policies of (then President) Richard M. Nixon and his administration through the candidacy of Senator George S. McGovern.

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