

SELECTING AMERICAN PRESIDENTS BY ACCIDENT OR DESIGN?

- A) The early 1970s
- a) Candidate selection re: Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection (McGovern-Fraser Commission) for 1972.
- 1) Required written party rules governing delegate selection;
 - 2) **All delegates required to stand for election** (75% by congressional districts/10% by state level appointment);
 - 3) Required wide-spread notice that the process was taking place at places of easy access and at uniform dates and times;
 - 4) Affirmative action for blacks, women, and young people (>age 30);
 - 5) Proportional representation.

Tinkering and coping:

- 6) Three month window and front-loading of the election calendar—
 - Iowa caucuses and New Hampshire primary
 - Super Tuesday
 - Continued movement toward a **defacto national primary** election
- b) Public funding of presidential elections beginning with 1976.
- B) Combined impact
- a) Background or demographic characteristics of national convention delegates was **unchanged**, even **exaggerated!**
- 1) Pushed Democratic **AND** Republican national convention delegates to the extremes of their respective national political parties.
 - 2) Take major political issues in 1980 and 1988.
- b) **VOTER TURNOUT** problem for primary elections and political party caucuses v. national general elections.

C) The example of 1992

- a) Republican President George H.W. Bush, the most popular president in the history of public opinion polling through that time, and 89% approval rating on how he was doing his job between 28 February and 3 March 1991.

Scared out many substantial Democratic presidential candidates (e.g., U.S. Senators Al Gore and John D. Rockefeller IV; New York Governor Mario Cuomo; U.S. Representative Richard Gebhardt; and Rev. Jesse Jackson, to name a few) and it opened the door for Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton v. U.S. Senators Paul Tsongas (MA) and Bob Kerrey (NEB), former California Governor Jerry Brown and Virginia Governor L. Douglas Wilder.

b) Why Bill Clinton?

1) Gennifer Flowers revelation on January 21, 1992, in the tabloid **Star**; ROTC promise to attend the University of Arkansas, but he never did attend as revealed in **The Wall Street Journal** on February 6, 1992; **but...**

2) “Ground rules” for media reporting had changed from candidate to accuser bearing the burden of proof;

3) Public attention was focused on the economy;

4) ***The election calendar worked to his advantage—***

—January 21, 1992, filing deadline to get on the ballot had passed in 15 states with 28% of the Democratic National Convention delegates;

—February 6, 1992, the filing deadline for ballot access had passed in 18 states with 40% of the Democratic National Convention delegates before Clinton acknowledged ROTC report on February 12.

5) Adversity actually helped Bill Clinton because the Gennifer Flowers allegation gave him **NAME RECOGNITION** without content, as he soared to 86% among all voters and to 89% among Democrats and Democratic leaning potential voters.

—Election support rose from 17 to 42% in three weeks, giving Bill Clinton a commanding lead!

D) A Democrat in the White House, and the election process will not change. Why?

a) Because Americans do not participate in the most important phase of the presidential candidate selection process, the primary elections and caucuses;

b) Because the presidential candidate selection reforms cannot be reversed by the Democratic Party because they were written into the state laws governing the nomination process; and

c) Because the election of delegates IS DEMOCRATIC.

CONCLUSION: The broader pattern of political party support (i.e., increasing numbers of Republican Party affiliates from the South and equally increasing numbers of Democratic Party affiliates from the Northeast) will continue into the future and favor Republican candidates because its region of greatest support is growing while that for Democrats continues to decline in population.

**WE DEMANDED A REFORMED PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE SELECTION PROCESS;
WE HAVE DONE IT TO OURSELVES WITH NO TURNING BACK!**

Nominating Season at a Glance

	Delegate Count		Form of Delegate Selection	Filing Deadline	Date of Main Democratic Event	OUT
	D	R				
Iowa	57	23	Open Caucus †		Feb. 10	1-8 Wildir
New Hampshire	24	23	Open Primary †	Dec. 20	Feb. 18	
Maine	30	22	Open Caucus †		Feb. 23	
South Dakota	20	19	Closed Primary	Dec. 31	Feb. 25	
Colorado	54	37	Open Primary †	Jan. 2	March 3	
Georgia	88	52	Open Primary		March 3	
Idaho	24	22	Open Caucus (D)/Open Primary (R)	April 27 *	March 3	
Maryland	79	42	20.5%-D/ Closed Primary	Jan. 9 (D)/Dec. 23 (R)	March 3	
Minnesota	87	32	22.4%-R Open Caucus	Jan. 28 *	March 3	
Utah	28	27	Open Caucus	Feb. 14	March 3	
Washington	80	35	Open Caucus (D)/Open Primary (R)	April 10 *	March 3	
North Dakota	20	17	Open Caucus	April 10 *	March 5-19	3-6 Kerry
Arizona	47	37	Closed Caucus	Jan. 6	March 7	
South Carolina	49	36	Open Primary	Feb. 1 (D)/Jan. 31 (R)	March 7	
Wyoming	19	20	Closed Caucus		March 7	
Nevada	24	21	Closed Caucus		March 8	3-9 Harki
Delaware	19	19	Closed Caucus		March 10	
Florida	160	97	Closed Primary		March 10	
Hawaii	26	14	Closed Caucus	Feb. 2	March 10	
Louisiana	69	38	41%-D/ Closed Primary	Jan. 10	March 10	
Massachusetts	106	38	45%-R Open Primary †	Jan. 3	March 10	
Mississippi	44	33	Open Primary	Jan. 15	March 10	
Missouri	86	47	Open Caucus		March 10	
Oklahoma	53	34	Closed Primary	Jan. 15	March 10	
Rhode Island	28	15	Open Primary †	Jan. 7	March 10	
Tennessee	77	45	Open Primary	Jan. 7	March 10	
Texas	214	121	Open Primary & Caucus (D)/Open Primary (R)	Jan. 10	March 10	
Puerto Rico	57	14	Open Primary		March 15	
Illinois	183	85	Open Primary	Jan. 28	March 17	
Michigan	148	72	Closed Primary	Jan. 10	March 17	
Connecticut	61	35	Closed Primary	Feb. 7	March 24	3-19 Tsonga
Vermont	20	19	Open Caucus		March 31	
Alaska	18	19	Closed Caucus (D)/Open Caucus (R) †		April 2	
Kansas	42	30	Open Primary †	Feb. 12	April 7	
New York	12.5% 268	100	9% Closed Primary	Feb. 6 (R)/Feb. 13 (D)	April 7	
Wisconsin	91	35	Open Primary	Feb. 18	April 7	
Virginia	92	55	Open Caucus		April 11	
Pennsylvania	188	91	Closed Primary	Feb. 18	April 28	
District of Columbia	30	14	Closed Primary	March 6	May 5	
Indiana	87	51	Open Primary	March 6	May 5	
North Carolina	93	57	Closed Primary (D)/Open Primary (R) †	Feb. 4	May 5	
Ohio	167	83	Open Primary	Feb. 20	May 5	
Nebraska	31	24	Closed Primary	March 13	May 12	
West Virginia	39	18	Closed Primary (D)/Open Primary (R) †	Feb. 1	May 12	
Oregon	53	23	Closed Primary	March 10	May 19	
Arkansas	43	27	Open Primary	March 31	May 26	
Kentucky	61	35	Closed Primary	Jan. 28	May 26	
Alabama	62	38	Open Primary	April 3	June 2	
California	18% 383	201	18% Closed Primary	March 19 (D)/March 20 (R)	June 2	
Montana	22	20	Open Primary	March 19	June 2	
New Jersey	117	60	Open Primary †	April 9	June 2	
New Mexico	33	25	Closed Primary	No later than March 16	June 2	
U.S. territories	12	12				
Democrats abroad	9					
Unassigned	265					

TOTAL 4,287 2,209

† Independents may participate; voters registered by party may participate only in their party's primary or caucus.
 * Primary filing deadline (Idaho primary, May 26; Minnesota primary, April 7; North Dakota primary, June 9; Washington primary, May 19)
 NOTE: Delegate count as of January 1992; subject to change