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Montgomery



## ALABAMA DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE, INC.

RUFUS A. LEWIS, Chairman

801 Bolivar Street

Phone 262-1784

Montgomery, Alabama 36104

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

As Chairman of the Alabama Democratic Conference I appreciate the opportunity to converse with you on a matter of common interest- "Political Organization". Group action must be organized action to be effective.

You and I both are encouraged by the number of Negroes registered to vote through out the Nation, and are concerned about the number yet un-registered. We are inspired by the record number of Negro Democratic Candidates elected to public office in several States and praised those who ran unsuccessful races to public offices in their first attempt.

Effective political organization will bring to us a greater amount of success in achieving our objective of full participation in the political life of our community.

The 1968 Presidential election is just a few months away. This gives time to call together the sincere leaders from various section of your County. Make plans and organize one Decocratic County Organization for all true democrates, where none exist and strengthen the existing ones.

**Start Now!** Tomorrow or next week may be to late. If you need our help please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Rufus A. Lewis

The following questionnaire is easy to fill out, and should take only a few minutes to complete. For most items all you do is mark the space provided. The questions have to do with your personal opinions and political experience, both as a Democrat, and as a National Convention Delegate. As only a small random sample of the convention delegates will be included in this survey, I am sure you understand how important it is that you complete the questionnaire, and return it in the stamped self-addressed envelope that has been provided for your convenience.

To guarantee complete anonymity, there is absolutely no name or identification number on this questionnaire. As a Delegate, you should feel free to answer all questions in a way that reflects your own personal opinions and experiences. The results of this survey will be used as part of a larger study of politics and the party system in the United States.

By carefully filling out and returning this questionnaire, you can contribute to our understanding of national convention delegates, and the crucial role they play in the American party system. The little time you take will be well spent in terms of the increased knowledge that will result.

Thank you for your consideration, and I look forward to receiving your response.

1. How long have you been a member of the Democratic party?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ years.

2. To what party did your parents belong?

1. Mother \_\_\_\_\_ Don't know \_\_\_\_\_

2. Father \_\_\_\_\_ Don't know \_\_\_\_\_

3. Would you consider yourself:

1. \_\_\_\_\_ a strong Democrat.

2. \_\_\_\_\_ a not so strong Democrat.

3. \_\_\_\_\_ a mild Democrat.

4. \_\_\_\_\_ an indifferent Democrat.

4. Have you ever donated money to the Democratic party directly, other than campaign contributions to particular candidates, or party membership dues or fees?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ Yes, I have donated money directly to the party.

2. \_\_\_\_\_ No, I have never donated money directly to the party.

5. Have you ever helped to organize and run party fund raising functions, or other party activities?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ Yes, I have.

2. \_\_\_\_\_ No, I have not.

6. Have you ever spent any time working for the party in a year other than an election year?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ Yes, I have.

2. \_\_\_\_\_ No, I have not.

7. For which of the following reasons would you say you joined the Democratic party:

1. \_\_\_\_\_ Because I wanted to support a particular candidate.

2. \_\_\_\_\_ Because I felt the position of the Democratic party on most issues more closely resembled my own position.

3. \_\_\_\_\_ Because no other party was particularly attractive to me.

4. \_\_\_\_\_ Because the Democratic party offered the best opportunity for being elected to public office in my area.

5. \_\_\_\_\_ Because most of my friends and social acquaintances were Democrats.

6. \_\_\_\_\_ Or for some other reason. Please specify.

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8. Have you ever belonged to a party other than the Democratic Party?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ Yes, I have.

2. \_\_\_\_\_ No, I have not.

9. Have you ever voted for a candidate other than a Democrat?
1. \_\_\_\_\_ Yes, I have.
  2. \_\_\_\_\_ No, I have not.
10. Have you ever contributed money to the campaign of some candidate other than a Democratic candidate?
1. \_\_\_\_\_ Yes
  2. \_\_\_\_\_ No
11. Have you ever actively campaigned for some non-Democratic party candidate for some public office? (Please exclude from your answer any candidates you might have supported in non-partisan elections.)
1. \_\_\_\_\_ Yes, I have campaigned actively for some candidate for public office who was not a Democrat.
  2. \_\_\_\_\_ No, I have never campaigned actively for some candidate for public office who was not a Democrat.
12. If your answer is yes, then was the most recent candidate you supported, who was not a Democrat, a candidate for:
1. \_\_\_\_\_ a national office (President, U.S. Senate, U.S. Congress)
  2. \_\_\_\_\_ a state office (Governor, State Legislature, etc.)
  3. \_\_\_\_\_ a local office (Mayor, city council, etc.)
13. Have you ever really seriously considered quitting the Democratic party and joining another party?
1. \_\_\_\_\_ Yes.
  2. \_\_\_\_\_ No.

The following statements are listed in such a way that you can indicate your agreement or disagreement simply by circling the letters which most correspond to your own belief or feeling about the statement. There are five possible answers: Agree Strongly, Agree Somewhat, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Disagree Somewhat, and Disagree Strongly.

Please circle the letters that most accurately reflect your own position.

**REMEMBER:**

**AS = Agree Strongly**

**A = Agree Somewhat**

**N = Neither Agree  
nor disagree**

**D = Disagree Somewhat**

**DS = Disagree Strongly**

14. When voting for candidates unfamiliar to you, it is always better to vote for the Democratic Party candidate than to leave it blank. AS A N D DS
15. Neither the Republican nor the Democratic parties could survive for very long without the dedication and hard work of the party regulars. AS A N D DS
16. When the Party's candidates are elected, they are morally obligated to enact into law the provisions of their Party's platform. AS A N D DS
17. The nomination of a presidential candidate is too important to the American people to allow it to be subjected to the same kind of bargaining and compromise that characterize politics in general in this country. AS A N D DS
18. The two-party system in the United States has contributed greatly to the stability of American politics. AS A N D DS
19. Generally speaking, a person should belong only to the political party that holds the same position on the important issues that he does, regardless of which party it is. AS A N D DS
20. Neither the Republicans nor the Democrats represent the people anymore, and therefore a new political party is necessary. AS A N D DS
21. In the months prior to the convention of 1968 did you actively support any of the candidates for the Democratic nomination? If you supported more than one candidate, then please mark "1" (one) in front of the candidate you supported first, and "2" (two) in front of the candidate you supported second, etc.

1. \_\_\_\_ Lyndon B. Johnson

2. \_\_\_\_ Hubert Humphrey

3. \_\_\_\_ Eugene J. McCarthy

4. \_\_\_\_ Robert F. Kennedy

5. \_\_\_\_ George McGovern

6. \_\_\_\_ Other (Please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

22. We are interested in your past convention experience including the 1968 Democratic Convention. Please mark the appropriate box behind each of the conventions listed.

Convention	Attended as as Delegate	Attended as Alternate	Attended as Observer	Did not Attend
1948				
1952				
1956				
1960				
1964				
1968				

23. In the 1968 Convention did you serve on any of the following Committees?

1. ☐ Rules
2. ☐ Credentials
3. ☐ Platform
4. ☐ Permanent Organization

Once again you are asked to express your own personal feeling or belief in response to the following list of statements.

Agree Strongly (AS);                      Neither agree      Disagree Somewhat (D);  
Agree Somewhat (A)                      nor disagree (N); Disagree Strongly (DS).

24. It would be better if the national conventions were not held at all and Presidential candidates were chosen in some other way.                      AS   A   N   D   DS

25. Generally speaking, candidates are more important than parties, and it is better to vote for the best candidate regardless of which party he belongs to. AS A N D DS
26. It is better to try and change things by working within either the Republican or Democratic parties, than by starting another party. AS A N D DS
27. A divided party cannot operate effectively in an election year. AS A N D DS
28. The National Party Convention is important for the Country because it provides a meeting place where compromises can be made on the national issues and the presidential candidates. AS A N D DS
29. Almost anything would be better than the two-party system as it exists today. AS A N D DS
30. Ordinary people can have very little say in what happens withing our major parties. AS A N D DS
31. Negotiations and compromises among the various party factions at the national convention is a good example of how the American political system has to work if it is to survive. AS A N D DS
32. Have you ever been a Democratic candidate for Public office?
1. \_\_\_\_ Yes
2. \_\_\_\_ No
33. If you have ever been elected to public office as a Democrat, will you please list the offices you have held and the terms of your incumbency?

Public Office Held		Dates of Incumbency From - To	
1.		From	To
2.		From	To
3.		From	To
4.		From	To

(cont.)

5.	From	To
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AS = Agree Strongly  
A = Agree Somewhat

N = Neither Agree  
nor disagree

D = Disagree Somewhat  
DS = Disagree Strongly

34. Most of the important decisions are made before the convention begins and the delegates do not really have the power to change these decisions. AS A N D DS
35. A candidate for the presidential nomination should be required to state his position on the big issues that divide the convention, so the delegates will know exactly where he stands before voting for him. AS A N D DS
36. The national convention may not be the best system for nominating presidential candidates, but it has worked well in the past so we should not change it for some other nominating system. AS A N D DS
37. Roll call votes tend to create disunity among the delegates, so the fewer there are the better. AS A N D DS
38. Have you ever been a candidate for an official position, or office within the Democratic party?
1. \_\_\_\_\_ Yes
2. \_\_\_\_\_ No
39. Within the Democratic Party there are many important offices to be filled, such as: County Chairman, State Chairman, and Precinct Committeeman.

Please list the party offices you have held, beginning with the first, and give the dates for each office. For example: County Chairman, 1956-1958; State Chairman, 1958-1962; Precinct Committeeman, 1962-1968. Remember, the important thing is to list all the party offices you have held, regardless of how accurate the dates are or in what order they appear.

Please turn to the next page where space has been provided for listing the Democratic party offices you have held.



Democratic Party Position Held		Dates in Office From - To	
1.		From	To
2.		From	To
3.		From	To
4.		From	To
5.		From	To
6.		From	To
7.		From	To
8.		From	To
9.		From	To
10.		From	To

AS = Agree Strongly  
A = Agree Somewhat

N = Neither Agree  
nor Disagree

D = Disagree Somewhat  
DS = Disagree Strongly

40. Contrary to what some people think party platforms are simply designed to get votes. AS A N D DS
41. When you really get down to it, most of the delegates at the convention are told what to do by the candidates and their campaign organizations. AS A N D DS
42. One of the most important tasks facing the delegate is to try and settle the differences that divide the party at the time the convention is held. AS A N D DS
43. With all its faults, the national convention still manages to write a platform and nominate candidates that all good Democrats in the party can support. AS A N D DS
44. The fewer serious contenders there are for the presidential nomination, the better it is for the delegates and the party. AS A N D DS

45. Most convention decisions are decided  
by the political bosses from the big  
state delegations.

AS A N D DS

Altogether at the 1968 Convention there were nine roll call votes taken of the whole convention on nine different matters which came before the convention for a vote. Many of the questions at the convention were decided by voice vote, but we are interested only in the roll call votes. Rather than ask if you voted "yes" or "no" we are going to give a brief description of the question as it was put to the convention delegates and ask how you, as a convention delegate, voted on each question. In this way we hope it will be easier for you to mark the exact position which you voted on each of these questions. Please mark only those roll calls on which your vote was actually recorded.

The first roll call votes involved the report of the Credentials Committee.

46. First Roll Call Vote. On Monday evening, August 26, the question was put to the delegates on whether to proceed to consider credential disputes that evening, or to delay considering them until the next day, Tuesday, August, 27th. How did you actually vote on this question?

1. ☐ I voted to go on, and consider these credential disputes Monday evening.
2. ☐ I voted to delay considering them until the next day, Tuesday.
3. ☐ I abstained from voting.
4. ☐ I was absent and did not vote.

47. Second Roll Call Vote. The next question put before the delegates was on whether to seat the Texas delegation headed by Governor John Connolly, or to seat another Texas delegation headed by Senator Ralph Yarborough.

1. ☐ I voted to seat the the delegation headed by Governor Connolly.
2. ☐ I voted to seat the delegation headed by Senator Yarborough.
3. ☐ I abstained.
4. ☐ I was absent

48. Third Roll Call Vote. The next credentials dispute involved the Georgia delegation. You will recall that the compromise giving one-half of the delegation seats to the regular Georgia delegation, and one-half of the seats to the Georgia Loyal National Democrats delegation, headed by Julian Bond, was passed by voice vote. The third roll call, however, was on a motion to seat all of the Georgia Loyal National Democrats, headed by Julian Bond, and none of the regular Georgia delegation.

1. \_\_\_\_\_ I voted in favor of seating all of the Georgia Loyal National Democrats, headed by Julian Bond, and none of the regular Georgia Delegation.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ I voted in favor of seating the regular Georgia Delegation, and against replacing them with the Bond delegation.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ I abstained.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ I was absent.

49. Fourth Roll Call Vote. The next credentials dispute involved the Alabama delegation. Once again the question was on whether to seat the regular Alabama delegation, or to replace them with the insurgent delegation.

1. \_\_\_\_\_ I voted to seat the regular Alabama delegation.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ I voted to seat the insurgent delegation.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ I abstained.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ I was absent.

The vote on Alabama ended the credentials disputes, and the next roll call votes were taken on the questions of unit rule, and increasing the size of the Democratic National Committee.

50. The Fifth Roll Call Vote was on the question of delegate selection for the 1972 Convention, and on abolishing "unit rule voting" within the Democratic party right on down to the precinct level.

1. \_\_\_\_\_ I voted in favor of abolishing the unit rule.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ I voted in favor of retaining the unit rule.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ I abstained.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ I was absent.

51. Sixth Roll Call Vote. The motion was made to increase the size of the Democratic National Committee by adding State Party Chairmen and the Presidents of State Young Democrats Organization as members.

1. \_\_\_\_\_ I voted in favor of increasing the size of the National Committee.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ I voted against increasing the size of the National Committee.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ I abstained.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ I was absent.

52. Seventh Roll Call Vote. When the 1968 Democratic Platform was presented to the Convention Delegates, a minority report on Vietnam was also presented. On this question it was possible to vote in favor of the Platform as it came out of the Committee, or it was possible to vote in favor of the minority report.

1. \_\_\_\_\_ I voted in favor of the Platform as it came out of the Platform Committee.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ I voted in favor of the Minority report.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ I abstained.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ I was absent.

53. Eighth Roll Call Vote. This was the vote for the nomination for President. For whom did you vote?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ Vice-president Hubert Humphrey
2. \_\_\_\_\_ Senator Eugene McCarthy
3. \_\_\_\_\_ Senator George McGovern
4. \_\_\_\_\_ Reverend Channing Phillips
5. \_\_\_\_\_ Governor Dan Moore
6. \_\_\_\_\_ Senator Edward Kennedy
7. \_\_\_\_\_ Abstained
8. \_\_\_\_\_ Absent

54. Ninth Roll Call Vote. On the vote for the nomination for Vice-President,

1. \_\_\_\_\_ I voted for Senator Edmund Muskie.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ I voted for someone other than Senator Muskie.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ Abstained.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ Absent.

55. If a delegate to the convention finds himself in fundamental disagreement with the nominees of the convention, then he should:

1. \_\_\_\_\_ Sit out the campaign.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ Seriously consider setting up another convention, to nominate candidates he can agree with.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ Accept the decision of the convention and work to elect the democratic ticket.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ Work to elect the Republican ticket.

AS = Agree Strongly  
A = Agree Somewhat

N = Neither Agree  
nor disagree

D = Disagree Somewhat  
DS = Disagree Strongly

56. One of the important things for a delegate to consider when voting for a presidential candidate is whether or not they know him personally, or can expect to have access to him after he is elected. AS A N D DS
57. Convention delegates should never forget that the main goal of the National Convention is to win the Presidential election in November. AS A N D DS
58. When party unity is at stake, a delegate should be willing to go along with a majority of the delegates, rather than risk splitting the party. AS A N D DS
59. Delegates to the national convention should be chosen on the basis of where they stand on the issues rather than on any other criteria. AS A N D DS
60. Most convention delegates are interested only in pursuing their own personal political advantage by what they do at the convention. AS A N D DS

61. For a delegate, voting for the candidate with whom he agrees on the big issues is better than voting for a candidate he thinks can win. AS A N D DS

62. Are you in favor of nominating presidential candidates through a National Direct Presidential Primary election?

1. \_\_\_\_ Yes

2. \_\_\_\_ No

63. How did it happen that you became a delegate to the 1968 Democratic Convention? (For example, "I was appointed by the State Chairman," or "I was elected by the State Convention," or, "I was elected in the primary in my district, or State," etc.)

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64. How long have you lived in the state from which you were a delegate?

1. 0-5 years \_\_\_\_

2. 6-10 years \_\_\_\_

3. 11-15 years \_\_\_\_

4. 16-25 years \_\_\_\_

5. 26-40 years \_\_\_\_

6. 40-60 years \_\_\_\_

7. More than 60 years \_\_\_\_

AS = Agree Strongly  
A = Agree Somewhat

N = Neither Agree  
nor disagree

D = Disagree Somewhat  
DS = Disagree Strongly

65. Every delegate must be willing to be bound by a majority vote on all questions that come to the convention floor. AS A N D DS

66. When delegates disagree, they should be willing to get together and talk about their differences, and arrive at some mutually acceptable solution. AS A N D DS
67. Individual delegates are powerless in the face of the convention leadership and machinery, and it does not matter much what they do or believe. AS A N D DS
68. A person should earn the right to be a delegate to the national convention by responsibility and actively serving the party on the state and local level. AS A N D DS
69. A delegate has to be more concerned about party unity than about any one particular platform plank. AS A N D DS
70. On the big issues at the National Convention do you think a delegate has a responsibility generally:
- \_\_\_\_\_ To vote according to his own conscience  
(or)  
\_\_\_\_\_ To vote to represent the people back home
71. When a delegate goes to the convention should he be working to:
- \_\_\_\_\_ Support his favorite candidate  
(or)  
\_\_\_\_\_ Get on the bandwagon of the likely winner
- AS = Agree Strongly      N = Neither agree      D = Disagree Somewhat  
A = Agree Somewhat      nor disagree      DS = Disagree Strongly
72. It is the responsibility of the delegate to support the nominee of the convention, even if it is not his favorite candidate. AS A N D DS
73. On controversial questions it is better for the party leaders to meet privately and decide what to do, than for the question to be decided by the whole convention in front of the T.V. cameras. AS A N D DS
74. Some issues, like Vietnam and Civil Rights are so important that a delegate should be unwilling to compromise on them regardless of the consequences. AS A N D DS

75. Newcomers to politics who are too interested AS A N D DS  
in the issues do not make good delegates to the  
national convention.
76. A group of delegates who are unwilling to AS A N D DS  
compromise, can disrupt the convention,  
divide the party, and lose the election.
77. For whom did you vote in the November election?
1. \_\_\_\_ Humphrey-Muskie.
  2. \_\_\_\_ Nixon-Agnew.
  3. \_\_\_\_ Someone else. Please specify \_\_\_\_\_
78. What is the last school grade or year you completed?
1. \_\_\_\_ No Schooling.
  2. \_\_\_\_ Grammar School (1-8 years)
  3. \_\_\_\_ Some High School (9-11 years)
  4. \_\_\_\_ Completed High School (12 years)
  5. \_\_\_\_ Some college
  6. \_\_\_\_ College graduate
  7. \_\_\_\_ Higher than college
79. What is your age?
- \_\_\_\_\_
80. How would you describe your occupation or profession? (For  
example: lawyer, housewife, business man, labor leader,  
retired high school teacher, state government employee, etc.)
- \_\_\_\_\_



81. What is your annual income?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ Under \$3,000
2. \_\_\_\_\_ \$3,000 to \$4,999
3. \_\_\_\_\_ \$5,000 to \$7,499
4. \_\_\_\_\_ \$7,500 to \$9,999
5. \_\_\_\_\_ \$10,000 to \$14,999
6. \_\_\_\_\_ \$15,000 to \$24,999
7. \_\_\_\_\_ \$25,000 to \$50,000
8. \_\_\_\_\_ Over \$50,000

82. Please indicate:

\_\_\_\_\_ Male  
\_\_\_\_\_ Female

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

If there is anything you would like to add at this point, or any remarks you would like to make either with regard to this questionnaire or any of the questions on it, then you are invited to do so in the space below, and if need be, on the back of the last page.

See Plan

Mary Allen at night  
vocative - Ed.

Sheldon, Robt P.

Aug 30, 1966

Call Mr. Eager at 9:30  
or 10 and Monday.

Tuesday

Eastern Flight 544  
Leave Montg 7:40 a.m.

Leave 7:40

Jet from Atlanta to Wash 12:43

Res. at Pick Lee House

See Sparkman the afternoon.

R-264-2481-054

How long 4:00 P M  
Hester Carter

Steering Committee (Continued)

Quite a few questions were asked by members of our Committee. These questions brought out that the Community Action Committee would like to work with the Board of Education in carrying out their program.

Mr. Blount stated that he thought it would be good for the Commissioners' Committee to encourage the Board of Education to work with the Community Action Program. This thought was agreed on by several.

After Mr. Sheldon's presentation, new business was called for - Dr. Hardy ask about the progress of the Oak Street sidewalk work. Mayor James gave some of the problems that have been run into; stating that some of the work would start in the near future.

Mr. Tom Jones gave the benediction.

The meeting was adjourned at 6:15.

Respectfully submitted,

William H. Eagar  
Information-Co-ordinator  
City of Montgomery,  
Alabama