

The modern convention era began with literally the 1960 campaign. That campaign is interesting because you have two insurgent candidates. You have a candidate on the Republican side, a former Vice President – current Vice President actually – in Richard Nixon, and the model for one kind of campaign – a guy who was literally chosen by inside players. There are no primaries – people forget the Democrats and Republicans both had limited primaries. In 1968, the first modern primary takes place in March in New Hampshire. There is no Iowa caucus. What's interesting about that is that the candidate who chose to run there in the primary against an incumbent President, who is Lyndon Johnson – is Eugene McCarthy. Gene McCarthy shows up in New Hampshire in December of 1967 to announce his campaign for President in the primary of March of 1968. Today, the day after this presidential election ends, whether Obama wins or loses, whether Romney wins or loses, there will be a campaign headquarters open for Iowa and New Hampshire for four years from now. So you're talking about this tiny, literally tiny period of time. On top of that, even though he announced in December of 1967, he didn't come back to New Hampshire until 1968! So literally, one month was lost in that process. And you could run a presidential campaign, an insurgent campaign if you will, in that process. There were very few other campaigns. I worked for Bobby Kennedy as a very young man in 1968 and he went to Indiana and won. He went to Oregon and lost. And then of course the famous race in California which was the big showdown with McCarthy in which he won and made the famous speech about going onto the convention. Well the truth was, the convention didn't have enough people who were chosen by delegates. Jumping back to 1960, as he well knew because of his brother, the idea of a Catholic President being elected, was still in many people's minds an impossibility, based on what had happened back in 1928, the last time a Catholic President[ial nominee] was nominated. In this case, Al Smith was crushed in one of the most virulent anti-Catholic campaigns ever. Lo, these twenty some odd years later, there were many people who said, "if Kennedy is the nominee, we're going to have the same problem." So he was going into a convention where he knew that if the decision got made in the back rooms of the convention, he was not coming out the winner. He had to do enough in the limited number of primaries that existed - Wisconsin, West Virginia, New Hampshire – to be able to show that he could get votes among Protestant voters. That was what was important. The convention, in a sense, then was a battle between whether they could stop Kennedy. That's all that convention in 1960 was about. By 1968 with Bobby Kennedy, there were people who believed, as I did at the time, that

if Bobby Kennedy could get to the convention, and somehow Richard Daley, the party boss from Chicago, would be willing to walk away from Lyndon Johnson, and his position on the Vietnam war, that Bobby Kennedy could steal that convention. Looking back now, with the number of years and experiences that I had had, it probably was a dream anyway. The idea that Lyndon Johnson was going to allow Daley to – Daley would've seen it in his interest – even though he was a huge Kennedy supporter in 1960, to be with Bobby Kennedy in 1968, made no sense. But it was a nice dream.