

We always think of a team going out on the field, so many people compare things to sports events. And what they're going to do is they're going to go out on the field and they're going to play and we cheer our team home. Most people don't realize – and television helps give insight to this – the enormous team that you never see. It's backstage. It's the scouts that go to these obscure high schools to see future great players – who go to the Dominican Republic if you're in baseball. We go through this list of things and now because of sports TV, we know about the background work and the backroom work than we ever knew in the past. Politics is really no different. It's a team sport of sorts. The difference is, the implications are so profound and they affect literally the lives and the health and the future of so many people around the world. And we don't always appreciate it.

For example, in West Virginia, Kennedy talked a lot about being a veteran. And the obvious comparison made by the secondary team that came in was that Hubert Humphrey had never served. That in West Virginia, which had the highest participation in the military of any state in the United States, had a real resonance, you wouldn't believe. I remember introductions in chapels. As a matter of fact, it was the Manchin brothers – I think this is their son or grandson now in the Senate - used to do an introduction – the introduction was absolutely beautiful. If I can do it without choking up – You'd be in the church and they had a candle, a bible, a flag and Kennedy's book on courage – *Profiles in Courage*. They'd stand up and say "I hold in my hand the bible, the holy word of God. And I put that bible on the table and I swear before this audience and God that every word I say is true." And then they'd lift the American flag up and talk about the red, the white, the blue – the blood of our...And then he would take the book, *Profiles in Courage* and he'd say, "Then a profile in courage." Boom, and the lights went out. And he would light a candle. "This is Kennedy." The impact that kind of thing had on small groups of people from the hollow...By the way, what followed of course was free food. You couldn't miss this. If you could bring spiritual uplift, political gravity, and food in a place that was as poor as West Virginia was in 1960, it was just breathtaking. And it was done in a way that was unique to West Virginia.

I was on the floor and they were going around and they were getting ready for the night for the vote of the nomination for President. And that was a really really tough time, because what they were doing was the votes were extremely close. Larry O'Brien, who was Kennedy's political director really did know how to count. And Lyndon Johnson had really relied on political

muscle. And political muscle was going to deliver the day for him. And he was stunned that the political muscle didn't really work with the ordinary, new participants of the convention. And, a number of those participants were organizational people who were very, very tough, and they were with Kennedy. So for the first time, you had a match of talent and if you will ruthlessness meeting each other on the floor. That was quite frankly – this was like the gladiators meeting in the arena. And the American people are watching and I think it went down to the last state, added to the excitement. And that was the last convention that I remember that was contested, and that it was the old meeting the new, not so much just in candidates but in process.

Well I think when we talk about muscle, and I talk sometimes about the toughness of the people who participate and the seriousness in which they take this. I'm going to change the names of the people, to protect the guilty and the situation to some degree. But the commissioner was going around and doing a survey seeing how people were going to vote on the second ballot in the convention in '60. And what they were looking for was Lyndon Johnson or John Kennedy. Now this state, the first ballot, they were supposed to vote for Kennedy. So they were looking for the second ballot. And he came up to this particular gentleman and he said, "Sir, we're looking for your vote on the second ballot." And "Arthur" looked at the commissioner and said, "Commissioner, I never voted for a Catholic in my life. And I'm not going to start today. I'm not going to vote for him on the first ballot and I'm sure as hell not going to vote for him on the second." And the commissioner was wearing glasses, took his glasses off, set them down, looked at "Arthur" leaned forward and said, "Arthur, we've known each other a long time. And you know my word is good. If you don't vote for Kennedy on the first ballot, you won't go back home alive." And he started to turn and Arthur said, "Commissioner, commissioner! I was just funning you!" And he turned and he said, "Lousy joke. I'm going to count you for the second ballot too." And as he took too more steps, as he put his glasses back on he said to nobody, "Well that's \$1500 saved." So I think what came onto me – it took me awhile to process this – this was very serious business. It had nothing to do with the convention in and of itself. It was the relationships of power and commitment when there are no contracts. It's all handshakes and it's based on, if you would – a form of honor. And a violation of that honor could be dealt with in a number of different ways depending on where you lived and the people you were dealing with.

In Chicago, there was a rumor going around as to who was going to be Hubert Humphrey's vice president, and who would even compete with him for President. And there was a concern that there might be someone nominated outside of McCarthy who would really confuse everybody. And then the question was, how do you put the party back together again? Because everyone understood it was fractured. Well you had Robert Kennedy's assassination, and we're going to keep in mind – remember, Martin Luther King first and Robert Kennedy second, had created a climate. And then, talking about the anti-war movement, which was a level of civil disruption that really went beyond the civil rights demonstrations. And again they were saying "Your sons, your daughters." And then of course, the Chicago police and they called out the National Guard; their reaction to this was really over the top to say the least. Our delegation was there, and they were having a grand time, and it was pretty clear there was no conspiracy going on, and so there was an enormous sense of relief. I stayed with them, figuring I would at least get some feedback with what was going on there. I ran back to the convention and I ran into two people who were very active, who were trying to line up delegates for Ted Kennedy at the convention. And I said to them very directly, "Did the Senator authorize you to do this?" "This has gotta be done!" [they responded]. And it was obvious that this was a unilateral decision that was done by them because they knew what was best for Senator Kennedy and for the country. But there was this talk. And what I finally did was, I talked to the Senator on the phone. And he said to me, "Well what do you think?" And I said to him, "Frankly, I wouldn't come. This place is total chaos, we can't guarantee anyone's security or safety. If you're going to come, give lead time so we can structure it and plan it but frankly," I said, "it's like getting into a chamber pod." I said, "I don't care whether you fell into it, stepped into it or dove into it, what you're going to be covered with will be the memory."

Of course in Chicago, what you really saw too, among other things, and I'd seen this in the past, was that virtually everyone who was there understood that politics and the political system was very much like playing in any athletic where you went down on Saturday and you had a pickup team. You played with different players each game. And you got to know each other – both as opponents and if you will – as teammates. And it made the game even more fun because you were keener and you felt you knew what you should be doing. '68 was that, but there was one ingredient that was unique: there were a number of players who basically didn't care. They're basically like talking to a kamikaze pilot. "I don't know whether they're going

to win the war or lose it. I know I'm going to die. I know I'm going to die trying and therefore I'm going to declare honor in this suicidal attack."

And what we did was we had a series of convention reforms and changes. And from that came the unintended consequence of saying we're no longer going to vet candidates – I mean I remember sitting in rooms – I wasn't a participant, I was holding someone's coat. But I was in the room and I'd heard, "What about 'Charlie Brown' for county commissioner?" And they'd say, "'Charlie' would steal a hot stove. He takes kickbacks from kids who have summer work. You don't want 'Charlie'." "Oh, okay. Well what about..." "He's a good guy, except for when he comes into the room I always grab my wife and say, 'You hold onto my arm and if he touches you, tell me.'" So you'd have that level of vetting, and very candid vetting, in the smoke-filled room. What we decided was, we'd rather do that publicly. And so we said to the media, clearly directed at the media, that they would do the vetting for the American public.

The caucuses are very similar, but what happens is it's driven often by ideologues, and people of interest both in the civic sense and in the political sense, of coming together. And how they're structured is simply that you're permitted to talk and there can be filibusters there where they know that certain people go home, and they're going to go home at 9 o'clock, and they all know each other who come there. Again, this is the original pickup team. Sometimes I'm with you, sometimes I'm not. But you know that I'm going home at 9 o'clock because I got up at 5 o'clock in the morning. I've got livestock to attend. I'm not sitting around there until midnight. And so when I see the thing going, I get up and I say "I'm not going to get heard here." And if I see that my vote probably isn't going to make a great deal of difference, I'm going to go home. And so there's a caucus strategy. But there's a legal structure to that, and there's the statewide system in how you set up your people to go to the caucuses and how you get out the vote to get the people to go and sit there. And so you need two mettles for the people you're going to bring there. The two mettles are a tin ear and a lead bottom. That they sit through, they listen, they persuade civilly, in a civil fashion – some of them get very upset. But that they stay and vote.

My responsibility there was on the podium. I remember repeatedly saying to then Governor Clinton, "Your speech is too long, Governor." Because he came up to rehearse it several times. And I said, "It's too long." And he said, "It's what the Dukakis campaign has asked for." I said, "He would not

ask you to violate the time.” I said, “You’re the only speaker for Governor Dukakis who is restricted on time.” I said, “Everyone else can talk forever, but you’re restricted, and Jackson’s people have already agreed to that.” So I said, “They’re going to speak first, you’re going to speak second, they’re going to protest you, sir.” He wouldn’t change it. So on the evening of the convention – of the nominating speech, he came up with his wife. I’m there and I said, “Governor. I’ve watched you rehearse. You’re one of the brightest, most gifted people I’ve seen since I’ve been going to conventions.” And he was. I said, “Governor, your speech is way out of line. Twenty-six minutes.” I said, “If that is not maintained, there will be a formal protest. You’re going to turn the convention into a chaotic situation, which I don’t think anyone needs.” And his wife’s standing there. And he said, “I know what I got to do.” So he went out there and the rest is history. And he was coming back and his wife was standing there with me. Oh by the way, while he’s speaking, toward the end, the chairman of the convention, Speaker Wright came over – walked behind him to come over to where we were and he said, “Cut him off.” Because we’re controlling the audio. And I said, “You can’t do that.” I said, “If you do that you’re really going to have another set of problems as chairman. There’s really no way.” And he’s speaking through gritted teeth because there were lip readers and you’re always on camera when you’re on the podium. Well the language was fascinating. He was from Texas and he must’ve assumed that I was the foreman that didn’t want to carry out the orders of the owner of the ranch. So he was trying to impress upon me his seriousness of intent. He was very upset. So the compromise was, I turned up the slights slowly and gradually. And as you turn up the lights, people talk more. Because when it’s dark, it’s tough to converse with your neighbor. Or you whisper if you need to talk to them. That brought the volume up. And of course the punch line was when he said, “And finally,” and that got the loudest round of applause. So anyway, he came back and I said, “Governor, we want to take some quick still pictures here.” And through my lips, I was saying to him and his wife, “I don’t have any film in the camera. The entire world press is waiting at the foot of the stairs and wants to know why you violated the rules of the convention. I want you to think about what you’re going to say when you get to the foot of the stairs.” He starts to talk to me, “Well look....” And his wife said, “Listen to the man, dear.” And it was fascinating – that was the first time I really took note of her. And he did stop. And I said, “All I want you to do is think about what you’re going to say and how you’re going to look when you say it. They’ll be right at the foot of the stairs.” And it was fascinating because the next time I saw him was at the next

convention in '92 and he comes along, he came across the floor, which no candidate had done before – they usually come from the back. And he came up across the floor and I'm standing in my usual spot and he looked at me and he said, "Jim King! Don't you ever leave this spot!" I tell you, I was absolutely ga-ga because four years I hadn't seen the man, he knew who I was, at a time like this where you're under incredible pressure. I thought to myself, I'm dealing here with a real pro.

We all got together, as Americans and watched one of three networks for all of our news. National and international, all through one. And if you looked at the three networks, because they were all on at the same time, competing with each other – about 80% of the material was the same on all nights. There might've been different personalities, but all the same. So information flowed from sources that were as a rule – very carefully done. Fairly objective because our local newspapers were so partisan so that it became if you will that this was the voice of truth on the tube. And we did it often as a family because television is so novel that we all came together to watch our shows and watch the news. Today, people don't even join each other for supper. It's diverse, it's fast food, we're eating, you turn on the TV, as I mentioned you don't hear the Star-Spangled Banner at sports events, it's on 24/7, you have a couple hundred channels to pick from, and at any given moment who's getting the news and how do you segment the message. So in many ways its easier, because if you wish to talk to young people of a certain age, you know where to go, if you want to talk to older – So the demographics and the slicing. But part of that sends out a confused message when you go across the horizon. Vertically, it's a good way to get information out. Horizontally, it's confusing. Because you're saying one thing to me...25 year olds are not really worried about healthcare. They might be worried about a pregnancy, but they're not worried about healthcare. But when you're talking to people over 60, you're talking healthcare. So it's interesting to note that on evening news, what's a substantial part of the commercials for the audience? "Buy our favored drug. It'll give you longer life. It will cure you. It will keep your blood from clotting and causing strokes." I don't think there's a lot of 32 year olds who really are interested in those commercials. So there's a message in what the commercials are as to who the audience is. That never happened until relatively recently. And then we've got the entire communication; the ordinary person of a given age has no idea what tweeting is. When you're talking about the average young person who sends an average of 90 tweets a day, when you talk about generating instant crowds, when you talk

about how the whole communications system has change so dramatically that you really have no framework for when you say, “Well let me tell you about the last convention.” You may as well be talking about how you put on a show for Julius Caesar. “We brought the gladiators and music. We had people coming in with tridents and nets. It was exciting stuff!” And someone tweets, “You won’t believe what King just said here.”

Charlotte, North Carolina. I mean, why would you be in Charlotte? Because North Carolina is a swing state. The President barely carried it. It’s essential to be in play for the President’s reelection. So if you can bring the message into that part of the country that becomes extremely important for the future, if it’s a positive event. And that’s a huge “if.” I’ll tell you the first thing, people are going to trickle in, and they’re not all arriving at once. When you get that many people in one place at one time, you’re pretty much spread out because I’m not sure the community can absorb that many people in short distances. So you’re going to have driving situations. You may have people who have beverages and then get into a vehicle. So it’s going to be – that net has to be thought about and I believe they’re thinking about it. You don’t need bad news. The other question of course, is security. When you bring that many people together for this kind of national and international event, and the President of the United States is there, that is an attraction for anyone and everyone who feels like they could have an opportunity to communicate from the site. “I can send you a direct message into Damascus, from Charlotte, the center of the world’s power right now. The President of the United States just drove by. And I’m here.” It creates a whole different kind of climate. And plus, the political are there hopefully to generate enthusiasm. Again, the site, I think is going to be interesting. I wouldn’t even comment on it. First of all, his people and the President are well organized, they continue to be disciplined. I’m sure he’s going to do an event similar to what he did in Denver, and that would be a large gathering of a group of people so that he shares himself with them as well as his ambition and his dreams for the future.