

**AMERICA'S**  
\* ELECTION HQ \*

# **2008 Democratic National Convention Brainroom Briefing Book**



## Table of Contents

CONVENTION BASICS .....	3
National Party Conventions .....	3
The Call.....	3
Convention Scheduling.....	3
What Happens at the Convention.....	3
DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS, 1832-2004.....	5
CONVENTION - DAY BY DAY.....	6
DAY ONE (August 25).....	6
DAY TWO (August 26).....	7
The Keynote Address.....	7
Democratic Keynote Speakers at National Conventions: 1900-2004.....	8
Hillary Clinton to Speak on Second Day .....	8
DAY THREE (August 27).....	11
The Nomination .....	12
Clinton's Name in Nomination.....	12
Balloting.....	13
Clinton Supporters at the Convention .....	14
DAY FOUR (August 28).....	15
Acceptance Speech .....	15
Adjournment.....	17
RELIGION AND THE CONVENTION.....	17
MEDIA, SECURITY, & HISTORY.....	19
Conventions and the Media .....	19
Security for the 2008 Democratic National Convention.....	19
Denver and the 1908 Democratic National Convention .....	21
CONVENTION ORGANIZATION .....	22
Permanent Chair.....	22
Convention Committees.....	22
THE PLATFORM.....	24
Key points in the 2008 Democratic platform.....	25
The Primaries.....	26
The Delegates.....	26
What about Florida and Michigan? .....	27
FINANCING THE CONVENTIONS .....	28
Public Funds to the Parties.....	28
Raising Money for the Conventions.....	28
THE CONVENTION BOUNCE IN THE POLLS .....	30
BIOGRAPHY – Sen. Barack Obama (D–Ill.) .....	33
ENDNOTES.....	35

## **CONVENTION BASICS**

### **National Party Conventions**

National party conventions used to be gripping affairs full of political horse-trading in smoke-filled rooms, but modern party conventions have evolved into back-slapping parties to crown a predetermined nominee.

Prior to the 1970s, backroom politicking among party powerbrokers was the norm, especially among opposing factions vying to get their choice of vice presidential nominee onto the ticket.

The last time the actual White House nominee was selected at a "brokered convention" was in 1952, when Adlai Stevenson emerged victorious as the Democratic champion. He lost the election.

The Democrats also gave us the most chaotic convention of the last century, when, in Chicago in 1968, police and protestors fought running battles at the tumultuous height of the Vietnam War.

The modern primary process has ensured that one candidate has emerged on top well before the conventions -- although Clinton's dogged challenge this year prolonged the Democratic race into June.

Absent any doubt over the nominee's identity, the conventions have become showcases of what image the parties want to project to the nation, and an excuse for a week-long orgy of partying mixed with debate about pet causes.

Conventions have become "highly stylized" and follow a well-thumbed script that climaxes on the last night with a biographical video of the nominee and then his acceptance speech.<sup>1</sup> Conventions are effectively a four-night miniseries before an audience of 20 million people or more.<sup>2</sup>

### **The Call**

The official "call" to the convention, customarily issued by the national committees of the two major parties some 18 months in advance, announces the dates and site of the national convention.

### **Convention Scheduling**

Since 1952, all conventions had been held in July or August.

The 2008 Democratic National Convention will be held August 25-28.

In 2004, the Republican National Convention lasted until September 2. The 2008 Republican National Convention will be held September 1-4.

In a tradition that dates to 1932, the party out of power has convened first, usually about a month before the party holding the Presidency.

In the run-up to both conventions, many are speculating about the impact of the Olympics. The Games end on Sunday, August 24, the day before the Democrats convene in Denver. No party has held its national convention during the Summer Olympics since 1952, when the Democrats nominated Adlai Stevenson in Chicago while the Games were going on in Helsinki, Finland.

And since 1972, the only time that the Games preceded both conventions was 1996.<sup>3</sup>

### **What Happens at the Convention**

National conventions combine three important functions:

- 1) Nomination of candidates for the office of President and Vice President;
- 2) Formulation and adoption of a statement of party principles—the platform;
- 3) Adoption of rules and procedures governing party activities, particularly the nomination process for presidential candidates in the next election cycle.

The first nominating convention by one of what emerged as our two major parties—the Democrats—was held in Baltimore, Maryland, between May 21 and 23, 1832.

Party conventions have largely become ratifying bodies that confer the nomination on the candidate who won it in state contests.

The nomination is conferred on the candidate who holds a majority of delegates at the party convention, but under the present system for choosing delegates one candidate is likely to emerge with a majority by the end of the primary season, if not sooner, and well before the convention meets.

The 1976 Republican National Convention in Kansas City was the most recent one at which the determination of a major party's nominee was in any real doubt before the nominating ballots were cast. In 1976, President Ford prevailed over Ronald Reagan by 1187 votes to 1070 votes.

The last Democratic Convention to go beyond one ballot occurred in 1952, when Adlai Stevenson won on the third ballot; the 1948 Republican Convention went to a third ballot before New York Governor Thomas E. Dewey won the nomination.

**DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS, 1832-2004**

<b>Year</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Presidential Nominee</b>	<b>Ballots</b>
1832	Baltimore	May 21-23	Andrew Jackson	1
1835	Baltimore	May 20-23	Martin Van Buren	1
1840	Baltimore	May 5-6	Martin Van Buren	1
1844	Baltimore	May 27-29	James K. Polk	9
1848	Baltimore	May 22-25	Lewis Cass	4
1852	Baltimore	June 1-5	Franklin Pierce	49
1856	Cincinnati	June 2-6	James Buchanan	17
1860	Charleston	April 23-May 3	Deadlocked	57
1860	Baltimore	June 18-23	Stephan A. Douglas	2
1864	Chicago	August 29-31	George McClellan	1
1868	New York	July 4-9	Horatio Seymour	22
1872	Baltimore	July 9-10	Horace Greeley	1
1876	St. Louis	June 27-29	Samuel J. Tilden	2
1880	Cincinnati	June 22-24	Winfield S. Hancock	2
1884	Chicago	July 8-11	Grover Cleveland	2
1888	St. Louis	June 5-7	Grover Cleveland	1
1892	Chicago	June 21-23	Grover Cleveland	1
1896	Chicago	July 7-11	William J. Bryan	5
1900	Kansas City	July 4-6	William J. Bryan	1
1904	St. Louis	July 6-9	Alton S. Parker	1
1908	Denver	July 7-10	William J. Bryan	1
1912	Baltimore	June 25-July 2	Woodrow Wilson	46
1916	St. Louis	June 14-16	Woodrow Wilson	1
1920	San Francisco	June 28-July 6	James M. Cox	13
1924	New York	June 24-July 9	John W. Davis	103
1928	Houston	June 26-29	Alfred E. Smith	1
1932	Chicago	June 27-July 2	Franklin D. Roosevelt	4
1936	Philadelphia	June 23-27	Franklin D. Roosevelt	acclamation
1940	Chicago	July 15-18	Franklin D. Roosevelt	1
1944	Chicago	July 19-21	Franklin D. Roosevelt	1
1948	Philadelphia	July 12-14	Harry S. Truman	1
1952	Chicago	July 21-26	Adlai E. Stevenson	3
1956	Chicago	August 13-17	Adlai E. Stevenson	1
1960	Los Angeles	July 11-15	John F. Kennedy	1
1964	Atlantic City	August 24-27	Lyndon B. Johnson	acclamation
1968	Chicago	August 26-29	Hubert H. Humphrey	1
1972	Miami Beach	July 10-13	George McGovern	1
1976	New York	July 12-15	Jimmy Carter	1
1980	New York	August 11-14	Jimmy Carter	1
1984	San Francisco	July 16-19	Walter Mondale	1
1988	Atlanta	July 18-21	Michael Dukakis	1
1992	New York	July 13-16	Bill Clinton	1
1996	Chicago	August 26-29	Bill Clinton	1
2000	Los Angeles	August 14-17	Albert Gore, Jr.	1
2004	Boston	July 26-29	John F. Kerry	1

Source: National Party Conventions: 1831-2004 | 2005 | CQ Press

## **CONVENTION - DAY BY DAY**

### **Day by Day in Brief**

Contemporary national conventions are generally held over a four-day period.

Both parties observe similar schedules.

A number of films honoring party officials will be shown during the convention.

At this year's Democratic convention there will be a film featuring the candidate in all-American scenes by Davis Guggenheim — the director of "An Inconvenient Truth" whose father produced a similar biographical film for Robert F. Kennedy. The film by Guggenheim is expected to be steeped in Americana; parts of it were filmed while Mr. Obama was campaigning in the Rockwellesque town of Butte, Mont.<sup>4</sup>

A continuing procession of party notables offer short speeches throughout the proceedings.

Clergymen from various denominations offer invocations and benedictions to open and close each session.

The Convention will gavel open at 3:00 PM Mountain/5:00 PM Eastern and gavel down at 9:00 PM Mountain/11:00 PM Eastern, Monday through Wednesday, August 25th –27th.

### **DAY ONE (August 25)**

Theme: One Nation.<sup>5</sup> The day will focus on Obama's life story.<sup>6</sup>

Monday's headline prime-time speaker will be Michelle Obama, the candidate's wife.<sup>7</sup>

Michelle Obama will be introduced by her brother, Craig Robinson, a former basketball star at Princeton and now coach at Oregon State.

Barack Obama's half-sister, Maya Soetoro-Ng, also will have a role.<sup>8</sup>

Monday night will also feature a tribute to Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy, a party icon now battling brain cancer.<sup>9</sup> Sen. Kennedy has taped a five-minute video to air during the party gathering.<sup>10</sup>

With Sen. Kennedy battling a brain tumor, Monday night's tribute could be an emotional high point, especially if the senator is well enough to speak.<sup>11</sup>

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi will be recognized for helping lead the Democratic Party back to power in Congress.<sup>12</sup>

#### **First Day Speakers** (not in order of speaking):

- Michelle Obama, the candidate's wife
- House Speaker Nancy Pelosi
- DNC Chairman Howard Dean
- Missouri Sen. Claire McCaskill
- Denver Mayor John Hickenlooper
- Craig Robinson, Michelle Obama's older brother<sup>13</sup>
- Maya Soetoro-Ng, Obama's half-sister
- Rep. Jesse Jackson Jr. (D-IL)
- Former President Jimmy Carter

- Minnesota Senator Amy Klobuchar
- Miami Mayor Manny Diaz
- Illinois state leaders Alexi Giannoulis, Dan Hynes, Lisa Madigan
- Tom Balanoff from Illinois SEIU
- Jerry Kellman
- NEA President Reg Weaver
- AFT President Randi Weingarten
- NARAL Pro-Choice America President Nancy Keenan

### **One Nation (Obama's life story) – Speakers and Themes**

Colorado Governor Bill Ritter, Jr. and Denver Mayor John Hickenlooper will highlight the setting of the Convention and the importance of the Mountain West to the Democratic Party.<sup>14</sup>

Speaker Pelosi and Senator McCaskill will speak late in the program about the values of the Democratic Party, the efforts to take America in a New Direction and to reach out to all voters, in particular new voters, Independents and Republicans, to get the country moving in the right direction at this critical time.

Maya Soetero-Ng, Barack's sister, will talk about her brother's life and the experiences that have shaped him as a leader. Craig Robinson, Michelle Obama's older brother, will introduce his sister, Michelle Obama, who will be Monday's headline speaker in prime-time.<sup>15</sup>

The first day of a national convention is generally devoted to routine business.

The convention is called to order by the national party chair, the roll of delegations is called, and the temporary chair is elected.

Welcoming speeches are delivered by the mayor of the host city and often the governor of the state in which the convention is held.

Committee appointments, which have been previously announced, are ratified.

The Democrats generally install permanent convention officers at the first session.

### **DAY TWO (August 26)**

Theme: Renewing America's Promise.<sup>16</sup> The day will be devoted to economic issues.<sup>17</sup>

The Aug. 26 convention program will feature speakers who share "Obama's concerns and support his detailed economic plan to grow the economy, create jobs, restore fairness, and expand opportunity," according to the Obama campaign.<sup>18</sup>

### **The Keynote Address**

The 2008 Keynote speaker is former Virginia governor and U.S. Senate candidate Mark R. Warner.

The keynote address sets the themes and tone of the convention and often of the general election campaign to follow. Keynote speakers are usually prominent office holders or party officials, chosen because of their national appeal and speaking ability, or because they may be viewed as "rising stars" in the party.

The keynote address is highly partisan in tone and content. It extols the party record and the incumbent President, when the party holds the White House. It attacks the opposition candidates, policies, and record.

Mark Warner, the popular former governor is widely considered the front-runner to replace retiring Republican Sen. John W. Warner in a race that could help further solidify Virginia's gradual shift toward becoming a more Democratic state.

Warner, who considered running for president, is running against former governor James S. Gilmore III (R). He has taken his name out of consideration to be Obama's running mate.<sup>19</sup>

Warner is expected to stress how he won support in Republican regions of rural Virginia by listening to the needs and struggles of ordinary voters.<sup>20</sup>

No Democratic presidential candidate has carried the Virginia since 1964, but recent polls of Virginia voters show the race between Obama and McCain in a close race.<sup>21</sup>

Three months before the November election, Democrats and Republicans are pouring money, paid staff and other resources into Virginia, considered one of the nation's newest battleground states. On Aug. 13, Obama announced he is opening his 33rd office in Virginia.<sup>22</sup>

Mike DuHaime, McCain's political director, said Aug. 14 that the presidential contest in Virginia will "undoubtedly be close" this fall and acknowledged that the state should no longer be considered a Republican stronghold. "Basically you are looking at an even race in Virginia," DuHaime said.<sup>23</sup>

#### **Democratic Keynote Speakers at National Conventions: 1900-2004**

- **1900** Charles S. Thomas CO
- **1904** John Sharp Williams MS
- **1908** Theodore A. Bell CA
- **1912** Alton B. Parker NY
- **1916** Martin S. Glynn NY
- **1920** Homer S. Cummings CT
- **1924** Pat Harrison MS
- **1928** Claude G. Bowers IN
- **1932** Alben W. Barkley KY
- **1936** Alben W. Barkley KY
- **1940** William B. Bankhead AL
- **1944** Robert S. Kerr OK
- **1948** Alben W. Barkley KY
- **1952** Paul A. Dever MA
- **1956** Frank G. Clement TN
- **1960** Frank Church ID
- **1964** John O. Pastore RI
- **1968** Daniel K. Inouye HI
- **1972** Reubin Askew FL
- **1976** John Glenn OH, Barbara Jordan TX
- **1980** Morris K. Udall AZ
- **1984** Mario M. Cuomo NY
- **1988** Ann Richards TX
- **1992** Bill Bradley NJ, Barbara Jordan TX, Zell Miller GA
- **1996** Evan Bayh IN
- **2000** Harold Ford, Jr. TN
- **2004** Barack Obama

The keynote speaker slot has been a decidedly mixed blessing for aspiring politicians.

In 1984, New York Gov. Mario Cuomo's stirring address catapulted him to national fame.

In 1988, Texas Treasurer Ann Richards earned raves for her mocking speech when she said then-Vice President George Bush was born with a silver foot in his mouth.

In 1996 in Chicago, then-Indiana Gov. Evan Bayh's speech was a benign event, as was Tennessee Rep. Harold Ford Jr.'s speech in 2000.

In 2004, Illinois State Sen. Barack Obama gave a speech that launched the U.S. Senate candidate to national prominence. The speech vaulted Obama into the national spotlight and began the momentum that led to his presidential candidacy.<sup>24</sup>

#### **Hillary Clinton to Speak on Second Day**

Warner's appearance will immediately precede a much-anticipated speech by Sen. Clinton, the runner-up in the race for the Democratic presidential nomination.<sup>25</sup>

Clinton has been listed by the convention committee as the "headline prime-time speaker" on Tuesday night: her address will not be the keynote address.<sup>26</sup>

Clinton is expected to speak of her historic bid to become the first female nominee of a major party, as well as the nation's economic challenges.<sup>27</sup>

Clinton will get the last word as the final prime-time speaker just before 11 p.m. ET.<sup>28</sup>

Aug. 26 is the 88th anniversary of the 19th Amendment, which gave women the right to vote.<sup>29</sup>

**Second Day Speakers** (not in order of speaking):

- U.S. Senate candidate Mark R. Warner (Keynote)
- Sen. Hillary Clinton (D-NY)<sup>30</sup>
- Gov. Kathleen Sebelius (KS)
- Gov. Janet Napolitano (Ariz.)
- Gov. Ted Strickland (Ohio)
- Gov. Edward G. Rendell (Pa.)
- Gov. Deval L. Patrick (Mass.)
- Gov. Brian Schweitzer (Mont.)
- Sen. Robert P. Casey Jr. (D-PA)
- Federico Peña, former mayor of Denver and former secretary of energy and transportation
- House Majority Leader Steny Hoyer (MD)
- House Democratic Caucus Chairman Rahm Emanuel (IL)
- Rep. Nydia Velazquez, New York
- Rep. Linda Sanchez, California
- Rep. Tammy Baldwin, Wisconsin
- Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton, Washington, D.C.
- Rep. Mike Honda, Calif.
- Rep. Xavier Becerra
- Rep. Chris Van Hollen of Maryland, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee
- Lilly Ledbetter, lost a pay-equity case against Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co. before the Supreme Court<sup>31</sup>
- Vermont Senator Patrick Leahy
- West Virginia Governor Joe Manchin, Chair of the Democratic Governors' Association
- Iowa Governor Chet Culver
- Wisconsin Governor Jim Doyle
- California State Controller John Chiang
- Change to Win's Anna Burger
- AFL-CIO President John Sweeney
- Planned Parenthood of America President Cecile Richards

### **Renewing America's Promise (Economic Policy) – Speakers and Themes**

Convention Co-Chair Kansas Governor Kathleen Sebelius and Arizona Governor Janet Napolitano will outline Obama's detailed economic plan to grow the economy, create jobs, restore fairness and expand opportunity.

Governors Ted Strickland of Ohio and Ed Rendell of Pennsylvania will discuss how the failed policies of the last eight years have betrayed our values and left an economy out of balance.

On the subject of the middle class, Speakers like Senator Bob Casey, Jr. of Pennsylvania and Governor Deval Patrick of Massachusetts will share how Obama's policies have been directly shaped by the people he has met as he traveled the country.

Building on Obama's New Economy with New Energy message, Governor Brian Schweitzer of Montana and Federico Peña, former Mayor of Denver and Secretary of both Energy and Transportation, will speak about the nexus between energy and the economy and highlight new and innovative policies to help working families in rural, urban and suburban communities.

Mark Warner, former Governor of Virginia, will deliver the Convention's keynote address, and Senator Hillary Clinton will be the headline prime-time speaker.<sup>32</sup>

**Credentials.** Routine convention business often spills over into the second day of proceedings, as reports of the credentials, rules, and platform committees are debated and approved by the delegates.

The acceptance of delegate credentials is usually a perfunctory procedure.

**Rules.** Adoption of the Rules Committee report, setting convention procedures, is another important function usually completed on the second day of the convention.

Consideration of the committee report has occasionally been accompanied by spirited debate, particularly in a close convention when delegates have sought to boost their candidate's chances by securing rules changes.

**Platform.** Adoption of the party platform is another task usually completed on the second day of a convention, although consideration of proposed amendments to the Platform Committee draft will occasionally continue into the third day.

The party platform, a statement of principles and policy proposals, is prepared in advance by the Platform Committee, but is sometimes amended on the floor through minority reports. These reports are filed by those who were unsuccessful in incorporating their views into the draft version. Consideration of minority reports by the convention is contingent upon obtaining a threshold level of delegate support.

For more on this year's platform see the Platform section further on in this brief.

### **DAY THREE (August 27)**

Theme: Securing America's Future.<sup>33</sup> National security will be the theme of the day.<sup>34</sup>

The floor nominations and balloting will take place on the third day of the convention.

The headline prime-time speaker on Wednesday will be Barack Obama's Vice Presidential nominee.<sup>35</sup>

Former President Bill Clinton is also scheduled to address the convention on Wednesday night.<sup>36</sup>

#### **Third Day Speakers** (not in order of speaking):

- Vice Presidential Acceptance Speech
- Former President Bill Clinton
- Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-DE)
- Sen. Evan Bayh (D-IN)
- Sen. Jay Rockefeller, W.Va.
- Gov. Bill Richardson, N.M.
- Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid, Nevada
- Sen. Ken Salazar, Colorado
- House Majority Whip James E. Clyburn, S.C.
- Rep. Patrick Murphy (D-Pa.)
- Tammy Duckworth, Illinois secretary of veterans affairs and Iraq War veteran
- House Majority Whip James Clyburn of South Carolina
- Rep. Robert Wexler of Florida
- Massachusetts Senator John Kerry
- Former Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle
- Rhode Island Senator Jack Reed
- Chicago Mayor Richard Daley

#### **Securing America's Future (National Security Policy) – Speakers and Themes**

Former President Bill Clinton will speak on Obama's commitment to a stronger and safer America, as well as the history of Democrats making positive change in the lives of all Americans.

Governor Bill Richardson and Senators Evan Bayh, Joe Biden and Jay Rockefeller will echo Obama's call for a new direction in national security and outline his policies and plans to secure America's future.

Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid will discuss Barack Obama's plans to make America more secure by investing in smart energy policies.

Senator Ken Salazar and House Majority Whip James E. Clyburn will also speak as part of the Securing America's Future program.

Representative Patrick Murphy (D-PA) and Iraq War veteran Tammy Duckworth will lead a tribute honoring service members and veterans.<sup>37</sup>

## **The Nomination**

The third day of national conventions is usually reserved for the nomination of the presidential candidate. In recent years, the nomination is accomplished in one evening, with only one ballot. The last national convention requiring more than one ballot to nominate a presidential candidate was the 1952 Democratic National Convention, in which Adlai Stevenson was chosen on the third round of voting.

## **The Nominating Speech.**

Prominent or promising party figures are usually given the task of placing the names of candidates in nomination, followed by a series of seconding speeches.

## **Clinton's Name in Nomination**

Clinton's name will be placed in nomination along with nominee-in-waiting Obama, an emblematic move intended to unite the party after a divisive primary.<sup>38</sup>

Clinton picked up about 18 million votes and nearly 1,900 delegates in her primary battle against Obama. Obama got more than 2,250 delegates — more than necessary to clinch. She conceded to the Illinois senator June 7 and threw her support behind him, but many of her supporters kept up an effort to put her name in nomination.<sup>39</sup>

Clinton supporters demanded a chance to vote for their candidate. Clinton's supporters argue that there is precedence in having the second and even third and fourth place finishers' names on the ballot. But in most of those cases, the challengers were so far behind the nominee in delegates that they posed no threat.<sup>40</sup>

Democratic Party rules require the signatures of 300 delegates, with no more than 50 coming from a single state. (As of Aug. 13 supporters said they were more than half-way there.) The rules also require that the candidate sign the petition.<sup>41</sup>

Clinton herself will have to sign the petition. While unwavering in her support for Obama since the primary ended, Clinton had hinted that she wouldn't rule out submitting her name for nomination: "I happen to believe that we will come out stronger if people feel that their voices were heard and their views respected. I think that is a very big part of how we actually come out unified," Clinton said.<sup>42</sup>

On Aug. 14, Obama and Clinton announced, in a joint statement, that Clinton's name will be formally placed in nomination. The former rivals never spoke directly about the matter, but advisers said Obama encouraged Clinton to agree to place her name into nomination as a nod to the historic nature of her candidacy.

While this is hardly the first time a losing candidate's name will be placed in nomination — Mo Udall persuaded Jimmy Carter to allow it in 1976 — the duration and intensity of the Obama-Clinton nominating fight created wounds that have yet to heal among some Democratic activists.<sup>43</sup>

Former California Gov. Jerry Brown's name was entered into nomination in 1992, after he lost in the primaries and caucuses to Bill Clinton.

And both the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Gary Hart had their names entered into nomination in 1984, after losing to Walter F. Mondale.<sup>44</sup>

Allowing delegates to vote for their chosen candidate gives them an opportunity to celebrate that candidate and their work on the campaign, said former Colorado Sen. Gary Hart, who ran for president in 1984 and 1988.

At the convention in 1984, Hart said, each of his 1,200 delegates voted for him "with no defections." "My people put on a massive demonstration. It went on for 10 or 15 minutes," Hart said. "They felt very good about it afterward."<sup>45</sup>

Rules of the convention stipulate that "delegates may vote for the candidate of their choice whether or not the name of such candidate was placed in nomination." The national committee can decide how to handle those votes.<sup>46</sup>

## VIII. PROCEDURAL RULES OF THE 2008 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

6. Nomination of the Democratic Candidate for President: The Permanent Chair shall receive nominations from the floor for the Democratic candidate for the Office of President of the United States in the following manner:

a. **Requests to nominate a presidential candidate shall be in writing and shall have affixed thereto the written approval of the proposed nominee** and the name of the individuals who shall be recognized to make the nominating and seconding speeches on behalf of a presidential candidate and shall be delivered to the Convention Secretary at a location as specified by the Secretary no later than 6:00 p.m. of the day preceding the day designated for the commencement of presidential nominations.

b. **Each such request must be accompanied by a petition indicating support for the proposed nominee signed by delegates representing not less than 300 or more than 600 delegate votes, not more than 50 of which may come from one (1) delegation.** A delegate may not sign more than one (1) nominating petition for president and for vice president.

c. The order for nominating presidential candidates shall be determined by the National Chairperson of the Democratic National Committee, the Permanent Chair of the Convention and each presidential candidate, or his or her authorized representative, who qualifies to be nominated pursuant to this section.

d. Each presidential candidate shall be allowed a total of twenty (20) minutes for the presentation of his or her name in nomination by nominating and seconding speeches, the time to run without interruption from the recognition of the nominator.

e. Delegates and alternates shall maintain order during and following nominations for the Office of President and demonstrations shall not be permitted.

7. Roll Call for Presidential Candidate:

a. After nominations for presidential candidates have closed, the Convention shall proceed to a roll call vote by states on the selection of the presidential candidate. The roll call voting shall follow the alphabetical order of the states with the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico and the territories treated as states for the purpose of the alphabetical roll call.

b. A majority vote of the Convention's delegates shall be required to nominate the presidential candidate.

c. **Delegates may vote for the candidate of their choice whether or not the name of such candidate was placed in nomination.** Any vote cast other than a vote for a presidential candidate meeting the requirements of Article VI of this Call and Rule 12.K. of the 2008 Delegate Selection Rules shall be considered a vote for "Present."

d. Balloting will continue until a nominee is selected. The nominee shall become the candidate of the Democratic Party of the United States for the Office of President upon the conclusion of his or her acceptance speech.

Source: Democratic National Committee, "Call for the 2008 Democratic National Convention," As Adopted by the Democratic National Committee, February 2, 2007.

### Balloting

Following completion of the nominating and seconding speeches, the role of states is called, by the clerk of the convention, a position usually filled by the permanent secretary of the party's national committee.

The state delegations will do a traditional roll call for both Obama and Clinton.

Obama and Clinton agreed to the arrangement after weeks of negotiations between their respective aides. The two sides made the announcement on Aug. 14 in a collegial joint statement.

"I am convinced that honoring Senator Clinton's historic campaign in this way will help us celebrate this defining moment in our history and bring the party together in a strong united fashion," said Obama.

Added Clinton: "With every voice heard and the party strongly united, we will elect Senator Obama president of the United States and put our nation on the path to peace and prosperity once again."<sup>47</sup>

The tally of delegate votes in each state is announced by the chair of the delegation, often the party's highest ranking elected official in the state.

A running count of vote totals is maintained, usually culminating in a "spontaneous" demonstration for the nominee when he or she receives enough votes to go "over the top" to secure the nomination.

Following the completion of balloting, the chair usually entertains a motion to demonstrate party unity by making the nomination unanimous by acclamation.

While Democrats say the mechanics of how that will play out still are being determined, at the time this brief was written, Clinton — herself a superdelegate who gets a vote — is expected to release her delegates to Obama, announce her support for him and ask her backers to do the same.<sup>48</sup>

Asked how Clinton herself would vote (Clinton is a superdelegate), campaign aides noted that she had endorsed Obama and campaigned for him, and they strongly indicated that she would vote for him.<sup>49</sup>

<b>Recent Democratic Convention First Ballot Votes</b>	
<b>2004</b>	<b>1992</b>
Total Allocated Votes: 4,322	Total Votes: 4,288
Kerry: 4,253	Clinton: 3,372
Present: 43	Brown: 596
Abstain: 26	Tsongas: 209
<b>2000</b>	<b>1988</b>
Total Votes: 4,339	Total Votes: 4,162
Gore: 4,339	Dukakis: 2,876.25
<b>1996</b>	Jackson: 1,218.5
Total Votes: 4,289	<b>1984</b>
Clinton: 4,277	Total Votes: 3,933
	Mondale: 2,191
	Hart: 1,200.5
	Jackson: 465.5
	<b>1980 (After shift)</b>
	Total Votes: 3,331
	Carter: 2,129.02
	Kennedy: 1150.48

### **Clinton Supporters at the Convention**

Pro-Clinton groups unaffiliated with the Clinton campaign like People United Means Action and Colorado Women Count/Women Vote have said they will host parades and hand out fliers and promotional videos at the convention arguing that Clinton is the stronger candidate to defeat McCain.<sup>50</sup>

Colorado Women Count/Women Vote is teaming with 18 Million Voices for a pro-Clinton parade on Aug. 26, followed by a rally in Cheesman Park where Clinton's speech at the DNC will be shown live.

Another group plans to paper the city with Clinton fliers, while a supporter from Denver has arranged to have a Catholic Mass said for Clinton the morning of her speech.

### **Pro-Clinton events scheduled during the DNC**

Colorado Women Count/Women Vote and 18 Million Voices gathering to celebrate Hillary Clinton, meet other supporters.

When: 9 a.m. to 10 p.m. Aug. 25

Where: Confluence Park

Colorado Women Count/Women Vote and 18 Million Voices Parade

When: 11:45 a.m. Aug. 26

Where: Staging at 14th Avenue and Bannock Street.

Rally in honor of Hillary Clinton

When: 3 p.m. Aug. 26

Where: Cheesman Park

Of note: Clinton's speech will be shown live on a giant TV screen. Also, speakers, food and music are planned.

Hillary Now! Parade

When: 11:45 a.m. Aug. 28

Where: Staging at 12th Avenue and Mariposa Street.<sup>51</sup>

### **DAY FOUR (August 28)**

Theme: Change You Can Believe In<sup>52</sup>

The fourth day of the convention is usually dominated by the nomination of the vice presidential candidate and the presidential and vice presidential nominees' acceptance speeches.

Daytime Convention events, including meetings of the Democratic caucuses and councils will continue to be held at the Colorado Convention Center.<sup>53</sup>

On Thursday evening, Barack Obama will address the nation.

On Thursday night, the Convention will move to INVESCO Field at Mile High so that Obama can have a larger audience when he accepts the Democratic nomination.<sup>54</sup>

Aug. 28 is the 45th anniversary of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech.<sup>55</sup>

**Fourth Day Speakers** (not in order of speaking):

- Barack Obama (acceptance speech)
- Colorado Gov. Bill Ritter<sup>56</sup> -- Gov. Ritter will showcase Democratic gains in the West.<sup>57</sup>

### **Acceptance Speech**

Following his or her nomination, the presidential nominee's acceptance speech is the last major activity of the convention.

### **Obama at Invesco Field**

Obama's speech will be delivered at Invesco Field at Mile High stadium. Convention planners shifted Obama's speech from the arena, which can accommodate about 21,000 people, to the open-air football stadium that is home to the Denver Broncos, which seats more than 76,000, to allow more people to attend.<sup>58</sup>

Convention organizers have said Coloradans would be awarded half of the roughly 75,000 available seats. More than 80,000 Coloradans asked for credentials.<sup>59</sup>

Obama is expected to speak at about 10 p.m. ET.

Obama will deliver his acceptance speech from the 50-yard line. Obama will be standing in a circular podium 6 1/2 feet off the ground, with almost 6,000 delegates seated on the field.

Other details released about the seating arrangements show that print journalists will be seated on the south end zone, with television networks having platforms on the field next to the delegates. Control booths and stand-up areas for broadcasters will be positioned on the other side of the field in front of Obama.

A draft plan had Obama walking to the circular podium along the sidelines on a 36-foot carpeted walkway.<sup>60</sup>

Democrats will have to balance their desire to spotlight Obama's enthusiastic following with concern that images of a cheering throng will ratify Republican attacks on the candidate as a glitzy but untested celebrity.

The stagecraft of that night was still under discussion when this brief was written, and two aides told the Washington Post on Aug. 13 that the convention and the campaign will strive to leave an impression of seriousness, not adulation.

One Obama aide told the Washington Post that much of the program's emphasis will be an acknowledgment of his historical role as the first black major-party nominee, as he accepts that honor on the anniversary of Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have A Dream" speech in Washington.<sup>61</sup>

The Democratic National Convention Committee is vowing to do what it can to stop ticket scalpers.<sup>62</sup>

When people arrive at the stadium in the hours leading up to Obama's acceptance speech, they will be urged to call or send text messages to their friends and neighbors back home, sharing pro-Obama messages or asking them to watch the speech. The idea is to turn the football stadium into a giant phone bank.<sup>63</sup>

Obama won't be the first Democratic presidential candidate to deliver his acceptance speech in an open-air stadium. John F. Kennedy did it on July 15, 1960, at the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum.<sup>64</sup> Kennedy addressed a crowd of about 80,000 people.

At the 1936 Democratic convention, held in Philadelphia in late June, President Franklin D. Roosevelt personally accepted re-nomination in a ceremony at the University of Pennsylvania's Franklin Field before a crowd estimated as large as 100,000.<sup>65</sup>

Harold Ickes recalls that in 1996, when he was deputy White House chief of staff and overseeing President Clinton's re-election bid, there was talk of delivering the acceptance speech outdoors in Chicago. "But just the logistics and fear of failure deterred us," Ickes said. "I think this is a good idea; I'm glad I'm not responsible for it."<sup>66</sup>

### Length of Recent Convention Acceptance Speeches

#### 1992 National Party Conventions

Clinton (D): 54 minutes

Bush (R): 56 minutes

#### 1996 National Party Conventions

Clinton (D): 66 minutes

Dole (R): 57 minutes

#### 2000 National Party Conventions

Gore (D): 51 minutes

Bush (R): 51 minutes

#### 2004 National Party Conventions

Kerry (D): 45 minutes

Bush (R): 62 minutes<sup>67</sup>

### Adjournment

Immediately following the nominee's acceptance speech, the presidential nominee is joined on the podium by the vice presidential nominee, their spouses, families, defeated rivals and other party leaders for the traditional unity pose.

Shortly afterwards, the convention is adjourned *sine die*.

### RELIGION AND THE CONVENTION

Pastor and Democratic National Convention Committee CEO Leah Daughtry says the Democratic National Convention will demonstrate that party members are people of faith.<sup>68</sup>

Party planners will inaugurate the convention with an "interfaith gathering" of clergy.<sup>69</sup>

Social activist Sister Helen Prejean and Islamic Society of North America President Ingrid Mattson are among those to be featured at the interfaith service Aug. 24 to open the gathering.

During the convention, the Faith Caucus will meet in a separate venue on topics including how an Obama administration would engage people of faith.<sup>70</sup>

On Tuesday, August 26, the Faith Caucus will hold two panel discussions – "Common Ground on Common Good," an opportunity to discuss finding common ground on the moral issues of the day, and "Faith in 2009: How an Obama Administration will Engage People of Faith." On Thursday, August 28, the Caucus will convene for "Moral Values Issues Abroad," a panel on how the faith community can work together to address pressing moral issues around the world, and "Getting Out the Faith Vote," a session on how to appropriately engage communities of faith in the 2008 election.

Each night of the Convention, the official program will begin with an invocation and end with a benediction delivered by a national faith leader or an individual who is active in their local faith community.<sup>71</sup>

### **Invocation and Benediction Speakers**

Monday, August 25

Invocation: Polly Baca, Catholic, Greeley, CO

Benediction: Cameron Strang, Evangelical, Orlando, FL

Tuesday, August 26

Invocation: Dr. Cynthia Hale, Disciples of Christ, Decatur, GA

Benediction: Revs. Jin Ho Kang and Young Sook Kang, Methodist, Aurora, CO

Wednesday, August 27

Invocation: Archbishop Demetrios, Greek Orthodox, New York, NY

Benediction: Sr. Catherine Pinkerton, Catholic, Cleveland, OH

Thursday, August 28

Invocation: Rabbi David Saperstein, Union for Reform Judaism, Washington, DC

Benediction: Pastor Joel Hunter, Evangelical, Northland, FL<sup>72</sup>

## **MEDIA, SECURITY, & HISTORY**

### **Conventions and the Media**

Full-scale television coverage of national conventions began in 1952.

Convention sessions, once primarily conducted during the day, are now largely scheduled for peak viewing hours, in order to attract the widest television audience. Lengthy speeches have largely been curtailed or eliminated.

Soon, about 15,000 members of the media - from local anchors to national-news icons - will descend on Denver and look for the big story and the best backdrop.

In 1976, the networks carried 26 hours of coverage. In 2004, citing low ratings, ABC, CBS and NBC devoted a mere three hours to each convention (one hour a night for three nights, skipping the night an unknown Barack Obama made his now-famous speech).<sup>73</sup>

In 2008, CBS, ABC, and NBC have committed to do slightly more coverage of the Democratic and Republican gatherings than they did in 2004, when they were chided for carrying prime-time reports on only three of the four nights of each convention.

This year, all three networks have committed to producing live hourlong news specials each night, airing at 10 p.m. ET. The networks' daily newscasts will also originate from Denver.

PBS' Jim Lehrer will be anchoring three hours of live coverage each night on "The NewsHour," beginning at 8 p.m. EDT.<sup>74</sup>

With the broadcast networks doing limited coverage of the conventions, the cable channels see an opening to dominate these events and position themselves as a destination for political news throughout the fall. They hope to expand on a trend that began in 2004, when Fox News got higher ratings for its coverage of the GOP convention than the broadcasters.<sup>75</sup>

In 2008, four young House Democrats -- Iraq war veteran Patrick J. Murphy (Pa.); Artur Davis (Ala.); Debbie Wasserman Schultz (Fla.), a Clinton supporter; and Allyson Y. Schwartz (Pa.) -- will be hosts of a telecast for the Internet and high-definition television.<sup>76</sup>

### **Security for the 2008 Democratic National Convention**

Federal and local authorities are girding for huge protests, mammoth traffic tie-ups and civil disturbances. Officials say that what makes Denver different than past conventions is the historic nature of Obama's nomination.<sup>77</sup>

Federal agencies have been planning for the events since 2007, Secret Service spokesman Malcolm Wiley said.<sup>78</sup>

Because the Republican and Democratic national conventions are deemed national special security events, federal funds are provided for security, and the expenditures are approved by the Department of Justice. Denver and Minneapolis-St. Paul, home of the GOP convention in September, each will receive \$50 million.<sup>79</sup>

Nearly half of the planned expenditures for the \$50 million federal grant for security at the Democratic National Convention haven't been revealed publicly because they don't meet the \$50,000 threshold requiring City Council approval.<sup>80</sup>

A federal judge in Denver ruled against the ACLU in a lawsuit challenging the government's security rules for the Democratic National Convention. The judge, Marcia S. Krieger, disagreed that the affect of the fenced perimeter rose to the level of an infringement of free speech because other means of expression were available and because the Secret Service and Denver Police had shown that the restrictions were "content neutral," and thus not intended to quash a particular opinion.<sup>81</sup>

An industrial warehouse larger than a football field will be used as a processing center for detainees during the Democratic National Convention, and it features chain-link fencing topped with barbed wire as holding cells.

Capt. Frank Gale, a sheriff's spokesman said officials hope to process as many as 100 people per hour at the warehouse facility.

Groups planning marches, concerts and other events during the Aug. 25-28 convention dub the center "Gitmo on the Platte," for the nearby South Platte River. The Denver sheriff's office, which operates city and county jails, insists anyone taken to the center will be there only a few hours while they're fingerprinted, issued a court date and released after posting bail. Others will be transferred to facilities designed for longer detentions.<sup>82</sup>

City officials say Denver police officers will make as much as \$1.2 million in overtime pay for work related to the Democratic National Convention.<sup>83</sup>

Denver's police force of 1,400 will also receive reinforcements from around the region.<sup>84</sup> The Denver Police Department will nearly double in size, according to federal officials involved in the planning.

The city is bringing in nearly 1,500 police officers from communities throughout Colorado and beyond, even inviting an eight-person mounted unit from Cheyenne, Wyo. State lawmakers changed Colorado law to allow the out-of-state police officers to serve as peace officers in Denver.

The Secret Service, the Pentagon, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and scores of police departments are moving thousands of agents, analysts, officers and employees to Denver. They will operate through a complex hierarchy of command centers, steering committees and protocols to respond to disruptions.

There was a brief flare-up recently between the F.B.I. and the Secret Service, when each wanted to patrol the skies over the convention with their surveillance aircraft, packed with infrared cameras and other electronics. The issue was resolved in favor of the Secret Service, according to people briefed on the matter.

The most pressing fears, particularly in Denver, are that as many as 30,000 demonstrators may sweep into the city to disrupt the convention. Much of the city's planning, in conjunction with federal authorities, has been based on the possibility of such protests, according to federal officials.

In Denver, federal officials have expressed concern that demonstrators could try to shut down regular business at several major offices, including the Federal Reserve Bank, the United States Mint, and the federal courthouse.<sup>85</sup>

Obama's announcement that he would accept the nomination at Invesco Field caused some headaches. It's an open-air stadium, which seats more than 75,000 people. Invesco is also adjacent to Interstate 25, a major corridor through the Northern Rockies that will most likely be closed for at least part of Obama's acceptance speech.<sup>86</sup>

The Secret Service won't have a problem securing Invesco Field, Secret Service spokesman Wiley said, as the agency handled Pope Benedict's two April masses at baseball fields in New York and Washington, as well as Bush's appearances at baseball games.

Airspace around Denver will be restricted and the interstate that runs by the stadium may be closed, he said.<sup>87</sup>

Building managers in downtown Denver are adding security guards, putting together plans to limit access and parking at their buildings and coming up with ways to make sure tenants can get to work around crowds and street closure. Some admit to preparing for something as severe as building lockdowns in the event of major mayhem.<sup>88</sup>

In Denver, where Barack Obama will accept the Democratic nomination later this month, the City Council recently outlawed the possession of "noxious substances" after a councilman warned that activists could use buckets of urine or feces against police. Activists say their plans don't involve human waste.<sup>89</sup>

## Denver and the 1908 Democratic National Convention

Democrats chose midsize Denver over such metropolises as Chicago and New York City in January 2007 to show their intention to compete in every state.<sup>90</sup>

Denver was founded in 1858, in what was then Kansas Territory, when William Larimer "jumped" a claim -- took over land claimed by another would-be settler.

Both Larimer and his victim ignored the fact that the land wasn't theirs to take, since it belonged to the Arapaho Indians by treaty. But in Denver and elsewhere across the West, that didn't stop the incursions by non-Indians.

Larimer named his new town after James Denver, governor of Kansas Territory. Colorado didn't become a state until 1876.<sup>91</sup>

The last time Denver hosted the Democratic convention was in 1908.

In 1908, Williams Jennings Bryan followed tradition by not coming to Denver for his party's convention to avoid looking too eager to win the nomination. He did send his brother and stayed in constant contact by telegraph.

Of the 1,008 delegates in Denver, five were women -- two from Colorado, two from Utah and one from Wyoming. There were no people of color.

In 1908, Denver was a 50-year-old city of 210,000 people, eager to boost its profile and promote business. As in 2008, the city bid for both the Republican and Democratic conventions. To lure the Democrats, Denver plunked down \$50,000 -- at a time when a loaf of bread cost a nickel -- to help cover convention costs.

The biggest concerns heading into the July convention were weather and pickpockets, Colorado state historian Bill Convery said. Denver police added 16 officers and hired Pinkerton detectives to handle the 30,000 visitors, including the families of delegates, lobbyists and salesmen looking for business.

At the direction of Mayor Robert Speer, police turned a blind eye to the city's red light district centered on Market Street in what is now trendy Lower Downtown. Madams updated a discreet, pocket-sized guidebook boasting of their "female boarders" and offering the "comforts of home."

Speer was an old-fashioned machine politician, but he worked to beautify the dusty supply town, building parks and parkways and giving away 100,000 trees.

Each street was decorated in honor of a different state, but the decorations were washed away the first day of the convention by rain, normally welcome in semiarid Colorado. Snow was brought from the mountains and dumped outside the convention to show delegates that it was possible to have a midsummer snowball fight. Residents wore buttons proclaiming, "I live in Denver -- Ask Me."

While Denver had a reputation for being part of the Wild West, by the time of the convention it was the business capital of the Rocky Mountain region. It had a street car system. Bowler hats were more popular than cowboy hats, especially around the banks near Union Station. Horses and wagons filled the streets along with trendy electric cars. The oxen once used to haul heavy loads had disappeared since the railroad's arrival 40 years before.

The Queen City did provide some stereotypes for conventioners. Organizers held a rodeo and paid a group of Apaches to travel to Denver and camp at City Park.<sup>92</sup>

## **CONVENTION ORGANIZATION**

### **Permanent Chair**

Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi will be nominated as the Permanent Chair of the 2008 Democratic National Convention.

The nomination will be voted on by the delegates of the 2008 Convention at the opening session.

A temporary presiding officer will open the Convention.

Election of a permanent chair is usually one of the first points in the order of business.

The Permanent Chair presides for the balance of the convention.

The Permanent Chair is usually a senior party figure, most often the party leader in the House of Representatives.

Since 1972, the Democrats have required that the permanent chairmanship alternate between the sexes every four years.

Governor Howard Dean, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, will also nominate Kansas Governor Kathleen Sebelius, Chair of the Democratic Governors Association; Texas State Senator Leticia Van de Putte, President of the National Conference of State Legislatures; and Atlanta Mayor Shirley Franklin, President of the National Conference of Democratic Mayors, as Permanent Convention Co-Chairs.<sup>93</sup>

#### **Permanent Chairs at Democratic National Conventions, 1972-2004**

1972: Lawrence F. O'Brien, Mass.  
1976: Lindy Boggs, La.  
1980: Thomas P. O'Neil Jr., Mass.  
1984: Martha Layne Collins, Ky.  
1988: Jim Wright, Texas  
1992: Ann W. Richards, Texas  
1996: Thomas A. Daschle, S.D., Richard A. Gephardt, Mo.  
2000: Barbara Boxer, Calif., Diane Feinstein, Calif.  
2004: Bill Richardson, N.M.  
2008: Nancy Pelosi, Calif.<sup>94</sup>

### **Convention Committees**

Committees of the national conventions prepare reports for the conventions on delegate credentials, rules of procedure, and party platforms.

There are three Convention Standing Committees: Credentials, Platform and Rules. Each committee has a total of 186 members.

The full convention ratifies or amends the respective recommendations from each of these committees.

#### **List of Convention Committees:**

- **The Credentials Committee** examines and rules on the accreditation of state delegations to the convention.
  - Elected to chair the Credentials Committee are Alexis Herman, James Roosevelt, Jr. and Eliseo Roques-Arroyo.

- The Credentials Committee is responsible for resolving any questions regarding the seating of delegates and alternates to the Convention.
- **The Rules Committee** recommends procedures under which the national convention is conducted.
  - Elected to chair the Rules Committee are Sunita Leeds, Mary Rose Oakar and David Walters.
  - The Rules Committee is responsible for recommending the rules for the convention, rules of the Party, and other convention business.
- **The Platform Committee** has responsibility for the task of drafting the platform.
  - Elected to chair the Platform Committee are Patricia Madrid, Judith McHale and Massachusetts Governor Deval Patrick.
  - The first party platform was adopted by the Democrats at their 1840 national convention.

**The Platform Drafting Committee** holds hearings around the country prior to the convention at which public views on policy questions are solicited.<sup>95</sup>

## **THE PLATFORM**

### **A Peaceful Approval Process**

The platform will be submitted to the Democratic National Convention for ratification.

In an effort to unify their party, Democrats on Aug. 9 crafted a new platform that embrace Clinton's call for universal health care while adopting most of Obama's more centrist positions.

The 186-member Democratic Party platform committee met in Pittsburgh to draft its 54-page policy outline to be presented at the Democratic National Convention.<sup>96</sup>

The platform was honed during more than 1,600 meetings involving about 22,000 people across the country. The meeting in Pittsburgh, a location selected for its success in construction of environmentally friendly buildings and in being a swing state, was the final gathering before the Democratic convention.<sup>97</sup>

The only real dissent at the platform committee's meeting came when a few members tried to offer an amendment that called for getting rid of caucuses in favor of primaries. But party officials ruled the amendment out of order, saying that only the party's rules committee could entertain such a proposal.<sup>98</sup>

Obama and Clinton both support what they call "universal health care," but Clinton has proposed requiring all Americans to have insurance, a mandate Obama has supported only for children. The different camps ultimately agreed on general wording, which notes that there are "different approaches within the Democratic Party" but says there is a "commitment that every American man, woman and child be guaranteed to have affordable, comprehensive health care."<sup>99</sup>

The document gives a second nod to Clinton supporters in an extensive section on women's rights that says Sen. Clinton's candidacy created "18 million cracks in the highest glass ceiling," a reference to a line in Sen. Clinton's June concession speech describing the number of primary votes she received.<sup>100</sup>

It calls for tougher equal-pay laws and for more support of women-owned businesses and for women in math and science education.<sup>101</sup>

The bulk of the new platform reflects Sen. Obama's policy proposals and his call to reach out to independents and Republicans. "And so, Democrats -- through the most open platform process in history -- are reaching out today to Republicans and independents who hunger for a new direction and a reason to hope," the preamble reads.

The platform includes a section detailing Obama's economic-stimulus package, a section calling on fathers to be more active in their children's lives and an expanded section on funding religious groups that provide community service as long as "public funds are not used to proselytize or discriminate."<sup>102</sup>

The biggest departure from 2004 was on the issue of the war in Iraq. The 2004 platform said "people of goodwill disagree about whether America should have gone to war in Iraq." The 2008 platform, though, calls Iraq an "unnecessary war" and a "strategic blunder."

The document also calls for removing as many as two brigades a month for a complete redeployment within 16 months, leaving a residual force in Iraq to advise the Iraqi military, target terrorists and protect American personnel and assets.<sup>103</sup> Democrats "expect to complete redeployment within 16 months," the document says.<sup>104</sup>

The document states the U.S. should make clear it seeks no permanent bases in Iraq.

The platform calls for increasing U.S. involvement in Afghanistan by sending at least two additional combat brigades, helping build the country's education system and providing alternatives for poppy-growing farmers.<sup>105</sup>

The platform calls for Obama to fulfill his promise, made in the primaries, to engage in "direct high-level diplomacy, without preconditions" in the case of Iran.

On trade, the document promises to improve the North American Free Trade Agreement but doesn't specify what the changes should be.

The Democrats remain "unequivocally" supportive of Roe v. Wade and the right to a safe and legal abortion, regardless of the ability to pay. But in an effort to reach out to voters who are uneasy about abortion rights, the party's modified language promotes helping reduce the number of abortions through family planning, sex education and better access to adoption programs.

The new platform has disappointed gay-rights groups. The 2004 version vowed to support "full inclusion of gay and lesbian families in the life of our nation." The current version omits "gay and lesbian" and simply states that Democrats support "all families."<sup>106</sup>

As in the 2004 platform, this year's document opposes federal efforts to ban gay marriage, but the 2004 platform included language — not seen this year — that said marriage should "continue to be defined" at the state level.<sup>107</sup>

### **Key points in the 2008 Democratic platform**

#### **Iraq**

Calls Iraq war a "strategic blunder" and says U.S. should withdraw all troops except for a residual force within 16 months. The 2004 platform didn't call Iraq a mistake and offered no plan to get out.

#### **Health Care**

Says the party is committed to "affordable, comprehensive health care" for every American, but doesn't explain how such universal care would work. The 2004 platform called for giving Americans tax credits for health insurance and taking other steps to control costs.

#### **Gay Rights**

Supports a repeal of the military's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy. The 2004 platform said "all patriotic Americans should be allowed to serve our country without discrimination, persecution, or violence." It also does not include '04 language that marriage should be left to the states.

#### **Federal Lands**

Adds language calling for greater conservation efforts with local communities, especially with regard to forests, grasslands and wetlands. The language also calls for providing more resources to reduce wildfires.

#### **Immigration**

Supports a system where illegal immigrants in good standing can "pay a fine, pay taxes, learn English and go to the back of the line for the opportunity to become citizens." Calls for cracking down harder on employers who hire illegal immigrants. The 2004 platform included similar language on a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants.

#### **Minimum Wage**

Says minimum wage should be raised and tied to inflation. The '04 platform said the minimum wage should go to \$7 an hour but with no tie to inflation.

#### **Taxes**

Calls for eliminating all taxes on seniors making less than \$50,000 a year and says there will be no tax hikes on families making less than \$250,000. Says those making more than \$250,000 would have to "give back a portion of the Bush tax cuts to invest in health care and other key priorities." The 2004 platform called for middle-class tax cuts and higher taxes for families earning more than \$200,000.<sup>108</sup>

## **SELECTING THE DELEGATES**

### **The Primaries**

Nominations today are usually won during the primary campaign rather than at the convention.

During the prenomination phase candidates compete in state primary elections and caucuses for delegates to the national party conventions.

The primary season gradually reduces the field of major party candidates.

Under the present system for choosing presidential nominees, state parties use two main electoral devices: the primary and the caucus/convention system. State parties combine the two in a variety of ways to choose delegates to the national conventions.

The nomination is conferred on the candidate who holds a majority of delegates at the party convention, but under the present system for choosing delegates one candidate is likely to emerge with a majority by the end of the primary season, if not sooner, and well before the convention meets.

The days when a candidate could compete in a select number of primaries to demonstrate popular appeal have passed: the nomination goes to the candidate who has amassed a majority of delegates in the primaries and caucuses.

Party conventions have largely become ratifying bodies that confer the nomination on the candidate who won it in state contests.

### **The Delegates**

Some observers thought for a while that an inconclusive 2008 primary season could result in a “brokered” convention, whereby the nominee is chosen at the convention based on dealmaking and bargaining. Speculation about such an outcome focused attention on the “superdelegates,” a category of automatic, unpledged delegates who are not required to declare a presidential candidate preference.

The last Democratic nomination contest to feature a questionable convention outcome was in 1980, before the creation of the superdelegate category.<sup>109</sup>

The Democratic Party allocates delegates and alternates according to a formula based on population, as measured by electoral college strength and past levels of voting for Democratic presidential candidates in the general election.

The Democratic National Committee also awards delegates and alternates to five jurisdictions for which the allocation factor cannot be computed because they do not participate in the presidential election—American Samoa, Democrats Abroad, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

Furthermore, the party assigns additional delegate slots for party leaders, former distinguished elected officials, and the entire Democratic membership of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives.

The Democratic Party has two basic types of delegates, pledged delegates and unpledged delegates, grouped by whether or not they are pledged to support a particular candidate.

Over 80 percent of the delegates will be selected based on the results of the vote for Democratic presidential candidates in the 2008 primaries and caucuses, while the balance will include Democratic members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, Democratic Governors and Democratic National Committee members.

## The Superdelegates

The 1984 Democratic convention was the first to include superdelegates, who were added in response to rule changes that had sharply reduced the influence of party leaders and Democratic office holders on the nominating process. Following President Carter's defeat in 1980, the party added superdelegates as a counterbalance to the influence of rank and file voters. Initially, the superdelegates were approximately 14 percent of all convention delegates; they will account for 20 percent of those who attend the 2008 convention.

The following categories comprise the superdelegates:

- all members of the Democratic National Committee;
- all Democratic Members of the U.S. House and Senate;
- Democratic Governors;
- distinguished party leaders (including former Presidents, Vice Presidents, and congressional leaders); and
- an additional number of delegates (one for every four members of the Democratic National Committee from the state), called "add-on" delegates.<sup>110</sup>

Prior to the probable changes to the delegations from Florida and Michigan, 4,439 delegates — who amount to 4,234 total delegate votes (3,409.5 pledged delegate votes and 824.5 unpledged delegate votes) — and 614 alternates are to attend the Democratic National Convention.

Largest Delegation: California, with total delegation of 503. 441 Delegates, 62 Alternates.

Smallest Delegation: American Samoa and the Virgin Islands, with total delegation of 13 each. Each has 12 Delegates (only 9 Delegate Votes) and 1 Alternate.

If the full delegations from Florida and Michigan are reinstated, there would be a total of 4,418 delegate votes at the convention — 3,566 pledged delegate votes and 852 unpledged delegate votes.

### What about Florida and Michigan?

Many ardent Clinton supporters vent over the way the party divvied up delegates from the Florida and Michigan primaries, two states that were punished for violating national rules and holding their contests early.

With the agreement of all Democratic candidates, the states were initially stripped of all their delegates for violating party rules by holding early primaries. None of the candidates campaigned in the two states, but Clinton won the two primaries and thereafter tried to get all the delegates seated.

The national party reinstated the delegates in May, but gave each a half vote. And it awarded Obama some Michigan delegates, although he had taken his name off that ballot because of the party's initial decision.<sup>111</sup>

Many Clinton supporters believed the delegates from these two states were divvied up unfairly.

With the nomination clinched, the Obama campaign earlier this month urged the party to allow delegates from the disputed Florida and Michigan primaries "to cast a full vote" during the convention.<sup>112</sup>

"I believe party unity calls for the delegates from Florida and Michigan to be able to participate fully alongside the delegates from the other states and territories," Obama said in a letter to the party's credentials committee.<sup>113</sup>

"I ask that the Credentials Committee, when it meets on August 24 to approve the delegates for the National Convention, pass a resolution that would entitle each delegate from Florida and Michigan to cast a full vote," Obama wrote in the letter.

The three co-chairs of the credentials committee issued a statement saying the issue of Florida and Michigan would be a "top priority" at their meeting. "As always our goal is to ensure a fair process and a unified Democratic Party so that we can win in November," wrote Alexis Herman, James Roosevelt Jr. and Eliseo Roques-Arroyo.

Obama's endorsement virtually guarantees the delegates will have full voting rights.<sup>114</sup>

## **FINANCING THE CONVENTIONS**

### **Public Funds to the Parties**

Federal election law permits all eligible national committees of major and minor parties to receive public funds to pay the official costs of their presidential nominating conventions.

The public funding portion of presidential elections is financed by the Presidential Election Campaign Fund, which receives funds through dollars voluntarily "checked off" by taxpayers on federal income tax forms.

Each of the two major political party's convention committees will receive \$16,356,000 from the U.S. Treasury for planning and conducting their respective 2008 presidential nominating conventions.

Each major party convention committee is entitled to receive \$4 million, plus an adjustment for inflation (since 1974).

Originally, the limit was \$2 million, plus COLA. That figure was increased to \$3 million, plus COLA, for the 1980 conventions and to \$4 million, plus COLA, for the 1984 conventions.

The payments for each major party convention historically have been:

1976 - \$ 2,182,000	1996 - \$ 12,364,000
1980 - \$ 4,416,000	2000 - \$ 13,512,000
1984 - \$ 8,080,000	2004 - \$ 14,924,000
1988 - \$ 9,220,000	2008 - \$16,356,000
1992 - \$ 11,048,000	

### **Raising Money for the Conventions**

The Democratic convention, to be held Aug. 25-28, was \$11.6 million short of its fundraising goal of \$40.6 million in mid-June. Steve Farber, a top fundraiser for the Denver host committee, said the group is on pace to meet its budget.<sup>115</sup>

Corporate contributions to "host committees" and "municipal funds" are now the primary vehicle for subsidizing convention business.

Federal regulations permit unlimited private contributions to "host committees" and "municipal funds."

Host committees are not required by law to reveal details of how they spend their money until after the convention.

**Source of Funding for Democratic Party Presidential Nominating Conventions, 1980-2004 (millions of dollars):**

Year	Private Contributions (Through host committees and 'municipal funds')	Local and State Gov't Funding (Direct and through host committees)	Federal Grants to Party Convention Committees	Total Convention Contributions	Private Contributions as a % of Total
1980	0.4	4.5*	4.4	9.3	4.3%
1984	2.4	7.6	8.1	18.1	13.3%
1988	1.7	15.8	9.2	26.7	6.4%
1992	6.2	21.1	11	38.3	16.2%
1996	20	15	12.4	47.4	42.2%
2000	36.1	35.8	13.5	85.4	42.3%
2004	56.9	0	14.9	71.8	79.2%

\* These figures or percentages exclude first time federal grants of \$50 million each for homeland assistance security to the city governments of New York and Boston in 2004, and Federal Law Enforcement Assistance grants of \$3.2 and \$3.5 million to the Detroit and New York City governments in 1980.

Source: Inside Fundraising for the 2008 Party Conventions: Party Surrogates Gather Soft Money While Federal Regulators Turn a Blind Eye | June 2008 | The Campaign Finance Institute

**FIRMS' CONVENTION DONATIONS**

At least eight companies have pledged to donate \$1 million or more to underwrite the Democratic and Republican national conventions. Complete details about donors and their contributions will not be known for months. A look at some of the biggest donors to the Democratic convention:

**DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION**

- Qwest Communications\* \$6 M
- Level 3 Communications \$1 M
- Molson Coors \$1 M
- Union Pacific \$1 M
- Xcel Energy\* \$1 M
- Service Employees International Union (SEIU)\*\* \$500,000
- Vail Resorts Management Company \$500,000
- ConocoPhillips \$375,000
- Wells Fargo \$302,800

\* Qwest Communications (\$12M total) and Xcel Energy (\$2M total) donated to each party.

\*\* Also made an unspecified contribution to the Republican convention.

Source: Campaign Finance Institute cited in USA Today, "Donors pick up convention tab," August 14, 2008.

## THE VP PICK

### Candidates Tapping Rivals for VP:

In the past 70 years, few presidential nominees have picked rivals as their running mates. The last time it happened was in 1980, when Ronald Reagan picked George H.W. Bush. In 1996, Republican nominee Bob Dole picked Jack Kemp, a rival from the 1988 nomination fight eventually won by Bush.

- 1980 (R): Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush
- 1960 (D): John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson
- 1956 (D): Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver
- 1948 (R): Thomas Dewey and Earl Warren
- 1944 (R): Thomas Dewey and John Bricker
- 1936 (R): Alfred Landon and Frank Knox
- 1932 (D): Franklin Roosevelt and John Nance Garner

## THE CONVENTION BOUNCE IN THE POLLS

### Effect of Conventions on the Polls:

- The convention bounce varies from a record-high 16-point bounce for Bill Clinton following the 1992 Democratic convention, to a -1 decrease in Gallup's estimation of the bounce for Democratic candidate John Kerry after the 2004 convention.
- Clinton's record 1992 bounce was in part due to the fact that independent candidate Ross Perot dropped out just as the Democratic convention was ending.
- The average bounce for Democratic candidates across all conventions in these 11 elections is 6.2 points says Gallup.
- Republicans averaged a 5.3-point bounce.<sup>116</sup>

### Post-Convention Increases in Support, 1964-2000

Election	Candidate (incumbent in boldface)	Bounce	Convention Order
2004	<b>George W. Bush</b>	2 points	2nd
2004	John Kerry	-1 point	1st
2000	George W. Bush	8 points	1st
2000	Al Gore	8 points	2nd
1996	<b>Bill Clinton</b>	5 points	2nd
1996	Bob Dole	3 points	1st
1992	Bill Clinton	16 points	1st
1992	<b>George Bush</b>	5 points	2nd

1988	George Bush	6 points	2nd
1988	Michael Dukakis	7 points	1st
1984	<b>Ronald Reagan</b>	4 points	2nd
1984	Walter Mondale	9 points	1st
1980	Ronald Reagan	8 points	1st
1980	<b>Jimmy Carter</b>	10 points	2nd
1976	Jimmy Carter	9 points	1st
1976	<b>Gerald Ford</b>	5 points	2nd
1972	<b>Richard Nixon</b>	7 points	2nd
1972	George McGovern	0 points	1st
1968	Richard Nixon	5 points	1st
1968	Hubert Humphrey	2 points	2nd
1964	<b>Lyndon Johnson</b>	3 points	2nd
1964	Barry Goldwater	5 points	1st

Source: Bush Gets Small Convention Bounce, Leads Kerry by Seven | Sept. 26, 2004 | GALLUP NEWS SERVICE

- The candidate with the bigger bounce, of course, doesn't necessarily go on to win:
  - In 1988, Democrat Michael Dukakis got a one-point-higher bounce than George H.W. Bush did, but Bush won.
  - In 1984, Democrat Walter Mondale got a larger bounce than incumbent Ronald Reagan did, but Reagan won re-election handily.
  - In 1980, Democrat Jimmy Carter got a slightly larger bounce than challenger Reagan did, but Reagan won.

- In 1964, Republican Barry Goldwater got a larger bounce than incumbent Lyndon B. Johnson did, but Johnson was way ahead in the polls and stayed that way, ultimately defeating Goldwater by an overwhelming margin.

**Factors That Affect the Bounce**

- Idiosyncratic circumstances can make a big difference in the degree to which candidates enjoy the fruits of their party's labors at their conventions.
- There are, however, several recurring dimensions that theoretically could affect the size of a convention bounce:
  - The order in which the conventions occur
  - There appears to be a very slight advantage in terms of a ticket's bounce when that party's convention comes first. But that average advantage across the 11 elections since 1964 appears to be based for the most part on the extraordinary 16-point bounce Bill Clinton received in 1992. Excluding that election, the bounces for the first and the second conventions appear to be no different.

<i>Calendar order</i>	<b>Average bounce</b>	<b>Average bounce excluding 1992</b>
First conventions	6.3 points	5.3 points
Second conventions	5.2 points	5.2 points

Source: Bush Gets Small Convention Bounce, Leads Kerry by Seven | Sept. 26, 2004 | GALLUP NEWS SERVICE

- The partisan effect
- With or without Clinton in 1992, the Democrats seem to generate slightly larger bounces with their conventions than do Republicans.

<i>Political party</i>	<b>Average bounce</b>	<b>Average bounce excluding 1992</b>
Republican conventions	5.3 points	5.3
Democratic conventions	6.2 points	5.2

Source: Bush Gets Small Convention Bounce, Leads Kerry by Seven | Sept. 26, 2004 | GALLUP NEWS SERVICE

## **BIOGRAPHY – Sen. Barack Obama (D–Ill.)**

Junior Senator from Illinois

**Residence:** Chicago

**Born:** August 4, 1961; Honolulu, Hawaii

**Religion:** United Church of Christ

**Family:** Wife, Michelle Obama; two children

**Education:** Occidental College, attended 1979-81; Columbia U., B.A. 1983 (political science); Harvard U., J.D. 1991

**Career:** Lawyer; voter registration and education project director; community outreach organizer; business reporter

**Elected:** 2004 (1st term); Defeated Alan Keyes, R, to succeed Peter G. Fitzgerald, R, who retired

Note: Running for president (announced Feb. 10, 2007).

**Political Highlights:** Ill. Senate, 1997-04; sought Democratic nomination for U.S. House, 2000

His father, also named Barack Obama, was a black scholarship student from Kenya who attended the University of Hawaii. His mother, Ann Dunham, was white and just 18 when they met.

Barack -- "blessed" in Arabic -- was born Aug. 4, 1961. His father left his family to study at Harvard when his son was 2, returning just once to visit -- Obama met his dad once, at age 10.

When Obama's mother remarried, she took her young son to join her husband, Lolo Soetoro, in his native Indonesia.

After four years, in 1971, Obama returned to Hawaii, and was raised by his mother and her parents -- all transplants from Kansas.

In Hawaii, Obama was a scholarship student at Punahou School, a private academy in Honolulu, where he was an outgoing kid with an easy laugh. Obama -- then known as Barry -- grew into a teen who listened to Earth, Wind & Fire, toiled around in his grandfather's old Ford Granada, sang in the choir and joined the literary journal.

He also loved basketball and played on his school team, which won a state championship his senior year.

His early adulthood was marked by confusion about his place in African-American society and a period of using drugs and alcohol, a time chronicled in a 1995 book, "Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance" that became a bestseller.

He continued his education at Occidental College, Los Angeles, Calif (1979-1981) where he studied international relations and helped organize antiapartheid protests.

After graduating from Columbia University, a bachelor of arts degree in political science with a specialization in international relations, and working in New York briefly, Obama became a community organizer in Chicago.

Obama arrived in Chicago in 1985. Working for the Developing Communities Project, Obama organized black churches on the industrial South Side, an area crippled by the loss of steel mills and factories.

Obama became a Christian while working as a neighborhood organizer in Chicago in the 1980s.

After three years, Obama headed to Harvard Law School where he became the first African American president of the Harvard Law Review, and received J.D. in 1991.

During his first summer (in 1989) while working at a Chicago corporate law firm, he met another Harvard law graduate, Michelle Robinson, who became his wife and mother of their two daughters, Malia and Sasha.

Obama also made headlines when he was elected the first black president of the Harvard Law Review, perhaps the most prestigious legal journal in the nation.

After graduation, high-powered job offers flooded in, but Obama joined a small civil rights firm in Chicago. He also lectured on constitutional law at the University of Chicago Law School.

In 1992 he worked on voter registration for the Democratic ticket.

In 1996, he won a state Senate seat and helped change laws governing the death penalty, ethics and racial profiling.

In 2000, Obama made his first run at a seat in Congress, challenging Democratic Rep. Bobby L. Rush. He was trounced by the popular incumbent and former civil rights leader.

Two years after his failed congressional bid, Obama began plotting his campaign for the U.S. Senate.

In 2004, Obama found himself on an unexpectedly easy path to the Senate seat vacated by retiring GOP Sen. Peter G. Fitzgerald.

After his star-making keynote speech at the 2004 Democratic National Convention, pundits and politicians began talking about him as a presidential candidate.

He won the November 2004 U.S. Senate race with 70 percent of the vote, becoming the Senate's only current black senator, and the third since Reconstruction.

During the 109th Congress (2005-06), Obama spent his first term toiling at a few high-profile issues and a few unglamorous ones, but as a freshman in the minority party, his bills did not get far.

He seemed to have the Midas touch: Two best-selling books, two Grammy awards for recording them, magazine covers, TV appearances, invitations galore.

After first saying he had no intention of running for president, he changed his mind and announced his candidacy in February 2007 on the steps of the Old Capitol in Springfield.

He filled giant arenas on the campaign trail, wooing voters with his soaring oratory, message of "change we can believe in" and vows to end the war in Iraq.

He racked up large majorities among black, young and college-educated voters but had a much harder time winning over seniors, working-class voters and some women.<sup>117</sup>

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Agence France Presse, "US conventions' march from politics to partying," 17 August 2008.
- <sup>2</sup> New York Times, "For Convention, Obama's Image Is All-American," August 18, 2008.
- <sup>3</sup> National Journal, "Defining Moments," July 28, 2008.
- <sup>4</sup> New York Times, "For Convention, Obama's Image Is All-American," August 18, 2008.
- <sup>5</sup> DNC Release on Convention's Nightly Themes
- <sup>6</sup> Reuters, "FACTBOX: Speaker lineup for the Democratic Convention," Aug 12, 2008.
- <sup>7</sup> DNC Release on Convention's Nightly Themes
- <sup>8</sup> Associated Press, "Virginia's Warner tapped for Democrats' key speech," August 13, 2008.
- <sup>9</sup> Reuters, "FACTBOX: Speaker lineup for the Democratic Convention," Aug 12, 2008.
- <sup>10</sup> Associated Press, "Virginia's Warner tapped for Democrats' key speech," August 13, 2008.
- <sup>11</sup> Washington Post, "Democrats Pick Warner As Keynote Speaker," August 14, 2008.
- <sup>12</sup> Associated Press Newswires, "Pelosi, Michelle Obama to kick off Dem Convention," 12 August 2008.
- <sup>13</sup> Reuters, "FACTBOX: Speaker lineup for the Democratic Convention," Aug 12, 2008.
- <sup>14</sup> 2008 Democratic National Convention Committee, "Colorado Governor Ritter, Denver Mayor Hickenlooper To Address 2008 Democratic National Convention," August 12, 2008.
- <sup>15</sup> 2008 Democratic National Convention Committee, "The 2008 Convention: Monday August 25th – One Nation," August 12, 2008.
- <sup>16</sup> DNC Release on Convention's Nightly Themes
- <sup>17</sup> Reuters, "FACTBOX: Speaker lineup for the Democratic Convention," Aug 12, 2008.
- <sup>18</sup> Washington Post, "Mark Warner to Keynote Democratic Convention," August 13, 2008.
- <sup>19</sup> Washington Post, "Mark Warner to Keynote Democratic Convention," August 13, 2008.
- <sup>20</sup> Washington Post, "Democrats Pick Warner As Keynote Speaker," August 14, 2008.
- <sup>21</sup> Roanoke Times, "Warner to discuss economy at Democratic National Convention," August 13, 2008.
- <sup>22</sup> Washington Post, "Va., Warner on National Stage," August 14, 2008.
- <sup>23</sup> The Trail – WashingtoPost.com, "McCain Strategist Predicts Close Va. Race," August 14, 2008.
- <sup>24</sup> Roanoke Times, "Warner to discuss economy at Democratic National Convention," August 13, 2008.
- <sup>25</sup> Roanoke Times, "Warner to discuss economy at Democratic National Convention," August 13, 2008.
- <sup>26</sup> DNC Release on Convention's Nightly Themes
- <sup>27</sup> Washington Post, "Democrats Pick Warner As Keynote Speaker," August 14, 2008.
- <sup>28</sup> Denver Post, "Hillary given key time slot for speech," 11 August 2008.
- <sup>29</sup> NY Times, "Clinton to Have Headline Slot at Democratic Convention," August 11, 2008.
- <sup>30</sup> DNC Release on Convention's Nightly Themes
- <sup>31</sup> Associated Press Newswires, "Democrats press pay-equity issue with convention speaker who lost sex-discrimination lawsuit," 18 August 2008.
- <sup>32</sup> 2008 Democratic National Convention Committee, "The 2008 Convention: Tuesday, August 26th – Renewing America's Promise," August 13, 2008.
- <sup>33</sup> DNC Release on Convention's Nightly Themes
- <sup>34</sup> Reuters, "FACTBOX: Speaker lineup for the Democratic Convention," Aug 12, 2008.
- <sup>35</sup> DNC Release on Convention's Nightly Themes
- <sup>36</sup> NY Times, "Clinton to Have Headline Slot at Democratic Convention," August 11, 2008.
- <sup>37</sup> 2008 Democratic National Convention Committee, "The 2008 Convention: Wednesday August 27th - Securing America's Future," Aug. 14, 2008.
- <sup>38</sup> Associated Press, "Hillary Clinton's name to be placed in nomination," August 14, 2008.
- <sup>39</sup> USA Today, "Clinton supporters debate merits of roll call vote," August 14, 2008.
- <sup>40</sup> CQ TODAY ONLINE NEWS, "Efforts to Promote Clinton at Convention Heat Up," Aug. 13, 2008.
- <sup>41</sup> USA Today, "Clinton supporters debate merits of roll call vote," August 14, 2008.
- <sup>42</sup> CQ TODAY ONLINE NEWS, "Efforts to Promote Clinton at Convention Heat Up," Aug. 13, 2008.
- <sup>43</sup> New York Times, "As a Tribute, Democrats Will Place Clinton's Name in Nomination at the Convention," Aug. 14, 2008.
- <sup>44</sup> Los Angeles Times, "Clinton to get moment in the convention sun," 15 August 2008.
- <sup>45</sup> The Denver Post, "Clinton backers want vote," 08/08/2008.
- <sup>46</sup> Denver Post, "Clinton backers want vote," August 8, 2008.
- <sup>47</sup> Associated Press, "Hillary Clinton's name to be placed in nomination," August 14, 2008.
- <sup>48</sup> Associated Press, "Hillary Clinton's name to be placed in nomination," August 14, 2008.
- <sup>49</sup> Los Angeles Times, "Clinton to get moment in the convention sun," 15 August 2008.
- <sup>50</sup> The Wall Street Journal, "Campaign '08: Clinton Placed on Convention Ballot in Unity Gesture," 15 August 2008.

- 
- <sup>51</sup> Rocky Mountain News, "Floor vote for Clinton Move intended to unify Democrats behind Obama," 15 August 2008.
- <sup>52</sup> DNC Release on Convention's Nightly Themes
- <sup>53</sup> Democratic National Convention Committee, "DEMOCRATS THROW OPEN DOORS OF CONVENTION," July 7, 2008.
- <sup>54</sup> DNC Release on Convention's Nightly Themes
- <sup>55</sup> NY Times, "Clinton to Have Headline Slot at Democratic Convention," August 11, 2008.
- <sup>56</sup> Associated Press, "Virginia's Warner tapped for Democrats' key speech," August 13, 2008.
- <sup>57</sup> Associated Press Newswires, "Colo. governor, Denver mayor to talk at convention," 12 August 2008.
- <sup>58</sup> NY Times, "Clinton to Have Headline Slot at Democratic Convention," August 11, 2008.
- <sup>59</sup> Associated Press Newswires, "Credential pickup begins for Obama's acceptance speech at Democrats convention," 16 August 2008.
- <sup>60</sup> Associated Press Newswires, "Obama to deliver party's speech from 50-yard line," 28 July 2008.
- <sup>61</sup> Washington Post, "Democrats Pick Warner As Keynote Speaker," August 14, 2008.
- <sup>62</sup> The New York Times Politics Blog, "Democrats Seek to Thwart Obama Ticket Scalpers," Aug. 13, 2008.
- <sup>63</sup> New York Times, "For Convention, Obama's Image Is All-American," August 18, 2008.
- <sup>64</sup> Associated Press Newswires, "Obama to deliver party's speech from 50-yard line," 28 July 2008.
- <sup>65</sup> CQ Press. Dec. 2005. National Party Conventions 1831-2004. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- <sup>66</sup> National Journal, "Defining Moments," July 28, 2008.
- <sup>67</sup> CQ Press. Dec. 2005. National Party Conventions 1831-2004. Washington, DC: CQ Press; Associated Press Newswires, "Gore gives foreign policy light touch at convention," 18 August 2000; The Associated Press Political Service, "Dole Speech a Big Hit in his Hometown," 16 August 1996; The Washington Post, "Convention Low-Show; Viewers Stayed Away From GOP Prime-Time Events," 19 August 1996; The Dallas Morning News, "Kerry: 'We can do better, and we will,'" 30 July 2004; Reuters News, "Bush buoyed by speech, rides rails in key state," 4 August 2000; The San Diego Union-Tribune, "Bush 'sorry' for tax boost, promises cuts if re-elected," 21 August 1992; NY Times, "Bush Outlines Plan for a 2nd Term and Attacks Kerry's Record," September 3, 2004.
- <sup>68</sup> Associated Press Newswires, "Organizers detail faith events during Democratic National Convention," 16 August 2008.
- <sup>69</sup> New York Times, "For Convention, Obama's Image Is All-American," August 18, 2008.
- <sup>70</sup> Associated Press Newswires, "Organizers detail faith events during Democratic National Convention," 16 August 2008.
- <sup>71</sup> 2008 Democratic National Convention Committee, "Democratic Convention To Highlight Diverse Community Of Faith Leaders Working Toward Common Good," August 16, 2008.
- <sup>72</sup> 2008 Democratic National Convention Committee, "Democratic Convention To Highlight Diverse Community Of Faith Leaders Working Toward Common Good," August 16, 2008.
- <sup>73</sup> Denver Post, "Got it covered," 6 June 2008.
- <sup>74</sup> Los Angeles Times, "At the networks, reined-in coverage," 17 August 2008.
- <sup>75</sup> Los Angeles Times, "Gotcha, 24/7," 17 August 2008.
- <sup>76</sup> Washington Post, "Democrats Pick Warner As Keynote Speaker," August 14, 2008.
- <sup>77</sup> The New York Times, "Denver Police Brace for Convention", 8/5/08.
- <sup>78</sup> Reuters News, "RPT-Huge protests expected at US political conventions," 15 August 2008.
- <sup>79</sup> The Denver Post, "Feds say \$50 million OK'd for Democrats' convention", 6/25/08.
- <sup>80</sup> The Denver Post, "DNC funds escaping council OK Details on nearly half of \$50 million in spending have not been made public", 8/7/08.
- <sup>81</sup> NYT, "Colorado: Convention Security", Kirk Johnson, 8/7/08.
- <sup>82</sup> Associated Press Newswires, "Converted warehouse to host detainees during DNC," 14 August 2008.
- <sup>83</sup> Associated Press Newswires, "Denver police to make \$1.2 million in overtime for convention," 15 August 2008.
- <sup>84</sup> Reuters News, "RPT-Huge protests expected at US political conventions," 15 August 2008.
- <sup>85</sup> The New York Times, "Denver Police Brace for Convention", 8/5/08.
- <sup>86</sup> The New York Times, "Denver Police Brace for Convention", 8/5/08.
- <sup>87</sup> Reuters News, "RPT-Huge protests expected at US political conventions," 15 August 2008.
- <sup>88</sup> The Denver Post, "Ready for if things turn ugly Downtown building managers expect calm but have backup plans", 8/8/08.
- <sup>89</sup> Reuters News, "RPT-Huge protests expected at US political conventions," 15 August 2008.
- <sup>90</sup> National Journal, "What to Expect in Denver," July 28, 2008.
- <sup>91</sup> Associated Press Newswires, "Denver's colorful history on display for visitors," 6 August 2008.
- <sup>92</sup> Associated Press Newswires, "Nominee cut alfalfa during last Denver convention," 12 August 2008.
- <sup>93</sup> 2008 Democratic National Convention Committee, "Democrats Announce 2008 Convention Chairs," July 2007.
- <sup>94</sup> CQ Press. Dec. 2005. National Party Conventions 1831-2004. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

- 
- <sup>95</sup> Democratic National Convention Committee, “Chairman Dean’s! Nominations for THE 2008 CONVENTION STANDING COMMITTEES.”
- <sup>96</sup> The Wall Street Journal, “U.S. News: Democrats Seek Unity in Preparing Party Platform,” 11 August 2008.
- <sup>97</sup> Pittsburgh Tribune-Review, “Party unity eludes Dems at platform meeting,” 10 August 2008.
- <sup>98</sup> Denver Post, “Platform puts Democrats on new path,” August 10, 2008.
- <sup>99</sup> Denver Post, “Platform puts Democrats on new path,” August 10, 2008.
- <sup>100</sup> The Wall Street Journal, “U.S. News: Democrats Seek Unity in Preparing Party Platform,” 11 August 2008.
- <sup>101</sup> Denver Post, “Platform puts Democrats on new path,” August 10, 2008.
- <sup>102</sup> The Wall Street Journal, “U.S. News: Democrats Seek Unity in Preparing Party Platform,” 11 August 2008.
- <sup>103</sup> Denver Post, “Platform puts Democrats on new path,” August 10, 2008.
- <sup>104</sup> The Wall Street Journal, “U.S. News: Democrats Seek Unity in Preparing Party Platform,” 11 August 2008.
- <sup>105</sup> Denver Post, “Platform puts Democrats on new path,” August 10, 2008.
- <sup>106</sup> The Wall Street Journal, “U.S. News: Democrats Seek Unity in Preparing Party Platform,” 11 August 2008.
- <sup>107</sup> Denver Post, “Platform puts Democrats on new path,” August 10, 2008.
- <sup>108</sup> Denver Post, “Platform puts Democrats on new path,” August 10, 2008.
- <sup>109</sup> Congressional Research Service, “Presidential Nominating Process: Current Issues,” April 11, 2008.
- <sup>110</sup> Congressional Research Service, “Presidential Nominating Process: Current Issues,” April 11, 2008.
- <sup>111</sup> Associated Press Newswires, “Some Clinton backers refuse to embrace Obama despite unity theme at Democratic convention,” 14 August 2008.
- <sup>112</sup> The Wall Street Journal, “Campaign '08: Clinton Placed on Convention Ballot in Unity Gesture,” 15 August 2008.
- <sup>113</sup> Associated Press Newswires, “Obama says give Fla. and Mich. delegates full vote,” 3 August 2008.
- <sup>114</sup> Associated Press Newswires, “Obama says give Fla. and Mich. delegates full vote,” 3 August 2008.
- <sup>115</sup> USA Today, “Donors pick up parties' expenses,” August 15, 2008.
- <sup>116</sup> Bush Gets Small Convention Bounce, Leads Kerry by Seven | Sept. 26, 2004 | GALLUP NEWS SERVICE
- <sup>117</sup> Congressional Biographical Directory; CQ MEMBER PROFILE, 110th CONGRESS; Associated Press Newswires, “Barack Obama: Pragmatist who learned to adapt to different worlds,” 6 November 2007; Almanac of American Politics, 2006 ed.; Associated Press Newswires, “Barack Obama: Finding common bonds in different worlds,” 3 June 2008; Detroit Free Press, “ONE WILL LEAD U.S.” 8 June 2008.