

When the convention opened the regular delegation, with the state's vote, was seated. The Bond delegates, temporarily without floor passes or assigned seats, were seated first in the balcony and later in an aisle. After midnight, early Aug. 27, a 3d roll-call vote was taken to seat the Bond group with all the state's votes. It lost by a vote of 1,413 to 1,041 1/2.

The vote on the Georgia delegates led to pandemonium. New York delegates shouted tributes to Bond, and a Negro delegate from California set fire to his party credentials. The turmoil forced a recess at 2:40 a.m. Aug. 27 with the credentials dispute still unresolved.

At the 2d convention session Aug. 27, the convention approved by voice vote the split-vote compromise suggested by Hughes. After the vote, about 2 dozen Georgia regulars quit the hall; about 10 others had quit the delegation earlier that afternoon. 22 regulars, including 7 Negroes, remained and shared the section with the Bond slate.

A 4th roll-call vote on a credentials dispute was taken Aug. 27. It concerned Alabama, where the regulars were challenged by 2 groups—a pro-Humphrey group questioning the party loyalty of some supporters of 3d-party candidate George C. Wallace and a pro-McCarthy group, mostly Negroes, bringing loyalty and racial discrimination complaints. The Hughes committee had decided to seat all regulars who signed a "disclaimer of disloyalty," a pledge not to support the candidate of any other party. 16 of the regulars refusing to do this were replaced by challengers from the pro-Humphrey group. The McCarthy group's protests had been rejected by the Hughes committee. The convention upheld the committee action by a 2-1 margin. 5 Negro delegates from Minnesota walked out in protest against what they considered their state's inadequate support of the Alabama challengers.

Before the convention opened, the Hughes committee had settled a dispute over credentials in Mississippi in favor of the challengers, a coalition of liberal groups led by Dr. Aaron E. Henry, Hodding Carter 3d and Charles Evers. The committee voted overwhelmingly Aug. 20 to unseat the regular pro-Wallace delegation, headed by Gov. John Bell Williams. The coalition, indorsed by Humphrey, McCarthy and McGovern, had challenged the regular delegation on the basis of party loyalty and racial bias in delegate selection.

The successful challenge, and Negro challenges in other states, were out-growths of a challenge by the Mississippi Freedom Democrats at the 1964 convention; the 1964 challenge had led to a new party rule requiring state organizations to open their activities to Negroes.

(The 1968 convention had 337 Negro delegates—189 voting, 148 alternates. A Negro caucus was convened several times during the convention under the leadership of Rep. John Conyers Jr. [Mich.] and Gary [Ind.] Mayor Richard G. Hatcher. At the Aug. 25 meeting, a plan was considered to promote the greatest possible Negro participation in politics.)

The Hughes committee rejected McCarthy challenges from Washington, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Connecticut, Indiana and Michigan. McCarthy challenges from New York and Oklahoma were dropped prior to the convention.

A Hughes committee proposal, indorsed by the convention Aug. 27, called for reform in party rules before the 1972 convention to assure "meaningful and timely opportunities" for participation by all Democrats. The committee suggested these reforms: (a) that delegates not be hand-picked by a few leaders, (b) that the selection not be too long in advance of a convention and that the process remain open to challenge, (c) that party rules be studied and perhaps eliminated.

and North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam to negotiate a permanent reconciliation with the National Liberation Front looking toward a ... broadly representative" government for South Vietnam; (d) reduction of U.S. offensive operations in South Vietnam, "thus enabling an early withdrawal of a significant number of our troops."

**Unit Rule Discarded.** The unit rule governing delegations at the convention itself was abolished by voice vote of the delegates Aug. 26. Its only defender, Texas, which had employed it for more than 100 years, requested retention of the unit rule for the current convention, but the delegates disposed of it immediately. Under a unit rule, a bloc vote was cast according to the wishes of the majority within the delegation.

Also adopted were changes to bar the time-consuming demonstrations for candidates and to limit nominating and seconding speeches to a total of 25 minutes for Presidential nominees and 15 minutes for Vice Presidential nominees.

**LBJ Vietnam Plank Adopted.** A platform plank indorsing the Johnson Administration policy in the Vietnamese war was adopted by the convention Aug. 28 after an emotional floor debate revealing the deep division within the party over the issue. The 12,000-word platform itself was adopted Aug. 28 without debate.

The platform, aside from the Vietnam plank, which was considered more hawkish than the Republican Vietnam plank, was generally liberal in tone. It called the cities "a frontier whose urgent needs hold a place in very high priority." On the "law and order" issue, the Democrats pledged a "vigorous and sustained campaign against lawlessness in all its forms" in combination with an "attack on the root causes of crime and disorder."

The Vietnam plank was adopted by a vote of 1,567 3/4 to 1,041 1/4 after a 3-hour debate punctuated by chants of "Stop the war!" The debate was over a plank formulated with White House advice and supported by Vice Pres. Humphrey and a dovish plank supported by backers of Sens. McCarthy, McGovern and Edward Kennedy.

The Johnson-Humphrey plank, presented as the majority choice of the platform committee, advocated: (a) A halt in the bombing of North Vietnam "when this action would not endanger the lives of our troops in the field" and would "take into account the response from Hanoi"; (b) withdrawal of all foreign forces from South Vietnam only after negotiating "with Hanoi an immediate end or limitation of hostilities"; (c) establishment of a postwar government by free elections with international supervision and participation open to all who "accept peaceful political processes." The plank "applaud[ed] the initiative of Pres. Johnson which brought North Vietnam to the peace table" and called on Hanoi to "respond positively to this act of statesmanship."

The McCarthy-McGovern-Kennedy plank, presented as a minority report of the platform committee, called for: (a) An unconditional cessation of all bombing of North Vietnam; (b) negotiation of a phased, mutual withdrawal of U.S.

The Vietnam question came before the convention at 12:37 a.m. Aug. 28 after a 7-hour session. But a commotion in the Wisconsin delegation stemming from a demand for adjournment spread to the rest of the convention and virtually forced adjournment over the opposition of Chrmn. Carl Albert. Albert accepted Chicago Mayor Daley's motion for adjournment after having previously rejected the Wisconsin motion.

The debate, without precedent in convention history, was held the afternoon of Aug. 28. The argument for the majority Administration plank was presented by Sens. Edmund S. Muskie (Me.) and Gale McGee (Wyo.), Gov. Warren Hearnes (Mo.), Mrs. Gerri Joseph of Minnesota, Reps. Ed Edmondson (Okla.), David Pryor (Ark.) and Hale Boggs (La.).

The minority position was presented by Rep. Phillip Burton (Calif.), Senatorial nominee Paul O'Dwyer of New York, Kennedy Administration aide Kenneth O'Donnell of Massachusetts, Sen. Albert Gore (Tenn.), and Sen. Wayne Morse (Ore.), Kennedy Administration aide Theodore C. Sorensen of New York and Pierre Salinger, White House press secretary in the Kennedy Administration and adviser to the McGovern campaign.

Muskie began the debate with the assertion that the 2 planks differed not in the objective of a negotiated settlement of the war but only in the means of achieving that objective. While there were "real differences," he said, "the dividing line is not the desire for peace or war; the dividing line is limited to means, not ends."

A prolonged demonstration erupted after Salinger's claim that the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy would have supported the dovish plank. A chant of "Stop the war!" spread from the New York and California delegations to other delegates and into the galleries. The convention was brought to order with difficulty. As the vote was announced and it was revealed that the Humphrey plank had passed by a 60-40 margin, a protest rendition of *We Shall Overcome* arose from New York delegates wearing black armbands.

The debate ended with a message from Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, the U.S. commander in Vietnam. Boggs, chairman of the platform committee, read it as Abrams' reply to his question at a White House briefing on the estimated additional casualties that would result from an unconditional bombing halt. Boggs said Abrams' answer was that within 2 weeks of such a halt the enemy could be able to increase its military capacity in the South 5-fold.