



The Chronicle

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Campaign '72 Comes to Durham

...Nixonettes, absentee ballots and football games...

By John Thomas

The Duke chapter of the Young Voters for the Re-election of the President will concentrate this fall on securing absentee ballots for students.

According to junior, Bill Davis, the campus chairman, 95% of Duke students vote by absentee ballot and "no other activity is as productive as getting those ballots to Nixon supporters as well as the uncommitted ones."

Jonathan Miller, a sophomore and Duke campus liaison with the national and state Committees for the Re-election of the President (CRP), said in an interview yesterday, that the Duke Young Voters have already canvassed most of the campus. "We've found," he said, "a substantial number of students performing the re-election of Nixon over the election of McGovern, with a large percentage undecided."

Miller commented that although a large number of students indicated in the poll they were undecided,

Davis also said that once they get going they plan to have a representative in every dormitory to serve as the main communication link to members of the Duke community.

He also said they are intensively planning to hand out buttons, bumper stickers and literature at this week's football game against Stanford. Later in the fall, he said, they will advertise more, but he said he thought it would be counter-productive to begin an advertising campaign so early in the fall.

Funding

Miller explained that the campus group is funded mainly by donations from its members, "but it will receive some secondary funding from the state and national CRP."

Both Davis and Miller said it is likely that a branch of the Young Voters for the President, especially for women, will be set up on the Duke campus soon.

According to Cathy Crockett, state chairman of the "Nixonettes," a branch will be set up at Duke as

people by totally associating the President's campaign with the campaign of all Republicans.

Hutchins said that a headquarters has yet to be set up in Durham, but they hope that one will be in operation by the beginning of next week.

Hutchins said that all volunteers will be certainly welcome at the Durham headquarters, but that Duke students who are interested in helping in the campaign can either contact Bill Davis at 3221 or Jonathan Miller at 4271.



Presidential politics made head-on in Durham this fall

...Blacks, students, and leafletting 'day to day'...

By Nancy Arroy

Selling any candidate left of Nick Californitis (Democratic senatorial nominee) in semi-conservative North Carolina is, to say the least, a challenge. For the McGovern campaign, hampered by party division and the landscape of the national campaign, it is beginning to seem impossible. Labor, traditionally Democratic, has withheld its endorsement. The youth, long the backbone of the national effort, seem to be reluctant to either lend its votes or active support: a recent McGovern organizational meeting at Duke produced only about 150 volunteers, far short of the original estimate.

These considerations, though important, are minor, however, in the eyes of Durham organizers. From the beginning, two major problems have plagued the campaign: lack of voter recognition and identification and the reluctance of party regulars, officials, and state candidates to back the national ticket.

In 1968, North Carolina went heavily for Nixon and Wallace. In Durham, the popular vote was split fairly evenly with 29.6% for the Republican ticket, 31% for the American party, and 39.3% for the Humphrey-Muskie ticket. So far, according to Dr. James House of the Duke Sociology department and a sponsor of a McGovern caucus in Durham, there have been few clamp-downs among those who voted for Humphrey in 1968.

House also says that he expects few defections, explaining that "those who voted for the ticket here in 1968 were more liberal to begin with than, say, those who voted for Humphrey in the South."

In this respect, the survey, conducted in August is encouraging to McGovern organizers. The caucus also, however, pointed up some serious weaknesses. In two precincts which divided the vote between Wallace and Nixon in 1968, the survey revealed that 64% planned to vote for Nixon while only 7% were committed to McGovern. Yet when questioned on a number of issues, these same voters seemed to share opinions remarkably similar to McGovern's: 55% favored drastic cuts in defense spending; over 60% felt that "the next president" should end the war with an immediate withdrawal of troops; 71% favored discontinuation of the space program; and 90% demanded a "more honest government."

Voices understood

"Why do we have such a gap?" asked House. "The factors are difficult to identify. The reasons are basically individualistic and personalistic, combined with a little ignorance. Whatever the reasons, this gap must be closed, and I think it can be," he added, citing other survey findings: that 80% of those who felt they understood McGovern's position were organized to him; while only 3% of those who said they knew "nothing or little" were planning to vote for the South Dakota.

The cure, as House sees it, lies in greater exposure. "So far, the media hasn't really helped us," said House. "All they seem to be concerned about are things like the (then) Thomas Bagleton affair. Little coverage has been given to what McGovern has to offer, and to Nixon's shortcomings. And so far, our own partisan advertisements have been confined to short spots."

For House, and for Dr. Jack Preis, also a member of the Sociology department and a McGovern organizer, as

well as an old hand in Durham politics, the day of the monolithic Morale is over. That the winning of the '68 Wallace vote, or a portion of it, is crucial was conceded by both; that it can be attacked as a protest vote as some McGovernites believed was rejected. The myth of a solid youth bloc has also been discarded, partially on the basis of the August survey. "Of those who were still living with their parents, we can expect them to show only a slightly more liberal attitude. If, for example, 60% of the parents of those interviewed voted for Humphrey in 1968, probably 75% of the college age voters will be sympathetic to us. On the other hand, if the first figure is only 25%, the second will probably be only about 30%."

Black vote

As for the black vote, neither Preis nor House felt comfortable about making a prediction. Although the latter suggested that the difference in the two candidates' attitudes toward blacks "should be evident by now."

The problem of maintaining party unity and solidarity has provided one of the larger headaches of the McGovern campaign in North Carolina. Many candidates seeking office in the state have either publicly disavowed the national ticket or simply tried to ignore it. Preis, while sympathetic to those who see the McGovern platform as a handicap in what he termed a "semi-conservative state," warned that "those seeking office in North Carolina cannot afford to dissociate themselves from the McGovern campaign." Warnings, however, do not seem to be enough. As Preis admitted, there is still a serious rift between the Durham party and the McGovern organization, and that it goes beyond simple non-organization. "Some of the precinct managers are a little less than sympathetic to McGovern," Preis said wryly, as he outlined a plan to circumvent them. When it seems necessary, we plan to appoint one of our people to coordinate registration efforts among other things."

Day to day

Implicit in Preis' statement is the feeling that the McGovern campaign is simply too important to be left to chance. It is a feeling that can be found in every aspect of the campaign. But, although its organization is good, and the members strongly dedicated, its strategy, as Preis and others admit is largely "day to day."

What the organization runs into "day to day" is the unpleasant reality that, since 1968, the percentage of registered blacks, has dropped almost 20 points.

By April of this year, 16,593 blacks had registered. Although this figure indicates an increase of over 2,000, it also represents a drop of 19.3% because the voting age population has grown from 19,475 in 1968 to 27,371 in 1972.

These figures are especially significant for McGovern strategists because in the last election, over 97% of all black voters supported Humphrey; comprising only 16% of registered voters in the county, they gave Humphrey 43% of his total.

Extensive voter registration drives in Durham, massive canvassing and literature distribution have all been set as part of the "day to day" program in which students can participate.

It is an eleven-hour effort which just might work; in any case, there are no alternatives.



he said, he believed that "most people have made up their minds by now."

Hoovering committee

Davis explained that in the next future he was going to organize a steering committee for the Young Voters to determine any future activities for the group. He said there definitely was a possibility that the group would bring speakers to the campus and organize other activities, "as long as they don't incur any loss of time as far as the absolute effort goes."

Davis said they already had a party last Saturday for about 65 people who expressed interest in working in the Duke organization. Over 100 people signed up on a list they had at a table they set up on the quad the first day of school, he pointed out,

soon as a chairman can be chosen by the state organization.

Crockett said the "Nixonettes" will be speaking for the President on women's issues. They will be given outlets and will also assist the community organization's campaign efforts.

State organization

Meanwhile, Mickey Hutchins, a field representative who works out of the Raleigh headquarters of the North Carolina CRP, explained in an interview yesterday that his organization and of the sub-organizations will remain totally bipartisan.

"We realize," Hutchins said, "that a large number of people who want to vote for Nixon are Democrats and Independents. We don't want to alienate these

This is Ruby's coming-out

Welcome to the first issue of *Ruby*, our magazine. This quarter we will publish every other Tuesday. Our success with it will determine how often (if at all), and in what form, *Ruby* will appear thereafter.

Each issue of *Ruby* will focus on one subject or a number of related subjects, looking at it from various angles and in various ways: with interviews, in-depth analyses, feature stories, photographs, cartoons and drawings, and just about every way we can do it on paper.

This week we're looking at the national political contests (mainly the Presidential race) in Durham.

County. But our subjects won't necessarily be always so timely and newsworthy (as *Time* and *Newsweek* are). Such stuff is what makes up the bulk of the *Chronicle*. And that brings us to why we ever started doing *Ruby* and what we hope to do with it.

We've become increasingly aware, lately, of the limitations we work under as newspaper journalists. There are a lot of people and things around Duke and Durham, very much worth writing and reading about, but none of the existing campus and local media (the *Chronicle* included) seem to be

equipped or inclined to treat all of them in the manner they require and deserve.

A gap exists, then, between what is being done and what might be done. *Ruby* wants to help narrow that gap.

Chronicle writing is pretty much limited to three types: straight newswriting (who did what, when, where and how) and analysis, which is restricted to the "inverted pyramid" style progressing from the most important to the least important, regardless of chronological or other order; feature-style writing, a bit less restricted, in which

most features and arts, and some sports and column writing is done; and editorial-style, the discipline that makes up editorials and op-eds.

All of that is fine, we think; otherwise, we would not be here. But we think some people want to see something else, and some of us are sure we want to try something else.

We're trying something else with *Ruby*. And we're getting other people to help us. In this issue of *Ruby*, we've solicited help from Debbie Kasper and Joe Bartels, two student artists, and from Elizabeth Turnquist, a Durham freelance writer with a sharp political insight and an equally keen interest in Ball City politics.

Ruby needs the talents and interests of many more people in order to thrive. We invite you to bring your ideas to us; your writing and graphic talents, your ideas for future *Ruby* issues.

If you want to contribute your talent to *Ruby*, come see us at our offices on the third floor of Flowers. If you want to contribute your opinion, write to *Ruby*, in care of the *Chronicle*, Box 4096, Duke Station, Lettles to *Ruby* will be printed in *Ruby* issues and not in regular *Chronicle* issues. Our doors and our ears are wide open.

Our initial focus

That a political campaign makes good copy is as old as journalism itself. The fact is that campaign coverage usually results in media overkill. Polls, purportedly conducted in an objective spirit of "finding out what the people think" are often little more than tabulated endorsements to be used in further molding public opinion. And some/most/all campaign-dependent upon your degree of cynicism—constitute in themselves the ultimate in emotional rip-offs and manipulative exercises.

So why devote the first issue of *Ruby* to the impact of the national campaigns in Durham?

There are several reasons, all of which are related to our hopes for the magazine. For better or for worse, the gubernatorial elections are still with us, and as with other topics to be covered in future issues, we consider the campaigns, their organization, aims and

tactics, as well as the reactions of the electorate, to be important and relevant to our times.

We thought, too, that if we presented a picture of the various election-related activities going on in the Duke-Durham area, anyone who wanted to participate could pick whatever group that she or he found interesting, and join it. (If you don't like anything you see, maybe you can start something else.)

In the preparation of this issue, our attitude was similar to that expressed by Daniel Boorstin in his observation that "we are haunted not by reality, but by those images we have put in place of reality." Thus, we felt it was not sufficient simply to conduct polls or to print bulletin-board type stories, but to go out into the community from which we too often isolate ourselves and talk to people on a one-to-one basis. Some of our findings were:

—While Durham as a

whole favors Nixon over McGovern, there is a great deal of indecision and confusion among the voters over what each man stands for.

—The Democrats have two huge tasks: increasing voter recognition of McGovern; and persuading party officials and candidates to stick with and actively support the national ticket.

Besides conducting interviews in Durham, we also canvassed the campus, and found that, somewhat predictably, that there is a strong pro-McGovern bias in the University community. Active participation is, however, meager at best, and fund-raising has not been particularly successful.

From this it would appear that the McGovern campaign needs your help. Or maybe you prefer the Nixon organization. Or maybe you'd prefer to sit this one out. We leave the decision to you.

ON THE COVER

Sirre Huffman has superimposed his photo of a Durham County farmer he talked with (see page six), a Nixon man, onto Jim Wilson's photo of the convention that re-nominated Nixon.

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CONTENTS

Voter Registration: the race for eligible voters in Durham city and county. By Rick Melcher

Page 3

Durham Perspective: the escape from Reconstruction traditions and the emergence of a two-party system. By Martha Eason

Page 4

Interview: James David Barber, author and Duke's new political science department chairman. By Ann Pelham

Page 5

Active-Passive or Mama's Boy: predicting Presidential performance by looking at the man rather than the rhetoric. By Ann Pelham

Page 5

"They don't do what they say they're going to do," or Presidential politics 1972. Interviews with Durham area people. By Tom Norton, Bob Douglas, and Diana Porchley

Page 5 and 7

Campus poll on the Presidential campaign. By Bob Douglas and Diana Porchley

Page 8

Changing the White House, or, starting locally, i.e., in Durham. By Elizabeth Turnquist

Page 8

What Has Happened at Duke: a news summary. By Julie Garrett

Page 10

Spectrum

Page 11

What's Happening at Duke: a calendar. By Julie Garrett

Back Cover

RUBY'S STAFF RUBY'S STAFF RUBY'S STAFF RUBY'S

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SCHOLARSHIPS MEETING

TONIGHT

(September 19)

for all students
interested in the
Danforth, Fulbright,
Marshall, Rhodes, and
Winston Churchill.

229 Allen
8:00 p.m.

Racial barriers, apathy plague voter registration

By Rick Meiser

With only seven weeks remaining before the general election on November 7, it is becoming increasingly apparent that Democrats and Republicans are focusing voter-registration and get-out-the-vote efforts on those groups traditionally loyal to a particular party.

Interviews with officials in Durham County concerned with voter-registration indicate that the national campaign has provided little stimulus to non-registered voters to register. However, this trend is not unique to the quadrennial run for the Presidency. Enthusiasm generally tapers off between primary and general elections, according to Bill Towe, research director for the non-partisan North Carolina Voter Education Project (NC-VEP).

In addition, common barriers from the past remain to discourage and cut down upon registration among several sectors of the population.

Accordingly, Democrats are actively working in the black community and on the campuses of North Carolina Central University and Durham Technical Institute, predominantly black colleges, where Democratic support has been traditionally strong.

Nixon Needs Cross-over Vote

On the other hand, Republicans, who comprise a distinct minority among registered voters in North Carolina, are relying on a substantial cross-over vote from Democrats and Independents, and an interest stimulated from state and local campaigns, if President Nixon is to be re-elected.

An important factor in voter-registration efforts, and subsequently the result of the national campaign, is the commonly-cited unity among Republicans, while the Democrats are reeling from the split between party regulars and reform politicians.

However, many sectors of the population and several areas in the state are not reached by the national campaign. Much of this void is filled by the NC-VEP.

Moreover, for poor whites, blacks and Indians national level politics creates little concern, when more particularistic, community issues are at hand, according to Towe.

Towe pointed out that most of the political activity—from educating voters to registering voters in electing local officials—within the poor communities is expended prior to the primary election.

Because of a large degree of apathy in poor communities both before and after the primary, due to historical exclusion of the poor from the electoral process and a lack of resources, the thrust of the Voter Education Process has centered on "citizen education and voter registration in poor communities," Towe said.

Funded by foundation grants, VEP operated in 11 Southern states, providing everything from analytical research to leadership-training workshops for indigenous officials to assistance in conducting voter-education and registration drives.

Towe said the activity of the VEP in North Carolina has decreased after the May primary commensurately with the decrease in political interest in many poor communities. Contributing reasons, he said, were the defeat of many local candidates in the primary or the assurance that politicians who made it through primaries will be elected in November.

N. C. Black registration lowest

Still, the VEP is concerned with current figures which point out that black registration in North Carolina is the lowest in the 11 Southern states reached by VEP. Black registration in Durham County is about at the Southern average—60 per cent.

Towe claimed that, once registered, blacks and poor people will vote, "but the system is designed against registration."

"The registration system is designed by the white middle-class, who play the game of electoral politics." It is this group of people, he said, which most often has control of the county board of elections and subsequent command of the voter-registration process.

Both Towe and Howard Lee, black mayor of

Chapel Hill, once that black registration is kept down by the lack of enticements in the national campaign, as well as traditional barriers erected to discourage blacks and poor whites from registering.

But when an attractive white progressive or black candidate arises, voter registration can be greatly stimulated, Lee said.

Lee's own unsuccessful campaign for Congress from the Second District had an exemplary impact upon voter registration; as many as 18,900 new black voters were added to the rolls directly because of the interest sparked from the Lee campaign.

Nevertheless, three main obstacles exist, Lee asserted:

—Polls are generally inaccessible for poor people, who often must leave work to register.

—Various forms of "intimidation" are employed "which discourage and frustrate poor persons."

—Registrars may simply refuse to register people.

Besides the general problems, North Carolina has its own specific obstacles to registration, Lee



added. While other Southern states were having serious difficulty registering blacks, North Carolina was considered progressive in its registration efforts. Subsequently, massive voter registration drives in the past decade have been conducted in other states while North Carolina has been neglected.

Whereas Towe and Lee speak of registration obstacles and decreasing interest in the national campaign, Harris Johnson, chairman of the voter education and registration effort for the Democratic Party in Durham County, offers a contrasting evaluation.

Democrats optimistic about registration

"The only obstacles we are facing are money and the ability to mobilize people. But the support from many Democratic groups portrays an optimistic picture," Johnson said.

Johnson went on to say that any other obstacles are a "hypothetical rationale." Of the difficulty for working people to get to the registration places, Johnson said, "It would be ideal if people could get off their jobs to register, but it is just not feasible; so we must mobilize people to work in register people when precinct registration is held."

Johnson claims that the "well-defined alternative" between the Nixon and McGovern domestic and foreign philosophies offers an inducement to encourage voter-registration.

In addition, Johnson cited what he said was unity among traditional Democrats and McGovern supporters as a spur to voter-registration efforts. "All efforts are being made through the regular party. It is a cooperative, not fragmented, endeavor between the McGovern people and traditional party members."

Howard Lee disputes this contention on at least two counts. He maintains that there is a "seething split underneath a display of overt unity between the McGovern forces and traditional Democrats. This has a hell of an effect on voter registration."

He added that it is not the national campaign, but the activity of local and state officials which draw voter support.

Although Lee is stumping the state for the McGovern-Shriver ticket concentrating on persons already on the rolls, Johnson said the Durham County Democrats are earnestly concentrating on a county-wide registration effort.

The Democratic efforts are aimed at blacks, Johnson said, because of their traditional support.

All efforts are being channeled through the traditional Democratic vote-getting structure—precinct chairpersons, committeemen, and delegates to the state and county conventions.

Within the black community, Johnson has sent a letter to all black ministers urging them to seek campaign volunteers and to call for increased registration.

Campus coordinators, high school leafletting

At NCCU and Durham Tech, coordinators on each floor of every dormitory have been designated to insure that all students both register and request absentee ballots if they live outside the county.

Leafletting has been conducted in high schools before and after the primary, explaining voter registration and "urging precinct registration as a simplification," Johnson said.

On a county-wide basis, Johnson said, precincts have been clustered into 10 districts "to best utilize personnel." Each district has a co-ordinator who has explicitly delineated instructions for waging a door-to-door campaign, he said. An important aspect is that each member of the registration staff has a specific function to perform.

Financing for the registration project is drawn from local precincts and, to a small extent, from the county Democratic party, Johnson said.

On the other hand, Republicans are proceeding on a smooth path in registration efforts, certain to take advantage of discord surfacing among Democrats.

Frank Montgomery, Durham County chairman of the Republican Party, said there is a two-fold direction in the registration process: to register Republicans and seek out persons leaning toward Nixon.

Prior to the primary, Montgomery said, every Republican in Durham County was contacted and "about 100 volunteers" were secured. Then a block-to-block door bell ringing campaign was put on to seek out all unregistered voters.

All unregistered voters were contacted, Montgomery claims, by state and local campaign

"The registration game is designed by the white, middle-class who play the game of electoral politics."

offices and were encouraged to register.

Durham GOP's Phase Two

In what Montgomery calls the "second phase" of registration efforts, precinct captains in each of the 42 county precincts were chosen. Each precinct captain was, in turn, responsible for securing block captains "who are to follow up on new prospects and make further searches for unregistered voters," Montgomery said.

Additionally, the second phase has brought with it the formation of Teenage Republican Clubs in "three or four" high schools. The total thrust of the TAR is upon the re-election of Nixon, Montgomery said.

Montgomery said there has been "no friction" among the various groups seeking election of Republicans. All efforts are coordinated, he said.

The entrance of the national organization concerned with Nixon's re-election will add to the efforts of the county organization, Montgomery said.

(Continued on Page 9)

Durham politics: a two-party system arrives

By Martha Elean

Durham County has only recently begun to extricate itself from the leading role of its Civil War political history, to stage as a kingdom where tradition no longer reigns entirely supreme.

For decades, the same political loyalty ingrained in the Southerners of the 1860's have dictated the voting patterns of the Durham residents of that

process.

The two-party system of these changes over the past 12 years, has been the development of what may now be classified as a true two-party system. A major barrier to the realization of this goal which still remains is the operation of the closed primary system in North Carolina under which voters may vote only in the primary for the candidates

campaign, was shifted only 67½ by the Democratic party in finance the Kennedy campaign. He managed to raise a total of \$100,000 additional within 24 hours to open a headquarters for the Kennedy campaign in Durham. He said within the official party organization "there was no talk of campaigning for Kennedy." Gresham said support for Kennedy came primarily from Duke professors and students.

He said "some of the old line Democrats didn't like the Kennedy campaign literature to be in their headquarters and he would find Kennedy buttons and posters turned face down on the tables so that the names would not show."

Gresham said the conservative control of the Democratic Party in 1960 resulted from the break up of a coalition of blacks and labor which had controlled the party in the early fifties. The Civil Rights legislation passed in the fifties, which gave blacks greater rights, produced competition for jobs between the white labor workers and the blacks and friction developed, according to Gresham. In 1958, the conservatives expelled this situation and took control of the Democratic Party locally.

In 1960, Gresham said all the blacks were for Kennedy, though they had no power in the party structure and the white Kennedy supporters worked independently of the black community. "The black political leaders," Gresham said, "were apparently quite willing to accept liberalism at this time."

Black majority uneasiness Gresham said the blacks would "actually have had a majority in the state conventions if all call votes had been taken. But he said then, they were willing to sit there and just let things happen. They felt even though they had the vote they couldn't challenge things."

In the 1964 election Durham county went overwhelmingly for Johnson. Yet he said the official party committee was still controlled by the "same conservative group" whom Gresham said probably considered Johnson "a renegade from the South."

In 1968, Gresham said there was a "revolution" in the party organization which resulted in the seizure of control of the Democratic Party from the conservatives in the wake of recent civil rights legislation which made the one-man-one-vote rule applicable. Gresham said blacks "gave up bitterness" and a "growing awareness" emerged among blacks that "they had political power if they would just use it."

Also at this time the liberal anti-war vote appeared with the deepening involvement in Vietnam. The 1968 coalition, then, consisted of white liberals

primarily McCarthy supporters, blacks and a small but active anti-labor constituency according to Gresham.

In the 1968 presidential election members of this coalition and other Democratic voters gave Humphrey a plurality of votes from Durham county. Since this was Gresham said "it is no longer considered bad form to vote Republican." The Republican party, he said, is "now growing into an organization which represents by registered affiliation those who have always voted for Republican candidates in the past. No real change now decade."

Gresham went on to say, that despite the emergence of the new left coalition with which the Democratic party in Durham has in part become identified, "there has been no real change in political attitudes over the past ten years." Locally, he said, "it is still true that the voting populace is still very conservative," pointing out the majority vote for Wallace in the primaries.

He iterated that the major change has been the assumption of control of the local Democratic party by the liberals and the trend among conservatives to affiliate with the Republican party rather than to remain among the ranks of the Democratic party.

"Corresponding to this liberal shift has been a switchover in party allegiance from the Democratic to the Republican party..."

Reviewing black progress over the past ten years, Reverend Cousin said the major problem has been that "though blacks have always been loyal Democrats," the main "to the voters go the spoils has never applied to blacks."

No black appointments He said although blacks have always voted for the Democratic ticket, "when it comes to appointments, they will be given in white Democratic over blacks, even though these whites may have voted outright for Republican."

Cousin acknowledged the significant increase over the past ten years in black participation in the political process which has begun to undermine the perpetuation of situations exemplified by that of the patronage appointments. He attributed the increase in reforms, and to the fact that because blacks vote initially Democratic they are now beginning to be rewarded

for their loyalty.

He said the political involvement in "a direct result of blacks seeing political gains. They became involved when they see the results of their involvement."

Cousin said blacks began to vote Democratic with FDR and that Kennedy became their "favorite."

Cousin added, however, that although Kennedy "had good programs and good rhetoric, he did not have enough political know-how to implement his ideas into concrete legislation." It was, with Johnson, Cousin said, that "blacks finally got some meaningful legislation."

Blacks have never supported Nixon as the Republican party, Cousin said, "because Nixon is hostile to blacks. He and the Republicans have no numbers of black needs."

He did acknowledge, however, that some blacks have affiliated with the Republican party over the years, and that today about 2 to 3% of black votes in Durham County are registered Republicans. He said this group was comprised mainly of newspaper and businessmen.

Mr. Durham, business man, representing the Republican viewpoint attributed the traditional Democratic control in Durham primarily to "carry over from the Civil War." He said the people in this area "think their grandfathers would turn over in their graves if they saw a vote for a Republican." He added that "those grandfathers probably would see Republicans today if they were alive."

There has been a gradual increase since about 1950 in the number of Durham voters who register with the Republican Party, which he said has been largely a result of the influx of people in Durham from other parts of the country "who came as industry in Durham grew." Many of these were people who believed in the Republican philosophy, he said. "Today," he said, "even the Democrats admit we are near to a two-party system in Durham."

He added that there have been "a few registered Republicans in Durham since 1920 who have kept earnestly preaching the dictates of the Republican Party."

On the subject of black support for the Republican party in Durham, he said there has been very little "because blacks feel they can get more from the Democratic party." "Black leaders," he said, "have always been Democrats and the average blacks will do whatever their leaders tell them to do." He said the problem in passing black support is in "making the blacks realize how much the Republican party has done for them." "Every right the Negro has ever gotten has come under a Republican administration," he said.

When asked to substantiate this claim, he "couldn't come up with specific facts and pieces of legislation."

Little Republican activity

With regard to Republican campaigning for the national elections, he said "usually there has not been much we could do since the Democrats have been so entitled in the politics here." He did say there "had been about 300 Republican volunteers working in Durham in each of the past three presidential elections."

"Minority groups have positively taken over in this country," he said, "while in the past the hardworking businessmen and workers who do not ask for handouts have not taken an interest in politics." The Republican party has been gaining support, though, he said, as these groups have begun to take part.

Recently in "the first time in 47 years that businessmen and professional men have actively participated in any form of government," he said. He predicted Republican support will increase in Durham as "the influence of the good hardworking citizens in Durham increases."

He gave evidence of the increase in Republican support, citing the 1968 presidential election in which he said, "Nixon received about 14,500 votes from Durham County although there were only about 5,000 registered Republicans." Today he said, there are "about 6 to 7,000 registered Republicans."

He stressed the need to continue more people of the merits of the Republican party saying "if we put as Democrats in the White House this year, the United States will change to a 100 percent socialist state."

The extent of the recent changes in the alignment of public political sentiment in Durham should not be exaggerated, he said. The changes, for the most part, reflect a broadening of opportunities for those who have held and now hold views which are at variance with the traditional party policies either to work within the party to effect their ends, or to affiliate with another party.

The changes do not necessarily indicate an absolute change in voter opinion. The Democratic rule which has prevailed for decades will not be broken in the span of a few short years. But all appearances suggest a crisis has been driven into the Democratic structure, and that a healthier political situation which gives outlet to voter sentiments may be on the way to realization in the Durham area.



em. As late as 1942 a prominent citizen in Chapel Hill arose to address a gathering with the opening statement: "We must all remember we are members of a conquered nation."

The era whose political sentiment is recalled in such phrases, was a time in the South marked by unwavering allegiance to the Democratic party. This Democratic stronghold has survived in the Durham area throughout the years resulting in the evolution of a party whose members espouse a wide spectrum of political ideologies.

Tradition, still recently, has held them all together under the name of the Democratic Party.

It has been primarily since 1960 that the different factions in the party have begun to diverge and form allegiances based on belief in different ideals rather than blind loyalty to the Democratic Party.

This Democratic party which has predominated in the south and the Durham area has always been a conservative party, despite its party label, apprehensive to the more conservative South. But with the new transformation, the more liberal elements within the party have begun to assert their independence from the old party structure and seek to identify with the more liberal image that characterizes the Democratic party in other areas of the country.

Corresponding to this shift has been a switchover in party allegiance from the Democratic to the Republican party by some of the more conservative Democrats and a greater preponderance of registered Democrats voting for Republican candidates in the final elections.

Also, as a result of certain reforms brought about by the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and reforms within the Democratic party itself, blacks are now gaining greater representation in the party structures, and are participating in larger numbers in the election



Presidential character: making predictions on White House men

By Ann Pelham

What do Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Hoover, Lyndon Johnson, and Richard Nixon have in common? They are all "active-negative" Presidents, says James Barber in his new book, *The Presidential Character*.

Barber studied the personalities and activities of the American Presidents and came up with certain patterns that help predict the man's behavior in office. "Active-negative" is one of these patterns.

A major problem of an active-negative President is his tendency to rigidify around a particular issue. Barber calls it a "movement from political flexibility to narrow insistence on a failing course of action despite abundant evidence of the failure."

Nixon said...

Wilson and the League of Nations, Hoover and the auto, Johnson and Vietnam, Nixon and...

Nixon and... Barber doesn't say, but perhaps it has something to do with preserving the honor of the country?

The personality pattern Barber found for Presidents consists of character, world view, and style. He examines the development of these three aspects in the man's early life and in the context of the power situation and climate of expectations he faces in the Presidency.

"Style" is the President's habitual way of performing his three political roles: rhetoric, personal relations, and home work," Barber explains in the book.

A President's world view consists of "his primary, politically relevant beliefs, particularly his conceptions of social causality, human nature, and the central moral conflicts of the time," says Barber.

The Presidential Character is marvelously readable and manages to present revealing incidents without sounding like a Presidential gossip column. Barber explained the readability by pointing out

that the book has just two basic ideas: "one, that the character affects the big issues and two, that you might predict that effect."

Decision-making

Barber carefully scrutinizes the Presidential decision-making, but somehow the examination seems kindly and hardly critical of the errors in judgment Barber discusses. The man comes across to individuals in a position of power as though Barber believes their mistakes in judgment are excusable because of the psychological reasons for their actions. It is too easy, though, to get caught up in the flow of the book, make excuses for Presidential errors, try to figure out what's coming next, and then discover the creeping nightmarish feeling that President X certainly does have problems and should never have been elected and simply must be removed with all possible haste.

Is the decision to kidnap a President some kind of subversive thought or is it simply what we have to do for the good of the country? Well, it doesn't matter if we're caught—surely they will understand since they were, of course, problems in childhood which make such a reaction on our part unavoidable. Some character types can deal with threats to security, others can't...

Voter predictions

Optimistically, Barber hopes the voter can predict how a candidate will behave once he is in office and choose accordingly. However, studies by political scientists such as Herbert McCloskey raise doubts about just how much the American voter knows about politics or even if a voter has little understanding of the specific application of broad American ideals, how can he be expected to deal with more sophisticated concepts like the psychological make-up of Presidential candidates?

Media awareness

Media awareness of the effects of character and background will help, Barber explains. In an interview last week, he cited Ed Muskie's various emotional responses to pressure and the Thomas Eagleton affair as factors which might aid in media and media awareness of psychology in politics.

"Hopefully, journalists will cover the candidate's character and background in newspapers and on television and can give voters a better idea of the man," Barber said. But how can one objectively cover a man's character. It is a questionable supposition.

After reading *The Presidential Character*, one finds it impossible not to examine candidates in terms of Barber's personality patterns. Barber found four basic character types in his study of American Presidents: active-positive, active-negative, passive-positive, and passive-negative.

Active-positive

The active-positive President is an independently active man and enjoys his work. Franklin Roosevelt, John Kennedy, and Harry Truman were active-positive Presidents, and Barber provides an accurate picture of each man by starting at the beginning and examining his "first independent political action." He also looks at Franklin and his mother, John Kennedy and Joe, and Truman and his poor eyesight(?).

"Active-positive Presidents were most to achieve results," Barber says. "Active-negative aim to get and keep power."

Passive-positive

The passive-positive Presidents "are after loss," Barber writes. Two that he places in this category are William Howard Taft and Warren G. Harding. "Their dependence and the fragility of their hopes and enjoyments make disappointment in politics

likely."

Calvin Coolidge is the closest twentieth century example of a passive-negative President. Barber also classifies Eisenhower as passive-negative, but admits that there are complications in this analysis. Passive-negative types "emphasize their civic virtue" and seem reluctantly involved in their political work.

Because of the volume of material available and the nature of the study, it is understandable that Barber relied heavily on secondary sources. However, the strongest points in the book are the carefully examined primary quotes from Presidential speeches and memoirs, particularly those Barber includes in the chapters on Richard Nixon. Of course, not everyone is so readily expressive of his inner thoughts as is Richard Nixon, but maybe we can find out more about these people sometime before they start on their Presidential memoirs.

PRESIDENT



Barber says

Duke - - 'exciting place'

By Ann Pelham

"Duke is one of the few major universities in the country where there is a real spirit of possibilities," observed James Barber in an interview last week.

Barber, the new chairman of the political science department, is excited about that spirit and about being at Duke. Formerly at Yale, he came to Duke for a number of reasons.

"I feel that this University has opportunities to develop in exciting ways, especially in the social sciences," Barber explained. "There is a chance for influence on the political culture of the South, for example. As urban and industrial growth increases, Duke is likely to take a lead in trying to guide that growth and in building a humane and decent community."

Student attitude

The attitude of the students at Duke has brought comment from Barber. "There is a kind of pettiness about this place—students are energetic and interested in their studies and in the University," Barber said. "Unfortunately, there is a sense of exhaustion at some universities."

Barber is concerned particularly with two points as he begins to operate in his new position: recruitment and undergraduate learning.

Recruitment

"We will have an opportunity to make some new appointments in the next few years and, naturally, we want the very best teachers and researchers we can find," Barber said. "We have good people now but we want to add more good people."

Barber expressed a personal interest in education. "I want to do a lot of listening and try to find out how students are experiencing their undergraduate education. Education only works if a student develops and grows in that span of a semester. By getting together with students, I hope we can find out the secrets of how that happens," he said.

Policy studies

Barber was a member of the board of directors at Yale's Institute for Social and Policy Studies and his experience there has increased his enthusiasm for the new Institute of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs at Duke.

"Possible joint appointments and joint courses will strengthen both the political science department and the Institute," Barber said.

"There are intellectual pay-offs from disciplined policy studies," Barber remarked. "Learning to ask specific policy questions can clarify issues and the requirement of coming out with something makes policy studies more efficient than the usual policy-making."

"The Institute can help to improve the political science department and hopefully vice versa."

Duke-UNC course

Working with other departments seems to be a Barber specialty. This fall he initiated a course in "1972 politics" with Duke and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill sharing teaching responsibilities. Lectures will be held once a week on alternating campuses.

"The schools are only 10 miles apart and it is logical to pool our strengths in a course like this one," Barber said. "Anyone is welcome to attend the lectures."

Barber gave the first lecture in the series. He talked about the Presidency and included some of the ideas from his book, *The Presidential Character*. He is obviously very interested in what he is talking about and in explaining it to others. A relaxed lecturer, Barber is informative, organized, and even entertaining.

Background

Barber was awarded a National Foundation Fellowship for 1961-62 and was selected as the Brookings Institute guest scholar for 1964-65 and 1971-72.

In 1970-71, Barber served as the national chairman of the Universities Committee against War, a collection of student and faculty groups across the country.

He also acted as the first director of the Harvard-Yale-Columbia intensive summer studies program which helped prepare and identify capable black undergraduates for graduate school.

Barber is from Charleston, West Virginia and received his B.A. degree from Chicago in 1950 before earning his M.A. (1955) and Ph.D. (1956) from Yale.



James Barber reclining in his plush political science headquarters.

Howard Clement, supervisor of claims department of North Carolina Mutual Life company, 72 years as active member of the local black political group, Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, member of the rules committee at the 1972 Democratic Convention, black, in an mid-former.

I'm for McGovern. It's more a reaction to Nixon. I'm not sure whether it's against Nixon—Nixon is not really committed to the solution of domestic problems so he should be.

I don't know why any black man should vote for Nixon; yes I do. Some blacks have been fooled so they will vote for him—Nixon has been the enemy of blacks, both poor and rich. We have to make them realize this, get them to register and vote—it's hard to get them to the polls, I know.

I haven't given up hope on McGovern. If the people who need him vote, he'll win. Right now I'm pessimisticly optimistic.

John Jackson, a Gulf service station manager, registered Democrat, white, about 40 years old.

I am going to vote the way I'm not going to go by party this year. I'll stick with Nixon because it's not the right time to change horses in the middle of the stream. Nixon is more capable of handling the job than McGovern because he's used to the barracks and knows how he's working it. I don't know about McGovern so I can't say anything about him. I've kept up on Wallace, voted for him in May. I never gave Terry a thought. It'll be Nixon in a landslide.



... I don't care. No matter who wins it will all be the same ...

A white, young (25-30 years old) male field engineer. I'm supporting Nixon—he's done a good job so far. I'm disappointed in his space program rule. He's cutting back there and at the same time adding to the welfare role. McGovern's views are called from what I've heard, especially those concerning higher taxes. Sanford had good ideas but I wouldn't choose him over Nixon. The war issue is important—it's ironic that Democrats pushed the war and the Republicans took it downhill since Nixon's been in office. Nixon is good in foreign policy. McGovern hasn't addressed himself to this.

Phyllis Fuller, resident of Duke Forest community, white, about 35 years old.

I'm for Nixon; he is far more capable, has a greater grasp on reality, and has more experience, of course. However, I would like him to be more conservative, but I realize that he is limited by Congress. I'd rather vote for Goldwater, or Tower, or Connally. Sanford? He's a nice man—I enjoy having dinner with him, but I prefer Nixon's politics.

Vietnam is an unfortunate situation. I'm opposed to the war. We should win or get out—I prefer that we win. It's just criminal to send boys to fight and then to their heads. It's a crime that a power such as the United States, that a fourth-rate power can walk all over us.



P.R. Lewis, Durham city policeman, white, about fifty years old.

I'm voting for Nixon—he's the best qualified man for the job.

I'd rather not comment on McGovern. Let it if I don't like. I'm a Democrat but I don't just vote for the party; I vote the man. Rather not comment on Terry Sanford. I'm a friend of his and know him but I'd rather not comment on it.

A Durham High School senior English teacher, white, female, about 25 years old.

I'm going to vote for Nixon. I support his policies, particularly his stand on the war. I agree with most everything he does that I know of, but maybe I'm not as well read as I should be.

McGovern is too wacky-wacky. He has not done his homework, especially on the Egyptian affair. He doesn't do a thorough job—before he thinks. There's one else I can think of that I'd rather vote for. I'm a registered Democrat and like Jackson, but don't know if I'd vote for him though.

Yes, I voted for Sanford last spring because he was a former North Carolina governor. I have no opinion of his politics.

No, no security, losing is the only way to equal education, but it is also unfair to some involved. That's just a necessary evil.



A white, male, 80-year-old farmer.

I'm for Nixon. He'll do just as well and maybe better than the other guy. I wish he could end the war—we shouldn't have been there in the first place. Don't know much about McGovern. I like James Hutto and Wallace. Sanford is in favor of letting things go on just like they have always been. I don't like all that forced busing.

Glen Thompson, a laborer for North and Western railroad, black, mid-thirties.

Might not even vote. Neither one of 'em going to do anything different. They aren't going to change anything. They say different things, but all do the same thing.



Howard Taylor, country store employee, white, about 30 years old.

The whole government needs to be cleaned from the city on through ... and Congressmen should retire at the age of 45 just like everybody else. I'm for Nixon. He's done a good job since he's been in there. Why should he take the blame for what other people have done? If Wallace was running again, I would vote for him just like I did last time. I don't know anything about McGovern. We had enough of Sanford in the state house. The street protesting should be stopped—they have an right to get out on the streets and trample other people's rights.



Graham Peck of Bohemia, N.C., who has lived here all his life, working for North and Western railroad on the back road State Street near Lupton and Myers, black, in his thirties.

Got in my mind to not vote for anybody. Registered Democrat who don't think much of McGovern—don't know much about him. If I vote, I'll vote for McGovern.

Teddy Kennedy is my favorite, but I don't blame him for not running. Don't want to see the man get killed. Terry was a good governor of the state but he's not the man to run for President. He doesn't have the know-how, he needs more experience. Nixon will win in a landslide.

Notes On The Durham In

Twenty-five residents of Durham city and county were interviewed by Tom Norton, Duane Pinckley and Bob Douglas in an attempt to ascertain what the community thinks of the presidential campaign and the candidates. The interviews are not intended to predict who will win in Durham or accurately represent the mood of the community. Rather, they are intended simply to present to the Duke community the thinking of some of the people in the Durham area.

Most everyone, including McGovern supporters, picked Nixon to win in November. They cited the polls or the fact that their friends were all voting for Nixon to support their prediction.

The majority of interviewees (12) support Nixon and plan to vote for him—8 support McGovern and 4 will not vote. Many Nixon supporters cited his capability and experience to explain their decision.

The war in Southeast Asia and busing were mentioned frequently as the two most pressing issues, and many felt Nixon could solve the problems in these areas. People felt that only he can end the war and "straighten out the schools."

Many people expressed opposition to the war

and also voiced support of busing, without mentioning campaign promises. Some people were more capable of ending expressed a lack of busing positions.

In almost every instance McGovern's supporters, were uninformed on McGovern. They don't really know too much about McGovern's constant description of registered for McGovern was Nixon rather than an attitude.

McGovern supporters in the present state of affairs economy—and hoping for McGovern represents to them.

Very few persons mention problems in the McGovern means not to vote for him supporters consider "wacky-wacky."

We found many voters affiliation and emphasizing were planning to cross party man—Nixon.

R.D. Burgess, a furniture store employee, white, about 50 years old.

Oh, I'm a real hot Nixon fan—he'll straighten out our schools and end the war. McGovern? I'm a Democrat, but I don't think he's the right man for the job. There's not particularly anything that I dislike about Nixon. When he speaks, people listen. He's more capable on foreign affairs and had experience with the—he's the most capable man in the country today.

Jackson would have been the best man for the Democrats, but if he were running, I still think I would vote for Nixon. Sanford? No, no, I don't vote for him. There's a long history behind him which I don't want to express, but I could tell you a lot which I know in his

William Covington, president of the Student Government Association of North Carolina Central University, black.

Yes, I will vote for McGovern. But I'm not so much supporting him as I am supporting the Democratic party, which is more or less decent. I don't know much about McGovern, but a lot of people whom I respect are not so busy campaigning for him but for the office—not do things for him, but not be antagonistic of him.

Nixon is a very shrewd and powerful person. He doesn't include blacks in his policies—he's only talking to blacks. I'm afraid of him. There's an old man who I would rather see running because McGovern is the only man I like who would have a chance to win.



A white male attorney about 45 years old.

I'm for McGovern. He's honest. Nixon's really interested in his business enterprise—I distrust him very much due to the vested interest that controls his nerves. Nixon is going to win, unfortunately. People are getting the little return for their money and effort. This is involved with the tax problem—those making the most money don't pay proportionately.



A white mother and housewife, about 35 years old (below).

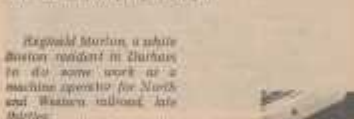
I think I'm going to vote for Nixon—he's the lesser of two evils. He's not been fair to minorities, but he's trying to do better. McGovern is too far-left budget isn't feasible. Nixon has done well in that area and he's more practical. I would have liked to see Humphrey run again—and I wish Sanford would run for President. I'd vote for him, but he's not nationally known.



James Bell, a lifetime Durham resident and 19-year employee of the Chapel Hill Street A & P, black, 29 years old.

I'm a Democrat and I'll go with the party. I don't dislike McGovern. I don't know much about him—he's a Democrat, that's enough. Humphrey's my man.

I don't dislike Nixon, but won't vote for him. I don't think I'd vote for Terry Sanford—I don't think he could get it together as President. Good governor, nothing bad about him. Nixon going to carry it.



Reginald Martin, a white Durham resident in Durham, is doing some work at a machine operator for North and Western railroad late 40s/50s.

Nixon is the only choice we got. McGovern has got too big a welfare man. Would have voted for Wallace if he had been in the Massachusetts primary. Nixon will win in a landslide.

A white male attorney, about 35 years old.

McGovern gets my vote. He's and the way, though I do have reservations about his leadership quality and his staff control. My opinion of Nixon is very low—he's done well in foreign affairs but not in domestic. He will win, though. The campaign was too far Sanford but he was never serious nationally. Unemployment and the war are the big issues this time.



A black Duke Hospital service employee, about 20 years old.

I'm not going to vote. I don't care. No matter who wins, it will all be the same. I don't believe in voting. It's black people were running I might vote, but people say this and that and you can't believe them. I don't like Sanford. He wouldn't give us a union election day. Union employees should have a chance to form a union. That shows what he is like. Yes, I think we should get serious. Doing? Have no opinion.

Willie, a Durham Dodge auto mechanic, black, approximately 30 years old.

Don't really know who to vote for. None of 'em goin' to do what they say they're goin' to do, anyway. I don't really feel like talking about it.



Dorothy Kelly, supervisor of data processing department at North Carolina Mutual Life company, lifetime Durham resident and 16-year employee of NCML, black, in her mid-thirties.

We need a change. I know that, and McGovern is the one. I haven't had time to follow his campaign, but have picked up some things about him. There has been no change in Nixon—the war, economy are all still problems. Don't understand the freeze; it puts a damper on wages but not prices. I would have loved to see Sanford win—he was a good governor and did more for the people than most. Anything he did was for everybody. Humphrey is my second choice after Sanford. Going by the polls it is Nixon who'll win.



Retha Brinkley, country store and gas station operator, white, about 35 years old.

I'm for Nixon because I believe in his way of thinking—he's done more for the country since he's been in—especially considering what he went in with. McGovern's too wacky wacky—there's too much friction between him and his staff and running state. I like Sanford, but he's not ready (for the Presidency) yet. Nixon's gonna win. I'm especially concerned about the war in Vietnam and getting the schools straightened out.



I'm not against integration. I know some real fine colored people. Some of my best friends are colored people.

Bill Gregory, a Durham High School senior, white.

Nixon, I guess. He's bringing the guys home from Vietnam and has done that by Vietnamization. McGovern is too new. We need someone to run the country with more experience of how to handle things. I don't agree with his welfare policy; it won't work and his budget won't work. Yeah, there are lots of things I don't like—I can't think of any right now.

There's no other people I'd rather see running for President, except maybe Sam Ayres, a teacher here. He talks about what he would do. He told us about McGovern's welfare program—I guess my opinion of Nixon might be influenced by him.

Don't know much about the war. With us get out altogether. While we're there we should end it and get out, but get out slowly. There's been too many people died in pull out immediately—we should accomplish something.

Oh, I'm totally against having integration in general, that's the way it should be. I used to think different, but that's all changed now. People need to get along with each other. But with having everybody in, where they don't want to be. If it's just to achieve a racial balance, I don't like it.



A black housewife and laundry worker, about 25 years old.

I'm not for either one. They're not gonna help me, so they're against me. Both have a lot of big promises—that, they're about the same. I would have liked to see Edward Kennedy run. As it is I don't want to waste my time voting. Sanford's all right, but I don't really care. Nixon's gonna win. The problems of the poor guys in Vietnam are really bad. Soldiers coming will help the poor people, and I'm one of those poor people.

Interviews

part of Nixon in the same thing. McGovern and his some people felt that Nixon ending the war, while others knowledge of McGovern's

ty interview, including as, people said they were ower and his policies. "I o much about him," was a m of McGovern. A vote ern was usually a reaction to atimation to McGovern.

ten were classified with r affairs—the war and the ag for a change, which to them mentioned Eagleton, but the joren staff were cited as for him. Frequently Nixon sidered McGovern too

ty voters aware of party ushing that this time they a party lines to vote for "the

trus. I do think that he is good as President of Duke, though. It will be Nixon by a landslide.

What do I think about the war? We had no business being over there in the first place. Kennedy could have stopped it, and especially Johnson, but Nixon alone has done what he could considering the limitations Congress has put on him.

Let us tell you about being and racial trouble. If we had started integrating with the first grade and then let it go up over the years, instead of starting them out in high school and everywhere, we wouldn't have all of this racial trouble in the schools. But I'm not against integration. I know some real fine colored people. Some of my best friends are colored people.

I voted for Goldwater in last spring's primary. I believed that Sanford would carry the state, and hoped that he would, but voted for Goldwater because of her color. I'm almost certain that Nixon will win.

The war is representative of what the U.S. stands for; it is perpetuated only for U.S. jobs. As long as the U.S. has a military economy, we will have war. I'm not necessarily against war. I would go if I were drafted—I'm not better than any of my other black brothers.

I think I can attack the military better from the inside. If I left the country, I wouldn't want to come back expecting amnesty. People in power still want to punish. It would be impossible to live a normal life.

I don't speak for other NCML students. Don't know for sure how other NCML students feel about the election.

Duke Students in Durham Politics: Why?

Elizabeth Tomquist '84, featured above for the *Chronicle* as an undergraduate student, worked as a staff member of the North Carolina A&M, and previously worked with North Carolina Health Manpower program in Chapel Hill.

By Elizabeth Tomquist

So here is the *Chronicle* putting out a whole issue on the presidential campaign in Durham, and many students are wondering, "Why should I get involved? Why should I get involved with McGovern in Durham (of all places)?" It's a reasonable question and ought to be answered, but I think the answer is not, "We need you to stuff envelopes." A better, more realistic answer is this: the local McGovern campaign is an introduction to Durham politics and to presidential politics in general. Few of the complicated matters which affect the campaign will ever get into newspapers, not even the *Chronicle*. Those who are involved will be those who understand.

And then, the campaign offers students and the rest of us a chance to begin changing the world we live in. The politics of change does not move from top down but from the bottom up. McGovern supporters in Durham got a national delegate committed to McGovern because they worked through local politics. The more we do that, the more we can change, starting with Durham, ending with the White House.

The McGovern campaign represents the first highly organized election effort ever made by white progressives in Durham. For decades Durham has had a disciplined Black electoral organization—the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs—which takes positions on candidates and issues and gets out the vote to support those positions. Nothing like that has ever existed in the white community. White progressives have never built a counterpart to the DCNA. In the early 1960's a progressive coalition of Blacks, white liberals and later committed local politics for a time, but the white parts of that coalition had no real grass roots organization, and after the 1964 Supreme Court decision on school integration they lost much of their support. In the last 30 years, white conservatives have won most local elections without major problems, but the DCNA does not represent enough votes to carry the county alone, and there have been no desirable forces to combine with the DCNA.

The McGovern campaign is an effort to elect George McGovern; but it is going to show more than whether the



Elizabeth Tomquist. (Photo by Steve Huffman)

Democratic candidate for President can carry Durham County in 1972. It is going to show whether a concerted effort to identify, register, and pull out progressive white votes can make a significant difference in Durham politics.

In 1968 Humphrey carried this county with 3,000 white votes and 11,000 Black votes. But that was a three-way race. If McGovern is to carry Durham, he must have several thousand more white votes. If they can be found for George McGovern, they can be found for other candidates and issues. This campaign will be the test.

The complications involved in the effort to get these votes are immense; but they are also very like those in other middle-sized cities, North and South, and the strategies used to deal with the complications are similar to McGovern campaign strategies all over the country. The local McGovern campaign is thus a microcosm of the national McGovern campaign.

But the structure of the campaign reflects the particular context of Durham. People for McGovern, a largely white liberal organization, with a heavy Duke emphasis, was formed here immediately after the Miami convention. The major problem faced by the organization

was how to broaden its base of support, in order to achieve this, the People for McGovern organization has done two things—formed a coalition with the local Democratic Party organization and broadened its activities committee.

Though many Democratic candidates for state office in North Carolina are ignoring the Party's presidential candidate, the fact remains that McGovern is on the Democratic ticket. And fortunately for McGovern's chances locally, the Durham Democratic Party is controlled by a coalition of Blacks and liberals who are strong supporters of McGovern. The Party's job is to get as many people as possible to vote a straight Democratic ticket; the more successful the Party is, the greater are McGovern's chances.

In addition to its coalition with the Durham Democratic Party, which now exists in tangible form—with headquarters at 111 Orange Street, the People for McGovern organization has broadened its executive committee so that it now includes Black and white co-chairmen for each of the major campaign responsibilities—fund-raising, student contacts, voter registration and canvassing. The co-chairmen work in their respective communities, which have different problems and potentials, and then coordinate their overall strategy.

The local McGovern campaign is structured in this complicated way in order to do three things: maximize straight Democratic ticket votes, maximize Black votes, and maximize white progressive votes.

The campaign is going to show whether this kind of broad coalition effort can work in Durham. If it does work, we have at least a tentative basis for building a broad progressive movement in this town. But the big question mark is how many white progressive votes can be marshaled.

The major source for these votes is students and young people. Most all students can register to vote in Durham, but many meet the requirements. If they could be "enlisted" in this campaign, we might have a chance to change Durham, perhaps not this year but some year soon, maybe next.

We might also have the basis for working on what ought to be the biggest source of progressive white votes in Durham and is not—the blue collar vote.

As long as being a progressive white means being associated with Duke, we shall never change Durham. We need to begin understanding the issues which affect blue-collar workers and low-income whites, and we need to begin speaking to those issues. If we had a strong informed constituency of students and young people to do that work, we might make some progress.

McGovern wins straw poll

A straw poll of the Duke community shows that McGovern is currently leading Nixon in the race for the presidency by 28%. McGovern received 54% of the vote, as compared to Nixon's 21%, while 12% of the respondents were undecided and 8% planned to vote for neither candidate.

Though the poll was not scientifically conducted, it

and geographical origins.

Of the students polled, 46% supported McGovern, 36% planned to vote for Nixon, 15% were going to vote for neither man, and 13% were undecided. Fully 90% of the faculty responding chose McGovern, while 90% of the workers and an equal percentage of university administration planned to

significantly divided along sex lines, with the President receiving 32% of the male support and 30% of the female. A total of 77 men and 46 women were interviewed to reach these results.

Student politics tended to break down by age and living area as well as sex and party. Older students supported McGovern more heavily, while undergraduates often preferred Nixon. Eighty-two percent of the graduate students and 58% of the senior polled were for McGovern, but only 27% of the freshmen and 18% of the sophomores responding supported him. The class of '74 cast 50% of its votes for the Democratic candidate.

On the other hand, 99% of the freshmen, 41% of the sophomores, 27% of the junior class, and 31% of the seniors interviewed backed Nixon.

Living situations and politics produced an interesting pattern. Nixon was favored by 48% of those living in all-woman dorms and by 87% of those in fraternities. McGovern, however, was chosen by 68% of the residents of all-men dorms, by 51% of the co-ed living groups, and by 78% of those living off-campus.

Eighty-five percent of those interviewed were registered to vote at this time, and 90% of the electorate in the poll indicated that they intended to vote in November.

The straw vote was split largely according to party lines, with 78% of McGovern's overall vote coming from registered Democrats, 18% from Independents, and only 6% from party-crossing Republicans. Forty-five percent of Nixon's vote came from registered Republicans, 18% from Democrats, and a whopping 37% from Independents.

Geography

Geographical breakdowns of statistics show that 10% of Nixon supporters come from the West, 37% from the South, and 53% from the North. McGovern polls 80% of his total from those living in the South, while 38% of his votes come from the North and 12% from the Western United States. Of the undecided voters, 54% come from the North, as do 50% of those planning not to vote at all.

The total university electorate is composed of 41% from the North, 43% from the Southern states, and 12% from the West.

	Total	Students	Workers	Faculty	Administration
Nixon	21%	36%	10%	-	40%
McG	54%	46%	68%	90%	88%
Undec	12%	13%	10%	10%	-
No vote	8%	5%	20%	-	-

gives a rough idea of the political opinions in the university community. Among those polled were 98 students, 10 faculty members, 10 workers, and 5 administrators, numbers roughly proportional to the actual percentages of these groups on campus. Students were divided by residences to get a representative cross-section, and fraternities, other all-men dorms, co-ed dorms, all-woman dorms, and off-campus residences were proportionately surveyed. Within these categories divisions were made between class, sex, college, support him. Thus McGovern's margin of student support is narrower than that found in any other group on campus.

Nixon received 30% of the student electorate, 40% of the administrative votes, and 10% of the workers support responding. Although Nixon trailed in every category, he was only behind by 10% among students.

More men than women favored McGovern, though only by a slim 34-48%, and a surprisingly large 30% of the total number of women polled were undecided. Nixon supporters are almost

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-Registration confronts apathy-

(Continued from Page 3)

"It appears that the county organization link with the national organization will be the recruiting of volunteers to assist the national organization," he said.

The Republican efforts among blacks, Montgomery said, will focus on "the middle-class, thinking man. We have to separate the older blacks from the young, more militant blacks."

Since the primary, black curiosity has changed to concern in the Republican party, Montgomery asserts. "Promises have been unfulfilled by Democrats, so we are appealing to the black vote based on the integrity of the Republican party in Durham County."

Cross-over votes are not being actively sought by Republicans, due to the formation of the Democrats for Nixon organization in North Carolina. Montgomery said he envisions them to be the strongest group in the state for Nixon.

Until the national organization entered Durham county last week, all financing came from within the county.

So as the last date for registration—Oct. 9—approaches, it has become evident that the organization and unity of the Republicans can only be overcome by what Duke President Terry Sanford calls "the ability of the Democrats to bring the issues before the people."

Sanford, an unsuccessful presidential candidate, said "any organization cannot replace the issues in a general election."

A general feeling expressed in the interview was the necessity for the McGovern campaign to begin to excite non-voters and registered voters or face the defection of traditional Democrats or the possibility of large numbers of people simply not voting, which is generally considered to ensure the re-election of Nixon.

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***** Duke News Roundup *****

The arrival of 1210 freshmen on August 31 marked the beginning of the first year of the merged Trinity College of Arts and Sciences, and also reflected a change in Duke admissions policies.

The freshman class has the largest percentage of blacks (nearly double the year before) and the lowest male-to-female ratio in Duke's history.

Similar affirmative action toward equality is represented in the establishment of Dean Robert Krueger's new Trinity administration, which included a dean of black affairs, and a woman in the associate deanship.

ASDU, after organizing orientation activities, has been immersed in controversy. Krueger rejected a proposal which would allow some students to cash in on extra-curricular activities to fulfill the work component of the new financial aid plan.

"If you put this group of people (the ASDU committee members) in the determining procedure, you will find they will be voting things from their own perspective," Krueger claimed. He went on to suggest that the decision come from a referendum, since the pay would come from student fees.

He also refused to sanction formal student

participation in the selection of academic and residential deans, arguing that the proposed process would give him no input into the selection of the people with whom he would work.

President Terry Sanford ignored ASDU recommendations in making student appointments to the Athletic Council and appointed only two of the three students endorsed by the legislature, dropping a male. Trinity senior in honor of a female junior who had outscored the position, Sanford stated, "I felt under the Affirmative Action Plan that we had to have a woman from the student body."

Provost Frederic Cleveland suggested that students in each living group be permitted to formulate that group's visitation policies, a move toward the self-determination which has been sought by ASDU and the Campus Community Council for the past year.

New undergraduate majors were formulated in Public Policy Studies, Composite Area Studies, and Comparative Literature. However, the Undergraduate Faculty Council declined to discuss a subcommittee proposal which would have allowed union to carry only thus

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