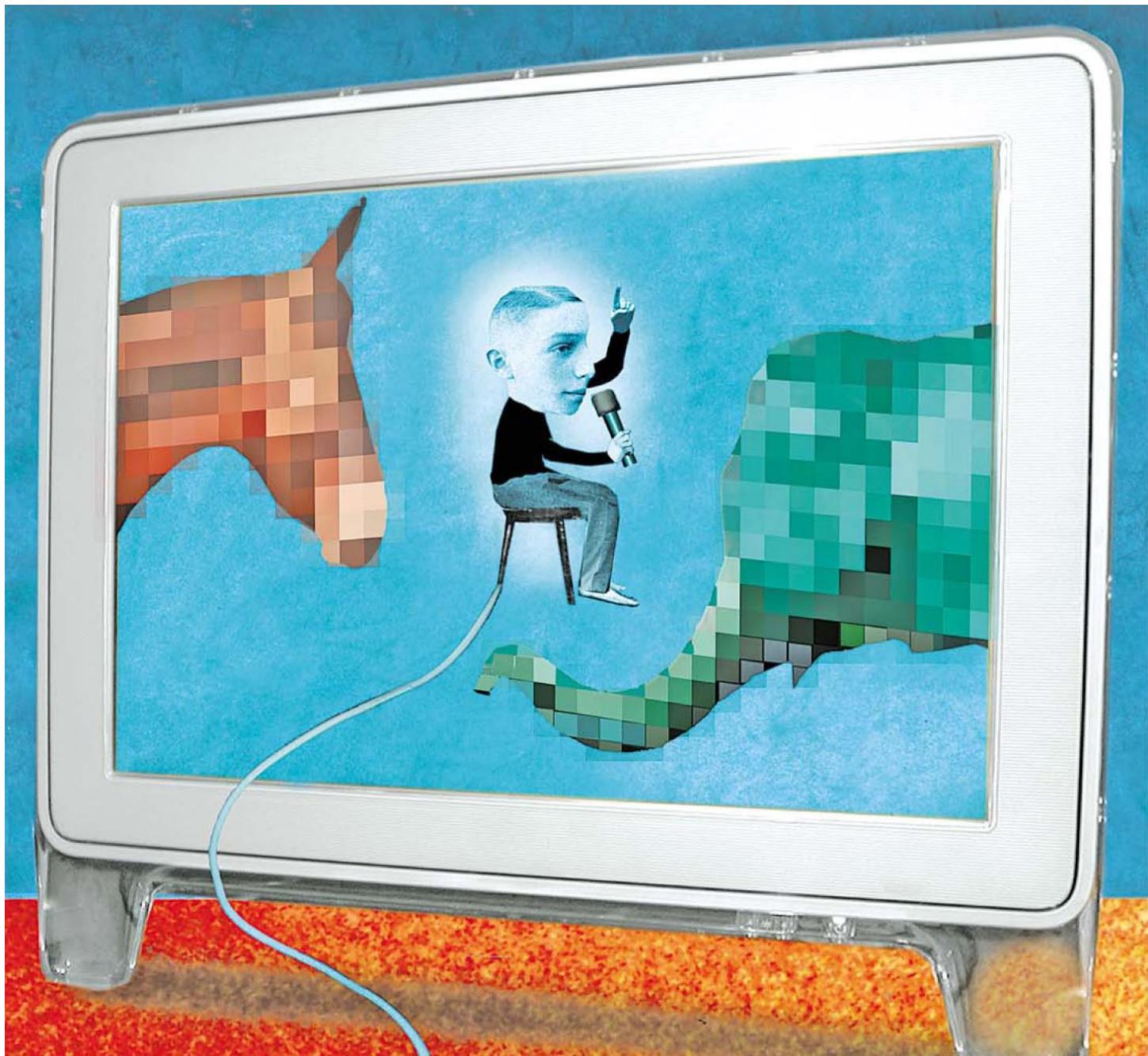


CAMPAIGN 2008

Primarily, Images and Issues



BY MICHAEL MORGESTERN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

INSIDE

7 Tom Toles

16 Force of Gender

18 Campaign. USA

21 Ballot Brawl of 1924

An Integrated Curriculum For The Washington Post Newspaper In Education Program

A Word About Primarily, Images and Issues

Historic. Firsts. What our grandparents worked to achieve. Following the career paths of many presidents — law and military. Questions about motivation, experience, loyalties and leadership. The primaries give people a voice. Will our vote count? They're all the same. They're like none other: A Viet Nam conflict POW, an African American and a female in serious contention to be the next president of the United States.

The primaries and the party conventions that nominate the 2008 Republican and Democratic candidates for president provide an array of opportunities to meet the people who want to be the next president and to focus on the issues that are important to individuals and the country. Reprints of *Washington Post* articles put into perspective summer's nominating conventions ("The Ballot Brawl of 1924"), campaigning ("Permanent Campaign?"), the first woman to win a presidential primary ("The Force of Gender"), race in America ("Obama Urges U.S.: 'Move Beyond Our Old Racial Wounds") and Internet influence ("Campaign.USA").

The Washington Post editorial cartoonist Tom Toles has used his pen and wit to provide visual commentary on the candidates, election process and issues. Twenty of his commentaries are included in this guide to give a visual timeline, to highlight events and issues during the race toward nomination, to stimulate discussion and to inspire students to create their own images.

The Washington Post NIE Program wants to be part of your students' civic education and community involvement. Use the resources and suggested activities in this guide to help your students to be better informed about the election process, candidates and issues, to find reliable sources and to think critically.

Lesson: Responsible citizens keep informed about current issues, demonstrate knowledge of the political process and evaluate the role of media in campaigns. Media provides coverage of the issues and candidates, and the candidates use media to communicate with the public.

Level: Mid to high

Subjects: Government, Civics, History, Media Literacy

NIE Online Guide
Editor — Carol Lange
Art Editor — Carol Porter

Contributing to this guide: Steven King, Shepherd Elementary School, Washington, D.C., provided the policy comparison-and-contrast activity and offered suggestions to relate the campaign process to students.

Send comments about this guide to:
 Margaret Kaplow, Educational Services Manager, kaplowsm@washpost.com

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Primarily, Images & Issues

Compare and Contrast Candidates

The list is quite extensive—official candidate, political party and special interest group sites, get-out-the-vote and public interest sites and social networking sites. Pair students to visit Web sites to compare and contrast how each site presents a candidate. It is a way of getting students to evaluate how different organizations help to formulate the way a candidate is portrayed.

Another approach to analyzing a candidate's image and the issues, is to focus on the impact or value of the new online politics. How are the candidates using the Internet to convey their persona, communicate their stands on issues and seek donations? Compare and contrast this to all the others who are posting images, creating their own "ads" and comments and creating "an evolution away from Washington's control."

Before reading "Campaign.USA" and discussing the ideas, survey your students for their use of the Internet. Questions may include:

- How often have you visited any candidate's Web site?
- Have you donated to a candidate online?
- Have you read any of the candidate's or their family members' blogs?
- Have you created a Web site/video/podcast for or against a candidate?
- How many videos that focus on a candidate or the election have you viewed?
- If you have viewed a video, which is your favorite?

Study the Issues

Utilize candidates' Web sites, *Washington Post* articles and other reliable sources to learn where the three main candidates stand on four issues. Read their policy statements. Using "Policy Position," chart the main points to make a comparative study of the candidates' stands.

Teachers may want to generate particular questions for students to answer with regards to these issues. For example, under Education:

- What does each candidate believe about student loans for private college education?
- Do the candidates support the No Child Left Behind program?
- Do candidates believe the children of immigrants have a right to in-state tuition, whether they are here legally or not?

Teachers may also want to expand the research to include Web sites of particular groups such as MoveOn.org.

Read the Editorial Cartoon

Tom Toles, *The Washington Post* editorial cartoonist, has used his pen and wit to provide visual commentary on the candidates, election process and issues. Twenty of his editorial cartoons are reprinted in this guide.

The Art

Use the first group of editorial cartoons to discuss the art of editorial cartooning. Do students recognize each candidate? Editorial cartoonists exaggerate a distinctive feature — ears, nose, face shape, hair — in order to create the identities of their subjects,

Voter Information

www.factcheck.org

Fact Check

The Annenberg Political Fact Check does the research to validate claims, reveal misrepresentations and get — the facts.

www.publicagenda.org

Public Agenda

Issue Guides include Education, Environment, Health Care, Immigration, Internet Speech, Race, Terrorism.

[www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/
Issue Coverage Tracker](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/Issue_Coverage_Tracker)

Interactives/campaign08/issues/
Press coverage of the candidates and major issues

[www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/
Primaries and Caucuses](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/Primaries_and_Caucuses)

Interactives/campaign08/primaries/
Full coverage by state, date, delegates; maps and links to coverage

[www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/issues
CNN Election Center 2008](http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/issues/CNN_Election_Center_2008)

Campaign Issues viewed by candidate, political party, state and date

[www.hsan.org/Content/Home.
aspx?pageId=241](http://www.hsan.org/Content/Home.aspx?pageId=241)

Hip-Hop Summit

Using the influence of Hip-Hop to get youth involvement in political action

[www.newvotersproject.org
New Voters Project](http://www.newvotersproject.org/New_Voters_Project)

Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs) effort to register young people and get them to the polls.

www.rockthevote.com

Rock the Vote

Encourages young people to "create positive social and political change in their lives and communities" and to vote. See also Declare Yourself (www.declareyourself.com), Smackdown Your Vote (vote.wwe.com) and Voto Latino (www.votolatino.org).

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especially those who will return throughout a time period. What details of these images help them to identify the person? What features have been exaggerated?

The February 2003 *INSIDE Journalism: Editorial Cartoon* found at www.washpost.com/nie under Lesson Plans provides more material for a study of editorial cartooning. Materials include reprints of editorial cartoons by Herblock, "How to Draw an Editorial Cartoon," and "The Mechanics of Editorial Cartooning."

After discussing hash marks, lines and negative space, discuss the opinions that are expressed without words or with a minimum number of well-chosen words. What is the news peg for the cartoon? What speech, action or reaction is the stimulus?

Symbols and concrete details are included to quickly convey the parties involved and/or the situation. You might provide students with a bit of history of *Harper's Weekly* political cartoonist Thomas Nast's use of the donkey and elephant which other cartoonists began using and became associated with the parties. In addition, Nast popularized images of Santa Claus and Uncle Sam.

Allusion is also part of the editorial cartoonist's devices. The Obama cartoon is a good example. The image of the media (What do reporter's notebook, computer, camera and microphone represent?) following Obama can be read on several levels. The use of "insufficiently grounded" and, in the lower right, "gotten his feet wet" are phrases that express concern over his experience. However, Obama appears to be "walking on water" and his face is calm. Does

Toles use "now" in the bubble to state "at this time" or "now we wonder?" or the failure of media to critically examine Obama, having made him to be almost messianic in his oratory and image?

Another resource can be found online at washingtonpost.com in Politics, Special Reports (www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/politics/special/?nid=roll_indepth) Select Candidate Caricatures. In videos artist John Kascht describes his inspiration as we watch his art and caricature emerge.

Ask each student to select a candidate — in local, state or national races — and draw an editorial cartoon. When the cartoons are shared, students could discuss choice of feature to exaggerate, event or action that is the news peg, and why he or she has presented a particular point of view.

The 2008 Campaign

Use the eight cartoons under "The Candidates" and "The Process" to discuss events that took place during the winnowing of candidates in the primaries. What events and attitudes are preserved here?

If students have been expected to follow the primaries in a civics or government class, they could be asked to comment on the uniqueness of the event or expectation to this campaign, how it is part of every primary, and whether they think it is worthy of voters' attention.

The four cartoons under "The Campaign Trail Tactics" reflect negative advertising, personal and policy attacks, and the media calling a candidate's words into

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On the Web

http://www.pbs.org/newshour/extra/teachers/lessonplans/politics/vote2008_candidates.html

Vote 2008: The Primaries

PBS lesson plan and resources, includes primaries and caucuses map and candidate profiles, archive of coverage, interactive "Vote by Issue quiz" and "Adventures in Democracy."

http://www.news-u.org/courses/course_detail.aspx?id=nwsu_coveringRaceWebinar08

Covering Race in the Presidential Race

A NewsU Webinar on producing richer coverage of race and ethnicity for those covering local or national campaigns. Cost: \$19.95.

<http://youthleadership.net/index.jsp>

Youth Leadership Initiative

Internet mock elections, E-Congress, campaign simulations and civics and government lesson plans by the University of Virginia's Center for Politics

www.pbs.org/newshour/extra/teachers/lessonplans/politics/jan-june08/vote2008_newswriting.html

Be the Press: Local Interviews, National News

Activities lead to writing a news article and in-depth news article

<http://content.scholastic.com/browse/collection.jsp?id=63>

Teaching About Election 2008

Lesson plans include "Parties, Platforms and Polls," "Whistle Stops" and "Is That a Fact?"

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account. What is gained by negative advertising?

Teachers may wish to play Hillary Clinton's phone ringing in the night in the White House campaign advertisement. What message do students think the advertisement is relating? Is it a successful ad? Review and discuss Toles' take on the ad. How did the Democratic candidates become the losers and McCain the winner?

The Issues

Discuss the eight cartoons with the whole class or form groups, giving each group a different cartoon to analyze. Evaluation and discussion of the cartoons might include:

- What is taking place in the cartoon?
- Toles has his alter ego in the lower right of each cartoon. What does this comment add to the cartoon's message?
- What issues are presented?
- All of the cartoons are from 2008 except the building of a wall that addresses an immigration issue. Is this 2006 cartoon still pertinent? What is the significance of the figures in the lower right corner? If students were to change the wording in the bubble, what would it say?
- What are Tom Toles' perspectives on the issues?
- Do you agree or disagree with Toles? What information would you add to the issue?
- What do citizens need to know about candidates to vote?

Write and Comment

Have students select an issue that they care about. Write a one- to three-paragraph statement about the issue or write a position on

the issue. Take these concepts and turn them into an editorial cartoon. They should consider:

- What symbols will help them to convey the concept?
- How can they get readers to the scene or to understand the context for your stand? For example, Toles uses an elephant as the stonemason, Uncle Sam stands on one side of the wall and the fellow with a mustache on the other side wears a T-shirt labeled "Immigration Issue."

Role Play

"Campaign Role Play" outlines a simulation in which students are involved in a primary race to be the presidential candidate of their parties. At intervals candidates, campaign managers and press secretaries, media and new media encounter new situations. This activity could cover several days or two weeks, depending on student preparation and depth of involvement in writing position papers, press releases, articles and making decisions.

Explore Gender

Hillary Clinton is the first woman to win a presidential primary in America. In her commentary "The Force of Gender," Ruth Marcus examines the role of two X chromosomes — burden, inevitability, hostility, an equation to be solved — in seeking the presidency.

Look Back

A guest commentary and a Style section feature provide historic perspective. In "Permanent Campaign?" examples make the reader reconsider the claim that this campaign started "earlier

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Read About It

Ellerbee, Linda

Get Real #6: Girl Reporter Rocks Polls

Ages 9-12. Avon (2000)

Student reporter armed with a video camera covers her middle school student government elections

Goodman, Susan

See How They Run: Campaign Dreams, Election Schemes, and the Race to the White House

Ages 8-12. Bloomsbury Children's Books (2008)

Charming book, includes front porch to hanging chad campaigning. An extra: Students can take an online survey about the elections, the presidency and issues at The Kids Speak Out (http://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx?sm=hWBAM_2fZiz_2fUUcgm5idxigw_3d_3d).

Hurwitz, Johanna

Class President

Ages 8-12. HarperCollins (1990)

Julio faces Cricket whose goal is to be the first female president of the United States

Mitchell, Margaree King

Granddaddy's Gift

Ages 5-9. Troll Communications (1998)

Granddaddy Joe, who lived in segregated Mississippi, passed the Constitution test and registered to vote. What voting and education mean.

Park, Barbara

Rosie Swanson: Fourth-Grade Geek for President

Ages 8-11. Yearling (2006)

Can a girl who wears glasses beat the two most popular kids in her class?

Sisulu, Elinor Batezat

The Day Gogo Went to Vote

Ages 4-8. Little, Brown Young Readers (1999)

The importance of voting brought to life during the first all-race elections in South Africa.

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than ever." History professor Kazin provides a lesson in modern campaign organization that is even more revealing. Discuss with students the idea of the personal "mid-size firm" and the "sales effort" that are behind successful candidates.

As teachers prepare students to understand this summer's party conventions that follow the primaries, some background may be helpful. "The Ballot Brawl of 1924" is an engaging replay of the Democratic convention of 1924. Peter Carlson's folksy tone relates such concepts as "nominating speech," "favorite son," "factions," "resolution" and "deadlock."

As pundits speculate whether the Obama-Clinton primary battle will hurt the party in the presidential race, Carlson offers a reminder that the same question was asked in 1924. Discuss the convention's purpose then and now, the impact of a less-than-unified party and the attention given the role of the 796 superdelegates.

Find Power in Words

The stump speech is developed by candidates to be given at the many campaign stops. It can be memorized for better eye contact and revised in sections to address the particular audience. Senator Obama has a particularly strong delivery.

After reading "Finding Political Strength in the Power of Words" and discussing the importance of speeches during the campaign, read "Anatomy of a Stump Speech." The video clips in the informational graphic allow students to reflect on body language as well as the diction. Students might be asked to

do a similar annotation of a speech by John McCain or Hillary Clinton.

On March 18, 2008, Sen. Barack Obama delivered a speech that addressed race in America. As the first African American to be in serious contention for the presidency, he answered questions about the sermons of his minister and confronted grievances on the sides of the racial divide. Read and discuss "Obama Urges U.S.: 'Move Beyond Our Old Racial Wounds.'" The article contains excerpts from the speech. In what ways is the speech personal, political and philosophical?

This speech has been compared to John F. Kennedy's speech in 1960 on Catholicism. Teachers may wish to play excerpts from both speeches for students to compare and contrast. (Videos of Obama's speech posted on YouTube had been viewed more than 4 million times within two weeks.) Ask students about the context and attitudes at the time they were given.

Obama's rhetoric has been likened to that of Martin Luther King, Jr. At this 40th anniversary of King's assassination, it may also be timely to play one of King's speeches on race relations to compare images, cadence and concepts.

Female Leaders in Government

In the past and present women have filled the role of head of state or provided political leadership. When and where did the following women live? Learn about the life, political position and leadership of each.

Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga
 Violeta Barrios de Chamorro
 Benazir Bhutto
 H.M. Elizabeth II
 Cristina E. Fernandez de Kirchner
 Vigdís Finnbogadóttir
 Indira Gandhi
 Tarja Holonen
 Janet Jagan
 Michelle Bachelet Jeria
 Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf
 Borjana Kristo
 Mary McAleese
 Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo
 Golda Meir
 Angela Merkel
 Pratibha Patil
 María Estella Martínez Cartas de Perón
 Margaret Thatcher
 Vaira Vike-Freiberga

What American women would students add to the list?

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Tom Toles Reprints

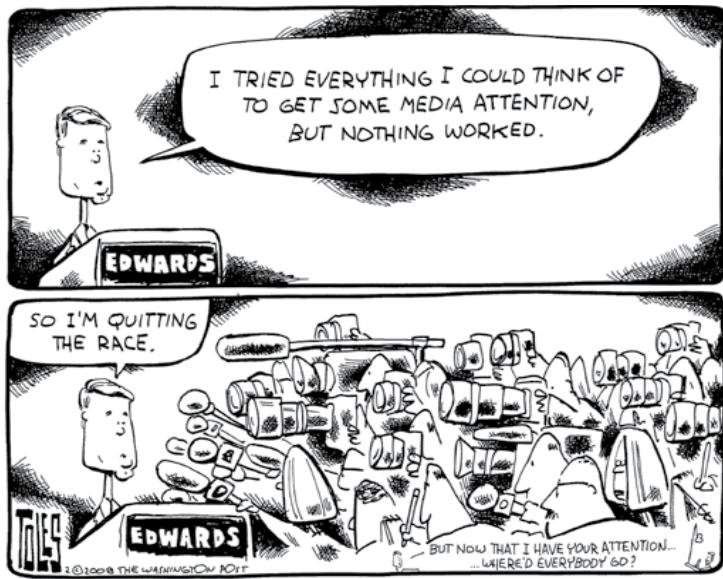
The Candidates



January 9, 2008



January 31, 2008



February 1, 2008

February 27, 2008

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Tom Toles Reprints

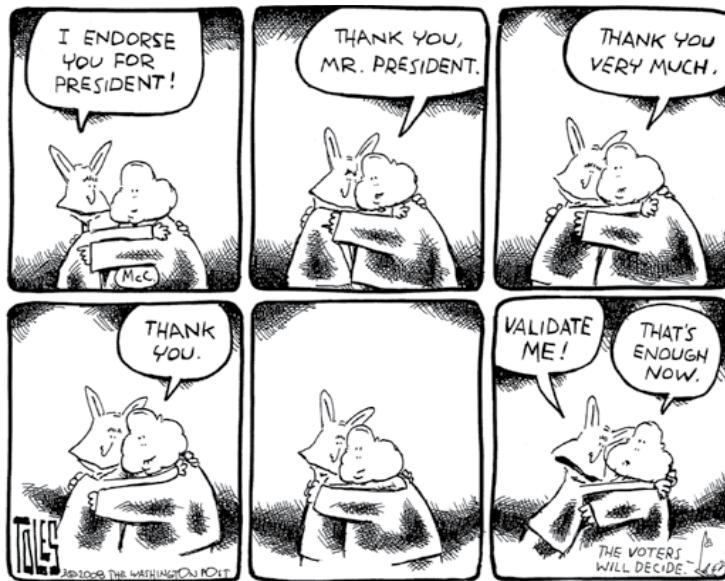
The Process



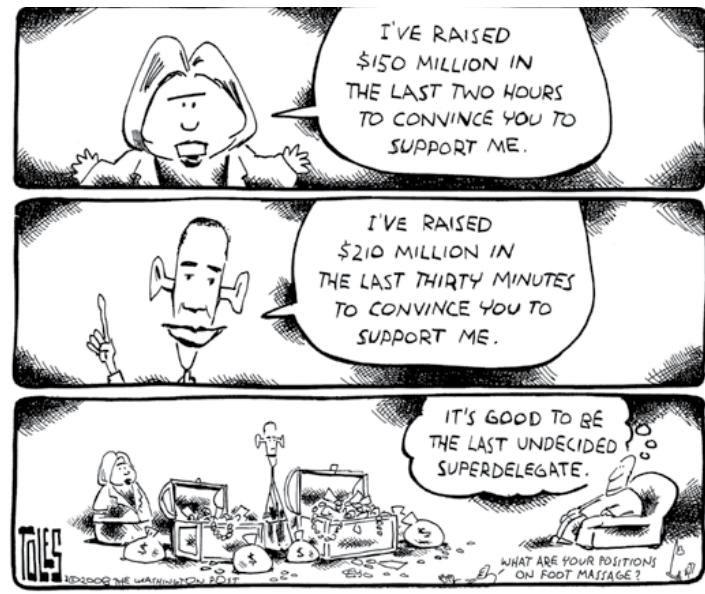
February 7, 2008



February, 8, 2008



March 7, 2008

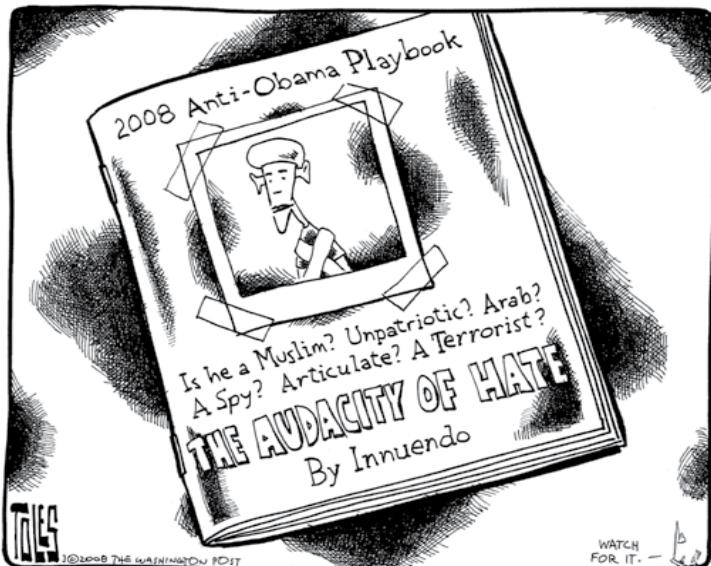


March 9, 2008

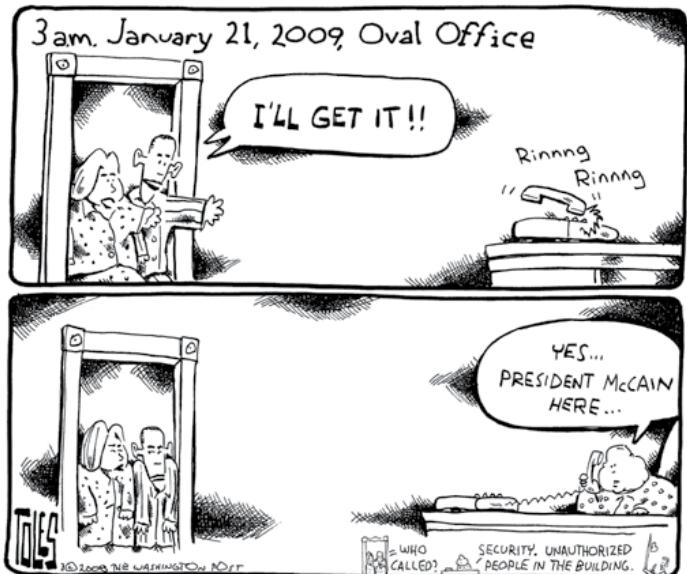
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Tom Toles Reprints

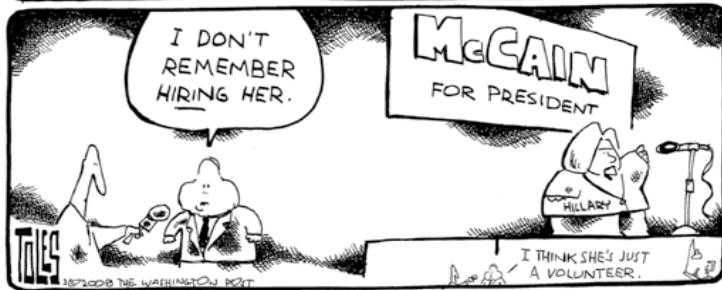
The Campaign Trail Tactics



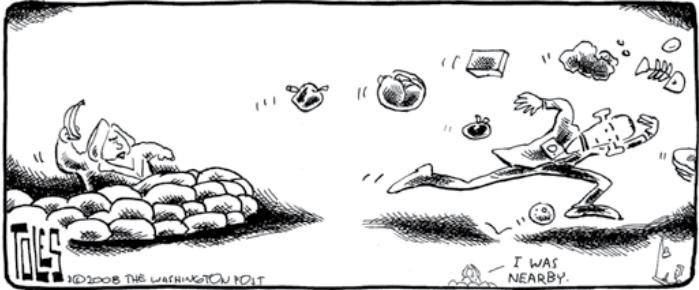
March 4, 2008



March 6, 2008



March 13, 2008



March 27, 2008

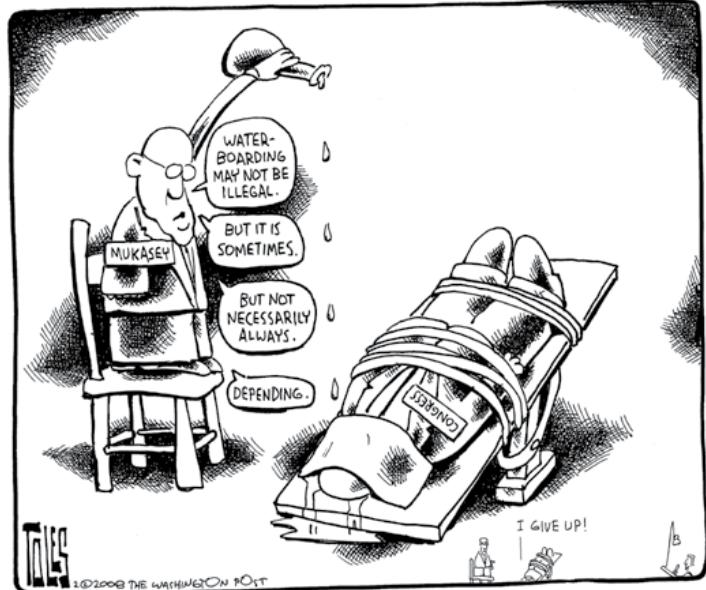
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Tom Toles Reprints

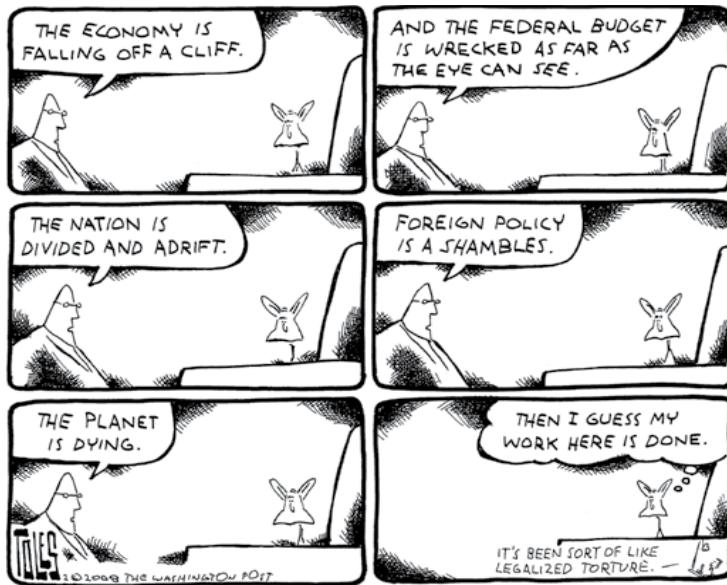
Issues



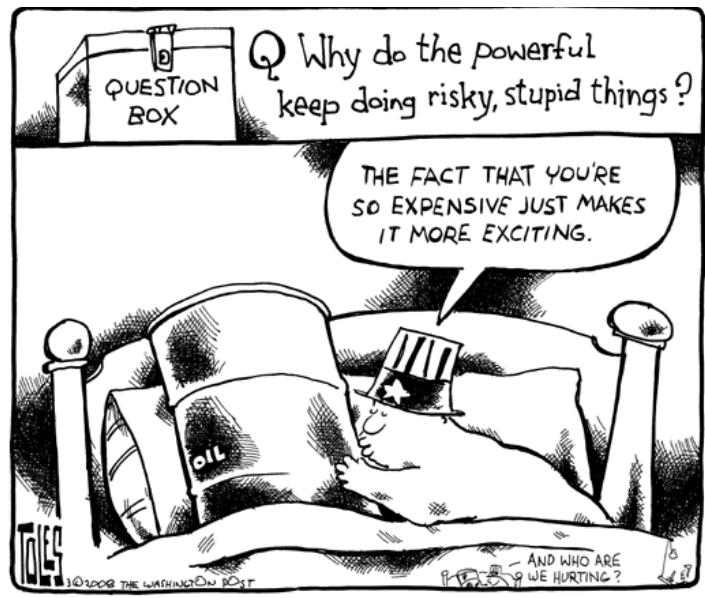
September 10, 2006



February 4, 2008



February 11, 2008

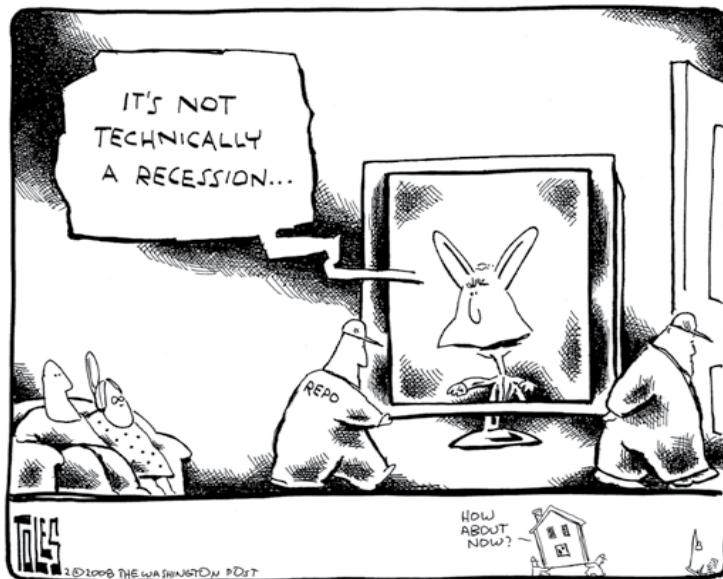


March 14, 2008

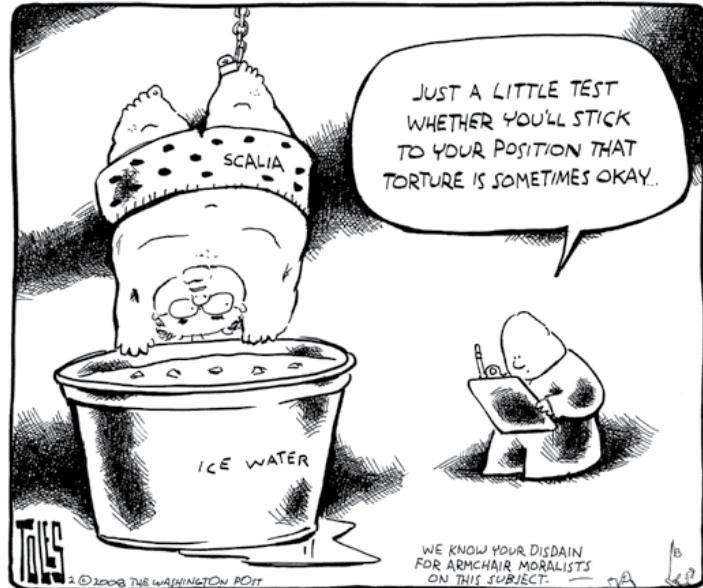
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Tom Toles Reprints

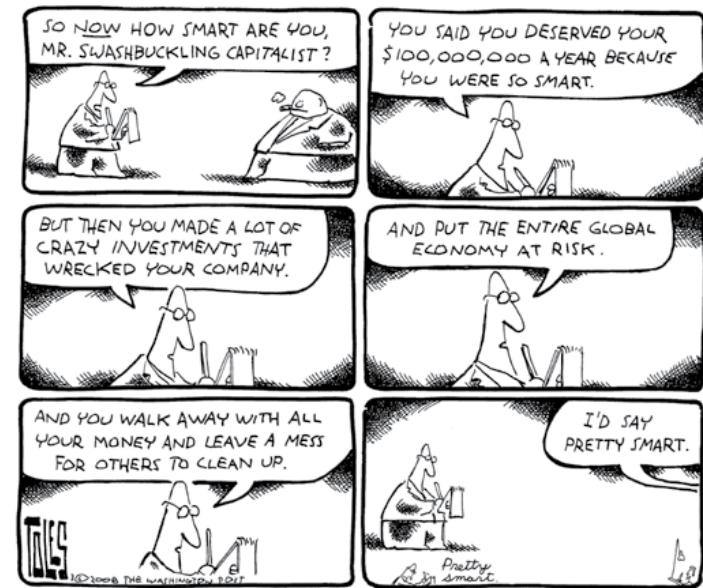
Issues



January 9, 2008



February 15, 2008



March 28, 2008

March 19, 2008

Name _____

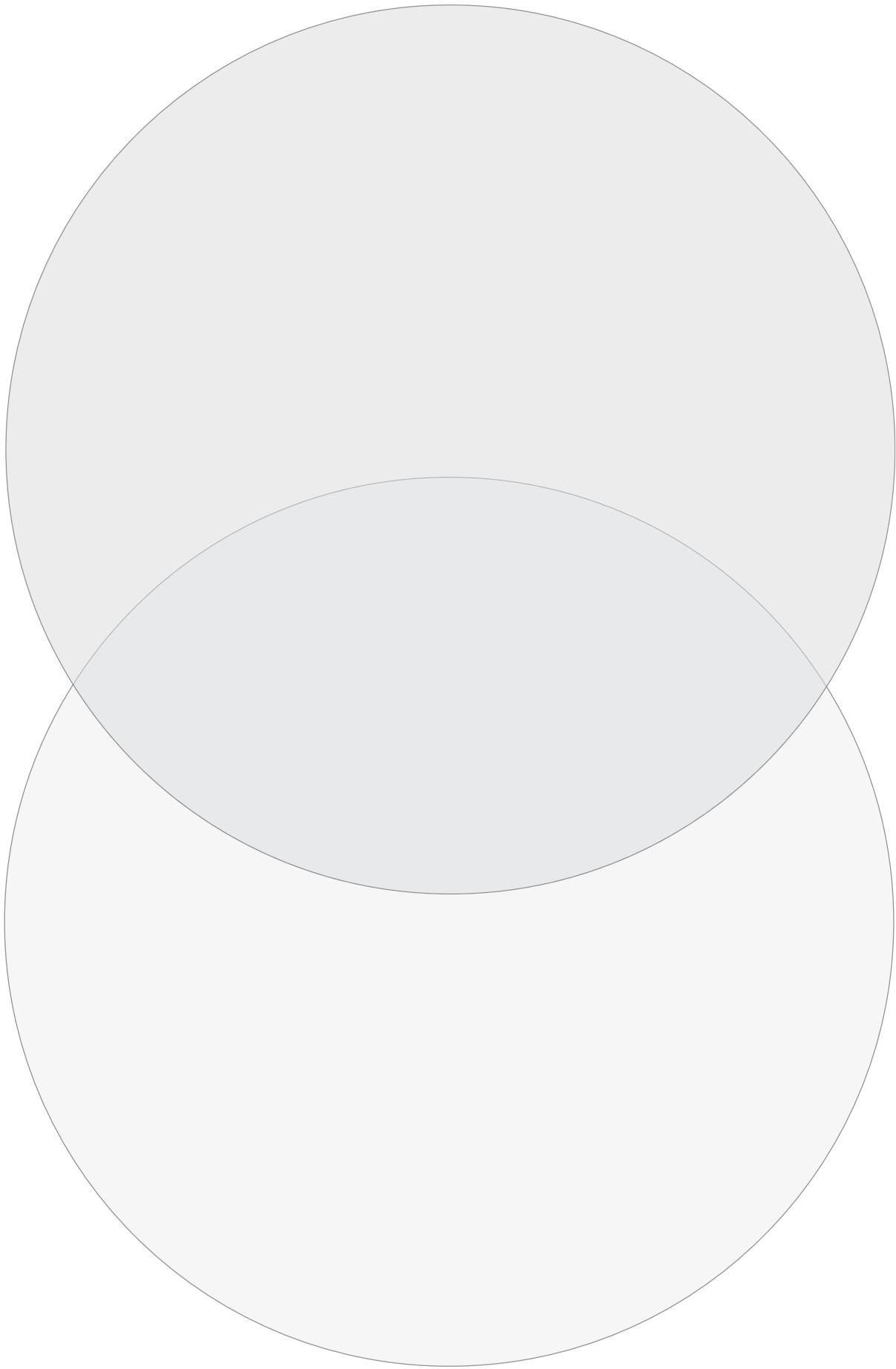
Date _____

POLICY POSITION	Candidate	Your Choice:		
		Immigration	Global Warming	Health Care
	John McCain			
	Hillary Clinton			
	Barack Obama			

Name _____

Date _____

Consider an issue



Campaign Role Play

What happens during the primaries? This simulation provides possible events that could take place. As students are working on their first assignments, a new assignment or reaction is required. As much as campaign managers and their candidates want to control the message and image, they have to be ready to respond to the unexpected.

Candidates must decide, with their campaign managers and press secretaries, what to do. Of course, somehow the original task must be completed while the new twist is handled. The media is there to cover the candidates and to inform the public. The emergence of an active Internet community of bloggers, political activists and social network users adds another dimension to the primary campaign interaction.

This role-playing activity consists of three students playing the roles of Democratic candidates (D1, D2 and D3), three students playing the roles of Republican candidates (R1, R2 and R3), and two students playing the roles of Third-Party candidates (T1 and T2). The number of campaign managers and/or press secretaries should be determined by the class size. Media and community activists should also be selected. The Media/Press group will include students designated as "local media," "Fox News" and "*Parade*" magazine editor." Other students in the Media/Press group can determine their affiliations.

Use the following as possible scenarios to give students at intervals. Access to computers, Web building software, cell phones and other technology could enhance the experience. If time allows, students could create Web pages. Digital images of the candidates could be used on these sites and in the mock newspaper that the class could produce.

If time does not allow for this extensive a simulation, give students the unfolding situations to respond to as a class. Students may be asked what actual candidates did do and what they would do differently or the same.

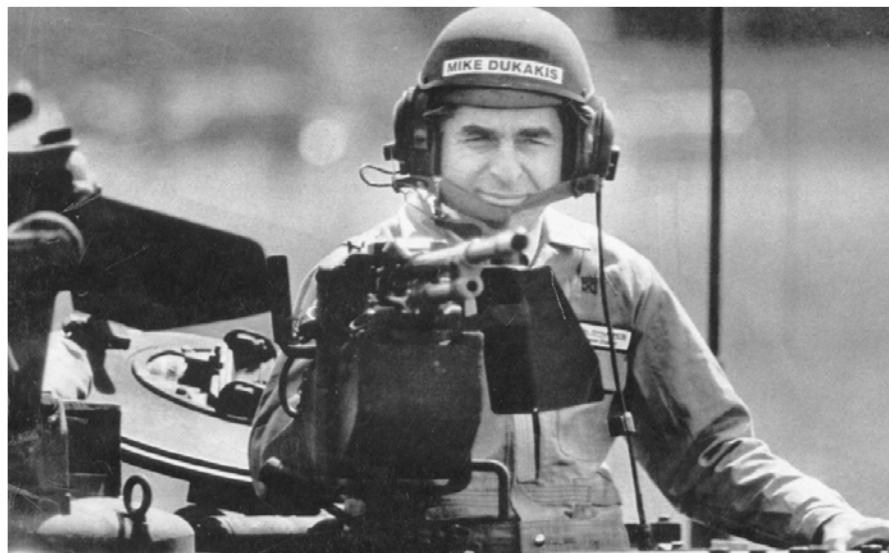


PHOTO BY TRACY BAKER/UPI

09/13/88 — Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis, wearing an army tanker's helmet, peers behind the loader's weapon of an M1A1 Abrams Main Battle Tank during a demonstration ride.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

09/03/50 — Gov. Adlai Stevenson, Democratic Presidential nominee, bares a worn sole, proof of his whirlwind tour of five Michigan cities in 12 hours, to his Labor Day audience in Flint, Michigan. With him is Michigan's Gov. G. Mennen Williams.



PHOTO BY RICK T. WILKING/REUTERS

09/18/96 — Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole falls to the ground from a four-foot-high stage after a false railing gave way in Chico. Dole lifted himself up and went on to deliver his speech.

CANDIDATES

- All D and R candidates: Research and write your position on _____.
(Either give students summary sheets or send them to Web sites where positions are posted.)

• Pull Candidate D1 aside. Give this student a different issue on which to write a proposal for action. You may base this on a recent news item or a particular issue of concern to your community.

• Announce to all candidates: Candidate D1 presented her proposal for _____ at a town meeting last evening. What is your response? Meet with your campaign manager/press secretary.

• Candidates D1, D2, D3 and R1, R2 and R3 are invited to a national debate. How do you prepare?

- Candidate D1 and Candidate D2, you are not included in a televised debate. What do you do?
 - Pull Candidate D3 aside: Candidate D3 receives bad news. Your spouse has been diagnosed with cancer. Do you tell family members? Do you try to keep it a secret from the press? If not, where and how are you going to tell the public? Do you stay in the race?



CAMPAIN MANAGER/PRESS SECRETARY

- All campaign managers: Schedule the first month of campaign appearances. In one state or more? With what interest groups or constituents?
- All press secretaries: Write a news release announcing your candidate's first campaign rally. See campaign manager to coordinate. Do you have head shots and other pictures ready? [Trivia: The first president to wear a beard was Lincoln.]
- Press secretary, Candidate D1: Notify the local media of a key proposal to be given by your candidate at this evening's town meeting. Teachers may tell this student who is playing the role of local media.
- You and your candidate have decided on your response to Candidate D1's proposal. Prepare a press release.
 - You need to get the personal side of your candidate to women's magazines. Select photographs to use. Write captions for them. Teachers may ask students to take digital pictures for use or have a number of different images from *The Washington Post* from which they will select the "type of picture" they would use.

• All in this group: How will your candidate make use of YouTube, MySpace and other social networking sites? For youth vote? Other demographics?

• Your candidate has been invited to participate in a national debate, what limits are you going to place on the organizers? How do you prepare your candidate?

- Campaign manager D3: Your candidate pulls you aside to inform you about his/her spouse's health news. What do you advise your candidate? Who in the media will be told? When and where?
- Press secretary D2: Photographers have pictures of your candidate on vacation. You have coached her to wear no low necklines. How do you respond to pictures of her showing cleavage and her hair windblown?

• Candidate D2: You have concerns about your image daily. You take a few days off the campaign schedule to relax with your family. Photographers in Mexico get a picture of you showing cleavage. In addition, it's a bad hair day. How do you respond when shown the pictures?

• Candidate R2: You have decided to withdraw from seeking office. When, where and how do you make this announcement? Why are you withdrawing? Will your family be with you? Who else?

- Pull Candidate T1 aside: You have received endorsement from Candidate R2's major backers. This places you in a much better position. Meet with your campaign manager/press secretary. Where, when and how will you announce the endorsement? Will you use a press conference (you have no assigned members from media)? A rally in a significant town? An Internet announcement? Will this take place on one day or over several days to maximize exposure?

MEDIA/PRESS

- Meet with all the candidates to get their positions on _____. Write an article with an informational graphic that compares their positions.
- *Parade* magazine editor: Prepare five questions that you want all candidates to answer. Write a cover letter to persuade candidates to respond. Don't forget to give them a deadline.
 - Candidate D1 presents a proposal for _____ at a town meeting. Only the local media covered the event. Find out who has the story.
 - Give one member of the media an advance copy of D1's proposal. Tell this person that he/she is local media. When others ask who is the local media, he/she emerges with the information that he/she has. (Or will he/she have already given it to his/her newspaper/Web for publication? A scoop for the little folks.)
 - Will any of the media think to call on the other candidates to get their positions or will they wait until they get the press release to think of getting the other views?
 - You have pictures of Candidate D2 on a private break from the campaign. She is always well groomed, but here she is with windblown hair and showing cleavage as she picks up her grandson. Do you print this picture?
 - Give this information to one of the media. You notice the absence of the spouse of Candidate D3 from two campaign events. Try to reach the candidate for comments.
 - Candidate R2 has called a meeting of the press corps that has been assigned to him.
- Candidates cannot always be "on." You overhear Candidate R1 lambasting two of his staff after a rally the day before the presidential candidates debate. You support this candidate. Do you use this information on your blog?
 - Candidates cannot always be "on." You overhear Candidate R1 lambasting two of his staff after a rally the day before the presidential debate. You do not support this candidate. Do you use this information on your blog?

BLOGGERS/SOCIAL NETWORKING

- All in this group: You get busy to locate pictures of or to get an interview with one of the candidates. If no pictures are available, take your own. You want to get your piece on MySpace's Impact Channel or your own Web site.
 - All in this group: To what extent do you link to the established media sites? How do you generate your own content?
 - Some pictures of photo ops and mishaps create poor images of candidates. Would you use any of these pictures (Michael Dukakis in a tank, Adlai Stevenson with a hole in his sole, Bob Dole after a fall)? Are they news?
 - Social Network User: The local media think they are the only ones who covered Candidate D1's town meeting proposal. You were there also with your camcorder and digital recorder. What are you going to do with your tape? Sell it to national media for use, present it to a Web news source or post it on YouTube?
 - Candidate D2 is on a campaign break for a weekend with her family. Do you cover this or allow her to enjoy a private time? She is always well groomed, but you obtain a picture of her with windblown hair and showing cleavage as she picks up her grandson. Do you print this picture?
 - Your friend's mother is in her oncologist's office. She said she was sure she saw Candidate D3's spouse go into the doctor's office down the hall, having entered through a side door. Do you do anything with this information? Is it news? Can you report that a candidate's spouse had a medical appointment without confirming who was in the doctor's office?
 - You support T1's candidacy. You see him as your generation's Teddy Roosevelt who can lead the country in national and international arenas. You begin a Web site to inform the public. You interview T1 and meet with his campaign manager to form an Internet strategy.
 - Candidates cannot always be "on." You overhear Candidate R1 lambasting two of his staff after a rally the day before the presidential candidates debate. You support this candidate. Do you use this information on your blog?
 - Candidates cannot always be "on." You overhear Candidate R1 lambasting two of his staff after a rally the day before the presidential debate. You do not support this candidate. Do you use this information on your blog?

BIGSTOCKPHOTO.COM



He has been very gregarious with you as you have traveled from city to city, even coming aboard your bus to give informal interviews. You wonder what requires such a formal invitation to meet.

- Fox News reporter and cameraperson: You got footage of Candidate R1 leaving a rally. The microphone picks up his harsh comments aimed at several of his staff. Is this news? Do you use it on the evening news? Do you use it on your station's Web site since you are not sure if any other station has it?

Candidate R1 gets angry at several members of his staff after a morning rally the day before the presidential debate. You know he was seen and heard by several members of the press and some of his local supporters. What do you do?

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Ruth Marcus

The Force of Gender

• Originally Published March 5, 2008

“Gender,” Gloria Steinem wrote in the *New York Times*, “is probably the most restricting force in American life, whether the question is who must be in the kitchen or who could be in the White House.”

Later that day, Hillary Clinton’s victory in New Hampshire made her the first woman to win a presidential primary.

Is Clinton hampered by her gender as she fights for the Democratic nomination? I think the reality is neither as dire as Steinem suggests nor as benign as those of us who would like to see a woman elected president would wish.

Clinton herself has recently sounded like Steinem by way of Tammy Wynette: 1992’s invocation of “Stand by Your Man” has morphed into “Sometimes It’s Hard to Be a Woman.”

As the candidate said last week, “It’s hard being a woman out there. It is obviously challenging with some of [the] things that are said, that are not even personal to me so much as they are about women.”

The burden of two X chromosomes, Clinton suggested, has made hers a tougher climb: “Now every so often I just wish that it were a little more of an even playing field, but, you know, I play on whatever field is out there.”

This complaint is a little hard to take from someone who entered the race as the Official Candidate of the Democratic Establishment. Clinton might not have been born on third base, to paraphrase the late Texas governor Ann Richards on George W. Bush, but she began the campaign with the equivalent of a triple.

The candidate of inevitability and the victim of the uneven playing field aren’t compatible concepts.

If anything, the playing field has been demographically tilted in Clinton’s favor. Women account for nearly six in 10 Democratic primary voters. In October, when it seemed almost a given that Clinton would win the nomination, Clinton strategist Mark Penn bragged about her edge with women and predicted that 24 percent of Republican women could defect in the general election. I don’t recall any complaints about field conditions then.

Clinton’s loss, if it comes to that, will have more to do with squandered and mismanaged resources; a shapeless, shifting message; a loose-lipped spouse; and arrogant strategists who dismissed the threat from Barack Obama and assumed the past would predict the future.

Yet I’m not arguing that gender has been irrelevant in this campaign. How could it be with the first serious female candidate for the White House?

The gender gap in Clinton’s support is persistent — and striking. In every Post-ABC News poll since December, Clinton’s support among women has significantly exceeded her backing among men, with differences ranging from the mid- to high teens. In the latest poll, Clinton trailed Obama among men 35 to 57 percent, even as she clung to a narrow lead, 50 to 45 percent, among women.

Still, as Democratic pollster Geoff Garin notes, women have tended to stick with Clinton even as men have been swept away by Obama, suggesting that the difference may lie more in women’s affinity for Clinton and interest in a female candidate. “It does not appear to be the case that Democratic men are particularly hostile to her,” Garin said.

Clinton can legitimately complain about a double standard when it comes to sexism on the campaign trail. The exquisite sensitivity to perceived racial slights — Joe Biden on the “clean” and “articulate” Obama — has been missing on gender. “How do we beat the bitch?” one voter — an elegantly dressed older woman, no less — asked John McCain in South Carolina. He laughed, and there were no repercussions. Contrast that with McCain’s immediate repudiation of a conservative talk show host who used Obama’s middle name in introducing McCain.

But the most problematic part of the gender equation in this campaign has been more subtle — and perhaps more ominous for a future female candidate not named Clinton. Watching Obama, I’ve been wondering whether the country, particularly the male half, can comfortably fit a woman into its mental picture of a president. Obama’s success stems in large part from his ability to use rhetoric to inspire and persuade. The country has scant experience of a woman in that role.

“The image of charismatic leadership at the top has been and continues to be a man,” said Ruth Mandel, director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University. “Barack Obama’s appeal and charisma is uniquely his own, but it also fits with an age-old history of men who electrify followers. . . . We don’t have an image, we don’t have a historical memory of a woman who has achieved that feat.”

That may not be coming anytime soon. Gender isn’t the most restricting force in American life. It remains a force to be reckoned with.

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Michael Kazin

Permanent Campaign? It's a National Tradition

• Originally Published February 13, 2007

How much American political history do political journalists know? Take the ubiquitous claim, or complaint, that the presidential campaign is starting earlier than ever. Today's candidates, marveled one reporter, are subjected to "longer, more intensive scrutiny" than in the past. Why can't they emulate their predecessors and wait until election year to make their pitches and raise their millions?

Like most evocations of a golden age, this is a myth. In fact, the nearly permanent campaign has been a feature of American politics since before the Civil War, when mass parties first emerged to contend for the votes of a mass electorate, albeit one then composed almost exclusively of white men. In a nation of ambitious entrepreneurs and furious battles for market share, the race for the presidency — as with most sales efforts — has rarely taken a break.

It began with Martin Van Buren. Two years before the 1828 vote, "The Little Magician" began to build the first modern party, soon named the Democrats, in part to avenge Andrew Jackson's unjust defeat in the previous election. Van Buren secured the allegiance of influential pols up and down the East Coast and helped establish pro-Jackson newspapers from New England to Louisiana. A decade later, William Henry Harrison, who hoped to be the new Whig Party's first nominee, began touring key states more than a year before the 1836 election. Soon after losing that race (to Van Buren), the 64-year-old military hero took to the road again. After all, his party rivals Henry Clay and Daniel Webster were doing it, too.

During the final decades of the 19th century, the pace of campaigns accelerated. Fast trains, fierce competition among big-city papers and two closely matched national parties all produced a bull market for candidates seeking press attention and needing to develop a network of loyalists.

The prize for the earliest start probably goes to William Jennings Bryan. A month after his loss to William McKinley in 1896, Bryan and his wife, Mary, issued a thick account of the campaign whose title — *The First Battle* — made his intentions clear. The book was a bestseller, and the post office in Bryan's home town of Lincoln, Neb., was flooded with letters from thousands of admirers. Bryan's wife and brother used the correspondence to start a huge card file of supporters. By the spring of 1897, Bryan was wooing Democratic insiders at state party conventions.

John F. Kennedy launched his presidential campaign with a different kind of book. *Profiles in Courage*, an eloquent octet of senatorial portraits that JFK edited more than authored, helped lift him into contention for the vice presidential nomination in 1956. It won a Pulitzer Prize and turned Kennedy into a modern-day Bryan — one of the country's most coveted speakers. By the time he officially declared his candidacy in 1960, JFK was leading in the polls.

Kennedy was also responsible for a critical innovation in the permanent campaign. Since Andrew Jackson's day, major candidates and their allies had built personal organizations long before any votes were cast. But once nominated, a man depended on the party apparatus to finance his race. In 1896, the Democrats spent all of \$250,000 on Bryan's campaign. Not surprisingly, he lost to McKinley, for whom the redoubtable Mark Hanna raised at least 10 times as much money.

But Kennedy was graced with a wealthy father who'd been bankrolling him since his first run for Congress. A year before the 1960 Democratic convention, Joe Kennedy had already spent a million dollars on his son's campaign — including a nine-room office near the Capitol where staffers called potential delegates and party bosses and entered the results on oversized wall maps.

For the past half-century, nearly every serious candidate has followed the Kennedys' lead. Launching a presidential bid became akin to starting a mid-size firm, complete with accountants, lawyers and a communications team whose "rapid responses" many old-line corporations would envy. The Internet has only made it easier and quicker to contact voters; the essentials of the campaign business were in place long before the first candidate hired the first webmaster or reprimanded the first controversial blogger.

Whether or not this nonstop sales effort is good for representative democracy, it would take a galvanic reform movement to divorce them. Several years ago Richard Gephardt, who knew the rules of the game as well as anyone, joked about a poll that found "Seventy percent of Americans neither consume nor wish to consume politics." For now, perhaps all one can do is demand that the quality of the goods live up to the hype on the packaging.

Michael Kazin, a history professor at Georgetown University, is the author of "A Godly Hero: The Life of William Jennings Bryan."

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Campaign.USA

With the Internet Comes a New Political 'Clickocracy'

By JOSE ANTONIO VARGAS
Washington Post Staff Writer

• Originally Published April 1, 2008

We saw it coming. Just as MySpace and Facebook change the way we communicate, just as YouTube alters the way we entertain ourselves, just as eBay and iTunes modify the way we shop, the Internet is transforming the way we engage with this never-ending presidential campaign.

Like it or not, we now belong to a clickocracy — one nation under Google, with video and e-mail for all.

Want to find a candidate's position on home foreclosures?

In the past we scoured the newspaper or found the phone number for campaign headquarters and placed a call. Now we Google "John McCain," "Barack Obama" or "Hillary Clinton" and drown in the information flood.

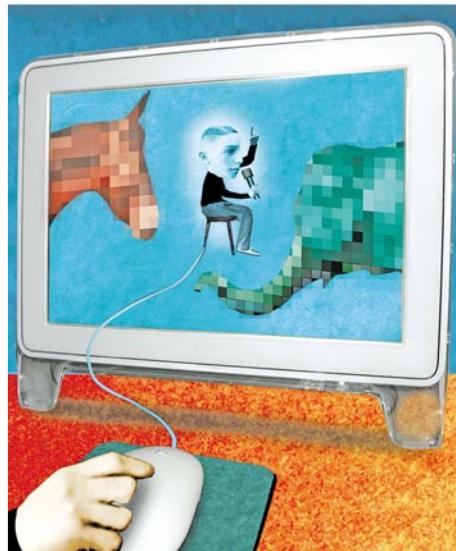
Want to give money to a candidate?

These days all it takes is a credit card and three clicks — once on the home page, then on the "donate" button, then on "submit." That's much easier than writing a check and making sure you have the right address to mail it to, and certainly more accessible and egalitarian than attending a black-tie fundraiser at the Capital Hilton. No wonder, then, that Clinton and Obama collectively raised \$75 million online in February, roughly \$2.5 million a day. If politics is money, there's a new bank in town.

Want to create an anti-Obama Facebook group or a pro-McCain video?

Who's going to stop you?

This interactive medium is rebooting



BY MICHAEL MORGENSEN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

the first three words of the 220-year-old U.S. Constitution for the 21st century

Online, "We the people . . ." takes on a whole new meaning.

* * *

There are some who question the impact or the value of the new online politics. Andrew Keen, author of *The Cult of the Amateur* and critic of the YouTubing, Facebooking, Wikipedia-ing masses, says the Internet's role in the campaign is "mostly hype, personality-driven, the *American Idol*-ization of politics."

If the Internet is indeed having "great impact," Keen reasons, Ron Paul, the Republican Party's Internet rock star, would have won the nomination. Obama, who's greatly benefited from his online popularity, "would have been successful without the help of the Internet anyway," he says.

Then Keen slips back to his general assessment of the medium. "The problem

with the Internet is it's the opposite of nuance," he says. "It's media with a hammer."

Keen, however, is in the minority.

For many, the Internet has ushered in an irreversible and seemingly seismic shift — not only for voters but also for candidates. Sure, the Web, like TV, has its limitations. A campaign's online strategy can't single-handedly win an election any more than its TV ads can. Still, the Web's impact has been profound. For instance, running a serious campaign means raising a serious amount of money. Without the Web, the relatively unknown Obama would have been unable to mount such a strong challenge to the more prominent Clinton. Nearly 60 percent of the \$193 million that Obama has raised so far in his campaign — about \$112 million — came from online contributions, with 90 percent of them in amounts of \$100 or less.

"What we're watching is an evolution away from Washington's control, away from the power that big money and big donors used to have a monopoly on," says Tom Daschle, a South Dakota Democrat and former Senate majority leader.

Adds Richard Viguerie, often called the "funding father" of the modern conservative movement for his effective use of direct mail: "The establishment, the power structure, the Karl Roves, are losing control of the process. There's a new center of power developing."

* * *

Nothing rattles a campaign more than losing control of its message.

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Campaigns are centralized, hierachal, top-down operations. Everything's timed, choreographed. Staffers stay on message.

That goes against the very nature of the Web, where hijacking a candidate's message and spreading it around is easily done with the help of YouTube, a few rudimentary video editing skills and an e-mail list.

There are examples galore, and here's one of the first: On Jan. 9, 2007, a YouTube mash-up of Mitt Romney declaring his earlier support for abortion and gay rights — positions he later renounced — went viral.

Less than 10 hours later, his staff countered with a video reiterating Romney's current positions. But the damage had been done, and it reverberated from then on. Type "Romney" and "flip flop" into the search engine on YouTube and some 180 videos pop up.

Steve Grove, head of news and politics at YouTube, says it's one thing for a voter to read about Romney's earlier views on abortion in a newspaper article or watch a 30-second sound bite on the evening news. It's quite another to watch a video of a younger Romney, in a five-minute video titled "The Real Romney?", state, "I believe that abortion should be safe and legal in this country."

To Joe Trippi, who pioneered Howard Dean's insurgent online campaign in 2003, this is "the beauty and also the curse of the Web. . . . Like it or not, an army of people are working for you or against you." A veteran of past presidential campaigns — he worked for Sen. Edward Kennedy, former vice president Walter Mondale and former congressman Richard Gephardt — Trippi says the hardest thing for him to learn was to cede control.

This is a tension within every campaign, says Micah Sifry, co-founder of TechPresident, a bipartisan group blog that tracks how candidates are

campaigning online. Though Sifry has been impressed with Obama's Web strategy — "again and again, we've seen how well they've married online enthusiasm with on-the-ground mobilization," he says — Sifry asserts that Obama's Internet team erred early on. Last spring, it sought control of a MySpace page that carried Obama's name but was independently created by an Obama supporter. "The campaign should have let the supporter control his page," Sifry says.

That lapse, however, is nothing compared with the wariness that many Republican candidates have about the Web.

Michael Turk, who led President Bush's online strategy in 2004 and recently worked as a consultant for Fred Thompson, says many Republicans still think of the Web as "an expensive brochure, like a slick direct mail." McCain's site, for instance, "is definitely an extension of the broadcast, send-receive model," he says. "The overwhelming majority of space on his home page is all about McCain, and not about how real people can get involved." But the candidate's campaign has made some improvements. "They've opened up comments on the site," Turk observes.

Another example concerned the YouTube debate. After the Democratic CNN/YouTube debate last year in which the public, including a talking snowman concerned about global warming, uploaded questions to CNN producers, most of the GOP contenders were slow to accept the invitation for their turn. "I think the presidency ought to be held at a higher level than having to answer questions from a snowman," Romney told the *Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader*. Pressured by young, Web-savvy conservatives who said the YouTube snub was a mistake (and who created the site [SavetheDebate.com](#)), all the candidates eventually agreed to the format.

Mindy Finn, another veteran of the Bush campaign, worked for Turk four years ago and headed Romney's online strategy until he dropped out in February.

"For campaigns, losing control also means letting candidates show more of their real personalities. A candidate is not going to be 'on' all the time, unless he or she is a really good actor. A candidate has to be himself or herself," Finn says. "In this new online era, everyone's watching, and if you're not being yourself, chances are you'll slip. And someone, somewhere, will blog about it, or upload it on YouTube."

* * *

Kathleen Hall Jamieson, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania and a chronicler of presidential races for more than 40 years, says the Internet "has the capacity to immerse people in the everyday minutiae of a campaign like no other medium before it." The problem with TV news, especially on cable, is that it distributes a message that many in the audience don't want to get, Jamieson says. Online, where we choose to sign up for a campaign's e-mail list, we're more inclined not only to read the e-mails we receive but also forward them to friends and relatives. Same goes for YouTube. A viewer makes a conscious decision to click on a video, says Jamieson, who points out a recent disconnect between what pundits are talking about in the 24-hour cable news cycle and what people are watching online.

After Obama's speech on race, cable news anchors repeatedly replayed sound bites from the Rev. Jeremiah Wright's sermons, which were uploaded on YouTube and linked on countless blogs. Videos of Obama's 37-minute speech, however, surpassed those clips in views. So far, Obama's speech has been viewed more than 4 million times, making it the most viewed video uploaded by a presidential candidate yet on the site.

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Remember the axiom, driven by the rise of TV, that politics is theater? Candidates are actors in front of a camera and we're in the audience? All that's changing. Now everyone can be an actor and be in the audience.

"In the past there was only a passive relationship between the producer and the audience. But the audience has also become the producer. That's very empowering — and a huge change," says Jamieson.

"There's a dark side to this, of course. Voters can only read and watch and interact with everything they agree with, creating a hyper-partisan and largely uninformed electorate. But there's also a bright side where an informed and engaged electorate can participate in discussions that are relevant to the political process. Which way we'll eventually go, we'll have to see."

While Internet usage is still unevenly distributed — and older, reliable voters still primarily rely on broadcast media and newspapers to keep abreast of politics — as a whole we're getting more information about the campaigns online than we did in 2004, says Lee Rainie, director of the Pew Internet & American Life Project. A Pew survey released in January said that nearly a quarter of Americans say they regularly learn something about the campaign from the Internet. That figure is 42 percent among voters under 30, a historically unreliable voting bloc that has surprised pollsters by turning out in record numbers during the Democratic primaries.

When dial-up was the norm and AOL reigned supreme, the caption on a now famous *New Yorker* cartoon read: "On

the Internet, no one knows you're a dog."

Thirteen years and a lifetime later online, not only do we know the name of the person behind the computer, he'll also show us his YouTube channel — and talk endlessly about why he supports his candidate.

Nathaniel Morris, a senior at Osbourn Park High School in Manassas, has fallen hard for Clinton. Not only has he donated \$50 to her online, his YouTube channel is a shrine to the former first lady. The page's wallpaper reads "Hillary" and most of the 16 videos he's uploaded, including a three-minute mash-up set to the music of the metal rock band Shiny Toy Guns, are pro-Clinton.

"I've compared her positions with Obama and McCain and Edwards online. I watched clips of her debate performances on YouTube. I went to a rally in Manassas and volunteered for the campaign," says the 18-year-old, who waits tables at Romano's Macaroni Grill.

"Being a young Clinton supporter is not exactly the cool thing to be at school. Most of my friends are for Obama," Morris says. His mom, Lea, voted for Obama. His dad, Russell, leans toward McCain. "But I didn't want to just jump on a bandwagon."

* * *

So what about Ron Paul?

No Republican candidate — not Romney, not Rudy Giuliani, not Mike Huckabee — came close to his popularity on YouTube, Facebook and MySpace, the online social networking trifecta. He had more MeetUp groups than any candidate, including Obama. For some time "Ron Paul," ahead of "iPhone" and "Paris Hilton," was the most searched

term on Technorati, which offers a real-time glimpse of the blogosphere.

But it was his online fundraising prowess that most impressed — and downright baffled — his opponents and the media. He raised more than \$4 million on Nov. 5, then another \$6 million on Dec. 16. Of the \$36 million he raised throughout his campaign, \$32 million came from the Internet. That's \$5 million more than what Dean, last cycle's online phenomenon, raised during his candidacy.

That money allowed him to expand the number of campaign staffers from minuscule to modest. But the votes didn't follow. Though Paul earned 10 percent of the vote in Iowa and finished second (albeit with tiny totals) in Montana and Nevada, in many states he only got between 3 and 8 percent of the vote.

So when Paul bowed out of the race last month, the temptation was to conclude that this Internet thing can only do so much.

But take another look:

Although Paul is a 10-term congressman from Texas, he was virtually unknown nationally before this race. Yet by March 6, when Paul announced via a seven-minute video that he was dropping out, the 72-year-old made it further than anyone thought he would. He bested Giuliani, the onetime front-runner for the nomination. He beat conservative darling/former senator/movie-TV star Fred Thompson. He did way better than Sen. Sam Brownback, or Rep. Duncan Hunter, or former governor Jim Gilmore.

For Ron Paul, the Internet did more than enough.

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The Ballot Brawl of 1924

Relive the Thrilling Days of Yesteryear, at the Democrat's Deadlocked Convention



After 103 ballots, the 1924 Democratic National Convention in New York came up with a nominee, but it's hard to say that the bruising 16-day gathering produced a winner.

By PETER CARLSON
Washington Post Staff Writer

Those TV yappers are in a tizzy about the upcoming Democratic convention. They keep jabbering about how neither Clinton nor Obama will have enough delegates to win the presidential nomination and they'll need to woo the high-powered superdelegates. They keep yakking about a deadlocked convention! Or, better yet, a brokered convention!

These young whippersnappers don't know doodley about a deadlocked convention. Most of them weren't even born the last time a convention fight went beyond the first ballot, which was in 1952.

Back in my day, Democrats had real conventions with real nomination fights that went on for dozens of ballots. It took 46 ballots to nominate Woodrow Wilson in 1912, and 44 ballots to nominate James Cox in 1920. Jeez, it took four ballots to nominate Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 — and he was FDR, for crying out loud!

In those days, people weren't in such a damn hurry. They liked to vote for their state's

"favorite son" candidate for a few ballots just to show some local pride. In 1932, FDR's campaign manager asked Sam Rayburn, who was the campaign manager for John Nance Garner of Texas, if he could get the Texas delegation to vote for FDR after the first ballot.

"Hell, no," Rayburn said, "we've got a lot of people up here who've never been to a convention before, and they've got to vote for Garner a few times."

But you didn't come all the way out here to the old folks' home to hear me beat my gums

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about the good old days. You want to hear about the greatest deadlocked convention of them all, don't you? That would be 1924, when the battle went on for 103 ballots and even governors were getting into fistfights on the convention floor.

Give me a minute to put my teeth in and I'll tell you all about it.

* * *

It was the Roaring Twenties, the days of hot jazz and bathtub gin, and the Democrats met in Madison Square Garden, which was packed to the rafters with New York characters, described in *The Washington Post* as "Tammany shouters, Yiddish chanters, vaudeville performers, Sagwa Indians, hula dancers, street cleaners, firemen, policemen, movie actors and actresses, bootleggers . . ." Plus 1,098 delegates and 15 presidential candidates.

To win, a candidate needed the votes of two-thirds of the delegates and, as the convention opened on June 24, nobody was even close. But the obvious front-runners were Al Smith, the governor of New York, and William McAdoo, a California lawyer who had been Woodrow Wilson's Treasury secretary and was Wilson's son-in-law.

Smith and McAdoo represented the two sides of America's cultural divide — what today's TV yappers would call the red states and blue states. Smith's backers tended to be Northern, urban, Catholic and "wet," meaning anti-Prohibition. McAdoo's supporters tended to be Southern or Western, rural, Protestant and dry.

Just to make things more interesting, a lot of McAdoo's rooters were members of the Ku Klux Klan, which was then at the height of its power. The Klan hated Catholics and Smith was a Catholic. (Needless to say, there were exactly zero black delegates.)

It wasn't going to be easy uniting these factions, but the party bosses tried. They managed to finesse the Prohibition issue with a compromise that called for the enforcement of all laws but avoided mentioning the hated law against hooch. They tried to finesse the Klan issue in the same way, writing a platform that denounced violent secret societies but neglected to actually mention the Klan.

That didn't work. The anti-Klan folks balked, demanding a resolution that named the Klan. This sparked an anti-Klan demonstration on the floor that led to fistfights as pro- and anti-Klan delegates fought for possession of various state banners. Believe it or not, the governors of Kentucky and Colorado got into fistfights



ASSOCIATED PRESS

William G. McAdoo of California, Woodrow Wilson's Treasury secretary and son-in-law, led the first ballot with 431 votes, far short of the 732 needed.

trying to keep their state banners out of the hands of anti-Klan delegates.

Governors throwing punches — now, that's the kind of convention high jinks you just don't see anymore!

Ultimately, the anti-Klan resolution that didn't mention the Klan beat the anti-Klan resolution that did mention the Klan by exactly one vote.

And then this seething, angry crowd settled

down to try to pick a presidential candidate. First came 15 windy nominating speeches, followed by 15 windy seconding speeches. This torrent of oratory produced only two words that anybody still remembers: FDR calling Smith the "happy warrior."

When FDR ended his speech, the crowd went nuts. Smith's Tammany machine had packed the galleries with thousands of hacks

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armed with drums, tubas, trumpets and a bunch of ear-piercing electric fire sirens that were so loud that people scooted out of the hall with their fingers in their ears.

"It sounded," *The Post* reported, "like 10,000 voodoo doctors in a tropical jungle beating 10,000 tom-toms made of resonant washtubs."

The hacks in the galleries weren't so friendly to McAdoo. Anytime a speaker uttered his name, the hacks chanted, "Oil! Oil!" — a snide reference to the fact that McAdoo had received two mysterious payments from an oil baron implicated in the Teapot Dome scandal. It was as if Obama delegates greeted any mention of Hillary by hollering, "Whitewater! Whitewater!"

Anyway, after all this folderol, they finally called the roll for the first ballot and, needless to say, nobody got the 732 votes needed to win. McAdoo led with 431, followed by Smith with 241, and 13 other guys, mostly favorite sons with delusions of grandeur, each with fewer than 60 votes.

What happens when you get no winner? Those TV yappers probably don't know but the answer's simple: You vote again. That first day, which was June 30, they took 15 roll-call votes and still nobody was anywhere near victory. The next day, they came back and took 15 more roll-call votes and still nobody won.

This was the first convention broadcast on radio, and all over America people listened to the endless roll calls, each of them beginning with an Alabama delegate drawling, "Al-a-ba-ma casts twen-ty fo-ah votes fo-ah Os-cah Dub-ya Unnn-der-wood!" Soon, everybody in America was mimicking that drawl, saying, "Os-cah Dub-ya Unnn-der-wood!"

The voting was weird, even for Democrats: On the 20th ballot, the Missouri delegation switched all 36 votes from McAdoo to John W. Davis, the favorite son from West Virginia, which got everybody all excited, but on the 39th ballot, they all switched back to McAdoo.

On Wednesday, the third day of voting, William Jennings Bryan asked the chairman for permission to explain his vote for McAdoo. Bryan was the grand old man of the Democratic Party, which had nominated him for president three times. He was the "Great Commoner" who'd delivered the legendary "Cross of Gold" speech at the 1896 convention. But when he started orating for McAdoo, he was drowned out by angry boos from the gallery and chants of "Oil! Oil!"

"His voice, which had competed in the past with foghorns and tornadoes, sounded like the hum of a gnat," *The Post* reported. "For the first time, Bill Bryan's larynx had met its master."

Listening on the radio, Americans were shocked to hear the rabble of evil New York shouting down a good Christian gentleman like Bryan.

On and on the voting went — 50 ballots, 60 ballots, 70 ballots. The convention was supposed to be over but it still hadn't nominated a candidate, so it went into extra innings, like a tied baseball game. Some delegates gave up and left, others wired home for more money. The McAdoo people complained that rural delegates couldn't afford New York prices and urged the party to pay their hotel bills, which caused the Smith people to accuse the McAdoo people of trying to bribe the delegates by paying their hotel bills.

"This convention," wrote H.L. Mencken, the most famous reporter of the age, is "almost as vain and idiotic as a golf tournament or a disarmament conference."

But still it continued, day after day — 80 ballots, 90 ballots, 100 ballots. Finally, both Smith and McAdoo gave up and released their delegates and on July 9, after 16 days and 103 ballots, the Democrats nominated John W. Davis of West Virginia for president.

The band played "Glory, Glory Hallelujah" and the delegates limped home, weary and bleary, their self-loathing exceeded only by their loathing of the other Democrats.

In the November election, Davis was creamed by Calvin "Silent Cal" Coolidge, a laid-back dude who didn't let the duties of his office interfere with his afternoon nap.

* * *



John W. Davis of West Virginia, left, was named the party's nominee after front-runners McAdoo and New York's Al Smith, right, released their delegates.

What? Speak up, young fella, I don't hear too good. Those Tammany fire sirens ruined my ears.

Fun? You wanna know if the 1924 convention was fun? Well, it was fun for the first 20 or 30 ballots, but after 50 or 60 it got a tad tedious, and by the 80th or 90th even the driest of the dry delegates longed to take a swan dive into a bottle of bootleg bourbon.

People said the 1924 convention was so ugly it would kill the Democratic Party. It didn't, but it did kill the romance of the deadlocked convention. After 1924, Democrats hated deadlocks even more than they hated rival Democrats.

At the 1932 convention, the party leaders started to panic after three ballots and McAdoo got up and urged the convention to avoid "another disastrous contest like that of 1924." FDR's people offered the vice presidency to anybody who controlled enough votes to break the deadlock. John Nance Garner took the deal, delivered the Texas delegation and ended up vice president, a job he later reportedly described as "not worth a bucket of warm spit."

The last time a convention went more than one ballot was 1952, when the Democrats took three ballots to nominate Adlai Stevenson, who was trounced by Dwight Eisenhower. These days, both parties confine their brawling to the primaries and by the time the convention rolls around they're cooing and kissing like newlyweds. Now, conventions are just long infomercials for the candidates. They're so dull they make you pine for a deadlock.

Maybe that's why the TV yappers are jabbering about a deadlocked Democratic convention. If Clinton wins Texas and Ohio today, they say, then neither she nor Obama may have enough delegates to win, so the nomination will be decided by the 796 superdelegates, the people we used to call the party bosses.

Well, I think they're full of baloney, but I hope they're right. A little deadlock livens things up, and the prospect of floor fights, fistfights and backroom wheeling and dealing quickens the blood.

Two ballots, five ballots, 10 ballots — that would give an old geezer a reason to go on living. But, please, not 103 ballots. Take it from me, young fella, that's a little too much of a good thing.

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Finding Political Strength in the Power of Words

Oratory Has Helped Drive Obama's Career – and Critics' Questions

BY ALEC MACGILLIS

Washington Post Staff Writer

• Originally Published February 26, 2008

The 2008 presidential campaign has witnessed the rise of a whole arsenal of new political weapons, including Internet fundraising and sophisticated microtargeting of voters. For Sen. Barack Obama, however, the most powerful weapon has been one of the oldest.

Not since the days of the whistle-stop tour and the radio addresses that Franklin D. Roosevelt used to hone his message while governor of New York has a presidential candidate been propelled so much by the force of words, according to historians and experts on rhetoric.

Obama's emergence as the front-runner in the race for the Democratic nomination has become nearly as much a story of his speeches as of the candidate himself. He arrived on the national scene with his address to the 2004 Democratic National Convention, his campaign's key turning points have nearly all involved speeches, and his supporters are eager for his election-night remarks nearly as much as for the vote totals.

But his success as a speaker has also invited a new line of attack by his opponents.

Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (N.Y.), fighting to keep her candidacy alive, has sought to cast Obama (Ill.) as a kind of glib salesman, framing the choice before voters as "talk versus action." Sen. John McCain (Ariz.), the likely Republican nominee, has picked up the attack, vowing to keep Americans from being "deceived by an eloquent but empty call for change."

Obama gave his rivals an opening to question his speechmaking recently when he borrowed a riff about the power of words that was used two years ago by Massachusetts Gov. Deval L. Patrick (D), a friend and informal adviser. But the episode also illustrated a basic fact about Obama's ever-evolving stump speech: It is replete with outside influences, from the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. ("the fierce urgency of now") to Edith Childs, the councilwoman in Greenwood County, S.C., who inspired the "fired up, ready to go" chant that Obama used for months to end the speech.



To his critics, these influences are proof that Obama's rhetoric is less original and inspired than his supporters believe. "If your candidacy is going to be about words, then they should be your own words," Clinton said in Thursday's debate in Texas. ". . . Lifting whole passages from someone else's speeches is not change you can believe in, it's change you can Xerox."

To his admirers, this magpie-like tendency to pluck lines and ideas from here and there and meld them into a coherent whole is inherent to good speechwriting and part of what makes Obama effective on the stump. It has allowed him to adapt quickly to rivals' attacks, which he often absorbs into his remarks, parroting them and turning them to his advantage.

It has also allowed him to keep his speeches fresh, a challenge in a campaign in which he has given two or three a day, on average, in addition to a dozen or so major televised addresses along the way. And by continually tweaking his pitch with new material, he gives the impression that he is thinking things through in front of his audiences, instead of reciting a rote speech.

"He seems very deliberative," said Martin Medhurst, a professor of rhetoric at Baylor University. "He seems like he's actually

thinking about what he is saying rather than just reading from a script."

The basic structure of Obama's speech has remained more or less the same: a statement of why he is running now, an account of the movement the campaign is building, a subtle argument for why voters should not "settle" for Clinton, a list of the things he would do as president "if you are ready for change," and finally an invocation, and rejection, of the arguments against his candidacy.

Along with swapping in and out new riffs for each section, Obama has learned how to adapt the speech in tone and in some of its details for each audience. This was most conspicuous in South Carolina, where he engaged in a running repartee with his mostly black audiences and sprinkled his words with local vernacular.

"It comes from his sense of an audience," said Gerald Shuster, an expert in political communication at the University of Pittsburgh. "He's doing a lot of impromptu when he gets to the stage; he looks out over the audience and has the ability to adjust it."

The clearest comparison, the experts say, is to John F. Kennedy, who like Obama was able to mix high seriousness and humor. The shared cadences with Kennedy are not entirely a surprise — Obama's young speechwriters are steeped in the addresses of Kennedy and his brother Robert, and the campaign has been getting informal advice from Kennedy speechwriter Ted Sorenson.

But not even Kennedy was perceived as relying on his speaking skills as much as Obama is. "The main difference was that the 1960 campaign was much more substantive than the current campaign," Medhurst said. "There was no criticism of his eloquence or speaking ability," he said of Kennedy.

If Obama has not fallen into a rut as a speaker, it may be partly because he has only recently started performing at the level he is now. Though his oratory has invited comparisons to Kennedy and King (comparisons that make his critics scoff), he was not raised in a deep oral tradition as those men were — King in his father's Atlanta church and Kennedy among Irish American pols and raconteurs and elite prep schools that stressed rhetoric.

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In Obama's telling, he did not recognize the power of public speaking until he participated in an anti-apartheid rally in college and discovered that he had captured the demonstrators when he took the microphone. "The crowd was quiet now, watching me," he wrote in his 1995 memoir *Dreams From My Father*. "Somebody started to clap. 'Go on with it, Barack,' somebody else shouted. 'Tell it like it is.' Then the others started in, clapping, cheering, and I knew that I had them, that the connection had been made."

As a community organizer in Chicago after college, Obama learned to make an activist pitch before small groups, but he often stepped back to let local residents who had joined the cause take the lead in speaking at events. At Harvard Law School, classmates recall being struck by Obama's deftness as a speaker in the classroom and in small discussions at the Law Review.

"There was a perception that this is a very gifted individual who has a way with words and an interest and ability in communication," said classmate Bradford Berenson, a Washington lawyer and former associate counsel in the Bush administration. But "these rhetorical and oratorical gifts have clearly developed and reached their full flower in the course of his adult political career."

That growth took a while. In the Illinois Senate, few recalled much memorable rhetoric from Obama, maybe because there was so little opportunity for it. "When you're speaking about a bill that increases the penalty for the possession of cannabis, how much can you address posterity in a speech like that?" said state Sen. Steven Rauschenberger, a Republican who served with Obama.

Obama's first real chance to address matters of higher import came in 2002, when he spoke at a rally against invading Iraq. Marilyn Katz, a longtime Chicago public relations consultant who helped organize the event, recalls it as a kind of coming-out for Obama as a public speaker.

"People who'd never heard of him said, 'Who is this guy?'" Katz said.

State Sen. Denny Jacobs, who served with Obama, said Obama may have learned some lessons from his unsuccessful 2000 bid for the congressional seat of Rep. Bobby L. Rush, a former Black Panther leader. Friends and advisers told Obama that he had failed to connect with many voters because his rhetoric was too wonkish and Ivy League for their tastes. "He talked above people," Jacobs said.

Running for the U.S. Senate four years later, Jacobs said, Obama adopted the main elements of the uplifting, unifying rhetoric he uses today, which Jacobs said offered much broader appeal. Instead of, say, dwelling on the details of welfare or health-care policy, he tied them to themes of "hope and change and the future," he said.

Obama views the 2004 race as the real training ground for his political speaking and says his earlier preparation came from his part-time law lecturing in Chicago as much as from his legislating.

"My general attitude is practice, practice, practice," he said in an interview with David Mendell, who wrote a new biography of Obama. In the 2004 race, "I was just getting more experienced and seeing what is working and what isn't, when I am going too long and when it is going flat. Besides campaigning, I have always said that one of the best places for me to learn public speaking was actually teaching — standing in a room full of 30 or 40 kids and keeping them engaged, interested and challenged."

He added that David Axelrod, chief strategist in his Senate race as well as in the current campaign, "was always very helpful in identifying what worked and what didn't in my speeches."

The 2004 race also featured the debut of the "Yes, we can" slogan, which Obama used this year after his defeat in the New Hampshire primary, to great effect. As it happens, he resisted the César Chávez-inspired line when Axelrod first suggested it in 2004, finding it too simplistic, Mendell said.

Obama's keynote address at the 2004 Democratic National Convention in Boston marked his arrival as a speaking sensation. But it exhibited only one side of him as a rhetorical performer: reading a scripted speech off a teleprompter. Obama has relied on the device for most of his major election-night speeches, something politicians rarely do, and for the major thematic speeches he gives on the trail every week or so. According to the campaign, these scripts tend to be a group effort, involving the candidate's 26-year-old speechwriter, Jon Favreau, and other staff members.

But the vast majority of Obama's talking in the campaign has come in the form of the 45-minute stump speech that he has delivered, without notes, several times a day for nearly a year. In states where he has had more time to campaign, a substantial minority of residents turning out to vote have, in all likelihood, heard this speech — more than 37,000 came

to see him speak during his four days in Wisconsin, and 646,000 voted for him in the primary there.

The stump speech is far more freewheeling than his scripted addresses, mixing the colloquial and the lofty and dotted with laugh lines that Obama often chuckles at himself, enjoying his role. Contrary to Obama's reputation as a fiery orator who traffics mainly in abstractions, much of the speech is delivered in a conversational tone, and it includes a long middle section of policy prescriptions. But what audience members tend to remember are the handful of crescendos that punctuate it, which deliver all the more punch for how slowly he builds them.

"He uses highs and lows. He has a wide range of pitch and uses it effectively," said Ruth Sherman, a Connecticut communications consultant. "He knows where to pause and stop and let his audience enjoy him, and he knows how to ride the crest of the wave and allow the momentum to evolve."

While his speeches include more policy gristle than Obama gets credit for, critics note that those ideas amount to a fairly conventional left-leaning platform and are not as novel as the package they are wrapped in.

"People are commenting increasingly on the disjunction between the elevated and exceptionally fine rhetoric and the rather pedestrian policy proposals that form the Obama platform," said Berenson, the Harvard classmate and former Bush counsel.

In a recent column in the *Wall Street Journal*, Peggy Noonan, who wrote speeches for presidents Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush, argued that Obama's addresses were not that eloquent, that some passages read quite trite on the page and lacked evidence of deep thought behind them. What made the speeches effective, she wrote, was that they were inextricably linked to the figure speaking them and to his inspiring life story.

Those who admire Obama's stump skills dismiss the charge by Clinton and McCain that he has been overly reliant on his speaking ability to win votes, arguing that politics is all about verbal persuasion. "The only way he can convince people that he can become president is his rhetoric," said the University of Pittsburgh's Shuster. "What other opportunity does he have?"

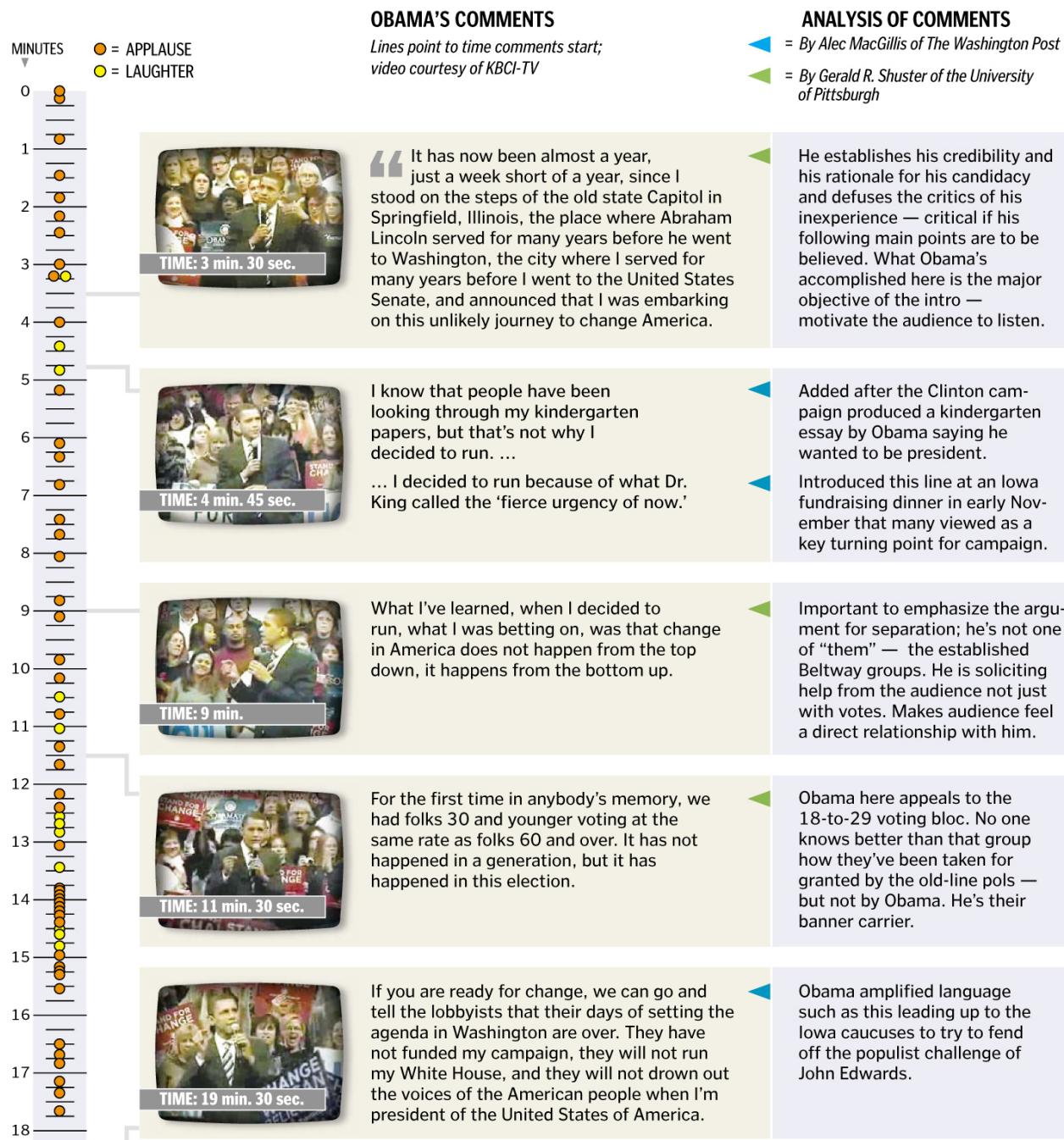
But some wonder: How can Obama keep meeting the rhetorical expectations he has set for himself, all the way through the summer and fall — and possibly beyond?

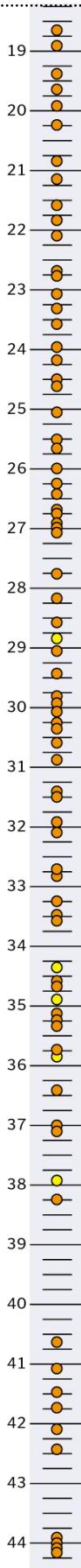
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ANATOMY OF A STUMP SPEECH

Sen. Barack Obama's stump speech is a 45-minute, ever-evolving set piece that he has given as often as three or four times a day for months and months, from tiny county fairgrounds in Iowa last summer to packed basketball arenas in big cities around the country in recent weeks.

The speech, delivered without notes, includes some building blocks that have girded it for a year and sections that have been dropped or added in over time. Many of the additions are riffs that he's created in response to criticisms made against him, lines of attack that he absorbs and tries to turn against the opposition. Following is a partial transcript of a representative speech given in Boise, Idaho, on Feb. 2 to a crowd of about 14,000 in the Boise State basketball arena.





But I don't just want to end the war, I want to end the mind-set that got us into the war.

Added to the stump speech in the past month, after using the line at a Los Angeles debate.



There was a time where folks were saying, 'Well, maybe he's too nice. I'm not sure he can take on the Republicans the way we need to, because he's always reaching out to them.' I try to explain to people, if you know who you are, if you know what you're fighting for and you know what your principles are, then you can afford to reach out across the aisle and start bringing people together.

Added this line in response to charges from Edwards shortly before the Iowa caucuses that Obama was too conciliatory.



Now, it's true that I do talk about hope a lot. Out of necessity. Think about what the odds are of me standing here before you in Boise. I wasn't born into wealth, I wasn't born into fame, my father left when I was 2, I was raised by a single mother and my grandparents, and they gave me love, they gave me an education, and they gave me hope.

Added this riff after New Hampshire, both to rebut charges of naivete and make clear that he comes from modest roots, to appeal better to working-class voters.



But I also know this: that nothing worthwhile in this country has ever happened except somebody somewhere was willing to hope. That is how this nation was founded. A group of patriots declaring independence from the mighty British Empire. No one gave them a chance. That's how slaves and abolitionists resisted a wicked system, and how a president was able to chart a course that would ensure we shouldn't remain half slave and half free. That is how the greatest generation, my grandfather fighting in World War II in Patton's army, while my grandmother stayed back working on a bomber assembly line, that is how that generation defeated fascism and lifted itself up out of the Great Depression. That is how pioneers had the courage to travel west in search of a better life, that's how immigrants were willing to come here from distant shores, how women won the right to vote, how workers won the right to organize, that's why young people traveled south on freedom buses, to march and sit in, some got beat, some got put in jail, some died for freedom's cause. That's what hope is, imagining and then working for it, struggling for what did not seem possible before.

This long riff was introduced in his speech the night of his New Hampshire loss, and was the inspiration for the hipsterish "Yes, We Can" music video.



If you are not willing to settle for what the cynics tell you you have to accept, but instead are willing to reach for what is possible, then I promise you, we will not just win Idaho, we will win this nomination, we will win the general election, and you and I together, we will remake this country and we will remake the world. "

This conclusion reinforces his main points, as in any good speech. But Obama takes the conclusion to a new level, reinforcing his philosophy. A speaker should never leave an audience believing all is lost. Clearly he doesn't think that about the future of the country — as long as he's at the helm.

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Obama Urges U.S.: 'Move Beyond Our Old Racial Wounds'

BY SHAILAGH MURRAY AND DAN BALZ
Washington Post Staff Writers

• Originally Published March 19, 2008

PHILADELPHIA, March 18 — Sen. Barack Obama delivered a blunt and deeply personal speech here Tuesday about racial division in America as he sought to quell a political controversy that threatens to engulf his presidential candidacy.

The 37-minute speech was Obama's most developed response to the storm of criticism that erupted over angry and racially charged sermons that included denunciations of the United States delivered by the Rev. Jeremiah A. Wright Jr., Obama's spiritual mentor and until recently a pastor at Trinity United

Church of Christ in Chicago. It was a topic he had long considered addressing directly as the first African American with a serious chance of becoming president, but one that took on a sense of urgency because of Wright's words.

Obama (D-Ill.) sought to distance himself from the specifics of Wright's sermons in the speech, saying they offered "a profoundly distorted view of this country." But he used the controversy to speak directly to the grievances and resentments on both sides of the racial divide and to urge all Americans to "move beyond our old racial wounds."

"Race is an issue that I believe this nation cannot afford to ignore right now," Obama told an audience of local ministers and community leaders

assembled at the National Constitution Center. "We would be making the same mistake that Reverend Wright made in his offending sermons about America — to simplify and stereotype and amplify the negative to the point that it distorts reality."

Noting that the politically safe course might be to hope that the current controversy will fade away, Obama said: "The fact is that the comments that have been made and the issues that have surfaced over the last few weeks reflect the complexities of race in this country that we've never really worked through — a part of our union that we have yet to perfect. And if we walk away now,

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BY MIKE MERGEN—BLOOMBERG NEWS

ABOUT HIMSELF I am the son of a black man from Kenya and a white woman from Kansas.... I am married to a black American who carries within her the blood of slaves and slaveowners, an inheritance we pass on to our two precious daughters. I have brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, uncles and cousins of every race and every hue scattered across three continents. And for as long as I live, I will never forget that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible.

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if we simply retreat into our respective corners, we will never be able to come together."

The speech drew praise for its forthright expression of black-white divisions and for its call to all Americans to begin to reconcile those differences. Whether it will solve the potentially serious political problems that Wright's long-standing relationship with Obama has created is a far different question, and one upon which political strategists disagreed on Tuesday after the address.

Obama's comments came after two weeks in which racial issues had again come to forefront of the Democratic presidential race. His loss to Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (N.Y.) in the Ohio primary two weeks ago and the voting patterns among some whites raised questions about whether racial factors had contributed to her victory.

Soon after, former Democratic vice presidential nominee Geraldine A. Ferraro severed her relationship with Clinton's campaign after making comments about Obama that were deemed racially demeaning. She had said his success in the campaign was attributable to his being black.

Then came the wide circulation of excerpts of Wright's sermons, which Obama immediately denounced. But the controversy continued to swirl, forcing the candidate to confront one of the most volatile issues in American life and politics.

Obama was emphatic Tuesday in his criticism of what his former pastor has said, but he refused to walk away from the man who had brought him to Christianity, performed his marriage and baptized his children. He spoke from a biracial perspective, as the son of a black Kenyan father and a white American mother.

"Reverend Wright's comments were not only wrong but divisive," he said, "divisive at a time when we need

unity; racially charged at a time when we need to come together to solve a set of monumental problems."

Obama acknowledged that he had heard his pastor say controversial things with which he disagreed, but he also said that in personal conversations he never heard Wright speak in a derogatory way about any ethnic group. And the senator described his congregation as typical of African American churches in embodying "the struggles and successes, the love, and, yes, the bitterness and biases that make up the black experience in America."

Of Wright, he said: "I can no more disown him than I can disown the black community. I can no more disown him than I can disown my white grandmother — a woman who helped raise me, a woman who sacrificed again and again for me . . . but a woman who once confessed her fear of black men who passed her by on the street, and who on more than one occasion has uttered racial or ethnic stereotypes that made me cringe."

The same kind of anger that exists within the black community also exists "within segments of the white

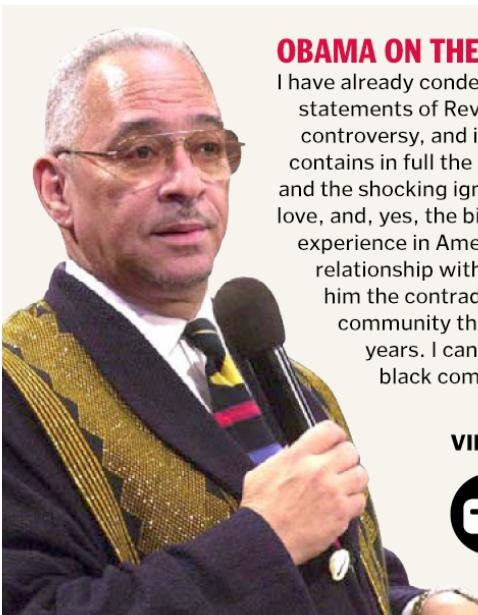
community," Obama said. "Most working- and middle-class white Americans don't feel that they have been particularly privileged by their race." Many, he said, work hard to make ends meet, only to see their children bused to school across town or lose a job or a space in a coveted school to an African American who is given advantages because of past discrimination.

"To wish away the resentments of white Americans, to label them as misguided or even racist, without recognizing they are grounded in legitimate concerns — this, too, widens the racial divide and blocks the path to understanding. This is where we are right now. It's a racial stalemate we've been stuck in for years."

Both whites and blacks, Obama said, must recognize "what ails" the other — and embrace, as he said Wright has not, the idea that America can change. "This union may never be perfect," he said. "But generation after generation has shown that it can always be perfected."

Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Del.), who competed against Obama in the

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OBAMA ON THE REV. WRIGHT

I have already condemned, in unequivocal terms, the statements of Reverend Wright that have caused such controversy, and in some cases, pain. . . . The church contains in full the kindness and cruelty, the fierce intelligence and the shocking ignorance, the struggles and successes, the love, and, yes, the bitterness and biases that make up the black experience in America. And this helps explain, perhaps, my relationship with Reverend Wright. . . . He contains within him the contradictions — the good and the bad — of the community that he has served diligently for so many years. I can no more disown him than I can disown the black community.

VIDEO ON THE WEB



Video and a transcript of Sen. Barack Obama's speech on race can be found online at www.postpolitics.com.

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Democratic race, praised the speech as a powerful statement about racial relations. "He told the story of America — both the good and the bad — and I believe his speech will come to represent an important step forward in race relations in our country," Biden said in a statement.

But one Democratic strategist, speaking on the condition of anonymity in order to offer a candid assessment, said the political problem facing Obama "is deeper than a speech."

Obama and his advisers were nervous even after the address. They conceded that they had no idea how it would be received either by the uncommitted superdelegates, who are looking for him to show mettle and leadership under fire, or by voters in upcoming primary states, including Pennsylvania, which will hold the next contest on April 22.

Clinton, who appeared in Philadelphia Tuesday morning for an Iraq-focused event that featured former CIA officer Valerie Plame Wilson and her husband, former ambassador Joseph C. Wilson IV, said she had not read the speech but "I'm very glad he gave it."

"Issues of race and gender in America have been complicated throughout our history, and they are complicated in this primary campaign," Clinton said during her appearance at City Hall. "There have been detours and pitfalls along the way, but we should remember that this is an historic moment for the Democratic Party and for our country. We will be nominating the first African American or woman for the presidency of the United States, and that is something that all Americans can and should celebrate."



REUTERS/JOHN GRESS

ABOUT ANGER

For the men and women of Reverend Wright's generation, the memories of humiliation and doubt and fear have not gone away; nor has the anger and the bitterness of those years. . . .

The anger is real, it is powerful, and to simply wish it away, to condemn it without understanding its roots, only serves to widen the chasm of misunderstanding that exists between the races. In fact, a similar anger exists within segments of the white community. Most working- and middle-class white Americans don't feel that they have been particularly privileged by their race. . . .

So when they are told to bus their children to a school across town, when they hear that an African American is getting an advantage in landing a good job or a spot in a good college because of an injustice that they themselves never committed, when they're told that their fears about crime in urban neighborhoods are somehow prejudice, resentment builds over time.

Like the anger within the black community, these resentments aren't always expressed in polite company. But they have helped shape the political landscape for at least a generation.

ABOUT THE ISSUE OF RACE

Race is an issue that I believe this nation cannot afford to ignore right now. We would be making the same mistake that Reverend Wright made in his offending sermons about America: to simplify and stereotype and amplify the negative to the point that it distorts reality.

The fact is that the comments that have been made and the issues that have surfaced over the last few weeks reflect the complexities of race in this country that we've never really worked through. . . .

And if we walk away now, if we simply retreat into our respective corners, we will never be able to come together and solve challenges.

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Academic Content Standards

This lesson addresses academic content standards of Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia.

Maryland

Government: The student will demonstrate an understanding of the historical development and current status of the fundamental concepts and processes of authority, power, and influence, with particular emphasis on the democratic skills and attitudes necessary to become responsible citizens. (Standard 1, Political Systems)

Selection of National and Maryland state leaders: Electoral College and election/appointment processes (1.1.2, Assessment limits)

The student will explain roles and analyze strategies individuals or groups may use to initiate change in governmental policy and institutions

- Political parties, interest groups, lobbyists, candidates, citizens, and the impact of the media on elections, elected officials and public opinion.
- e) Evaluate the reliability and the influence of the media on elections, elected officials and public opinion
- f) Describe the roles of political parties in the United States and how they influence elections, elected officials and public opinion
- g) Describe how citizens, candidates and campaign financing influence the political process in the United States
- i) Analyze how citizens make informed decisions regarding candidates, issues and policies (1.1.4)

The Maryland Voluntary State Curriculum Content Standards can be found online at <http://mdk12.org/mspp/vsc/index.html>.

Virginia

Civics and Economics: The student will demonstrate knowledge of citizenship and the rights, duties, and responsibilities of citizens by

- d) examining the responsibilities of citizenship, including registering and voting, communicating with government officials, participating in political campaigns, keeping informed about current issues, and respecting differing opinions in a diverse society.
- e) evaluating how civic and social duties address community needs and serve the public good (CE.3d, e)

Civics and Economics: The student will demonstrate knowledge of the political process at the local, state, and national levels of government by

- a) describing the functions of political parties.
- b) comparing the similarities and differences of political parties.
- c) analyzing campaigns for elective office, with emphasis on the role of the media.
- d) examining the role of campaign contributions and costs. (CE.5a-d)

U.S. Government: The student will demonstrate knowledge of local, state and national elections by

- a) describing the organization, role, and constituencies of political parties;
- b) describing the nomination and election process;

Standards of Learning currently in effect for Virginia Public Schools can be found online at www.pen.k12.va.us/VDOE/Superintendent/Sols/home.shtml.

Washington, D.C.

Social Studies, Government: Students evaluate issues regarding campaigns for national, state and local elective offices. (12.6, Elections and the Political Process)

- 3. Evaluate the roles of polls, campaign advertising, and the controversies over campaign funding.
- 4. Describe the means that citizens use to participate in the political process (voting campaigning, lobbying ...).

Social Studies, Government: Students evaluate and take and defend positions on the influence of the media on American Political Life. (12.7, Elections and the Political Process)

- 1. Discuss the meaning and importance of a free and responsible press.
- 2. Describe the roles of broadcast, print, and electronic media, including the Internet, as means of communication in American politics
- 3. Explain how public officials use the media to communicate with the citizenry and to shape public opinion.