

THE 1964 OKLAHOMA SENATORIAL ELECTION

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"In the contemporary world the activity of voting is rivaled only by the market as a means of reaching collective decisions from individuals."¹ Voting is essential in a democracy, for this is the method by which the public expresses its preference for a particular party or individual. In recent years there has been a veritable avalanche of voting studies which have formulated various hypotheses concerning the electoral behavior of the public. Studies on voting behavior have been made in terms of party and group identification of the voters, the role of the candidates' personalities, the role of the choice between policies, etc.

Since this thesis is primarily concerned with voting patterns, its purpose will be to determine empirically the major determinants of support for the candidates in a specific election. This study will focus on the 1964 senatorial election in Oklahoma between Bud Wilkinson, the Republican candidate, and Fred Harris, the Democratic nominee, and an effort will be made to weigh empirically the factors which influenced the public in voting for Harris and for Wilkinson. The task of determining

¹Angus Campbell et al., The American Voter, p.3.

these factors was accomplished primarily through the use of questionnaires, which were sent to representatives of the three primary economic interest groups in each Oklahoma county, viz., agriculture, business, and labor. In this way, it was possible to identify the degree of group support for each of the candidates. Questionnaires were also sent to newspaper editors in each county who attempted to evaluate the electoral behavior of the local voting public. The tabulated results of these questionnaires were matched with an analysis of county voting results in which the socio-economic characteristics of the county were compared to party vote percentages.

The major hypothesis of this study is that Harris' victory over the Republican candidate was the result of voters' response to party identification, and that neither issues nor personality factors were significant influences on the voters.

The first chapter of this work will provide the background to the election, which was necessitated by the death of the incumbent, Robert S. Kerr, and resulted in the interim appointment of J. Howard Edmondson. It will briefly summarize the Republican and Democratic primaries and the Democratic run-off primary, give a brief description of all the candidates for the office and a resume of their major campaign statements. The chapter will conclude with an analysis of the outcome of the primaries.

Chapter Two will be essentially a description of the senatorial campaign of the two party nominees, Wilkinson and Harris, explaining their campaign organizations, campaign techniques,

campaign strategy, and statements.

The third chapter will contain the electoral analysis. The results of the questionnaires sent to the interest groups will be analyzed in an effort to discover the primary factors which influenced the group voting behavior and to ascertain whether there was a pattern of support. The purpose of this is to enable the author to make certain generalizations concerning the characteristics of group support for the candidates.

The second half of the third chapter will be concerned with the county support received by each candidate. The results of the questionnaires will be examined in an attempt to ascertain the primary determinants of support. The county voting results will be compared with certain socio-economic characteristics of each county in order to discover the relationship between these characteristics and the percentage of the party vote in each county. This will be accomplished with the use of statistical evidence, i.e., the determination of the relationship between the two variables. If a relationship does exist between the two variables, then it should be possible to make certain generalizations concerning Harris' victory.

The fourth chapter will be the conclusion, which will hopefully verify the author's hypothesis based upon the analyses in the preceding chapter. If the hypothesis is valid, then generalizations concerning Oklahoma politics and future campaigns may be drawn.

CHAPTER II

PRELUDE TO THE 1964 OKLAHOMA SENATORIAL ELECTION

On January 1, 1963 Robert S. Kerr, Democratic senior senator from Oklahoma, died unexpectedly from a heart attack, thus creating a vacuum in political power in Oklahoma.¹ Kerr, who was a former national committeeman and state governor, had served as United States Senator since 1948. He had been described as one of the most powerful men ever to emerge from Oklahoma and as the "Uncrowned King of the Senate."² The New York Times accredited his power to the following factors:

- (a) His position as a ranking member of powerful committees.³
- (b) His position as chief protagonist for the powerful natural gas and oil industries in Congress.
- (c) His own personal drive.⁴

Senator Kerr was a very powerful individual and his death was

¹New York Times, January 2, 1963.

²From a speech by Paul Douglas, D-Ill., during a filibuster on the communications satellite bill. August 16, 1962. U. S., Congressional Record, 87th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1962, CXIII, Part 12, p. 16685.

³At the time of his death he served as chairman of the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee, was the second ranking member of the Finance Committee, was the ranking member of the Public Works Committee, and served as chairman of the Subcommittee on Rivers and Harbors.

⁴New York Times, January 2, 1963.

followed by immediate speculation of who could or would succeed him. Kerr's successor would be appointed by the governor to serve until the next general election when the voters themselves would choose a replacement.

As a likely successor to Kerr, it was rumored that the Democratic Governor, J. Howard Edmondson, would appoint his brother, Ed Edmondson, Congressman from the Second District, to fill the vacancy. However, the most prevalent rumor concerning Kerr's successor was that J. Howard Edmondson, who was due to go out of office on January 14, would resign and be appointed to the position by the then Lieutenant Governor, George Nigh, who would himself become governor.

Edmondson had become governor of Oklahoma in 1958 after carrying each of Oklahoma's 77 counties, the greatest margin ever recorded in an Oklahoma gubernatorial race.⁵ However, soon after his inauguration, he began to make political enemies, and disagreement between the executive and legislative branches of government characterized his administration.⁶ It was apparent that if Governor Edmondson were to fill this vacancy himself, it would bring forth an intense, active, and possibly bitter Democratic primary, and therefore an improved position for the Republicans in the general election in November.

⁵Tulsa World, June 7, 1963.

⁶The disagreement concerned repeal of prohibition, the institution of a merit system, the creation of a constitutional highway commission, and the control of county commissioner spending.

Kerr's funeral was held January 3 in Oklahoma City and was attended by the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, and members of the Oklahoma congressional delegation. Although Edmondson refused confirmation, it was said that he and Kennedy had discussed a possible successor to Senator Kerr.⁷ Further, a meeting at Tinker Air Force Base was held by Edmondson and Congressmen Ed Edmondson, John Jarman, Tom Steed, Victor Wickersham, and Senator A. S. Mike Monroney. (Congressman Carl Albert did not attend due to illness.) J. Howard Edmondson reported that: "We just visited about party matters and also about the appointment of a senator."⁸ The congressional delegation was reportedly split, with Wickersham, Steed, Jarman, and Ed Edmondson favoring J. Howard Edmondson's appointment, while Monroney and Albert favored Ed Edmondson.

Finally, on January 6, Edmondson resigned as governor and was immediately appointed by his successor, George Nigh, to represent Oklahoma in the United States Senate until the vacancy caused by Kerr's death could be filled by election as required by law.⁹ In accepting the appointment Edmondson stated, "It is certainly my intention to seek re-election in 1964."¹⁰

Within minutes after Edmondson's appointment was announced, Robert S. Kerr, Jr. issued a statement which made it clear that

⁷Tulsa World, January 4, 1963.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Daily Oklahoman, January 7, 1963, p.1.

¹⁰Tulsa World, January 7, 1963

the Kerr family did not believe Edmondson would be effective in carrying out the late Senator's program. He stated,

I feel that it's a program of vital significance to the future of this state. It's his dream. I guess I'm human enough to think I can do about as good a job carrying it on for him. I intend to do whatever is necessary to carry it forward. Certainly, at this time, running in the 1964 campaign appears to be necessary.¹¹

The Democratic party in Oklahoma at this time was already badly split, due to a very bitter gubernatorial run-off primary between former Governor Raymond Gary and Oklahoma City real estate executive, W.P. Bill Atkinson. When Atkinson won the run-off primary, Gary refused to endorse him for the general election. This cost Atkinson a great percentage of Gary's former supporters, and the result was that Oklahoma elected its first Republican governor, Henry L. Bellmon. The appointment of Edmondson to the vacant post and his indication that he would seek re-election, coupled with Robert Kerr, Jr.'s announcement that he intended to run for that office in 1964, revealed that there was a definite possibility for a further split in the Democratic party. In addition, Gary had expressed interest in the position. In order to win the senatorial election, the Democrats needed a strong candidate and a united party, for the election would be held in a presidential

¹¹Ibid. It is said that the then Vice-President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, urged Robert S. Kerr, Jr. to run in 1964 against Edmondson, since the latter had supported John F. Kennedy for President in 1960 rather than Johnson. This however, was not officially confirmed.

election year with Catholic John F. Kennedy heading the party ticket. The likelihood of Kennedy's winning predominantly Protestant Oklahoma was slight, thus increasing the chances of a Republican victory in November.

On January 9, 1963 Edmondson flew to Washington and was sworn in as United States Senator; he was subsequently appointed to the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee. Edmondson faced two major obstacles in his effort at re-election. The first was that it was impossible for anyone to completely and adequately assume the position of the late senator due to the seniority system in Congress and the great power and influence amassed through the years by Kerr. Secondly, he faced a party primary, likely to be difficult, in the early months of 1964, only a little over a year after his appointment. This was a very short time in which to build up a favorable record in Congress, while, at the same time, remaining in close contact with Oklahoma.

While Edmondson faced these disadvantages, Robert Kerr, Jr., although he possessed the advantage of his father's name, had the task of developing his own political personality, of learning to campaign, of making speeches, and of selling himself to the public. In February he announced that he was forming his organization and would begin canvassing the state in March. However, on April 24, 1963 Kerr withdrew as a contender, and approximately three weeks later Senator Fred B. Harris of Lawton announced that he would run for the Democratic nomination

for United States Senator.¹² It appeared that Harris had at least the unofficial backing of the Kerr family, since many of the leaders of the Kerr forces provided the bulk of his organization and financial support.¹³

Although former Governor Gary had not formally announced his candidacy for the office, he was considered a major potential candidate. Another Democratic candidate, Willard Owens, a Muldrow farmer, announced that he too would seek the nomination. The first Republican to announce his candidacy was G.T. Blankenship on March 15, 1963. Blankenship was an Oklahoma City attorney and assistant minority leader in the Oklahoma House of Representatives. Blankenship's announcement was followed by that of Republican Tom Moore, a Wewoka furniture dealer. In November 1963 two additional Republicans announced their intention to seek the nomination; Thomas J. Harris, an Oklahoma City executive, and Forest Beall, Nash rancher and former Republican party state chairman. In January Charles B. (Bud) Wilkinson, former University of Oklahoma football coach and athletic director, announced that he would seek the Republican nomination.

Thus the United States Senatorial race in Oklahoma began to take shape even as early as May 1963. The major objective of all potential Democratic candidates was to wrest the nomina-

¹²Tulsa Tribune, April 24, 1963.

¹³Tulsa World, May 12, 1963.

tion from J. Howard Edmondson, while the Republicans hoped to take advantage of a bitter Democratic primary and a strong Republican presidential candidate, and thereby elect a Republican senator. The GOP anticipated its ability to capitalize on the expected Protestant reaction to a second term by a Catholic president, thus giving the Republican ticket added strength.

By the filing period, however, the political situation had changed considerably, due mainly to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963. He was succeeded to the presidency by Lyndon B. Johnson, the man whom the Oklahoma delegation had supported for the presidential nomination at the Democratic national convention in 1960. It, therefore, appeared that the Democratic senatorial candidate in Oklahoma would have the benefit of running on the same ticket with a strong presidential candidate. Furthermore, the Republicans had in Bud Wilkinson a candidate who had the advantage of being a well-known, popular individual without any political scars. By the end of the filing period four Democrats and three Republican had filed for the office of United States Senator.¹⁴

¹⁴The Oklahoma Statutes provide that "notification and declaration of candidacy...are required to be filed with the Secretary of the State Election Board...beginning the fourth Monday in February before the day fixed by law for the Regular Primary Election and shall remain open for five days." Oklahoma Statutes (1961) Title 26, Section 163.

The Democratic candidates included J. Howard Edmondson, Raymond Gary, Fred Harris, and Willard Owens. The Republican candidates were Forest Beall, Thomas J. Harris, and Bud Wilkinson. Both Blankenship and Moore had withdrawn earlier.

THE CANDIDATES

Democrats

J. Howard Edmondson. A native Oklahoman, Edmondson graduated from the University of Oklahoma in 1948 with an LL.B. He served as Tulsa County Attorney and in 1958 became the youngest governor in the nation at the age of 33. At the time of Kerr's death, Edmondson had been planning to return to private law practice with Harold C. Stuart of Tulsa, Sam Crossland of Washington, D.C., Joe Cannon of Oklahoma City, and former Governor Blair of Missouri.¹⁵

Edmondson pledged that he would wage a vigorous campaign and that there would be full discussion of the issues. "No Congress," he stated, "since the Civil War and reconstruction has been faced with more questions on which neutrality would have been a safer course than the session in which we are now engaged."¹⁶ Edmondson cited his support of the nuclear test ban treaty and the reduction of foreign aid "without wholesale slashing" and given only to our allies and not "our communist

¹⁵Tulsa World, January 7, 1963.

¹⁶Tulsa World, February 26, 1964.

enemies."¹⁷ He also emphasized the importance of his assignment of the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee and the fact that he had gained one year's seniority on that committee.

Edmondson stated that he opposed needless centralization of governmental function but doubted that there had been

any conscientious effort by any President or Congress to centralize the government in Washington. The fault has resulted from the failure of local governments, in states, counties, cities, and school districts to provide for their needs themselves. When they fail to act, pressure to resolve that need is made in Washington.¹⁸

With respect to federal aid to education, Edmondson stated that he believed that schools should be financed by local districts of the state.

I have pointed out on many occasions that states in general are causing the demand for more federal aid to education by failing to meet their responsibilities. I'm for the best education we can get. In the final analysis, if the choice is between poor education or federal aid to insure a good education, then I would be forced to see to it that we do have a good educational system.¹⁹

Raymond Gary. Gary owned a farm in Madill, Oklahoma and was president of the Sooner Oil Company. He had served as President of the Oklahoma Baptist Convention Board of Trustees

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Tulsa Tribune, January 23, 1963.

¹⁹Tulsa World, March 25, 1964.

and for four years as county school superintendent in Marshall County. For fourteen years Gary was state senator for Marshall County. In 1954 he was elected governor of the state, and in 1962 he was an unsuccessful candidate for a second term as governor, losing the run-off primary to W.P. Bill Atkinson.

In filing for the post of United States Senator, Gary made the following statement:

I regard the race as a crusade to get rid of the free-loaders, left-wingers, and free spenders in government. They will lead us down the road the Communists want us to follow, which is bankruptcy and a complete breakdown of our way of life. We should begin by bringing about a balance in our national budget and by eliminating the expenditure of our money to every little dictator who flies to Washington in American jets and asks for a few million dollars.²⁰

Gary, however, concentrated the bulk of his attack against J. Howard Edmondson and contrasted his own gubernatorial administration to that of Edmondson, especially the latter's financial activities. In particular, Gary accused Edmondson of using Democratic party funds for a trip to the Orange Bowl in 1959.²¹ He also accused him of selling toll road bonds "behind closed doors to New York bankers at $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ interest, not the 2% interest as the 1955 bond issue was."²² His charges against Fred Harris centered around a bill, proposed in the Oklahoma State Senate, which would have required the

²⁰Tulsa World, January 8, 1963.

²¹Tulsa World, April 17, 1964.

²²Tulsa World, April 30, 1964.

Oklahoma Turnpike Authority to ask for bids on bonds. Gary condemned Harris for publicly opposing and working to defeat the bill.²³ Gary joined with the other Democratic candidates in opposing State Question 409, right-to-work, which was to appear on the ballot May 5, 1964.

In addition, Gary emphasized his experience in public life.

In almost fifteen years in the Senate, I authored almost every type of legislation that affects the people of this state. I believe that my broad experience in government and business helps qualify me for the office. I believe that I can present a more effective voice in representing the people of this state.²⁴

Gary also indicated disapproval of Edmondson's absences from the U.S. Senate, in particular during the civil rights debates, and stated that he would represent the people of Oklahoma by attending the sessions of the Senate. Gary stated that his entire campaign would be financed by private contributions, rather than by Kerr-McGee or any other organization.

Fred Harris. Harris was born in Cotton County in southern Oklahoma, where he was active in the Future Farmer of America. He attended the University of Oklahoma, where he received a B.A. in Government and History and an LL.B. He became a member of a law firm in Lawton, and one year later, in 1956, he

²³Ibid.

²⁴Tulsa World, April 24, 1964.

was elected State Senator from Cotton and Camanche counties. Harris was a member of the First Baptist Church in Lawton, the Chamber of Commerce, the Masonic Lodge, and also served as a member of the Board of the Salvation Army, the Great Plains Historical Society, and the Oklahoma University Alumni Association. In 1962 he made an unsuccessful bid for governor, finishing fifth in a field of twelve Democratic candidates.

Harris said that he intended to run as a Democrat but as a "independent" Democrat, neither pro nor anti-Kennedy. "I'll run on the question of who over the long run would be the hardest working and the most effective voice for Oklahoma in the United States Senate."²⁵ He also said that he would campaign as an unscarred Democrat who could unite the party for victory in November.

I will stress the importance of electing a Democratic United States Senator to work with a Democratic President and Democratic Senate. I will campaign as the Democrat who, because of a strong program and a lack of scars and bitter enemies, can unite the Democratic party for a successful campaign next fall. I will run as the Democrat who can win and keep winning. I will stress that I am young enough (33) to serve in the United States Senate for 30 or 35 years. I will stress by demonstrated capacity for hard work and will campaign on good old Oklahoma common sense.²⁶

Harris' main emphasis centered, therefore, on the idea that he was hard working and politically unscarred.

²⁵Tulsa Tribune, July 10, 1963.

²⁶Tulsa World, February 24, 1964.

In particular, Harris stressed the need for the creation of new jobs in the nation through a federal tax cut and an economic program which could create a more favorable climate for private enterprise. He condemned America's foreign aid program as "an insult to our taxpayers" and suggested that the United States concentrate on "less costly and more effective programs on the people's level, rather than huge public works projects desired by their rulers."²⁷ The United States, he said, should encourage self-help and independence rather than continuing dependence.

Harris also lashed out at Edmondson's self-appointment, pointing out that "the people are going to prove that he (Edmondson) selected the wrong man."²⁸ Like the other Democrats, Harris opposed the adoption of the right-to-work law in Oklahoma.

Willard Owens. Also a native of Oklahoma, Owens graduated from Muldrow High School. He was a member of the Baptist Church and the Oklahoma Farm Bureau and lived on a 300 acre farm in Sequoyah county. He served on an Oklahoma agricultural delegation to the Soviet Union in 1962. Although he had served as a justice of the peace and had run for county commissioner, this was his first venture into state-wide

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Tulsa Tribune, May 27, 1964.

politics.²⁹

Owens ran on a theme of "honesty and hard work" and condemned Edmondson "for stealing the Senate seat and then not staying on the job in Washington."³⁰ He supported the Arkansas River Development program but desired a modification of it so that fertile land would not be flooded. "Farms," he stated, "are our most valuable natural resources, and there is no need to sacrifice them for industrialization."³¹ He believed that civil rights was the major problem facing the nation. He emphasized that he had worked with Negroes and did not believe in discrimination, but that he could not vote for the civil rights bill (then pending before the Senate) because it put too much power in the hands of too few. "I don't want Bobby Kennedy sending his federal agents down to tell me what to do or who to hire."³²

According to Owens, he campaigned in about twenty counties but returned to his farm when he saw that the news media were ignoring him.

²⁹Tulsa World, January 13, 1964.

³⁰Tulsa World, April 29, 1964.

³¹Tulsa World, January 13, 1964.

³²Tulsa World, April 29, 1964.

Republicans

Forest Beall. Beall was born in Grant county and attended Oklahoma A&M College, where he graduated with a B.S. in animal husbandry in 1931. He was livestock editor of the Farmer Stockman in Oklahoma City and associated editor of the Record Stockman and Westerner in Denver, Colorado. In 1953 he was appointed director of the price support program in Washington, D. C. under the Eisenhower administration. He remained in this capacity until 1961 and was a representative for the Department of Agriculture at an international trade conference. He was a rancher in Nash, Oklahoma and a former Republican party state chairman.³³

Beall stated that he would campaign on his conservative views and his experience in government and politics. "My position follows the Republican principles as I understand them. I think any good Republican is a conservative, and I consider myself a good Republican."³⁴ A strong supporter of Barry Goldwater and an official in the Goldwater in '64 Club, Beall stated that he had entered the race with the firm belief that the majority of Oklahomans are concerned with the ever-growing authority of the federal government. "The citizens of Oklahoma are seeking candidates who have the experience, the integrity, and the conviction to restore individual responsibilities and rights that are essential for the self-

³³Tulsa World, April 16, 1964.

³⁴Tulsa World, November 14, 1964.

government of a free people."³⁵ He emphasized his belief that the government should serve only as a referee in a freely competitive business economy and that it should not subsidize or control any economic or sectional interest. "These are the tools of the super-welfare state."³⁶ "The function of government is to maintain an environment in which each individual can freely develop his own abilities and resources."³⁷

Thomas J. Harris. A native of Chicago, Illinois, Harris attended Northwestern University. He moved to Oklahoma City in 1957 as an executive with Aero-Commander and later became vice-president and general manager. He was a member of the Board of Directors of the United Fund, the Chamber of Commerce, the West Side YMCA, The Last Frontier of Boy Scouts, the Aero Club of Oklahoma City, and a member and trustee of the Pilgrim Congregational Church of Oklahoma City. In addition, he was a member of the Industry Advisory Board of Oklahoma State University and Oklahoma City University Research Institute and was appointed by Governor Henry Bellmon to serve as a member of the State Economic Development Commission. Although he had never held an elective public office, Harris had been active in the Republican party as an organizational fund raiser and campaign worker and was a member of the State Republican

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Tulsa World, April 16, 1964.

³⁷Tulsa World, March 23, 1964.

Budget Committee.³⁸

In announcing his intention to run for the Republican nomination for the United States Senate, Harris described himself as an ultra-conservative and stated that he wished to be known as "the candidate who takes a stand on issues."³⁹ A strong supporter for Barry Goldwater for the presidency, Harris emphasized his belief that Americans were losing their freedom.

Free markets, private property, and limited government as a philosophy for Americans have been losing ground in this country. Like many other Americans, I am deeply disturbed by this--by the stampede of the New Frontier toward political collectivism, and the erosion of our constitutional liberties... I share with Oklahomans the concept of federal government, limited by the voters, that would leave us free at the local and state levels to do these things for ourselves which we can best do.⁴⁰

He also condemned governmental interference in transportation, utilities, power, oil and other industries and expressed the belief that its involvement was beyond that required by the public interest. In addition, he opposed a compulsory medical program (Medicare) financed through social security, an extension of federal aid to education, and the civil rights bill then before the U.S. Senate which he contended would establish a police state over the lives of U.S. citizens. He suggested that the way to redress these wrongs was not

³⁸Tulsa World, April 14, 1964.

³⁹Tulsa World, May 12, 1963.

⁴⁰Tulsa World, November 11, 1963.

through federal legislation but through education and Christian understanding.⁴¹

Harris favored increased jobs and prosperity in Oklahoma through industrial development, the adoption of the right-to-work amendment, a balanced federal budget, tax reforms to reduce and eventually eliminate the "confiscatory results of the progressive income tax laws," recognition of the oil depletion allowance as an incentive to "provide risk capital for exploration and to build industries upon which jobs depend," and the elimination of government in agriculture.⁴² In the area of foreign policy, Harris advocated United States air and sea support of an anti-Castro Cuban liberation force and the use of foreign aid only for allies of the United States, rather than Communist nations. He also stated his support for the so-called Bricker Amendment.⁴³ Harris emphasized his belief in states' rights:

The ever expanding role of the central government must be reversed and state and local communities must forestall this trend by taking responsible actions to provide for legitimate needs and aspirations in programs for health, education, welfare, and civil rights.⁴⁴

Harris announced the formation of a campaign organization, headed by Vernon Beals of Oklahoma City, while Larry J. Wolf,

⁴¹Harris For Senate, campaign pamphlet.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³The Bricker Amendment would give Congress the power to regulate all executive agreements, in addition to its power over treaties. Alexander DeConde, A History of American Foreign Policy, p. 778.

⁴⁴Harris for Senate.

Oklahoma City advertising executive served as his finance chairman, and Hardin Masters of Oklahoma City served as treasurer.

Bud Wilkinson. Born Charles Burnham Wilkinson in Minneapolis, Minnesota, he attended the University of Minnesota from which he obtained a B.A. in English in 1937. In 1940 he received his M.A. in English Education from Syracuse University. He moved to Oklahoma in 1946 to become assistant football coach at the University of Oklahoma, and the following year he was elevated to head football coach and athletic director. In 1961 he was appointed by President John F. Kennedy as Special Assistant to the President on Youth Fitness. He resigned the latter post and his position with the University of Oklahoma in order to become a candidate for the United States Senate. Shortly before filing for office, Wilkinson legally changed his name from Charles Burnham to the more familiar "Bud", and in January, 1964 he changed his party affiliation from that of Democrat to Republican.

Wilkinson stated that he changed his voter registration because "I believe the principles of the Republican party more closely match my own personal philosophy."⁴⁵ He expressed concern over the "continued drift toward socialism, collectivism, and centralization", which prompted his entry into politics.⁴⁶ He emphasized his belief that such a trend was

⁴⁵Tulsa Tribune, January 29, 1964.

⁴⁶Tulsa Tribune, April 28, 1964.

taking freedom and liberty from the people and suggested that the balance of power in the constitution be restored.

It is my conviction that this constitution--of the people, by the people, and for the people--rests on the foundation of individual responsibility and participation...the federal government should be strong, but limited, with state and local governments in control of their own defined areas of responsibility.⁴⁷

Wilkinson expressed discontent with Federal fiscal policy and a desire to see the budget balance; "until we do, we will continue to pay the cruelest tax of all--inflation."⁴⁸ Wilkinson refused to take a stand on the right-to-work issue which was to appear on the ballot on May 5, stating that he did not consider this question to be of significance to the United States Senate campaign.

He indicated that his seventeen years as football coach had helped him to prepare for a political career- "All my life I've dealt with young people, and I'm concerned about conserving the opportunities for the younger generation which I had as a youngster."⁴⁹

While Wilkinson did not outline a platform in the early part of his campaign, and although he refused to endorse Barry Goldwater for the presidency, he made the following statement: "By and large I find I agree on most issues with

⁴⁷Tulsa Tribune, February 5, 1964.

⁴⁸Why Bud is Best, (campaign pamphlet).

⁴⁹Tulsa Tribune, February 5, 1964.

Senator Goldwater."⁵⁰

The Republican and Democratic primaries were held May 5, 1964, and resulted in Wilkinson's victory in the Republican party and the necessity for a run-off between Edmondson and Fred Harris in the Democratic party.⁵¹

Primary Vote, May 5, 1964

Republicans		Democrats	
Wilkinson	100,544	Edmondson	215,455
T. Harris	19,170	F. Harris	190,868
Beall	7,211	Gary	170,869
		Owens	14,134

Wilkinson won the Republican primary overwhelmingly, receiving 80% of the GOP vote, and, therefore, was not required to face a run-off primary. The Wilkinson victory may be largely attributed to the personal popularity he had gained in his many years as football coach at the University of Oklahoma. However, Wilkinson did not rely upon his reputation alone to win the primary. He established a campaign organization with Dick Snider, former Topeka newspaperman, as his campaign coordinator and Ed Turner, former Oklahoma City television newsman, as his press secretary. Wilkinson described his primary strategy as follows:

We took the number of days from the end of the state convention to May 5, then related that to the percentage of registered Republicans in a county, and then planned to spend a proportionate amount of time in each county.⁵²

⁵⁰Tulsa Tribune, March 7, 1964.

⁵¹Oklahoma State Election Board, 1964 Election Results and Statistics.

⁵²Kansas City Star, May 17, 1964.

He established campaign committees only in those counties where there was a promising number of registered Republican voters. Generally, these were the thirty or so counties found in northern Oklahoma. He and his wife then traveled six days a week to these areas, making speeches, attending coffees, teas, receptions, and meeting the voters.⁵³

With respect to the Democratic primary, no candidate received a majority, thus creating the need for a run-off primary between the top two candidates, Edmondson and Harris. The run-off primary was scheduled to take place three weeks after the first primary. Edmondson and Harris, therefore, renewed their campaigns for the Democratic nomination.

Edmondson said that he would not vote for the civil rights bill unless it were amended to include jury trials. "I think we must have a substantial civil rights bill, but I think it will and must be amended, particularly regarding that section having to do with public accommodations, concerning which I have both practical and legal objections."⁵⁴ He charged that Harris would vote for the bill without these changes.

This means that Harris would be willing to deny to any honest, lawabiding citizen who runs a restaurant or a motel, the same right a person gets who is charged with murder, rape, or even

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Tulsa World, May 12, 1964.

treason. I will not vote for the civil rights bill unless the right to a jury trial is put in it.⁵⁵

Edmondson expressed the belief that he was the more qualified for the United States Senate and quoted a statement which Bud Wilkinson had made to him in 1963 at the Orange Bowl game, upon hearing of the death of Kerr. "You're the only man in Oklahoma qualified to step into that seat in the Senate."⁵⁶ In addition, Edmondson chose to attack Harris' theme of being a hard worker: "He says he's a hard worker. I don't think people who really are hard workers have to go around bragging about it to prove it."⁵⁷

Harris, on the other hand, attacked Edmondson for his repeated absences from the Senate and again emphasized his belief that "he (Edmondson) had appointed the wrong man."⁵⁸ Moreover, Harris stressed the theme that he was a "winner," that he was the man to nominate so that the party could win in November.⁵⁹

The run-off primary was held on May 26, 1964 with Edmondson receiving 177, 283 votes and Harris receiving 275, 440 votes.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Tulsa World, May 18, 1964.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Tulsa Tribune, May 27, 1964.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Tulsa World, May 28, 1964.

An analysis of Harris' 100,000 vote margin could lead to several conclusions regarding the factors which contributed to his primary victory. Harris had established the nucleus of an organization in every county, and he visited every town in the state, meeting, shaking hands with its residents, and giving speeches. Both before and after each visit he sent thousands of letters. In every town he visited Harris sought individuals who "would be committed members of the team."⁶¹ These names were filed and were sent a campaign newspaper which he published periodically. Extremely important in the Harris victory were the rural forces of Oklahoma. Harris himself had a rural background, and when Gary was defeated in the first primary, although he remained publicly neutral, most of the rurally-oriented switched to Harris. Also on the May 26 ballot was a rural-reapportionment plan, strongly supported by the rural forces. This was actually built-in support for Harris, for these individuals were the same ones who bitterly fought Edmondson's reform petitions during his administration.

(see above, p. 6).

Harris was also able to pick up support of several other interest groups. Many of the labor unions supported Harris due to his stand against State Question 409, right-to-work, and because of his support for labor in the legislature. Harris won the support of the Negroes for his stand on the civil rights bill. Harris received the endorsement of the

⁶¹ Tulsa Tribune, November 24, 1963.

two major Negro newspapers, The Black Dispatch of Oklahoma City and the Oklahoma Eagle of Tulsa.⁶² Harris also drew the endorsement of Senator Robert S. Kerr's widow, and many of Kerr's former Senate staff members formed the core of his campaign organization.

Harris ran a positive campaign of nominating the "man who could more effectively unite the Democratic party for a victory in November," whereas Edmondson attacked Harris in the final two weeks of the campaign.⁶³ This may have backfired on Edmondson, for the Democrats were greatly concerned over winning the election in November against the personally popular and well-known Bud Wilkinson, and, in addition, may have recalled the outcome of the intra-party bickering and strife in the 1962 gubernatorial election. Many persons resented Edmondson for having himself appointed to the Senate and may have considered a vote for Harris as a vote against Edmondson. Harris may also have possessed a psychological advantage in that Edmondson had made a poorer-than-expected showing in the first primary.

With the final selection of the Democratic candidate, Fred Harris, to oppose Republican Bud Wilkinson in the United States Senatorial election, uncertainty prevailed as to what the final outcome of the general election in November would be. The expected bitter split which the Republicans had hoped to capitalize upon had failed to materialize. Harris had run on the platform of being the only Democrat who could

⁶²Tulsa World, May 27, 1964.

⁶³Ibid.

unite the Democratic party for victory in November. This was, no doubt, true, for Edmondson had alienated the rural faction, while Gary was unpopular in urban areas. Moreover, Harris had not made bitter political enemies within the party. Republican expectations that a Catholic would head the Democratic national ticket, thereby weakening its appeal in Protestant Oklahoma, were shaken by the sudden death of President John F. Kennedy and the succession to office of Lyndon B. Johnson, a Protestant from the neighboring state of Texas. However, the Republicans still possessed one major advantage, that of having Bud Wilkinson, a popular and extremely well-known individual, as their candidate for the United States Senate. Past elections had indicated that the Democratic nomination was tantamount to election to the United States Senate. The Oklahoma Republican party was traditionally weak and had only begun to become active on a state-wide scale. The 1964 election, however, gave all indications of running contrary to the established norm. With a well-known and popular candidate and growing strength, the Republicans appeared to be capable of waging an extremely strong and close campaign for the United States Senate.

CHAPTER III

CONDUCT OF THE CAMPAIGN

Interest in the 1964 senatorial election was high, as it promised to be a spirited campaign. Oklahoma is a traditionally one-party state, but in 1962 Henry Bellmon became the first Republican to win the gubernatorial election in Oklahoma. Such a victory gave hope to the Republican party, and when Bud Wilkinson switched party registration to run on the Republican ticket, Republican expectations soared.

Wilkinson was a nationally known figure, and his entry into politics prompted national interest in the campaign. Stories concerning the Oklahoma senatorial race appeared in the New York Times, the Kansas City Star, the Des Moines Register, the St. Louis Post Dispatch, the Chicago Tribune, the Denver Post, the Omaha World-Herald, the Catholic Commentator, the Wall Street Journal, and Time magazine. Wilkinson did not face the usual Republican disadvantage of having to make himself known in all parts of the state. His foremost task appeared to be that of convincing the voters that he was as knowledgeable on the issues and the workings of government as his opponent, Fred Harris.

The outcome of the election appeared to depend upon whether Wilkinson's personal appeal would outweigh the strength

of Harris' party affiliation. Immediately following the run-off primary, the candidates began to make preparations for the general election, strengthening their campaign organizations and mapping out campaign strategy.

Wilkinson created a rather elaborate organization outside the regular Republican state party organization. This was the first state-wide Republican campaign organization in Oklahoma.¹ His state headquarters was located in Oklahoma City, the headquarters staff consisting of Goodwin Broaddua, campaign chairman, Ed Turner, press secretary, and Dick Snider, campaign coordinator.²

Wilkinson's state campaign headquarters machinery consisted of six committees which were organized on a functional basis. These committees were as follows:³

1. Finance headed by Tony Calvert
2. Advertising and Public Relations coordinated by Doc Jordan
3. Candidate's scheduling headed by Pat Jones
4. Research and Writing headed by Luther Williams
5. Women's Division coordinated by Jerry Mash
6. Campaign Organization chaired by Goodwin Broaddus

Each of these six major committees was in turn sub-divided into various functional units. The activities of each of these sub-units were supervised and coordinated by the state committee chairman.

¹Wall Street Journal, October 26, 1964, p. 10.

²Bud Wilkinson's Background Information

³Campaign Organization Sheet for Bud Wilkinson.

The Finance Committee was structured on a county basis with each of Oklahoma's 77 counties having a finance chairman. This county chairman coordinated all financial activities throughout his county. There were, in addition, some groups, independent of the county organizations, which assisted in campaign financial activities. These were such groups as the "Beef for Bud" and "Wheat for Bud" which concentrated on financial contributions from cattle ranchers and wheat farmers. The "Bucks for Bud" headed by Claude Arnold, former University of Oklahoma football player, concentrated on the one dollar to twenty-five dollar contributions throughout the state.⁴

Advertising and Public Relations included the printing of bumper stickers and the coordination of the work done by the advertising agencies and the various writers who drew up the campaign advertisements which appeared in newspapers. In addition, this committee's functions extended to advertisements and publicity concerning rallies and other special events for the candidate. One division of this committee dealt exclusively as a consultant and adviser for radio and television, i.e., prime exposure time, type of advertisement etc. The Research and Writing Committee was in charge of the compilation and distribution of the campaign literature, such as brochures or campaign newspapers which were published periodically.

Those organizations or groups throughout the state which were interested in having Wilkinson speak contacted Pat Jones who was in charge of the scheduling of all speaking engagements

⁴Bud Wilkinson's Citizen Volunteer, July, 1964.

by Wilkinson during the campaign.

The Women's Division included the work done by the "Brigadeers" and other women volunteers. The "Brigadeers" were perhaps Wilkinson's strongest organization with more than 6000 members.⁵ Active in all 77 counties, the "Brigadeers" were a red, white, and blue-uniformed corps of women who helped conduct Wilkinson's campaign by soliticing voter registration, distributing campaign literature, and providing rides to the polls on election day.⁶

The Auxiliary Organizations were coordinated by Jerry Mash and consisted of volunteers groups, such as "Farmers and Ranchers for Bud," "Car Dealers for Bud," etc. These were ordinarily groups on an occupational basis which attempted to persuade interested groups to join and work actively in Wilkinson's campaign. Many auxiliary organizations had county chairmen, and their activities were coordinated by a state chairman.

The Campaign Organization Committee was the most highly organized of all committees. It was chaired by Goodwin Broaddus with the Field Man being Bronko McGugan. The state was divided into ten regions, each having a chairman:

- Region 1 - G.T. Blankenship, Oklahoma county
- Region 2 - Dewey Bartlett, Tulsa county
- Region 3 - Reuben Sparks, Cimarron, Texas, Beaver, Harper, Woods, Woodward, and Ellis counties

⁵Bud Wilkinson's Citizen Volunteer, October, 1964.

⁶Ibid.

- Region 4 - Goodwin Broadus, Alfalfa, Grant, Garfield, Kay, Noble, Payne, Pawnee, and Osage counties
- Region 5 - Dorothy Stanislaus, Washington, Nowata, Craig, Ottawa, Delaware, Mayes, Rogers, Wagoner, Cherokee, and Adair counties
- Region 6 - Robert Kershaw, Muskogee, Okmulgee, Sequoyah, McIntosh, Haskell, LeFlore, Latimer, and Pittsburg counties
- Region 7 - Jim Evans, McCurtain, Pushmataha, Choctaw, Bryan, Atoka, Coal, Johnston, Marshall, Love, Carter, Murray, and Pontotoc counties
- Region 8 - Frank Sneed, Garvin, Jefferson, Stephens, Cotton, Comanche, Tillman, Jackson, Kiowa, Greer, and Harmon counties
- Region 9 - Charles Baker, Creek, Lincoln, Okfuskee, Hughes, Seminole, Pottawatomie, Cleveland, and McClain counties
- Region 10 - Cooper West, Roger Mills, Beckham, Washita, Custer, Dewey, Major, Blaine, Caddo, Grady, Canadian, Kingfisher, and Logan counties

Each regional chairman then coordinated and directed the activities of the various county chairman chairmen. In addition to a chairman, each county had a co-chairman and a finance chairman.

The county chairmen served as coordinators of the activities of the county Volunter Chairman, the Brigadear Chairman, the Special Events Chairman, the Coffee Chairman, the Advertising Chairman, the Letter Chairman, and the Precinct Organization Chairman. Each of these individuals in turn directed the work falling under his jurisdiction within the county.

Next in the hierarchy were the city chairman who were in charge of all campaign activities in their particular city.

⁷Bud Wilkinson's Citizen Volunteer, June, 1964.

Each city in turn had a city precinct chairman who directed the Wilkinson campaign activities in all city precincts. Each city then was divided into areas with an area chairman and each precinct in the area contained a precinct captain and several block workers. Further, in each city there were poll watchers who worked through the regular Republican organization, and individuals who were in charge of voter registration and seeing that a voter planning to be out of town on election day made application for an absentee ballot. The state headquarters periodically sent the county chairmen, the precinct workers, and the block workers letters of instruction and schedules of Wilkinson's campaign appearances.

Wilkinson's campaign literature included, in addition to the usual brochures, several newsletters which were published periodically: Bud Wilkinson's Band Wagon, Bud Wilkinson's Citizen Volunteer, and Bud Wilkinson's Winner. Each contained news of the campaign and appeals for volunteer services. Individuals were encouraged to send in names of persons who might be interested in receiving the newspapers and other campaign literature. They were further encouraged to begin a chain-letter with the newspapers by sending it on to a friend and requesting him to do likewise. Circulation of the Citizen Volunteer, according to Wilkinson's state headquarters, was over 18,000.⁸

⁸Bud Wilkinson's Citizen Volunteer, August, 1964.

Approximately four times a week during October, Wilkinson appeared on a half hour television program, covering a different area of the state each time. These appearances were known as "Bud's Television Coffee Broadcasts."⁹ The television appearances were to give Wilkinson an opportunity to discuss the issues of the campaign, e.g., fiscal policy, Communist China, the United States Supreme Court, in an attempt to convince the voters that he was knowledgeable on these issues. The "Brigadeair" groups were encouraged to hold coffee parties simultaneously with the programs.¹⁰

Wilkinson, therefore, had created tight, thorough, efficient political machinery which began functioning when he won the Republican primary and which continued to function through the general election. It was a highly centralized campaign organization, with all campaign strategy and activities being coordinated and directed by his state headquarters. Wilkinson, through his many county, town, and city workers, was able to contact the voters at every level. However, contact with voters at the precinct level was particularly emphasized, for this was the level at which the voter would cast his ballot. Absentee ballot campaigns, voter registration solicitation, and door-to-door canvassing were employed, each involving personal contact with the voters by a Wilkinson

⁹Bud Wilkinson's Citizen Volunteer, October, 1964.

¹⁰Wall Street Journal, October 26, 1964, p.10.

campaign worker. It was reported that Wilkinson had over 10,000 workers throughout the state.¹¹ The candidate himself stressed the necessity of personal contact with the voters, and with his wife traveled over the state, as they had done during the primary, attending coffees, teas, and receptions, or giving speeches to local civic groups.

Wilkinson hoped to acquaint himself with the voters, as the man who was capable and willing to represent the desires of the people of Oklahoma.

Wilkinson's opponent, Fred Harris, had been an unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1962, but attributed his loss to several factors--he lacked a state-wide name; he lacked a state-wide organization; and, finally he lacked adequate finances.¹² In an effort to avoid the recurrence of these problems, Harris began to organize his campaign for the United States Senate one full year before the election. He toured all 563 towns and cities in the state, completing the tour in five and one half months. As he initiated his tour, he procured the names of individuals who were "pledged supporters," i.e., persons who were actually willing to work for him.¹³ These individuals served as his contacts in their particular town or area. Harris went from town to town on his tour, mindful of the need for personal contact with the

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Interview with Burl Hays, Administrative Assistant to Harris, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, June 18, 1965.

¹³Ibid.

voters. In the larger cities, coffees were held, or he arranged to address one of the local civic clubs or other local organizations. In the smaller cities, Harris would begin at one end of town and work his way to the other end by entering stores, shaking hands and introducing himself to the voters. Before his arrival, press releases were given to the newspapers announcing the exact time that he would be in a given area. If a city had a radio station, it was notified of his arrival and an interview with the candidate was arranged, if the station desired. As Harris left each city, a second press release was presented to the newspaper, containing a brief summary of Harris' statements. This type of campaigning, which began one year before the primary and which was actually organized for the primary alone, continued to function through the general election.

Immediately after receiving the Democratic party nomination for the United States Senate, Harris conducted a thank-you tour of the state, thus reinforcing his personal contact with the voters. This tour was arranged on a schedule with approximately two to three hours allocated to each of the cities. Press releases were again distributed before and after his arrival.

Harris had developed an organization even before he won the run-off primary on May 26, 1964. There were 212 town and city coordinators who supervised and directed campaign activities on behalf of Harris. There were also Harris county coordinators in each of the 77 counties, and finally the state

was divided into nine areas with a Harris coordinator in each area. Some counties were not included in an area if Harris felt there was not the necessity for a coordinator over and above the local county chairman. The areas were as follows:¹⁴

- Area 1 - John S. Gilkeson, Rogers, Mayes, Nowata, Craig, Ottawa, Adair, and Cherokee counties
- Area 2 - Bob Wilson, Stephens, Grady, Jefferson, Cotton, and Comanche counties
- Area 3 - Vance Womack, Pushmataha, McCurtain, and Choctaw counties
- Area 4 - Anthony Massad, Tillman, Jackson, Kiowa, Harmon, and Greer counties
- Area 5 - M.A. Lilly, Washington, Osage, Pawnee, Creek, Noble and Kay counties
- Area 6 - Holland Meacham, Beckham, Roger Mills, Dewey, Custer, and Washita counties
- Area 7 - Ben Benson, Woodward, Texas, Beaver, Harper, Cimarron, Major, Woods, and Alfalfa counties
- Area 8 - W.H. Bailey, Atoka, Bryan, Coal, and Johnston counties
- Area 9 - Ancel Simpson, Kingfisher, Logan, Canadian and Blaine counties

These individuals remained in close personal contact with Harris' state headquarters and coordinated the work in their particular areas.

Harris had created this machinery for the primary election, but after his victory in the run-off primary, he began to use it in conjunction with the regular Democratic party organization. Harris established his official state headquarters in the Sheraton Hotel in Oklahoma City. His state campaign coordinator was Burl Hays, the administrative assistant to the late Senator Kerr. His campaign manager and

¹⁴Ibid.

treasurer was William McCandless, and Charles Cooper served as press secretary. Harris and his headquarters staff worked closely with the Democratic State Central Committee. Very active in his campaign were Martin Hauan, who did public relations work for the committees, and Jim Monroe, who was the Executive Director of the Democratic State Central Committee. Harris possessed two sets of campaign workers in a county, the Democratic party county chairman and the Harris county chairman, in addition to the many city and town workers. Their activities in behalf of Harris were coordinated by his state headquarters.

Harris relied greatly on his pledged supporters in conducting his campaign. Periodically he published progress reports which were sent only to these individuals. These reports, which were sent out every two or three weeks and which were not for publication, contained information on the activities of the candidate and what particular points should be stressed by Harris' campaign workers.¹⁵ Certain times were established for billboard advertisements, the bumper sticker campaign, and fence stringing. These supporters, then, were active in helping the candidate accomplish these tasks.

Among the volunteers working for Harris were such groups as "Higher Education for Harris," "Doctors for Harris," "Lawyers for Harris," etc.¹⁶

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

These groups were encouraged to undertake letter-writing campaigns to insure support for the Democratic candidate. As in Wilkinson's campaign, women were active in Harris' behalf in door-to-door canvassing and voter registration solicitation. Many of them wore dresses made out of the "Harris Headliner" material, which were headlines concerned with Harris' campaign activities reproduced in cloth. Throughout the entire campaign, Harris and his wife traveled across the state attending meetings with the voting public.

Harris' campaign literature consisted of campaign brochures and a periodical entitled the Common Sense News. The Democratic Central Committee publication, The Oklahoma Democrat, also contained news of the Harris campaign.¹⁷ In contrast to Wilkinson's campaign literature, Harris' emphasized a close association with his political party and the party's presidential candidate.

Harris campaign strategy was to meet the voters personally and become well-known as he had failed to do in the 1962 gubernatorial campaign. His senatorial campaign was pitched to reach its peak in the last eight weeks of the campaign.¹⁸

Emphasis was placed on radio and television advertisements, bumper sticker drives, etc. during the last eight weeks.

¹⁷Democratic State Central Committee, The Oklahoma Democrat, July, 1964.

¹⁸Burl Hays, Personal Interview.

Also during this time Harris made public appearances at twenty-one area rallies which were sponsored by the Democratic State Central Committee.¹⁹ In the last few days of the campaign, the Democrats instituted a new type of campaign technique, the "Victory Train." There were two Democratic "Victory Specials," one in the eastern part of the state and the other in western Oklahoma. The first trip began at Welch, Oklahoma near the Kansas border and went south 267 miles to Colbert, Oklahoma, near the Texas border.²⁰ The second train began in Weatherford, Oklahoma and continued 245 miles to Enid, Oklahoma.²¹ The train carried Harris, other Democratic candidates, and prominent state Democrats. The train stopped in towns along the route for short speeches by the candidates and the singing of campaign songs by the "Democratic Dolls," a twelve-woman group from Okmulgee.²² The candidates termed the "whistle-stops" successful, and the turnout was remarkably high.²³ This techniques allowed the candidates to stump the state in the crucial few days before the election in a final effort to convince the voters to support the Democratic party at the polls.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Tulsa World, October 29, 1964.

²¹Tulsa World, November 3, 1964.

²²Tulsa World, October 29, 1964.

²³Ibid.

The strategies of the two candidates were remarkably similar, each emphasizing the need to meet voters personally. Harris, however, formed a rather uncomplicated campaign organization, and after winning the Democratic run-off primary, worked primarily through the state Democratic party machinery, although he did continue to rely on his volunteer workers also.

Wilkinson, on the other hand, created a more complicated campaign structure which worked independently of the state Republican party organization. However, there was little practical difference in the type of campaigns each candidate waged. Each candidate, by discussing the issues of the campaign and explaining his political philosophy, attempted to convince the voters that he was the best person to represent them in the United States Senate.

Each of the candidates chose a major theme for his campaign. Wilkinson, in his kick-off rally in Oklahoma City on September 12, 1964, expressed his theme as "Put Oklahoma First."²⁴ Harris, on the other hand, selected the theme of "Peace and Paychecks" for his campaign.²⁵

Wilkinson's entire campaign revolved around his slogan. He accused Harris of neglecting his duties and responsibilities as a state senator by continued absences from the sessions of the legislature. Wilkinson claimed that an independent audit by Arthur Young and Co., certified public accountants, revealed

²⁴Wilkinson's Winner, October, 1964.

²⁵Tulsa World, October 11, 1964.

that Fred Harris

is 39th or fifth from the bottom in the listing of senators present to transact official state business. He sinks to 41st (out of 44) on the 'not-voting, all roll call votes' and also 41st in the 'voting record, roll call votes, excluding emergency clauses.'²⁶

Wilkinson, then, pledged to "put Oklahoma first, not 41st."²⁷

Wilkinson continued by stating that he believed that he was qualified to represent Oklahoma's wishes and that he did not intend to be a rubber-stamp to any administration.²⁸ He repeatedly referred to the "Harris-LBJ package ticket," stating:

Harris' position on most issues is identical with those of a majority of Oklahomans, yet he campaigns on sending him to Washington to support the administration. Do you really believe this 33 year old man can go up there and tell LBJ he can't vote with him?²⁹

Wilkinson also expressed the belief that all Oklahomans must be represented by the new United States Senator, and that this entailed bringing more jobs and economic growth to the state. He contended that he could best represent Oklahoma, not only in the Senate, but also in the "halls of Industry."³⁰ To bring more jobs and economic growth to Oklahoma required the attraction of new industry to the state:

Oklahoma has abundant material resources and the best labor force in the country. I know that I can get in to see the leaders of industry, and I

²⁶Wilkinson's Winner, October, 1964.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Tulsa World, October 18, 1964.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Tulsa World, October 14, 1964.

know that I can sell them on Oklahoma.³¹

I know these people personally and have for a long time.³²

Wilkinson, in many of his speeches, declared his concern over the increasing size and growth of the national government and the influence of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) on both foreign and domestic policies.

I will restore the proper balances to our government ---strong local government, sovereign states, and a limited federal establishment. And, within the federal government, we must have a restoration of the constitutional balances. We must turn again to our heritage of a government which protects equal rights and privileges of all--and expects in return equal responsibilities from all.³³

In speaking of the ADA, Wilkinson expressed the belief that it controlled the Democratic party, and, as a result, controlled American foreign and domestic policy. He condemned the organization for supporting a "suicidal program" which included the recognition of Red China, surrendering control of the Panama Canal, abolishing the House Un-American Activities Committee, increasing aid to Communist countries, and admitting Castro's Cuba as a member of the Organization of American States.³⁴ He quoted Arthur Schlesinger as outlining the ADA aims when he (Schlesinger) said, "Their is no reason why we can't make a socialist American through a series of new

³¹Ibid.

³²Tulsa World, October 18, 1964.

³³Wilkinson's Winner, October, 1964.

³⁴Tulsa World, October 6, 1964.

deals.³⁵

A considerable number of the issues in the campaign were of direct interest to particular voting blocs in Oklahoma. These issues included the oil depletion allowance, curbs on beef and oil imports, the development of water resource programs, right-to-work, and the Rural Electrification Administration (REA).

A large percentage of Oklahoma's total personal income is from oil or oil-connected industries, therefore, the oil depletion allowance and a curb on oil imports is of vital importance to many Oklahomans. Wilkinson stressed that in order to retain and strengthen Oklahoma's economic base, the oil industry must remain healthy:

There are positive steps which must be taken to accomplish this. It can be done by maintaining the 27% oil depletion allowance, by curbing excessive foreign oil imports which jeopardize the future of our domestic industry, and by repealing the unfair and badly administered natural gas act.³⁶

Agriculture is also of major concern to Oklahomans, with 11% of the state's population living on farms.³⁷ With rising beef imports, the price for domestic meat lowers. Wilkinson, in an appeal for the support of the agricultural bloc, made the following statement:

While maintaining farm income, we should work toward a gradual systematic elimination of government controls over the farmers. It is vitally important to

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Wilkinson's Winner, October, 1964.

³⁷ John J. Klein et.al., The Oklahoma Economy, p. 27.

Oklahoma's beef industry to limit imports. By limiting imports, we will provide for the continued growth and economic well-being of beef producers...³⁸

In a stronger statement he accused the federal government and Orville Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture, of "doing more to invade the privacy and freedom of action of American farmers than had been done in the history of the Republic."³⁹ According to Wilkinson, Freeman proposed jail sentences for farmers who did not keep proper records and sent "spy planes" over 80% of the farm lands to photograph the acreage allotments.⁴⁰

Concerning the development of the water resource programs and the Arkansas River project, Wilkinson said,

The state's major water programs must be planned and completed... the Arkansas Basin and Deep Fork projects must be funded and completed on schedule.⁴¹

He also praised these projects as improving Oklahoma's economy by adding thousands of acres of productive farm land which was usually subject to frequent flooding.⁴²

Wilkinson refused to take a specific stand on the right-to-work issue, declaring his personal views on the matter were not significant to the senatorial race. However, he did

³⁸Vote for Bud, (campaign pamphlet)

³⁹Tulsa World, October 18, 1964.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Tulsa World, October, 1964.

⁴²Wilkinson's Winner, October, 1964.

favor the retention of Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act which permits states to vote on a right-to-work law.⁴³

With respect to the Rural Electrification Administration (REA), Wilkinson stated that he was in favor of the basic aims of the REA. However, he added that he did not believe that "electric co-ops should be allowed to borrow governmental money to lend."⁴⁴

The above issues may be considered to be of significance to certain sizeable voting blocs in Oklahoma, i.e., agriculture, labor, and the petroleum industries. There were, however, other national issues which were of interest to Oklahomans. These included federal aid to education, civil rights, fiscal policy, foreign policy, the Medicare program, and the anti-poverty program.

Wilkinson stated that he was in favor of the continuation of federal aid to education for impacted schools but did not believe that such aid should be given to parochial schools.⁴⁵ On the National Defense Education Act, Wilkinson declared: "I'm in favor of anything that helps the students get a better education."⁴⁶

During an appearance at Oklahoma State University, Wilkinson was asked how he would have voted on the recently passed civil rights bill. His response was that it would

⁴³Tulsa World, October 14, 1964.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Altus Times-Democrat, October 11, 1964.

⁴⁶Speech at Oklahoma State University by Bud Wilkinson, October 6, 1964.

not enhance his campaign for him to say, no matter which way he would have voted.⁴⁷ He did add, however, that he had had certain reservation but that the act was part of the law of the land, so his reservations were unimportant.⁴⁸

Wilkinson pointed out that the University of Oklahoma was the first southern school to desegregate its athletic teams, and he was optimistic about getting the Negro vote.⁴⁹

Wilkinson often expressed concern over United States fiscal policy and its effect on the economy. He suggested that the unbalanced budgets were weakening the purchasing power of the American dollar and that the individuals who suffered the most from this inflation were those who lived on a fixed income, such as those on social security.⁵⁰ He stated that American gold stocks were \$15 billion, while due bills held by other countries totaled \$24 billion. This, he suggested, was caused by the "badly managed foreign aid program" and he contended that American's financial problems could never be solved until the United States discontinued the habit of deficit financing.⁵¹ He condemned Presidents Kennedy and Johnson for averaging a deficit of approximately \$36 billion a year.⁵²

⁴⁷Kansas City Star, October 18, 1964.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Tulsa World, October 6, 1964.

⁵⁰Why Bud is Best, (campaign pamphlet)

⁵¹Tulsa World, October 21, 1964.

⁵²Ibid.

Wilkinson accused the Democratic party and Fred Harris of supporting a vague and vacillating foreign policy and maintained that America had been "accomodating her enemies and undercutting her allies."⁵³ He illustrated this belief by pointing out that the United States sold wheat to Russia, built a nuclear power plant in Rumania, while at the same time it spent 54% of the budget for defense and condemned Great Britain for selling buses to Cuba.⁵⁴ Wilkinson, then, outlined three alternatives which were open to the United States in her foreign policy toward the communist nations--that of accomodating America's enemies and by-passing her allies; that of trading with the communist nations and at the same time demanding political concessions; or, finally, that of instituting a complete embargo.⁵⁵ Wilkinson stated that he favored the second choice. He further emphasized that peace could come only through strength and alliances with the free world, rather than appeasement of the communist countries.⁵⁶

The Democratic administration had recommended the implementation of medical care for the aged, financed through social security. Wilkinson condemned the plan as a "back

⁵³Tulsa World, October 17, 1964.

⁵⁴Speech in Okmulgee, Oklahoma, August 15, 1964.

⁵⁵Speech in Oklahoma State University, October 6, 1964.

⁵⁶Vote for Bud.

door approach to socialized medicine," and indicated his support of the Kerr-Mills plan of medical care for the aged "with appropriate adjustments."⁵⁷ Wilkinson likewise condemned another proposal of the Democratic administration, the program to alleviate poverty in the United States. He stated, "The war on poverty program is a clever political scheme designed to capture votes."⁵⁸

The administration considers anyone with less than \$300 annual income poverty stricken, while the average person on social security loses all social security benefits before he can attain a total income of \$3000. More than one million members of the armed forces have less than \$3000 a year income, including all allowances for food, clothing, and shelter.⁵⁹

An evaluation of Wilkinson's campaign statements leads to the discovery of two major points of emphasis. One was his major theme of putting Oklahoma first and his belief that his views were more representative of the beliefs of the general public than those of the Democratic party. The other was his continuous indictment of the growing size and powers of the national government and of the policies of the Democratic administration. He further pointed out that to elect a Democratic senator would be to continue these programs and policies which, in his opinion, were destroying the rights of the states and the freedoms of the individual

⁵⁷Tulsa Tribune, April 28, 1964.

⁵⁸Tulsa World, October 29, 1964.

⁵⁹Ibid.

citizens. By emphasizing these two basic points, Wilkinson sought to alienate enough voters from the Democratic party to achieve victory for himself.

Introducing the theme for his campaign, Fred Harris made the following statement: "Paychecks and peace are the issues. We must have a common sense program for American which will provide new jobs at home and new security for our country abroad."⁶⁰ Harris tied in his stands on the issues with this theme, coupled with his "common sense" approach to politics.

Harris emphasized that Oklahoma's economic health could be nourished and expanded through the development of independent strength in agriculture, oil, and mining.⁶¹ He stressed the importance of maintaining the oil depletion allowance and reducing foreign oil imports.

A stronger oil industry means more jobs at home and new security abroad for the United States. We must retain the 27½% oil depletion allowance, establish a common sense policy on imports and expand world markets for crude oil.⁶²

In addition, Harris pointed out that he had written and supported legislation passed in the 1963 legislative session which raised Oklahoma's oil depletion allowance from 20% to 27½% to match the federal allowance.⁶³

In the area of agriculture and beef imports, Harris indicated that his understanding of farm problems was due to

⁶⁰Backing the Winning Democratic Team, (campaign pamphlet)

⁶¹Tulsa World, February 26, 1964.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Ibid.

his having been raised on a farm. Furthermore, he pointed out that he had co-authored farmers' tax exemption legislation, legislation concerning school land loans for farmers, and legislation which established the Oklahoma Wheat Commission.⁶⁴ Harris voiced the need for healthy farm prices and adequate price floors, expanded research, curbing of beef imports, and a lessening of governmental controls when practical.⁶⁵

Concerning the development of water resource programs and the Arkansas River project, Harris said that Oklahoma was ten years ahead of the nation in water development programs because of the foresight of the late Senator Kerr. "I want to carry out the dream Senator Kerr had for more jobs and industry and better development for our soil and water resources."⁶⁶ Harris also expressed confidence that the House of Representatives and the Senate Appropriations committees would increase the budget for the Arkansas River project.⁶⁷

The right-to-work amendment appeared on the Oklahoma ballot on May 5, 1964 and was defeated. At the time Harris

⁶⁴Backing the Winning Democratic Team.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Lawton Morning Press, September 23, 1964.

⁶⁷Tulsa World, January 26, 1964.

personally opposed the passage of such an amendment, although at a public forum in Enid, Oklahoma, he affirmed that he favored the retention of Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act, which allows a state to vote on its own right-to-work amendment.⁶⁸ Responding to Wilkinson's statements on the Rural Electrification Administration, Harris stated that he fully supported the REA program, including its loan program.⁶⁹

Harris favored the program of federal aid to education then in existence, i.e., land grant colleges, vocational training, federal funds for impacted schools. However, he did not favor additional federal aid to common schools unless such aid could meet two very strict tests:

1. that the aid would be made on the basis of demonstrated need
2. that the aid be given in a lump sum to the state to distribute, or by some other method which would insure against improper federal control.⁷⁰

If the aid could not be given without federal control, he could not support it.

Harris supported "that portion of the Democratic platform, which like the Republican platform, calls for the execution and enforcement of the civil rights law."⁷¹

⁶⁸Tulsa World, October 14, 1964.

⁶⁹Letter from Fred Harris, United States Senator, July 23, 1965.

⁷⁰Enid Sunday Morning News, October 11, 1964.

⁷¹Ibid.

In addition, Harris called attention to his record of support in the Oklahoma State Senate for equal opportunity legislation to end discrimination. He also pointed out that he was the author of the state act creating the Human Rights Commission.⁷²

Harris called for frugality and thrift in the fiscal policy of the federal government and encouraged the passage of further tax cuts which would provide additional financial resources to private interests, thus creating the means for additional jobs. He also attacked the national government for "pre-empting too many areas of taxation, which has left the cities and states strapped for funds for necessary growth."⁷³ He opposed the repeal of the tax exemptions of municipal bonds because such "was absolutely necessary to cities."⁷⁴ In addition, Harris lashed out at Wilkinson for lacking "the necessary knowledge to be a sponsor."⁷⁵ He referred in particular to statements Wilkinson had made concerning foreign aid and America's lack of protection for American investors abroad against expropriation. Harris pointed out that various government agencies "had been insuring American-owned investments against expropriation, commercial and non-commercial, since 1948."⁷⁶ He repeated statements he had

⁷²Letter from Fred Harris.

⁷³Tulsa Tribune, September 11, 1964.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Miami News Record, October 21, 1964.

⁷⁶Ibid.

made during the primary that American foreign aid projects were often insults to the taxpayers and that America should encourage self-help and independence of foreign nations.⁷⁷

Harris called for the use of common sense in American foreign policy and defense and the need for America to stand as a firm ally of her friends. "We must stand alone, or in concert, resolutely and with determination against communist aggression, wherever it occurs in the world."⁷⁸ He opposed giving up control of the Panama Canal or allowing a communist take-over of South Viet-Nam and Southeast Asia. He called for the tightening of the economic and political isolation of Cuba and the halting of the spread of communism in Latin American.⁷⁹

American foreign policy, based upon firm purpose and strong character, will inspire respect. We cannot buy love. America should be a friend to the downtrodden people everywhere, but not a collaborator with those who oppose them.⁸⁰

Harris, like Wilkinson, opposed the passage of Medicare, medical care for the aged, and called the strengthening of the Kerr-Mills Plan. In contrast to Wilkinson, however, he supported the Democratic administration's anti-poverty program.

Harris stated that "a Democratic team rather than a

⁷⁷Let's Elect Fred Harris (campaign pamphlet)

⁷⁸Enid Sunday Morning News, October 11, 1964.

⁷⁹Let's Elect Fred Harris.

⁸⁰Ibid.

glamorous personality can sell industry on Oklahoma."⁸¹ He added that "winning and dining would not get the job done," that only facts would interest businessmen.⁸² Harris specified several areas in which he had authored or co-authored legislation to aid in improving the position of industry. He authored the Local Industrial Financing Act which created the state industrial finance commission and allowed cities and towns to vote self-liquidating bonds as an aid to industrial finance.⁸³ He also served as Chairman of the Industrial Development Committee and worked to strengthen the Department of Commerce and Industry.

In response to the Republican candidates' concern over the increasing range of national governmental activities, Harris distributed four pages of mimeographed material in which he listed over one hundred activities of the national government in Oklahoma. The list included the military bases, interstate highways, agricultural projects, flood control programs, etc. He then inquired of Wilkinson which of these activities he proposed to reduce or eliminate.

Throughout his campaign, Harris continually emphasized the merits of electing a Democratic senator from Oklahoma who would serve in a Democratic Senate and work with a Democratic House of Representatives and President. Speaking for Harris at his kick-off rally in Oklahoma City, Senator Mike

⁸¹Tulsa World, October 16, 1964.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Back the Winning Democratic Team.

Monroney stated: "If Oklahoma elects a Republican, the state will lose 50% of its strength in the Senate. President Johnson is building up to a landslide victory and needs a team in the Senate."⁸⁴ Although Harris strongly endorsed the election of Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, he indicated that he had specific differences with the, e.g., Medicare.

Harris' entire campaign was permeated with his emphasis on preparation for the job. His brochures and billboards contained slogans such as "Prepared for the Job" and "preparation is the difference." He often made reference to the fact that the Tulsa Tribune had called him "the busiest and hardest working member of the legislature last session."⁸⁵ His brochures stated that he was thoroughly prepared to be a United States Senator because of his "experience and tireless work" for eight years in the Oklahoma state senate.⁸⁶

In the United States Senate, I will be working under rules and in many situations which are just like the ones I have worked for eight years as a state senator.⁸⁷

Harris continued his theme of preparation and experience by recalling that the University of Oklahoma Board of Regents did not suggest that Raymond Gary or Fred Harris take the job as football coach "because they were searching for

⁸⁴Tulsa World, October 5, 1964.

⁸⁵Let's Elect Fred Harris.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Back the Winning Democratic Team.

someone experienced and qualified."⁸⁸

In answering Wilkinson's charges of absenteeism in the state senate, Harris said that this was refuted by the Senate Journal Clerk who showed him present for 92% of the attendance roll calls, and Harris went on to accuse Wilkinson of a "total and lifelong absenteeism from participation in public affairs."⁸⁹

The Democratic candidate charged Wilkinson with running an essentially negative campaign, while he himself advocated a positive program of action.⁹⁰ He asserted that the polls showed Goldwater, the Republican presidential candidate, and Wilkinson were declining in popularity due to their negative philosophy. Harris' strategy included linking Wilkinson as closely as possible with the Republican presidential candidate. He charged Wilkinson with following Goldwater and his far-right approach to government and referred to headlines in an Oklahoma City newspaper: "Bud Says Democrats Want U.N. to Take Over World."⁹¹ This, he contended, was proof of Wilkinson's far-right attitude. Harris also wished to link Wilkinson closely with Goldwater,

⁸⁸Tulsa World, October 5, 1964.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Tulsa World, October 8, 1964.

⁹¹Kansas City Star, October 18, 1964.

while linking himself with Johnson in order to capitalize on Johnsons' popularity in Oklahoma.

An analysis of Harris' position on issues reveals that his major aim was to convince the Oklahoma voters that his experience would most qualify him to be a United State Senator. Realizing that Johnson, who was from the neighboring state of Texas, appeared to be quite popular in Oklahoma, Harris continually emphasized the "Harris-LBJ team" and the benefits of electing a Democratic senator to serve in a Congress with a Democratic majority and that the election of a Republican could only weaken Oklahoma's position. By linking himself closely with Johnson and Wilkinson with Goldwater, Harris hoped to benefit from an expected Johnson victory in Oklahoma.

A comparison of the candidates' positions on the oil depletion allowance, oil imports, agriculture and beef imports, medical care for the aged financed through social security, water resource programs, the Arkansas River project, and the restoration of Section 14-B in the Taft-Hartley Act reveals that there was little practical difference. Both candidates obviously were concerned with presenting a favorable image to the public, while at the same time appealing to particular voting blocs. Because oil and agriculture are important industries in Oklahoma, a candidate for office must necessarily be interested in the support of these groups. In this election both candidates favored policies

which were of benefit to these blocs, e.g., oil depletion allowance, curbs on beef and oil imports. The welfare bloc in Oklahoma was also significant, with over 7% of the civilian population receiving some type of public assistance.⁹² Wilkinson, therefore, voiced his desire to adjust welfare payments so that they would keep up with the increasing costs of medicine and commodities.⁹³ Harris laid stress on the fact that he had co-authored legislation which increased assistance and which allowed older people to earn \$50 a month.⁹⁴ Wilkinson appealed to the veterans by giving particular emphasis to the fact that he was the only combat veteran in the senatorial race. Thus, one can find little difference between the appeals of the two candidates. It was primarily on the national issues, which were discussed in the broadest terms, that the candidates differed. Wilkinson's statements concerning the evils of big government and communism were cloaked in conservative overtones, and Lyndon Johnson. However, in the campaign there was a marked absence of "mud-slinging" by the candidates, with the only personal attacks concerning Harris' absences from the sessions of the state senate and Wilkinson's lack of political experience.

⁹²John J. Klein et.al., The Oklahoma Economy, p.101.

⁹³Bud Wilkinson, (campaign pamphlet).

⁹⁴Let's Elect Fred Harris.

In October the candidates agreed to debate the campaign issues on television. The debate originally was carried only by one Tulsa television station, but was taped and subsequently shown throughout the state. The rules of the debate were agreed upon by the candidates. Each was given a designated length of time to make an opening statement, and after each had spoken the other was given rebuttal time.

Harris' strategy for the television debate was to emphasize Wilkinson's lack of political experience and to attempt to tie as closely together as possible Wilkinson's candidacy with the Republican presidential candidate, Barry Goldwater, while linking himself with Lyndon Johnson. Wilkinson, on the other hand, attacked Harris' absences from the state senate and highly endorsed Goldwater's candidacy. The debate was characterized by a lack of specific statements on the part of both candidates and was merely a repetition of earlier campaign statements. The debate itself was received without enthusiasm by the press and a large percentage of the general public.⁹⁵

From time to time during the campaign, polls were taken in the state by United Press International. Fifty ballots were given to each participating newspaper, except in Tulsa and Oklahoma City, whose newspapers each received one hundred ballots apiece.⁹⁶ The first poll, taken September 10, 1964,

⁹⁵Okmulgee Daily Times, October 17, 1964.

⁹⁶Daily Oklahoman, October 11, 1964.

showed that Harris led in twenty communities, while Wilkinson led in thirteen, including Oklahoma City and Tulsa.⁹⁷ In the second poll Harris again led in twenty communities and Wilkinson in thirteen. Although Wilkinson retained the lead in Tulsa, Harris had captured Oklahoma City.⁹⁸ The polls were not intended to be scientific surveys but merely an attempt to indicate voter sentiment. They provided the candidates with an indication of their weakest areas, and in some cases indicated a great deal of vote switching from the previous poll.

The election was held November 4, 1964, with Harris receiving 466,782 votes and Wilkinson 445,392.⁹⁹ Harris ran a little over 53,000 votes behind the Democratic presidential candidate, Lyndon Johnson, while Wilkinson received 32,000 votes more than did Barry Goldwater, the Republican presidential candidate. Harris' victory was a surprise to many, including the Republican candidate who was quoted by the press as saying he had not expected to lose the election. The element which were most significant in Harris' success will be of the major concern of the next chapter.

⁹⁷United Press International Poll, September 10, 1964.

⁹⁸United Press International Poll, October 10, 1964.

⁹⁹Tulsa World, November 7, 1964.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE VOTING BEHAVIOR

The overwhelming majority of Oklahoma voters are registered as either Democrats or Republicans and normally tend to vote for candidates of their party in state and national elections.¹ Most studies of Oklahoma voting reveal that party identification is the most important single factor in shaping Oklahoma voting patterns. Thus, in Oklahoma elections the Democratic candidate has a decided advantage.

Straight party voting, however, is frequently conditioned by such factors as the personality of the candidates and their stand on specific issues. It is not unusual for the minority party to select persons as candidates who possess a high degree of personal attractiveness and can offset the obvious advantages of the majority party by inducing cross party voting. Minority party candidates are forced to impress upon the majority party voters their superior personal qualifications in order to induce a substantial number of these to bolt their party. They may also attempt to

¹There are 953,243 people registered as Democrats, 231,673 are registered as independents. Letter from Oklahoma State Election Board, April 16, 1965.

dissuade the voters from supporting their party by the skillful manipulation of the public's attitude toward various issues. Since voters turnout is likely to be higher if individuals feel a direct personal involvement and interest in an election, it benefits the candidate to make such an involvement or interest possible. This is the point at which the consideration of issues begins.

Issues are used to influence the voter and the way he thinks, i.e., to induce the voter to support and, therefore, cast his ballot for a particular candidate. Exactly how specific the issues will be depends upon the candidates themselves. A particularly explicit stand on an issue is bound to win the support of some groups in the electorate but may, at the same time, cost the candidate support of groups who have opposed interests. Others maintain that it is preferable to speak in generalities and ambiguities, so that each individual is at liberty to interpret the statement in terms satisfactory to himself. According to Walter Lippman

...the trickle of messages from the outside is affected by the stored-up images, the preconceptions, and the prejudices which interpret, fill out, and in turn powerfully direct the play of our attention and our vision itself...In the individual person, the limited messages from the outside, formed into a pattern of stereotypes are identified with his own interests as he feels and conceives them.²

A candidate, therefore, will attempt to exploit this

²Walter Lippman, Public Opinion, p. 30.

phenomenon and, in so doing, hopefully gain the support of the greatest number possible.

Since registered Democrats outnumbered registered Republicans by more than four to one, Wilkinson faced the task of convincing the public that factors other than party affiliation were of greater importance. Wilkinson attempted to accomplish this primarily through the use of issues. He hoped to convince the voters that the views of the Democratic party and his opponent, Fred Harris, were not representative of the desires of the majority of Oklahomans. "Oklahoma Democrats have been deserted; the Democratic party is no longer the party of Thomas Jefferson," said Wilkinson as he toured the state during the campaign.³ Harris, on the other hand, reminded the voters of the advantages of electing a Democratic senator to a Democratic Congress. However, Harris did not rely on this approach alone; he, too, utilized issues in an effort to increase his popularity.

Which factors were of major importance in determining Harris' victory over Wilkinson? Was it party affiliation, issues, personality, or some other factor which was most instrumental in Harris' success? This chapter will attempt to discover which factors were of importance in determining Harris' victory.

The technical task of estimating the decisional content of elections involves essentially two

³Speech by Bud Wilkinson in Okmulgee, Oklahoma, August 14, 1964.

elements. First, one must establish some system of categories of the elements of electoral decision, such as the choice between parties, the element of substantive policy decisions, and so forth. Second, one must estimate the weights given these factors by individual voters and sum the weights of each factor in the entire electorate in order to arrive at the relative significance of the several elements in a particular election.⁴

The task of determining the decisional content of the Harris-Wilkinson election was accomplished through the use of questionnaires which were sent to representatives of three large interest groups in each Oklahoma county, viz., agriculture, business, and labor. The questionnaires sought to determine the interest group support of the candidates and the reasons for this support. A similar questionnaire was sent to newspaper editors in each of the 77 counties in the state. The newspaper editors were requested to respond for their particular county as a whole. Each individual representative was asked to assign weights and priorities to the different categories for each candidate in order to determine the importance of each in the voter's preference of candidates. The general categories included party loyalty, the candidates' personality, the candidates' degree of association or non-association with professional politics, the candidates' degree of association or non-association with his party's presidential candidate, the candidates' general over-all political philosophy, the candidates' campaign organization, and finally the candidates' position

⁴V.O. Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, p.468.

on issues. The latter category, because of its all-encompassing nature, was sub-divided into specific stands of the candidates in order to discover which, if any, of the issues were of primary concern to the voters. For this reason, the issues category was dealt with separately, i.e., weights were assigned to the various issues rather than to the general category of issues alone. In the assignment of weights and priorities to the various categories, the representatives were requested to designate their organization's or county's order of preference, i.e., 1,2,3, etc. Therefore, the category with the least sum total would be the most important. The responses given by the representatives of the various interest groups and by the newspaper editors exhibited a pattern of support for one of the candidates, and from this pattern an analysis of the election, from the standpoint of the major contributing elements to Harris' success, has been made.

The Chamber of Commerce was selected as representative of the business community in Oklahoma. It possessed chapters throughout Oklahoma, with the exception of Delaware county. Questionnaires were sent to the Executive Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce in each county possessing a chapter, and this individual was requested to provide information concerning the size of the membership, the average age and income of the membership, and the approximate percentage of support given to either Wilkinson or Harris by the membership. This individual was then requested to assign weights

to the various categories (see above, p.3) in order to determine which factors were of a primary significance to his organization. The total percentage of responses from the questionnaires sent to business was 60.5%. Seventy-one per cent of those responding had a membership of over one hundred, while 57% reported an average income of \$6000-10,000 per annum. The responses indicated that 46.8% favored Harris, while 27.6% favored Wilkinson. The remainder either failed to respond or indicated that the support for the two candidates was fairly evenly divided within the organization. Of the 60.5% who responded to the questionnaire, 93.1% answered the questions of the first six categories for both Wilkinson and Harris. However, with respect to the importance of particular issues to the organization, many failed to respond. The final category of issues, then, found only 56.8% replies concerning Harris and 63.6% for Wilkinson.

An examination of the first six categories for Harris obtained the following results:

Category I	Voting a straight Democratic ticket	97 points
Category II	Harris' personality	172 points
Category III	Harris' association with and support of Lyndon Johnson	134 points
Category IV	Harris' previous experience in government and politics	147 points
Category V	An effective campaigning organization	162 points
Category VI	Harris' general, over-all political philosophy	159½ points

Thus, the survey of the business community indicated that Harris' affiliation with the Democratic party was the most influential factor in its support for him. His association with and support of Lyndon B. Johnson was ranked as the

second most important factor. The scores on the remaining four categories did not indicate that business attached a great value to these factors.

For Wilkinson, in the same six categories, the results were as follows:

Category I	Voting a straight Republican ticket	175 points
Category II	Wilkinson's personality	119 points
Category III	Wilkinson's association with and support of Barry Goldwater	187 $\frac{1}{4}$ points
Category IV	Wilkinson's disassociation with professional politics	187 $\frac{1}{2}$ points
Category V	An effective campaign organization	155 $\frac{1}{2}$ points
Category VI	Wilkinson's general, over-all political philosophy	110 points

The business community's support for Wilkinson, according to the results of the questionnaires, revealed that the two major influencing factors were his overall political philosophy and his personality. Wilkinson's philosophy of government, although spoken only in the broadest terms, was what might be labeled as conservative, i.e., a belief that America was drifting toward socialism and a centralization of power in Washington which has resulted in the deprivation of rights and freedom for the states and its citizens. According to the responses, the remaining four categories were not important determinants.

Consequently, it can be seen that the factors which were important, in this case for the business community in its support of Fred Harris for the United States Senate, were the least important factors in its support for Bud Wilkinson. Thus, it was possible to conclude that Wilkinson failed to gain support for his candidacy because of his membership in

the Republican party, or his nonmembership in the Democratic party, coupled with his association with and endorsement of Barry Goldwater for the presidency. Harris, then, won the majority of his support from his affiliation with the Democratic party and his close association with Lyndon B. Johnson.

For this conclusion to be further validated or strengthened, a similar examination of the issues category must be made. The following were the results of the questionnaires concerning the importance of the various issues of the campaign. (See Chapter 3, p. 46, for candidates' announced positions on issues.)

Category VII - Harris

A.	Right-to-work	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	points
B.	Civil rights	81	points
C.	REA	80	points
D.	Aid to education	90	points
E.	The anti-poverty program	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	points
F.	Foreign aid	102 $\frac{1}{2}$	points

Category VII - Wilkinson

A.	Right-to-work	53 $\frac{1}{2}$	points
B.	Civil rights	92	points
C.	REA	86	points
D.	Aid to Education	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	points
E.	The anti-poverty program	106	points
F.	Foreign aid	117	points

The questionnaires indicated that the support the candidates received from the business community because of their stands on particular issues was for approximately the same factors. Very few points separated the rankings of preference for both Wilkinson and Harris, and a comparison of the rankings for the two candidates revealed that there was a high

similarity. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the stand on issues made very little difference in determining the support for either of the candidates.

Thus, the factor of party affiliation, supplemented by association with the Democratic presidential candidate, was the major determinant of the support given to Harris by the business sector. Wilkinson was unsuccessful in convincing, at least the portion of the public surveyed, that other factors should be of greater significance than party loyalty. As far as this survey went, issues played little, if any, significant role in the preference of candidates.

Similar surveys were taken of the agricultural sector, among particular representatives in each county of the Oklahoma Farmers Union. The total percentage of response was 48.6% with 80.5% of these indicating an organization of over one hundred members and an average annual member income of less than \$6000. The replies disclosed that 72.2% of the organization favored Harris' election, while 27.7% of the unions were almost evenly divided in their support for the two candidates. The results of the questionnaires for the first six categories were as follows:

Harris

Category I	Voting a straight Democratic ticket	103 $\frac{1}{2}$ points
Category II	Harris' personality	126 points
Category III	Harris' association with and support of Lyndon Johnson	102 $\frac{1}{2}$ points
Category IV	Harris' previous experience in government and politics	106 points
Category V	An effective campaign organization	148 $\frac{1}{2}$ points

Category VI	Harris' general, over-all political philosophy	105 points
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Wilkinson

Category I	Voting a straight Republican Ticket	106 $\frac{1}{2}$ points
Category II	Wilkinson's personality	70 $\frac{1}{2}$ points
Category III	Wilkinson's association with and support of Barry Goldwater	122 $\frac{1}{2}$ points
Category IV	Wilkinson's disassociation with professional politics	78 $\frac{1}{2}$ points
Category V	An effective campaign organization	91 $\frac{1}{2}$ points
Category VI	Wilkinson's general, over-all political philosophy	118 $\frac{1}{2}$ points

Again Harris' affiliation with the Democratic party and his endorsement of Lyndon Johnson for the presidency were the major determinants of support for his candidacy. For agriculture, however, his previous political experience and his political philosophy were also termed important factors, falling only several points behind. Harris' personality and campaign organization appeared to be the least important determinants of support, their scores being much higher than the other categories. For Wilkinson, his personality, coupled with his complete disassociation from professional politics, was the prime determinant in gaining support from agriculture. The remaining factors apparently were not considered to be of importance in the campaign, according to the results of the questionnaires.

However, it was necessary to examine the issues in the campaign in order to determine whether they played a significant role with respect to the support given to a particular candidate by the agricultural sector:

Category VII - Harris

A.	Right-to-work	118 $\frac{1}{2}$ points
B.	Civil rights	135 points
C.	REA	61 $\frac{1}{2}$ points
D.	Aid to Education	121 $\frac{1}{2}$ points
E.	The anti-poverty program	109 $\frac{1}{2}$ points
F.	Foreign aid	155 $\frac{1}{2}$ points

Category VII - Wilkinson

A.	Right-to-work	83 points
B.	Civil rights	58 $\frac{1}{2}$ points
C.	REA	105 $\frac{1}{2}$ points
D.	Aid to Education	68 points
E.	The anti-poverty program	84 $\frac{1}{2}$ points
F.	Foreign aid	64 points

In this case there was not a high degree of similarity between the support given to the candidates because of their stands on issues. For the agricultural sector surveyed, it appeared that issues did make a difference. In this particular case, the REA issue was given the highest priority. Wilkinson had stated in his campaign that he did not favor the loan of government money through the REA at only 2% interest rate. (See above, Chapter 2, p.48). Harris, however, voiced his approval of the REA and the benefits which accrued from it to the agricultural community. The Rural Electric Co-operatives apparently construed Wilkinson's statements to be a disapproval of the entire organization, and as a result, it issued several papers attacking Wilkinson and his statements of REA.

It was, however, impossible to calculate accurately which of the determinants, i.e., party affiliation and association with the presidential candidate or the issues, was

given priority by this group. Therefore, it could only be concluded that a combination of the above determinants proved to be the factors which gained support for Harris' candidacy.

Questionnaires were also supplied to members of various labor unions, e.g., teamsters, musicians, etc. throughout the state, with 55.2% responding. The lack of response to the questions concerning size and income of the organization made it impossible to calculate such accurately. No response indicated a majority of the organization favoring Wilkinson, but 66.7% expressed support for Harris.

For the first six categories for Harris the result was:

Category I	Voting a straight Democratic ticket	62 points
Category II	Harris' personality	142 points
Category III	Harris' association with and support of Lyndon Johnson	116 points
Category IV	Harris' previous experience in government and politics	154 points
Category V	An effective campaign organization	139 points
Category VI	Harris' general, over-all political philosophy	193 points

For Wilkinson:

Category I	Voting a straight Republican ticket	177 points
Category II	Wilkinson's personality	137 points
Category III	Wilkinson's association with and support of Barry Goldwater	166 points
Category IV	Wilkinson's disassociation with professional politics	152 points
Category V	An Effective campaign organization	149½ points
Category VI	Wilkinson's general, over-all political philosophy	150½ points

The factors which drew the support of labor on behalf of Harris, were not identical with the determinants of Wilkinson's support. Labor placed a very high priority on Harris' political

affiliation, while Wilkinson was again hampered by his membership in the Republican party and support of Barry Goldwater.

The contention that the political affiliation of Harris proved to be the major determinant of support by labor was further validated by the results of the questionnaires with respect to the importance of the issues in the campaign.

Category VII - Harris

A.	Right-to-work	142	points
B.	Civil rights	154	points
C.	REA	158	points
D.	Aid to education	169	points
E.	The anti-poverty program	155	points
F.	Foreign aid	189	points

Category VII - Wilkinson

A.	Right-to-work	149	points
B.	Civil rights	135	points
C.	REA	147	points
D.	Aid to education	159	points
E.	The anti-poverty program	190	points
F.	Foreign aid	171	points

Again there was a great deal of similarity between the ranked preferences for the two candidates, indicating that issues played an insignificant role in the determination of support for the two candidates. Labor apparently attached a greater priority to Harris' affiliation with the Democratic party than it did to his stand on any particular issue, including the right-to-work issue. It was no secret that the AFL-CIO was displeased with Wilkinson's candidacy, for it publicly endorsed Harris and worked actively in his behalf during the campaign.

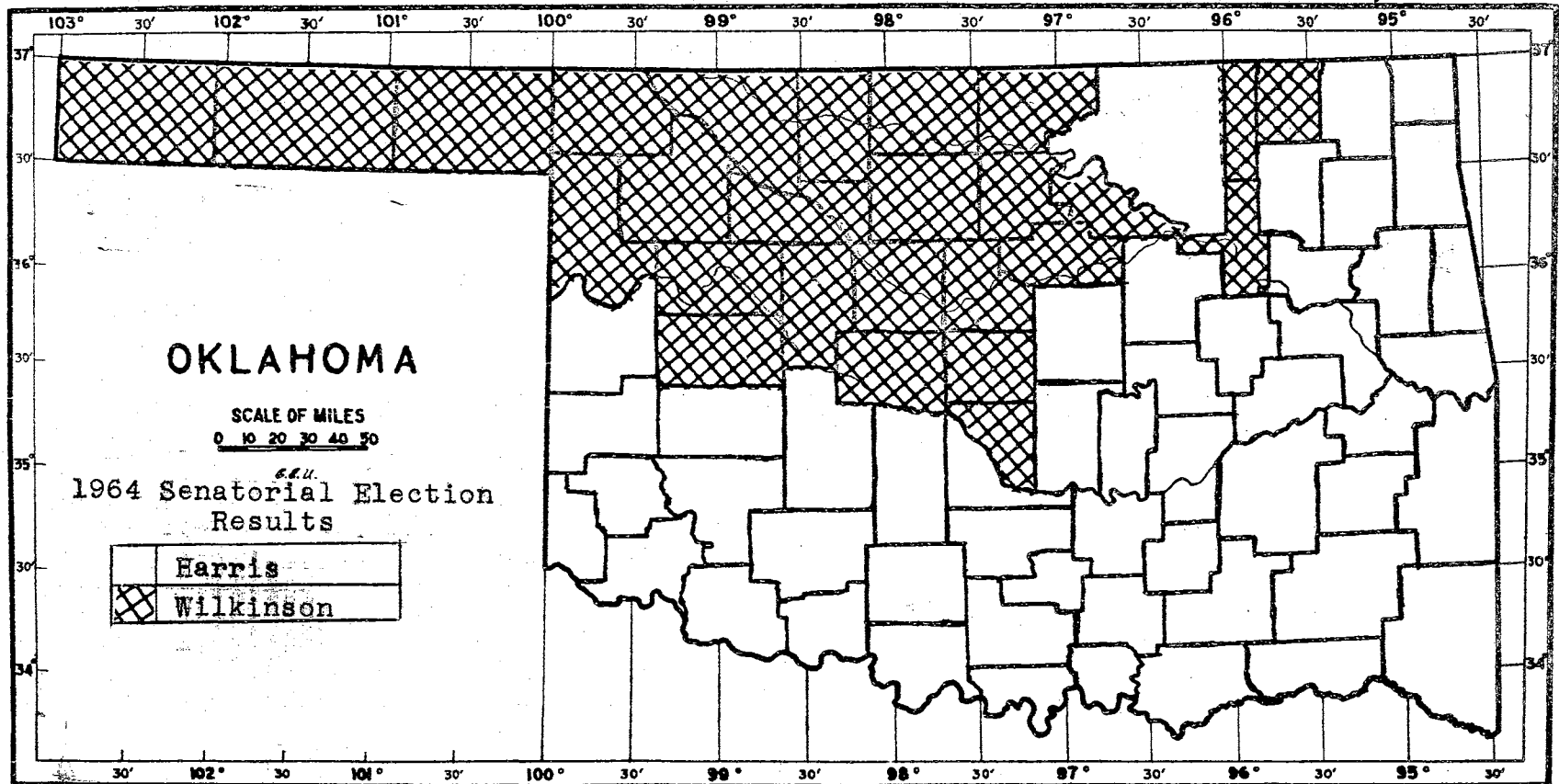
By comparing the results of the questionnaires for the interest groups, it was obvious that the prime determinants of support for Fred Harris' candidacy were his membership in the Democratic party and his association with Lyndon Johnson. Wilkinson's personality appeared to be an important factor in gaining support, but apparently it was not sufficient to offset his membership in the Republican party or his support of Barry Goldwater.

Issues played a role of very little importance in the campaign with the exception of the agricultural bloc. Here, the results of the questionnaires revealed that there was a definite difference in the support given to the candidates because of their stand on issues. In particular, the REA issue was probably a primary factor in Wilkinson's lack of support by the agricultural bloc.

Overall, therefore, in this election the factor of party identification outweighed other factors, such as personality and issues, for the interest groups surveyed. Consequently, Harris gained the endorsement of labor and won a sizeable portion of support in the ranks of business and agriculture.

County Support

In order to fully understand Harris' victory in the 1964 senatorial election, it was also necessary to study the electoral results in each county. (See Map I) From this it was then possible to observe from which areas the candidates obtained support. An analysis of the electoral results also



Map I 1964 Senatorial Election Results

involved the study of the relationship of selected independent and dependent variables.

Of the questionnaires sent to newspaper editors in each county the total response was 42.8%, and the results were as follows:

Harris

Category I	Voting a straight Democratic Ticket	69 points
Category II	Harris' personality	123 points
Category III	Harris' association with and support of Lyndon Johnson	65 points
Category IV	Harris' previous experience in government and politics	100½ points
Category V	An effective campaign organization	138½ points
Category VI	Harris' general, over-all political philosophy	122 points

Wilkinson

Category I	Voting a straight Republican ticket	124 points
Category II	Wilkinson's personality	49½ points
Category III	Wilkinson's association with and support of Barry Goldwater	126 points
Category IV	Wilkinson's disassociation with professional politics	130½ points
Category V	An effective campaign organization	94 points
Category VI	Wilkinson's general, over-all political philosophy	114½ points

The results again showed the importance of Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic party as determinants of support for Harris, while Wilkinson's personality ranked as the major influencing factor of support. Wilkinson, again, appeared to lose support because of his affiliation with the Republican party and association with Barry Goldwater.

In order to strengthen this conclusion, it was necessary to ascertain the role and importance of the issues in determining

support.

Category VII - Harris

A.	Right-to-work	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	points
B.	Civil rights	93 $\frac{1}{2}$	points
C.	REA	80 $\frac{1}{2}$	points
D.	Aid to education	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	points
E.	The anti-poverty program	60	points
F.	Foreign aid	59	points

Category VII - Wilkinson

A.	Right-to-work	70 $\frac{1}{2}$	points
B.	Civil rights	61	points
C.	REA	66	points
D.	Aid to Education	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	points
E.	The anti-poverty program	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	points
F.	Foreign aid	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	points

There was a high degree of similarity in the support given to the candidates for their stand on issues. Therefore, it was possible to conclude from the questionnaire responses that issues had very little effect in determining the support given to either candidate, and therefore, had little effect on the outcome of the election. It was the factor of party affiliation, combined with support given to the Democratic presidential candidate, which was the deciding element in the campaign.

The majority of the surveys revealed a high degree of party identification by the voters. Thus, it might be useful and informative to this study to analyze certain socio-economic characteristics for each Oklahoma county in comparison with the percentage of support given to a particular political party. This comparison may be accomplished by determining the relationship between two variable, i.e.,

independent and dependent.⁵ In this study the dependent variable is the percentage of support per county for the Republican party, while the independent variables are the percentage of non-white population per county, the percentage of the civilian population in a county receiving public assistance, the percentage of urbanization of a county, and the median family income per county.⁶

Since each unit of observation was expressed as a numerical value, it was possible to plot these values on a graph which is known as a scatter diagram, where the value of the independent variable is paired against the value of the dependent variable. The manner in which the dots are scattered gives an indication of the kind of relationship which exists between the two variables. The path of the dots may be defined by a line which describes only the average path of the dots, i.e., the average change to be expected in one variable with change in the other. This line is known as the line of regression. If low values for one variable go with low values for the other value, or if high values of one go with high values for the other, the line will slope upward

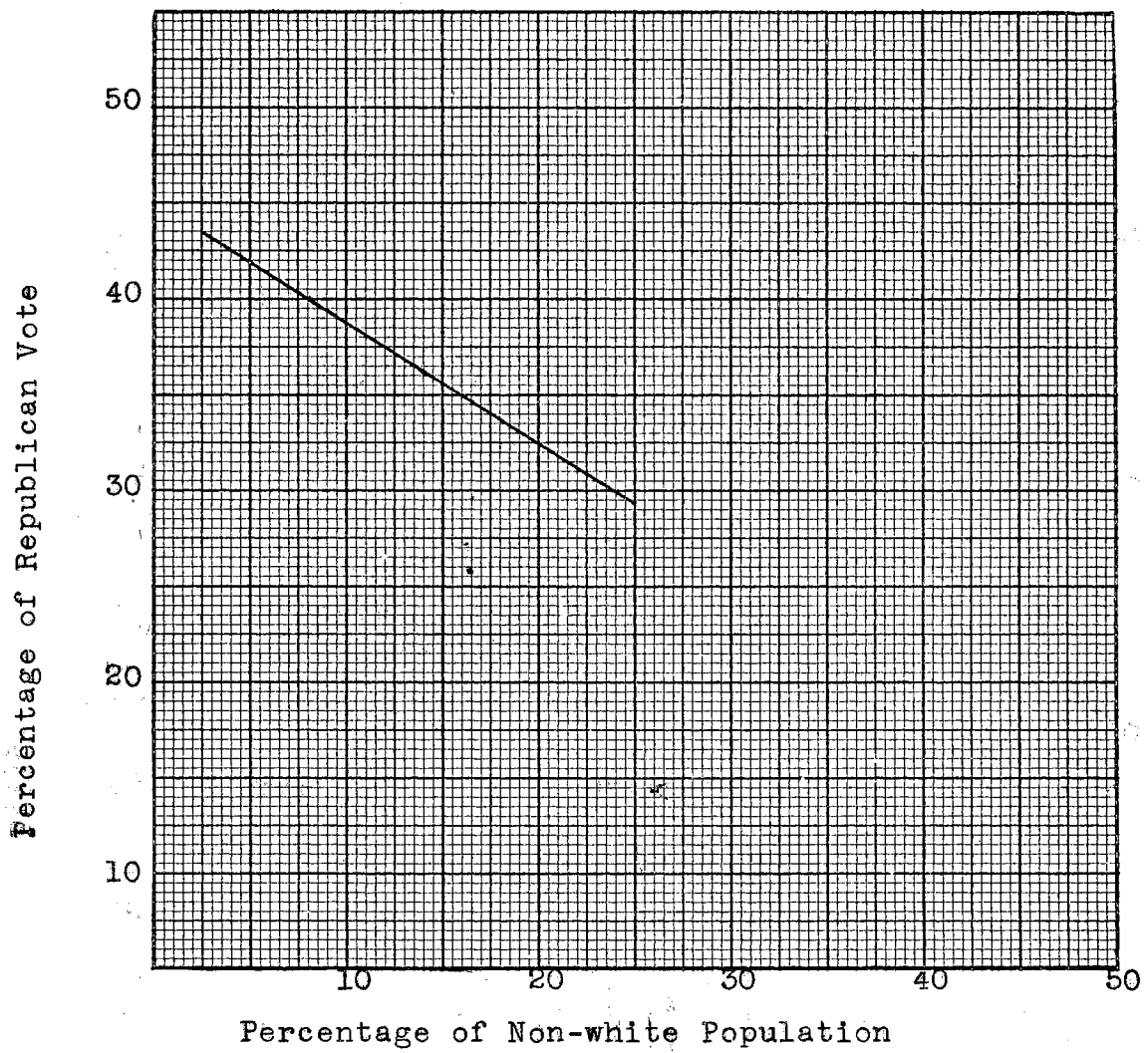
⁵A variable is a quantity which may assume a succession of values. The independent variable is the variable whose changes cause variation in the dependent variable. The dependent variable is that which is dependent upon the independent. Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Analysis, p.23.

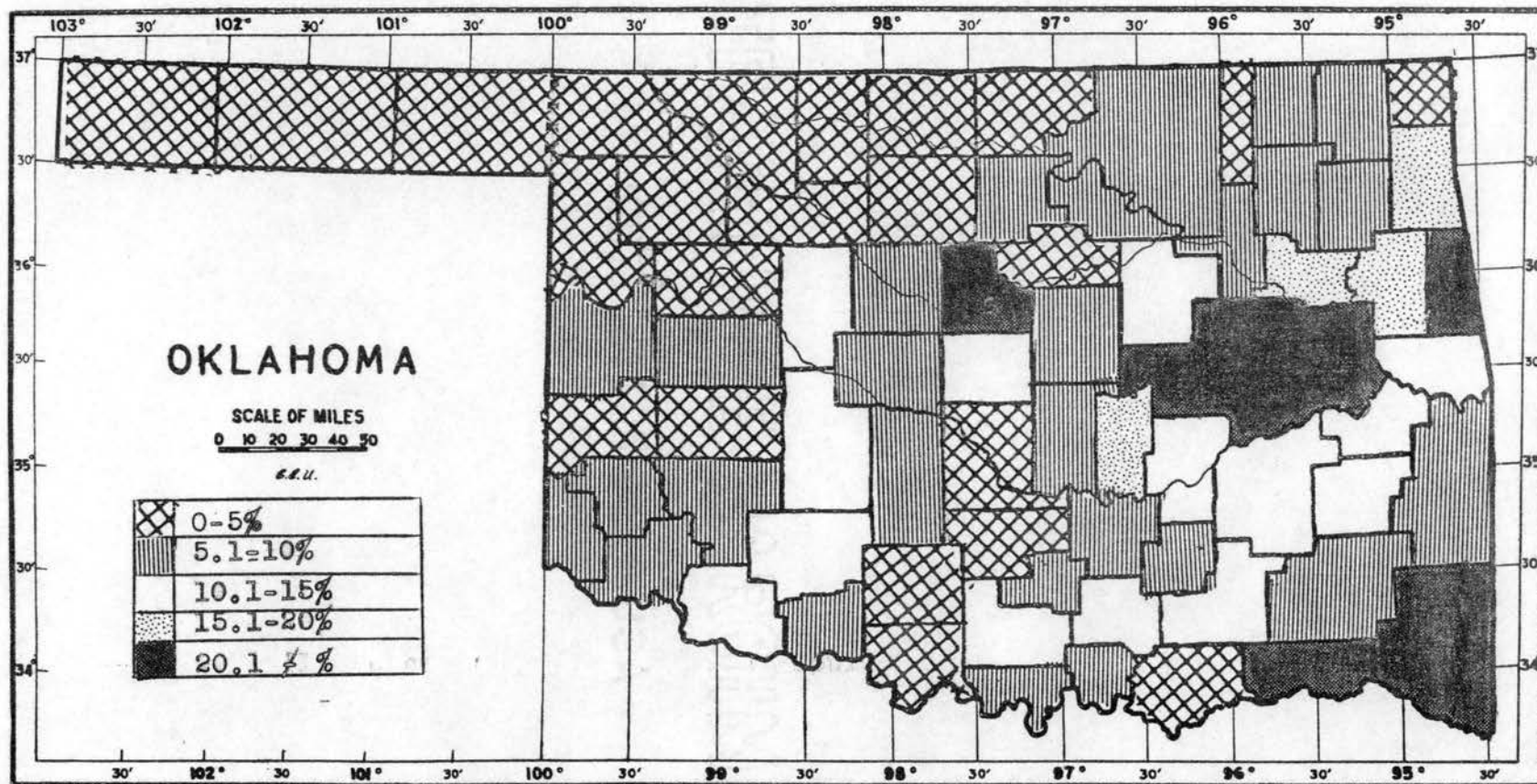
⁶Non-white is defined by the United States Census Bureau as the Negro, Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Asian Indian, and Malayan races. Urbanization is defined as an unincorporated or incorporated place of 2500 inhabitants or more. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Eighteenth Census of the United States: 1960. Population, I, p. XLII.

and is termed positive correlation. On the other hand, if low values of one variable go with high values of the other or vice versa, the line will slope downward, and it is termed negative correlation. In this study only the regression line has been included on the graph in order to indicate the type of relationship which exists between the variables.

The non-white population in Oklahoma ranges from .1% to 25.4% per county. The regression line on Figure I indicates that in the Harris-Wilkinson senatorial election, there was a negative relationship between the two variables, i.e., as the non-white population increases in a county there is a tendency for the Republican vote to decline. The non-white population has been divided into five groups for the purpose of this study. (See Map II). In the group with from 0-5% total non-white population in a county, 69% of the counties voted Republican. From this point on support for the Democratic party tended to increase. Eighty-one per cent of the counties with a non-white population of from 5.1-10% supported the Democratic party. Only two counties of those with a non-white population of 10.1-15% supported the Republican party in the Harris-Wilkinson election, while all of the counties in the 15.1-20% group went Democratic. For those counties with over 20% non-white population only two counties, Logan and Adair, supported the Republican party. Thus, it is possible to see that the tendency for a county to support the Democratic party increases as the percent of the non-white population in the county increases.

Figure I Regression line:
Percentage of Republican Vote
on Percentage of Non-white Population

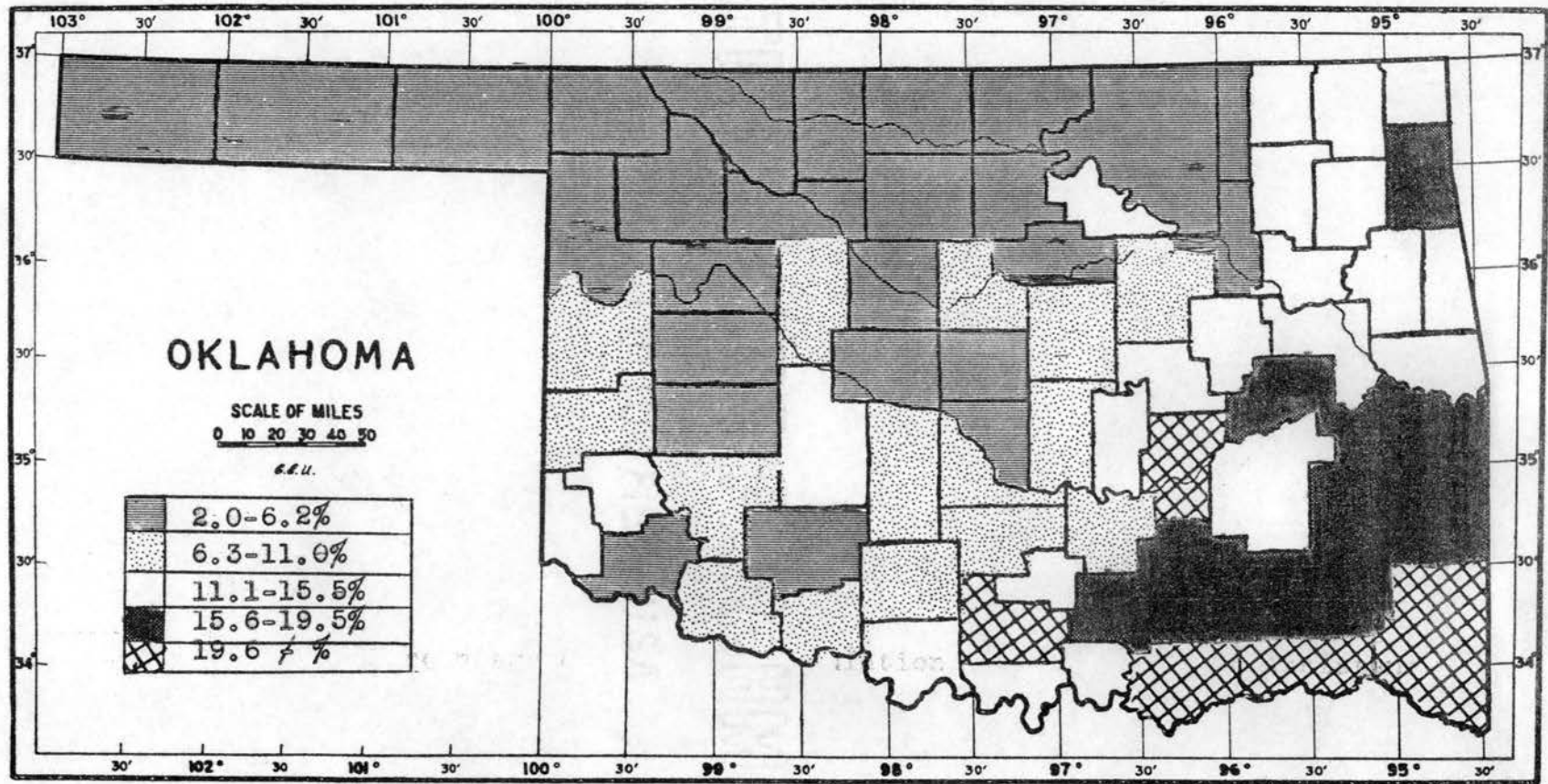




Map II Percentage of Non-White Population

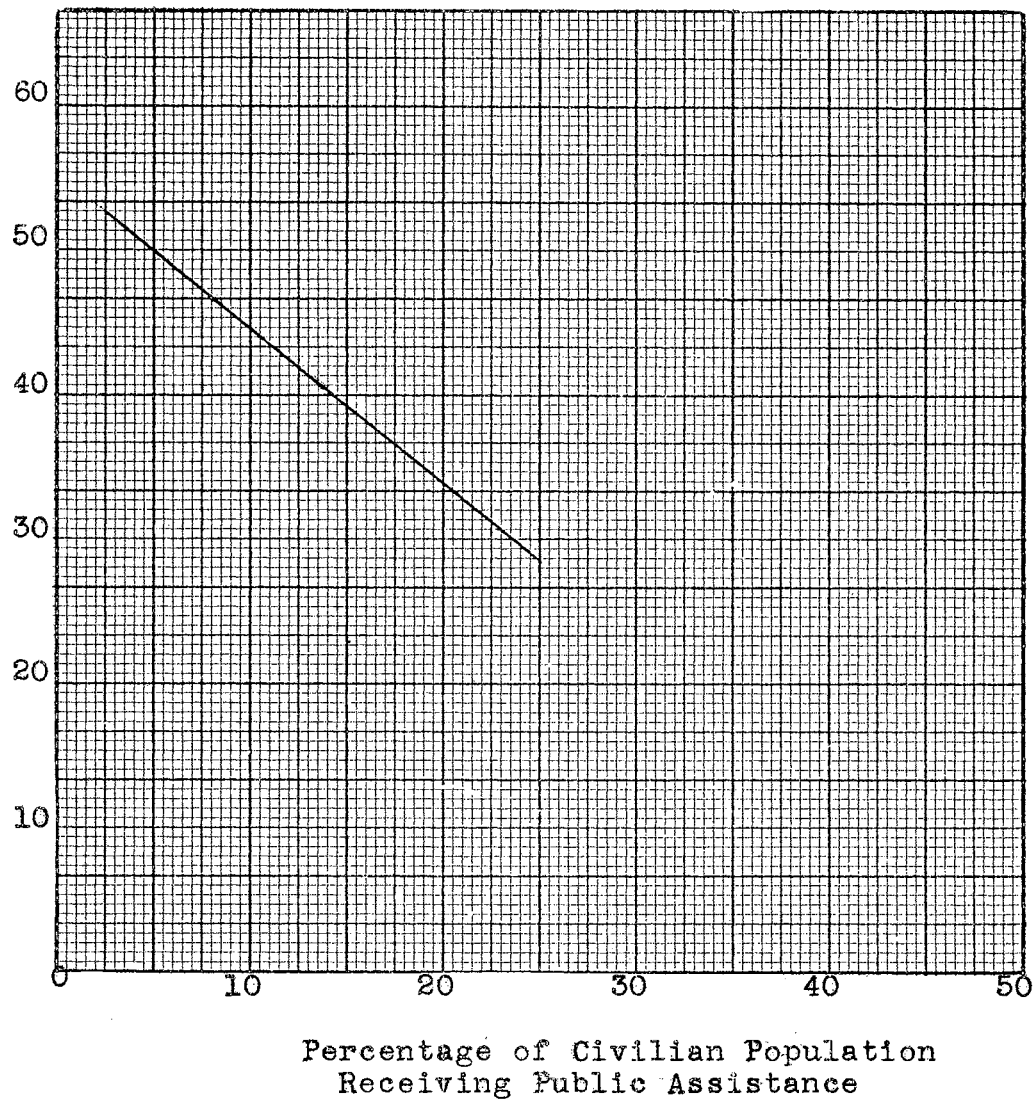
Approximately 7% of the civilian population in Oklahoma receives some type of public assistance. (See Map III) It is often suggested that individuals on welfare tend to support the Democratic party, therefore an examination has been made to determine if such was the case in the Harris-Wilkinson election. Of the 26 counties with less than 6.2% of the population receiving public assistance, only five counties--Comanche, Jackson, Noble, Osage, and Washita--supported Harris in the general election. (Comanche county is Harris' home county.) Of the remaining counties in which over 6.2% of the total population received public assistance, there were but five counties which supported Wilkinson. Four of these counties--Blaine, Logan, Nowata, and Pawnee--had only 8-10% receiving public assistance. The remaining county which supported the Republican candidate was Adair county, which had a county welfare roll of more than 19%. This county is a major exception to this tendency for welfare recipients to support the Democratic party. The regression line on Figure II indicates that in this election the tendency was for the high welfare counties to support the Democratic party.

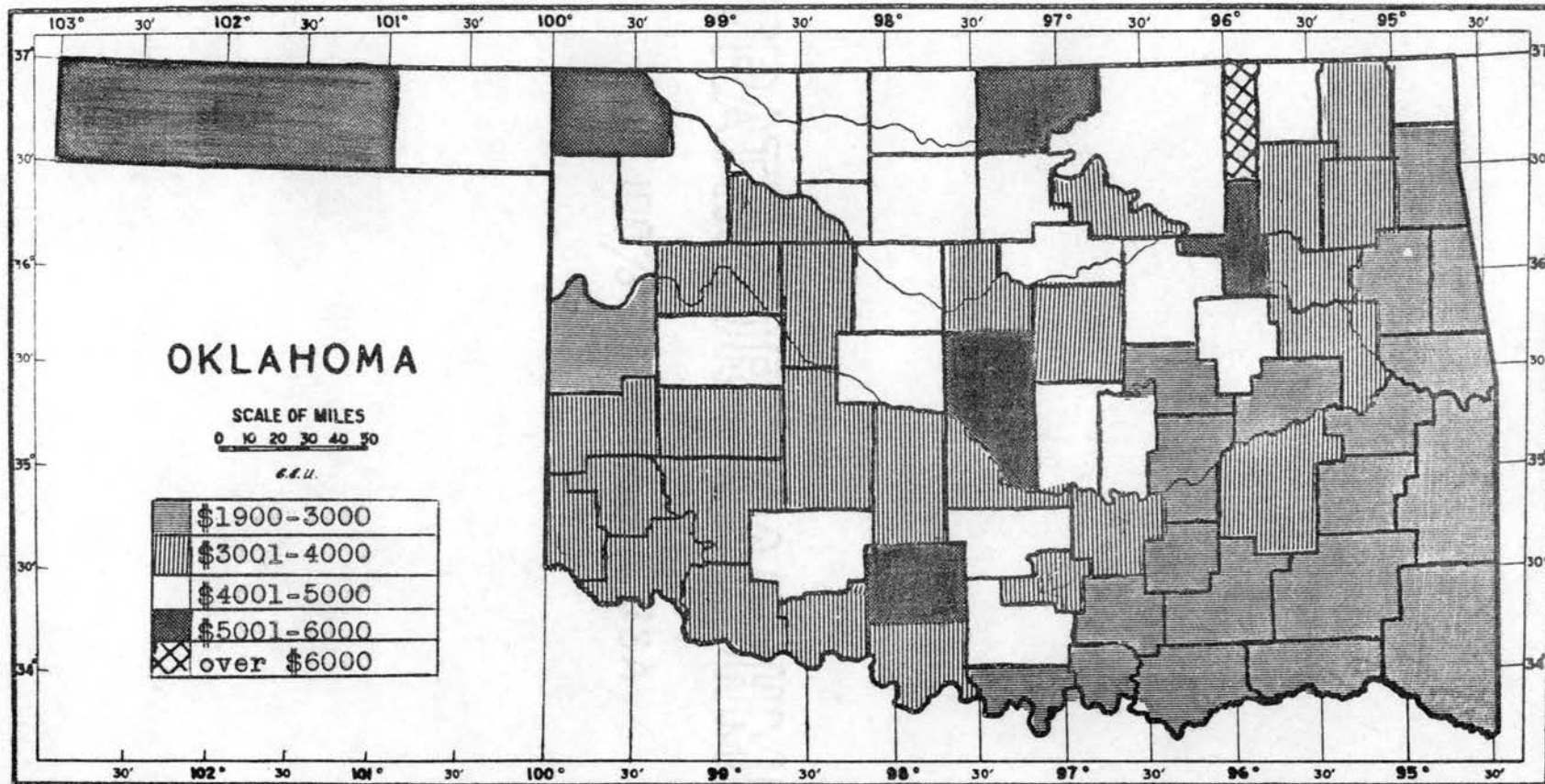
The relationship between the median family income per county and the support given to the Republican party was also examined. (See Map IV) Only two counties in Oklahoma have a median family income of less than \$2000 a year, Adair and Pushmataha. However, Adair county was again an exception to the expected in that it supported the Republican candidate.



Map III Percentage of Civilian Population Receiving Public Assistance

Figure II. Regression line:
Percentage of Republican vote on percentage
of civilian population receiving public assistance





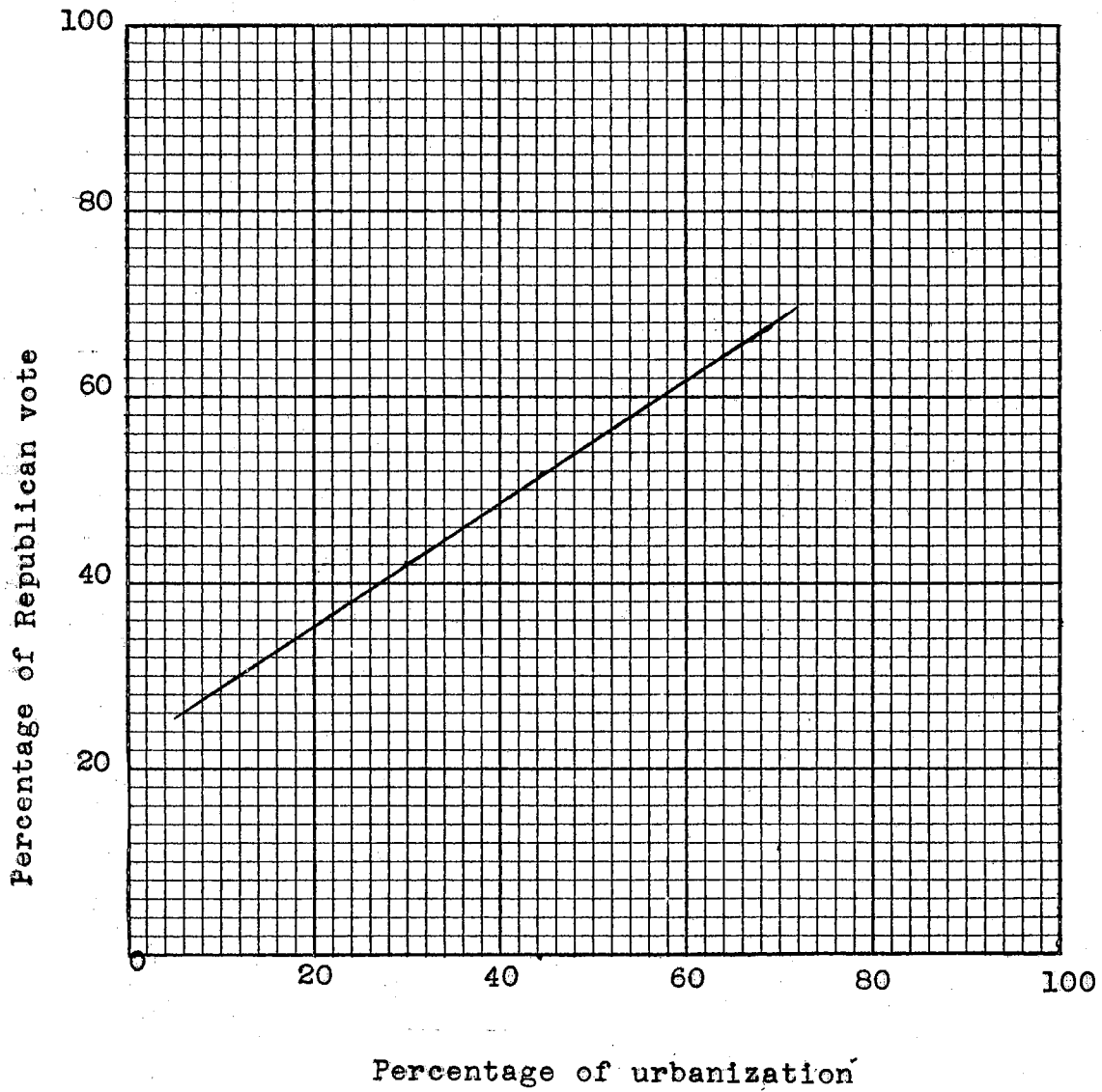
Map IV: Median family income per annum

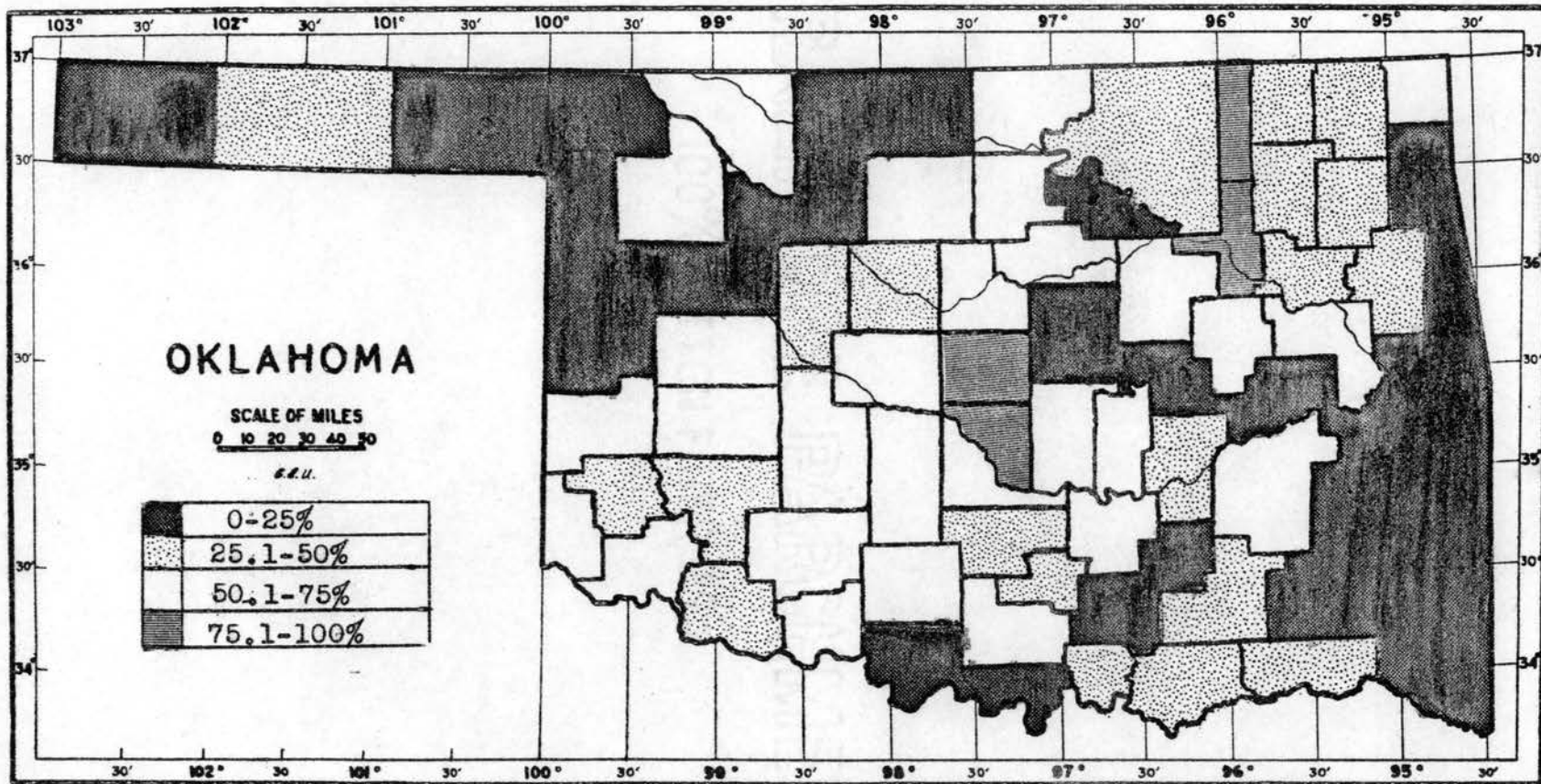
Of the seventeen counties with a median family income of \$2000-3000 per year, all supported the Democratic party. Twenty-five counties fell between \$3000-4000 per year, and 81.5% of these supported the Democratic candidate. The counties with from \$4000-5000 median family income found 59% voting Republican, while only one county, Stephens, with over \$5000 median family income gave its support to Harris. The regression line on Figure III, thus, gives evidence of the positive relationship between income and support of the Republican party, i.e., as the median family income increases the tendency to support the Republican party also increases.

The fourth factor in this study was the percentage of urbanization of a county and the percentage of support given to the Republican party. (See Map V) In the counties with less than 25% urbanization, 64% supported the Democratic party in the Harris-Wilkinson election. However, 81% of the counties between 25.1%-50% urbanization supported the Democratic party. The percentage of support awarded the Democratic party by counties with 50-75% urbanization decreased to 67%, but all counties with over 75% urbanization supported the Republican party. The statistics do not appear to be very rewarding, but upon closer examination one discovers that in the areas of less than 25% urbanization supporting the Republican party, only one county, Pawnee, was recorded as having any urbanization at all. In addition, for the most part these counties were located in northern Oklahoma, near the Kansas border, which is traditionally Republican. The Republicans

Figure III: Regression line:

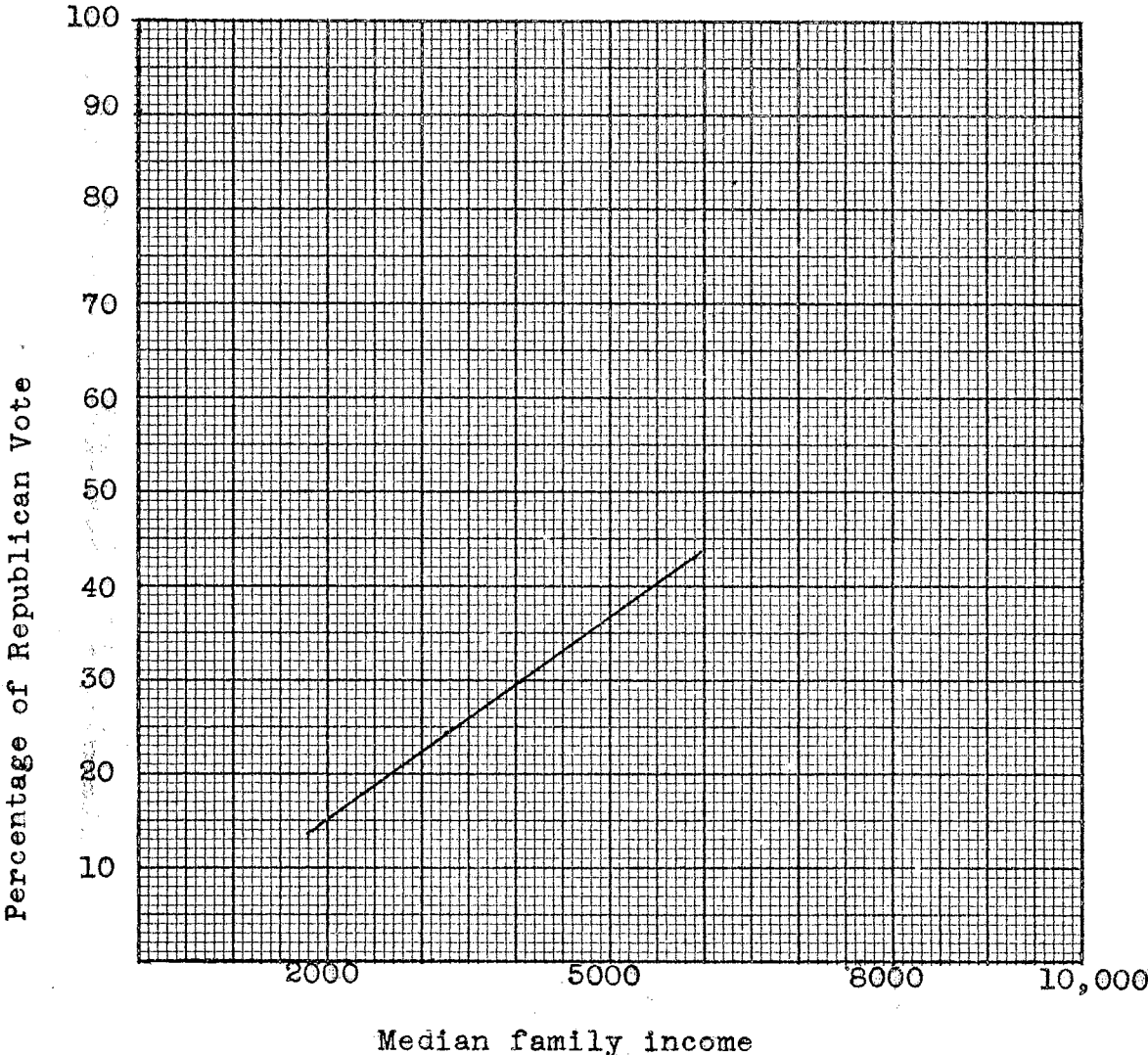
Percentage of Republican vote
on percentage of urbanization





Map V: Percent of county urbanization

Figure IV. Regression line: Percentage of Republican vote on median family income per annum.



also drew the most highly urbanized counties in the state. The regression line, then, shows a slight slope indicating a positive relationship between urbanization and support for the Republican party. (See Figure IV)

Thus, it is possible to observe that there was a positive relationship between the percentage of Republican votes and the median family income and the percent of urbanization of a county, i.e., as the income and urbanization increases, the Republican vote increases. There was a negative relationship between the non-white population and the percentage of civilians on public assistance in a county and the Republican vote, i.e., as the non-white population and public assistance increased, the percent of Republican vote decreased. Although statistically it is possible to define this relationship, it is not possible to determine that it is necessarily cause and effect.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study has been to provide a descriptive analysis of a campaign for the United States Senate in an effort to establish empirically the determinants of support for the candidates to that office. The Republican candidate, Bud Wilkinson, the personally attractive and well-known former University of Oklahoma football coach, chose to emphasize issues and personal qualifications rather than his party affiliation. The Republican candidate attempted to capture votes from registered Democrats by declaring that the Democratic party had deserted Oklahomans and no longer represented their interests. His Democratic opponent, Fred Harris, on the other hand, relied on his membership in the Democratic party and his endorsement of a strong presidential candidate as a rallying point for his campaign. There have been many reasons advanced for Harris' defeat of one of the most popular and well-known Republican candidates to have been presented to the Oklahoma voters.

The analysis of this campaign has been organized around the hypothesis that Harris' Democratic affiliation and his support of the Democratic presidential candidate, who prevailed by a sizeable majority, were the primary determinants

of this victory, and that neither issues nor personality were influencing factors. To test this hypothesis a statistical analysis was applied to the results of the questionnaires that were sent to representatives of agricultural, labor, and business organizations and to newspaper editors in each county. The results of the questionnaires indicated that Wilkinson's most important attribute was his personality, while at the same time there was an indication from the interest groups of the importance of Harris' political affiliation and association with Johnson in gaining support for his candidacy. Additionally, the results of the questionnaires from labor and business groups presented evidence that the positions taken by the candidates on the various issues were not influential elements in determining support, while the agricultural group did place some emphasis on the issues, particularly the REA issue.

Additional support for the hypothesis was gained from the results of the questionnaires sent to newspaper editors in each county, who also indicated that Harris' party and association with the presidential candidate were instrumental in his victory. Since the results gave evidence that party identification was such a significant factor in the campaign, this identification was compared with certain socio-economic characteristics for each county in an attempt to discover whether an association existed between them. This comparison revealed that those counties with a high median family income and a high degree of urbanization tended

to support the Republican candidate, while the Democratic candidate drew his support primarily from counties with a high percentage of the civiliam population receiving public assistance and from counties with a large non-white population. The fact that a high degree of correlation existed between these socio-economic characteristics and the degree of support for a political party does not assure an element of causation between the factors, but merely shows that a significant degree of association existed between these factors.

Although the 1964 Oklahoma senatorial election confirmed the assumption concerning the association of particular socio-economic characteristics with the support given to the political parties, the significance of the election derived from the candidates party affiliation and their national party tickets. During the presidential elections of the fifties and in 1960, Oklahoma voters supported the Republican presidential candidates, while consistenly returning the incumbent Democratic representatives and senators to Washington. The 1964 senatorial election differed in the sense that the Democratic presidential candidate was returned overwhelmingly, while Harris was engaged in a hard-fought campaign against a highly personable and well-known Republican candidate over whom a slight majority was achieved. The popular appeal of Bud Wilkinson indicated that in another year, without the help of an immensely popular presidential candidate, Harris would probably have gone down to defeat.

In addition, Harris had been particularly successful in uniting the Democratic party in Oklahoma to a degree not often achieved by other candidates for state-wide office. Playing the part of a compromise candidate of sorts, Harris had refrained from attacking the other Democratic primary candidates and had managed to receive the endorsement of the defeated Democratic primary candidates.

Thus, it is possible to observe three factors which were of extreme importance in the election of Fred Harris to the United States Senate in 1964. First, Harris' affiliation with the Democratic party in a state that is traditionally Democratic appears to be of paramount importance. Harris, unlike some of his predecessors, was able to command a united effort from the Democratic party and was aided immensely by the men he had defeated in the Democratic primaries. Second, Harris was on the ballot with a presidential candidate who resoundly defeated the Republican candidate for president. The effect of straight-ticket voting and the association with such a popular candidate were of extreme importance to the election of Senator Harris. Finally, in spite of the immense personal appeal of the Republican candidate, Bud Wilkinson, the campaign was hampered by his affiliation with a party that is traditionally weak in Oklahoma and by his association with a presidential candidate who, in the state as well as the nation, was defeated by a large margin. Therefore, Harris' favorable political affiliation and association

With the winning presidential candidate, coupled with Wilkinson's Republican affiliation and association with Goldwater, were the significant factors in Harris' election.

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