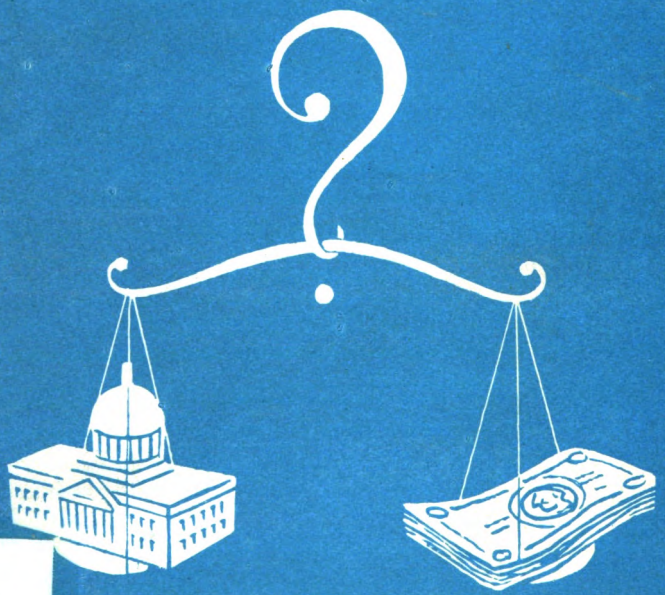
25¢

MONEY AND POLITICS

BY ALEXANDER HEARD

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLET No. 242



K
991
43

Generated on 2021-01-11 05:16 GMT / https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.49015000364514
Public Domain, Google-digitized / http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#pd-google

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

For many decades Americans have been faced by a set of seemingly unsolvable problems involving money in politics. In 1953 a program of study was commenced at the University of North Carolina in the belief that a better understanding of some of these problems would contribute to their solution. Summarized in this pamphlet are some of the results of a major phase of the study—an inquiry into how and why we finance elections as we do. Most of the information is the product of original research and is offered here for the first time.

This work has been made possible largely through the generosity of the Edgar Stern Family Fund. As director of the study Professor Heard has been given invaluable aid by many persons in all parts of the United States, and he is profoundly grateful to them. Neither they nor the University nor the Fund, however, is responsible for the lines of inquiry followed, the way the work was conducted, nor the conclusions reached. The author was free throughout to carry on the research as he chose, and did not consult the University or the Fund in so doing. His alone is the responsibility for the statements and conclusions made.

PROPERTY OF
FLINT COLLEGE

the public affairs committee

This pamphlet is one of a series published by the Public Affairs Committee, a nonprofit educational organization whose purpose is to make available in summary and inexpensive form the results of research on economic and social problems to aid in the understanding and development of American policy.

Erling M. Hunt, Chairman
Telford Taylor, Vice Chairman
Maxwell S. Stewart, Secretary
Beulah Amidon, Treasurer
Theodore Abel
Ethel P. Alpenfels
Eleanor C. Anderson
Francis J. Brown
Stuart W. Cook
C. Ward Crampton, M.D.
Robert E. Cushman
Hubert T. Delany
Samuel H. Flowerman
Roma Gans
Sidonie M. Gruenberg
George T. Guernsey
Howard Henderson
William L. Holland
F. Ernest Johnson
Otto Klineberg
Harry W. Laidler
Benson Y. Landis
Granville Larimore, M.D.
Alfred McClung Lee
Edward S. Lewis
Edwin J. Lukas
Robert M. MacIver
Robert McDevitt
John Godfrey Morris
Ernest G. Osborne
Robert H. Reid
Leo Rosten
Mark Starr
Wellman J. Warner

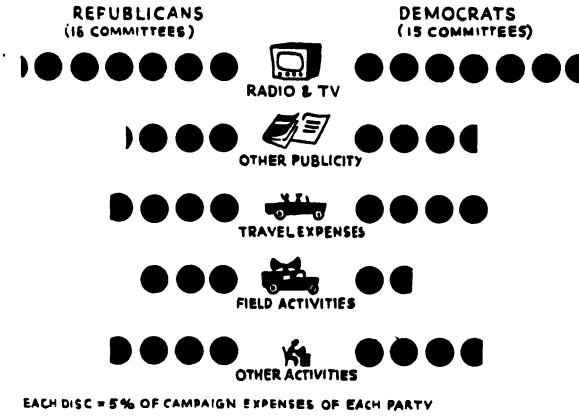
Maxwell S. Stewart, Editor
Mabel C. Mount, Managing Editor

Copyright 1956, by Public Affairs Committee, Inc. First Edition, October, 1956.



Generated on 2021-01-11 05:16 GMT / https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.49015000364514
Public Domain, Google-digitized / http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#pd-google
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

What the national money went for



the campaign in the states

The picture in the states and local communities is more difficult to present. Needs and practices vary from one place to another, and uniform information is hard to come by. Yet some general contours can be seen.

As an illustration of state and local campaign costs, the 1952 campaign activities in Connecticut were studied. Similar patterns have been found in other areas where detailed estimates have been possible. Here again, the parties spent their funds in about the same ways. The seeming difference in expenditures for radio and TV grows from the fact that 38 per cent of the expenses of Democratic statewide committees were paid to advertising and public relations firms—here classified under publicity and propaganda but no doubt including the cost of much air time.

The statewide campaign committees, like national groups, spent a large share of their funds for radio and television in the general election, but local organizations spent relatively little. More was put into other types of publicity and propaganda at both lower levels—newspaper ads, billboards, leaflets, mailings, printing, and so on. Less was spent for salaries and expense accounts at the state level than at the national, and less at the local level than at the state.

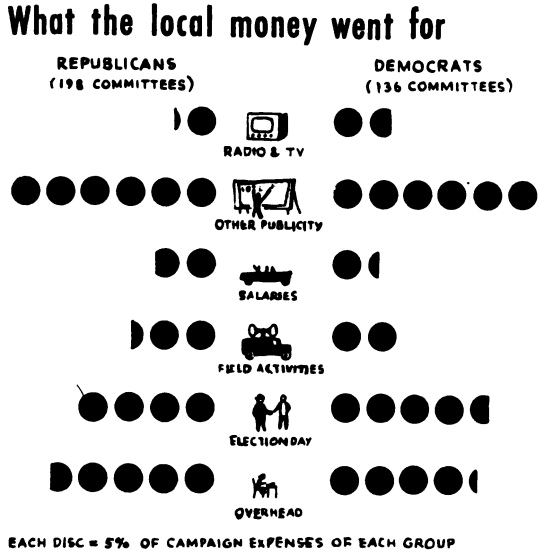
Generated on 2021-01-11 05:16 GMT / https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.49015000364514
Public Domain, Google-digitized / http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#pd-google
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The big jump in local output went for election day costs, one of the most crucial of all electioneering activities, the ancient rite of cajoling, carrying and occasionally bribing voters to go to the polls.

the business of campaigning

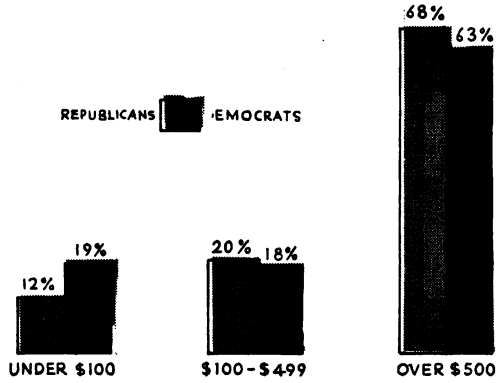
The main business of campaigning is getting your story to the voters, as these figures make clear. It was ever thus: Thomas Jefferson organized the first modern American party through voluminous correspondence, and in 1896 the Republican national committee devoted 75 per cent of its direct expenditures for preparing and shipping printed matter.

The other great task of a campaign, getting out the vote, has changed in its financial importance as the electorate itself has changed. In 1888 it was said that $400,000 was poured into "venal Indiana" behind its native son Benjamin Harrison, candidate for president. Sums like these bought the support of political leaders, their machines, and thousands of floater votes. The level of corruption and the significance of political machines (which often ran



Generated on 2021-01-11 05:16 GMT / https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.49015000364514
Public Domain, Google-digitized / http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#pd-google
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

How many give how much?



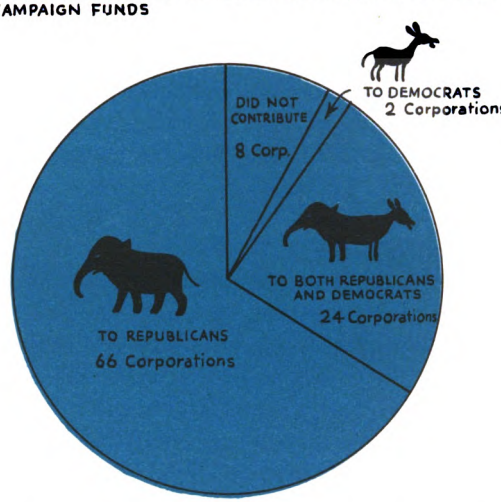
This pattern is familiar from what we know about presidential campaigns in previous years. Most of the money comes in amounts of $500 and over, and the Republicans get a slightly larger share of their funds in these larger amounts. Information about state and local campaign funds in 1952 reveal, however, that a substantially larger share of these funds come in amounts of less than $100.

The Republicans not only raise more money than their opponents, but they get it from a larger number of persons. Of the 3,000,000 contributors in 1952, the best estimate is that 1,900,000 of them supported Eisenhower for president and 1,100,000 aided Stevenson. Something over a quarter of the persons who considered themselves Democrats supported Eisenhower (and only about five per cent of those who considered themselves Republicans aided Stevenson) so no doubt some of those who supported Eisenhower gave to state and local Democratic causes. Nevertheless, the gap between the number of contributors to the two parties remains large. Spot checks in local areas where comparable figures are available find that the situation is a common one. It appears to result from two principal factors. In the country as a whole, persons financially able to make campaign gifts, those in the moderate and high income brackets,

Generated on 2021-01-11 05:16 GMT / https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.49015000364514
Public Domain, Google-digitized / http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#pd-google
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Corporations and politics

HOW 100 CORPORATIONS' OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS CONTRIBUTED TO CAMPAIGN FUNDS



The number of persons in the file connected with each firm varies. Only 1 of the 14 officers (he was also 1 of 17 directors) of the American Tobacco Company was included, but 10 of the 24 officers and 4 of the 8 directors of the Aluminum Company of America were there. The Texas Company, with headquarters in New York, had 8 officers (out of 19) and 8 directors (out of 16), a total of 12 different persons, who had made recorded contributions. The General Motors Corporation, much in the political as well as business news during the Eisenhower administration, though no newcomer to campaign finance, had 5 officers (out of 38) and 11 directors (of 34) contributing a total of $111,300. Altogether, almost one-third of the directors of the nation's 100 largest corporations were found to have made political donations of $500 or more.

Spot checks around the nation reveal that this type of political activity is not confined to the largest business enterprises. Eight of 9 airlines chosen at random were represented. The 4 American firms most closely involved in the controversy over an import levy on

Generated on 2021-01-11 05:16 GMT / https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.49015000364514
Public Domain, Google-digitized / http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#pd-google
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS

For 20 Years Public Affairs Pamphlets have stood for the best in public service pamphlets. You can rely on their accuracy, timeliness, and readability. They have long been utilized by organizations, civic groups, churches and schools.

Subscribe to the next fifteen pamphlets ($3.00, or $5 for 30) so as not to miss the important new titles coming up. Use them for your group study and public information programs. Twenty-five cents a copy; special quantity rates as low as 10c apiece on large orders.

See inside of back cover for titles and order blank.
We pay postage when payment accompanies order.

QUANTITY RATES

1 to	9	copies Public Affairs Pamphlets,	each 25c
10 to	99	copies any one pamphlet	20c mixed titles
100 to	249	copies any one pamphlet	18c " "
250 to	499	copies any one pamphlet	17c " "
500 to	1000	copies any one pamphlet	15c " "

Rates on larger quantities available on request.

FIRST CLASS
PERMIT No. 27756
(Sec. 34.9, P. L. & R.)
NEW YORK, N. Y.

BUSINESS REPLY CARD
NO POSTAGE STAMP NECESSARY IF MAILED IN THE UNITED STATES

4c. - POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY—

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS
22 EAST 38th STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Generated on 2021-01-11 05:17 GMT / https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.49015000364514
Public Domain, Google-digitized / http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#pd-google
Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN