

PREFACE

Political analyst and writer Theodore H. White greatly altered the way scholars and journalists look at presidential elections. In his best-known book, *The Making of the President 1960*, White focused national attention on the detailed strategy-making of the struggle for the presidential office. White built up the roles of the campaign manager, the media adviser, and the political consultant. He also highlighted the manipulations and machinations that take place very early in a presidential campaign, long before the press and the public are paying close attention. In addition, White treated newspaper and television reporters as major actors in the presidential selection process rather than as objective outside observers.

This book represents a scholarly attempt to bring the Theodore H. White approach, previously used mainly in writing about presidential elections, to the 1994 gubernatorial election in Colorado. I was aided in this effort by my selection, in April of 1993, to participate in a major way in the campaign of one of the four major candidates for governor. Colorado state Senator Mike Bird asked me to serve, initially as his campaign manager, and later on as a major campaign consultant. Thanks to Mike Bird's willingness to give me considerable responsibility and authority, I was able to get an insider's eye-view of what was involved in mounting a major campaign for statewide office in Colorado in the early 1990s.

Unfortunately for him and for me, Mike Bird was defeated in the 1994 Republican gubernatorial primary in Colorado. I soon discovered, however, that the contacts and the understanding I had gained from volunteering in the Mike Bird primary election campaign put me in a beneficial position to follow and analyze the general election as well as the primary. I backed up my own observations with a series of personal interviews undertaken shortly after the 1994 gubernatorial general election was over.

I began writing this book on August 16, 1994, one week after the

August 9, 1994, Republican primary election. I scrupulously told no one this book was being written until after the general election was held on November 8, 1994. To the extent possible, I have tried to have the same "fly-on-the-wall" perspective that characterized Theodore H. White's books on presidential elections.

Colorado is unique in that it is one of a limited number of states that have combined the old caucus/assembly nominating system with a statewide primary election. This CAP (Caucus/Assembly/Primary) nominating system came under scrutiny during the 1994 gubernatorial election in Colorado when one of the major candidates decided to bypass the caucus/assembly part of the system and use petition signatures to get on the primary ballot. This book not only seeks to describe the operation of the CAP nominating system but also makes recommendations for its continued and perfected use in Colorado.

I am indebted to many persons in Colorado who helped with this book. First and foremost, I must acknowledge the efforts of Mike Bird, who took the time to read and critique the rough draft of this manuscript. Other persons who read the rough draft and contributed their recollections and corrections were Ursula Bird, Mike Bird's wife; Sherman Griffin, the assistant campaign manager in the Bird for Governor campaign; Dennis Ritchie, Bird's press assistant; and Rebecca Lynn Bunn, a senior political science major at Colorado College. Persons who gave me good long interviews, some in person and some over the telephone, included Katy Atkinson of the Benson for Governor campaign, Fred Brown of the *Denver Post*, Scott Chase of Citizens for Romer, Katie Kerwin of the *Rocky Mountain News*, Robert Kowalski of the *Denver Post*, Dave Lougee of KUSA-TV in Denver, and gubernatorial candidate Dick Sargent.

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