

NEWS FROM

UNITED DEMOCRATS FOR HUMPHREY

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For immediate release, July 11, 1968

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VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY CALLS FOR AN "OPEN PRESIDENCY"

Washington, D.C., July 11 -- Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey today called for an "open Presidency" to make Government more responsive to individual citizens. To carry out this concept, he proposed a National Domestic Policy Council patterned after the National Security Council.

The Vice President's proposals were contained in a speech prepared for delivery at a Town Hall luncheon in Los Angeles and issued after illness, diagnosed as mild gripe, forced cancellation of the trip.

The next chief executive must "strive particularly to reach the people whose disappointment over America is keenest--including the most idealistic of our young people--because their basic hope for America is perhaps deepest," the Vice President said.

The open President, he said, would assure the fullest possible use of his office to inform the American people, would stimulate the frankest and widest discussion of America's problems, would marshal the spirit and the energies of America to meet its problems, and would stand ready to distribute responsibility to states and localities ready to accept it.

It would be "open in the sense of greater access to all the people," Vice President Humphrey said.

He outlined four specific steps in the development of the open Presidency.

(more)

These steps would include creation of Councils of Citizens in the Executive Branch to give citizens new channels of communication with the President, encouragement of new combinations of governments, private groups and individuals for domestic problem solving, encouragement of the "new spirit of localism" and establishment of a National Domestic Policy Council to "provide the same comprehensive, systematic and reliable analyses of domestic problems which the National Security Council and its staff produce on foreign policy and national defense issues."

The Vice President called "the establishment of a National Domestic Policy Council...centrally important to the idea of an open Presidency.

"The National Domestic Policy Council would include the heads of cabinet and other agencies dealing primarily with domestic concerns. The Vice President might be designated to act for the President in chairing the Council.

"The establishment of such a Council would expand in a real way the President's capacity to foresee and deal rationally with the crush of domestic problems, to sharpen priorities and identify the full implications of alternative domestic policy decisions, to determine how Federal programs interrelate, support, or diminish the effectiveness of other programs, to develop a system of social indicators leading annually to a President's social report, such as today we have a system of economic indicators leading to an economic report.

The text of the statement follows.

(more)



FOR RELEASE
THURSDAY PM'S
JULY 11, 1968
Telephone 202/225-2961

REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
TOWN HALL LUNCHEON
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
JULY 11, 1968

The distinguishing characteristic of American democracy has been its capacity for dynamic -- but at the same time orderly -- change.

We have always been impatient with the status quo.

Restless...rarely satisfied...always demanding more of ourselves -- raising our standards: These characteristics have kept America young -- even as we approach our 200th anniversary.

We have invited controversy of ideas, and used disagreement and dissent as testing, tempering forces.

But there has been the other side to it.

Self-criticism, as Adlai Stevenson once said, has been democracy's secret weapon.

But so has self-respect.

So has self-confidence.

This balance has given American democracy an uncommon degree of responsiveness and stability.

Today this balance is challenged.

Established institutions -- public and private -- are being tested by the rush of events and the demands of a new day...and a new generation.

But the reasoned dialogue which democracy requires is too often interrupted by the shouters and the walkers-out. Confrontations and ultimatums can never substitute for free-swinging debate -- however spirited.

Our political debate is too much focused on personalities and not enough on the critical issues which confront America.

It is time to restore this balance between self-criticism and self-confidence...between dissent and dialogue.

This does not permit any closing of democracy's processes.

It requires, on the contrary, increased vigor in assuring even fuller opportunity for participation in those processes.

It requires open government -- with maximum opportunity for the citizen to take part in the affairs of his government.

It requires the candidates for the Presidency to speak precisely of their plans for the conduct of this high office and how, as President, they would take account of our present circumstances in America.

* * * *

Whoever becomes President next January will discharge the traditional demands upon that office: To build consent... to magnify the people's conscience...to cause them to see what they might otherwise avoid...to recommend to the Congress measures for the redress of grievances and injustices...and then fight for their passage...to conduct international discussions directed toward a more peaceful world...to counter threats to domestic tranquility and national security.

He will face, as have few before him, the insistent demand now for one citizenship for all Americans -- one birth-right of freedom and opportunity to which all may claim equal inheritance.

We shall know in our time whether this democratic ideal can be won -- or whether America, despite her momentous achievements and her promise, will become another of history's false starts.

Realizing the fullness of our democracy will depend, first and foremost, upon our ability to extend the promise of American society to every citizen in an environment where the rights of all are preserved -- peacefully and without violence.

The next President will strive particularly to reach the people whose disappointment over America is keenest -- including the most idealistic of our young people -- because their basic hope for America is perhaps deepest.

The next President must be America's teacher and leader -- expressing our highest aspirations for justice and peace, at home or abroad. He must simultaneously be student and follower -- learning from the people of their most profound hopes and their deepest concerns.

Teacher and student...leader and follower: The Presidency demands that both sides of the equation be kept in balance. To gravitate toward either extreme for any period of time invites either tyranny or chaos -- oppression or license.

* * * *

Our circumstances today call increasingly for an Open Presidency.

...open in the sense of assuring the fullest possible use of that office to inform the American people of the problems and, even more, the prospects we face.

...open in the sense of stimulating the frankest and widest possible discussion and ventilation of America's problems -- both inside and outside government.

...open in the sense of marshalling the spirit and mobilizing the energies of America to complete the attack on urban decay...illiteracy...unemployment... disease...hunger.

...open in the sense of a readiness to use the Presidency as the instrument not for the enlargement of the federal executive function, but for the distribution of such responsibility to states and localities ready to accept it.

...open in the sense of greater access to all the people.

An Open Presidency must be a strong Presidency...one that draws its strength from direct and daily closeness to the people.

And part of that strength will be found in reshaping the Executive Department to make it more responsive to individual -- as well as "national" -- needs.

I suggest these more specific courses of action to develop the concept of the Open Presidency:

First. There must be new channels of communication with the President for those persons previously excluded from meaningful participation in our national life because of race, poverty, geography, or modern technology and industrialization.

This is especially needed in the Executive branch of government. Today the Presidency provides principal initiative in drawing up America's agenda of action -- Congress then responds and reviews the President's proposals.

It is vitally important that popular involvement occur before governmental programs reach the legislature. And there is need for greater popular participation once the executive departments come to administer acts of Congress.

We should consider establishing Councils of Citizens in the Executive Office of the President and in each major executive department -- to promote the broadest range of public discussion, debate and popular consultation.

Members of these Councils could solicit ideas, reactions, and grievances from all segments of the general public.

Prior to any major departmental decision, such as the promulgation of administrative guidelines, persons affected by decision could be fully consulted.

In like manner, Neighborhood Councils of Citizens could be established in metropolitan and rural areas. Local decisions have national dimensions. Citizens need a place near their home to speak up, sound-off, or simply register their opinions.

PAGE FIVE

Neighborhood Councils can dispel fears. They can start people talking...and knowing each other better. Some form of financial incentive or assistance to encourage the formation of local councils should be considered.

Second. We must encourage new and imaginative combinations of governments, groups, and individuals committed to solving our critical domestic problems -- combinations of power and interest which go far beyond the traditional interest groups of American life.

The past decade has taught us how the challenges of urban life...of poverty...of mass education...of employment... are insufficiently met by governments acting alone, or by private action if its immediate interests are pursued in isolation from society's broader goals.

These problems demand the commitment of society's full resources applied in ways which produce maximum impact -- and often these combinations will occur outside the established channels of "government" or "business."

We are only beginning to understand the new institutions and procedures which can do the job.

The National Alliance of Businessmen -- private business leaders who are carrying forward a major part of the federal government's assault on hard-core unemployment -- not only illustrates a partnership of public and private members, but also one which operates on national, regional and local levels.

The Urban Coalition represents a different but equally creative approach to marshalling society's resources in the struggle to rebuild and renew the American city -- a common front of concerned private citizens polling their energies and talent on the national and local levels.

The Presidency should continue to develop as a forum for the private groups and individuals whose talents are essential to success. Boards, commissions, task forces, or advisory panels: These and similar devices help the President take the nation's pulse, and then prescribe necessary remedies.

The Presidency must be a distribution point for the new forces of constructive change -- whatever their origins or specific areas of interest. And he must take special pains to relate these forces constructively to the more established institutions of government, particularly the Congress.

Whoever our next President may be, he will soon realize the crucial importance of his dealing effectively with the Congress. These are not the times for stalemate between the White House and Capitol Hill.

Third. The President must encourage the new spirit of localism already at work in this country...combined with a new openness of government to the concerns of the people.

The paradox of the contemporary Presidency is precisely this need to build local initiative and responsibility through the creative and judicious use of national power.

We know that federal funds must be used increasingly to stimulate state, local and private energies to develop new and indigenous responses to our unsolved domestic issues.

We know, too, that local, state and federal structures for administering programs of human development must be reordered and simplified.

Fourth. A National Domestic Policy Council should be established to provide the same comprehensive, systematic and reliable analyses of domestic problems which the National Security Council and its staff produce on foreign policy and national defense issues.

The National Domestic Policy Council would include the heads of Cabinet and other agencies dealing primarily with domestic concerns.

The Vice President might be designated to act for the President in chairing the National Domestic Policy Council.

The establishment of such a Council would expand in a real way the President's capacity to foresee and deal rationally with the crush of domestic problems...to sharpen priorities and identify the full implications of alternative domestic policy decisions...to determine how federal programs interrelate, support, or diminish the effectiveness of other programs...to develop a system of Social Indicators leading annually to a President's Social Report, such as today we have a system of Economic Indicators leading to an Economic Report.

The establishment of a National Domestic Policy Council is centrally important to the idea of an Open Presidency.

Today there is an almost hopeless cobweb of relationships that have developed between some ten or a dozen federal agencies, on the one hand, and 50 states, thousands of cities, and tens of thousands of private organizations, on the other.

There won't be effective federal-state-local relationships until there is a fuller integration of federal domestic activities.

There won't be an effective mobilization of private resources for government as long as so many different federal agencies are making separate demands on those resources.

Conversely, once there is this integration and coordination of federal domestic agencies, there can be an effective demand on state and local governments to take those administrative actions at their end which permit coordination of the total government effort.

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John F. Kennedy said: "The history of this nation...has been written largely in terms of the different views our Presidents have had of the Presidency itself."

The proposals I have made today bear upon the Presidency in the same way that the restless mood of social change bears upon the entire nation.

For a nation in search of an Open Society, the Chief Executive must be committed to an Open Presidency.

In an Open Presidency, one question is paramount: Do existing institutions or traditions help the individual lead to a freer and more meaningful life?

If they do not, they must be changed.

The Open Presidency demands the exposure of ideas -- all ideas which relate to the fundamental workings of our society...exposed to the maximum number of people.

The Open Presidency means broader responsibilities upon every American...and the broadest demands of morality upon those chosen to lead.

The American Presidency is the prize possession of all the people.

And the Open Presidency is a ceaseless reminder of their domain.

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Excerpts from Speech
to Town Hall Luncheon,
Los Angeles, California,
July 11, 1968

The President and The People

Our political debate is too much focused on personalities and not enough on the critical issues which confront America.

It is time to restore this balance between self-criticism and self-confidence...between dissent and dialogue.

This does not permit any closing of democracy's processes.

It requires, on the contrary, increased vigor in assuring even fuller opportunity for participation in those processes.

It requires open government -- with maximum opportunity for the citizen to take part in the affairs of his government.

It requires the candidates for the Presidency to speak precisely of their plans for the conduct of this high office and how, as President, they would take account of our present circumstances in America.

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NOTE :

The Vice President did not go to Los Angeles because he had a bad case of flu.

The speech was, however, released to the press.

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H

TOWN HALL LUNCHEON

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

JULY 11, 1968

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T. Hughes

7/24/15

The Towers

2/7/75 search

THE
WALDORF-ASTORIA
NEW YORK 10022

- 1) Quote of FK again
- 2) Ex - President mention
- 3) Other statements
- 4) p. 7 - preparation
10. - Latin America
12. - self help - vs self. management -
vs US program down 1
- 13 - AID cut in Congress 1
- 17 - arms - Service
everyone must control sales
- 18 - commercial sales
- 19 - Cuba.
- 20) Bet amount just. vs Reston

countryside, to build roads and factories and power plants -- and to enlarge the scope of life and opportunity for all the peoples of Latin America.

In these eight years, much has been achieved. The nations of the Alliance have developed a set of new institutions to guide development and promote cooperation in the hemisphere. The Inter-American Development Bank, the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress, the Central American Bank, the new Andean federation -- these are but a few of the institutions now functioning as we approach the beginning of a new decade. Spurred by the Summit Conference at Punta del Este in April 1967, the movement toward economic integration is now moving steadily forward.

Compared with only a decade ago, when the very presence of the Vice President of the United States could ignite mass riots in almost

with Capital

in almost

~~every~~ capital of Latin America, our advances toward the goal of growth through democracy have been impressive. The Alliance has done better than many had feared, but not as well as we would have hoped.

But as we approach the next decade, we should frankly recognize that the Alliance is entering a new era. This will require new priorities, new emphases, new departures. At this time, I will devote my attention to these issues, and will discuss other aspects of our policy toward Latin America in future statements.

^{Renewed} ~~these new~~ ^{placed} ~~based~~ emphases should be ~~based~~ on the objectives of the

Alliance for Progress as originally stated in the Charter of Punta del Este.

This committed the nations of the hemisphere to a program "established on the basic principle that free men working through the institution of representative democracy can best satisfy man's aspirations."

Our guide to development under the Alliance for Progress during the next decade was well stated by Pope Paul in the encyclical "On the Development of Peoples." He stated, "Development demands bold transformations, innovations that go deep. Urgent reforms should be undertaken without delay." This should be clear: The Alliance for Progress was not intended to be a "pacification program."

For even
~~Not~~ as we approach the next decade, in too many Latin American countries today the political process is still viewed chiefly as the manipulation of governmental power in favor of the economically strong.

In some countries -- ~~even those where progress has been~~
~~greatest~~ -- the pace of basic reforms -- tax reform, land reform, education reform, administrative reform, industrial reform -- has been highly irregular, even glacial. The redistribution of social, political and economic power within societies has been too slow, too little, and too late!

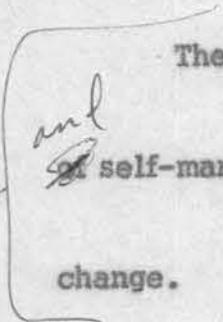
Whether true or not, it has seemed to many in this country and in Latin America that what the Alliance did -- what road projects, school programs, agricultural efforts were undertaken -- were determined, not by the nation whose development we were attempting to aid, but by the United States.

Our purposes were beneficent, although our presence, on occasion, all too pervasive.

The Alliance must ~~pass beyond the era of self-help~~ ^{move into an era of self help} ~~to an era~~ of self-management. We will applaud and encourage this fundamental change.

We know it will mean a more emphatic, clearer, stronger definition by Latin America of its own purposes and interests in democratic development, and a sharper definition of the course the nations and peoples of Latin America must follow in the effort.

Handwritten notes:
Sit
America in



Most of all, it will mean a stronger, more self-confident Latin America with which we shall be cooperating.

And this is well. For our vision of the hemisphere of the future is not of a Latin America dominated by the United States. We seek only an alliance of sovereign nations -- not a collection of client states. Our vision is of a community of nations, fully independent, each with its own identity and dignity, extending to all its people the promises and possibilities of life in the Twentieth Century.

We know that this new era of ~~self-management~~ ^{self-management?} will require further modification of the machinery of the Alliance -- in the direction of greater multilateral decision-making.

But this does not mean a reduction in the level of ~~external~~ ^{US} assistance. Those of us who have championed the Alliance know that neither the U.S. -- nor the international institutions -- have ever

contributed aid on the scale originally envisaged under the Alliance for Progress. The need for external capital -- and the capacity to use it well -- vastly exceeds the present scale. As a part of enlarging the volume of capital available from external sources, we should renew our commitment to the Alliance by being prepared to substantially increase our financial contribution in the decade ahead. We should also be prepared to give a sympathetic consideration to the trade problems between the U.S. and Latin America.

On the immediate agenda, we in this country must reverse the disturbing action by the House of Representatives in cutting the Alliance for Progress funds in the AID authorization bill. The full amount requested is a bare minimum. Anything less ^{I would consider} ~~would represent~~ a retreat from our commitments.

There is no reason why the vision or the hopes of Latin Americans should be confined to the Western Hemisphere.

For our part, we should make it clear that we shall not tempt or pressure our neighbors to buy weapons they do not need and can ill afford. We should not do anything to abet a policy which encourages ill-fed children and well-fed armies. With this end in mind, I would propose to review immediately U.S. military policy in regard to Latin America. The purpose would be to scale down the U.S. military presence, to rapidly curtail grant military assistance and strictly control military credit sales to Latin American countries. In addition I would encourage regular consultations ^{among the G-7's} ~~between the Defense Ministers~~ of the hemisphere -- to discuss the real security needs of the respective nations.

There may be those in the hemisphere who do not welcome the possibility of reconciliation between the two superpowers. The United States, they believe, has been moved to its great efforts in Latin

Eventually, this cooperation should be extended to Cuba, ~~itself. It should be clear that,~~ after consultations with the members of the Organization of American States, the United States should be prepared to extend a policy of reconciliation and peaceful engagement to Cuba if Cuba will abandon its policy of exporting armed insurrection.

In the new era of the Alliance we must find a way to give new emphasis and meaning to the essential original ideal of the Alliance: development through democracy.

In the past our voice has sometimes seemed muted, our fundamental concern about democracy misunderstood. We may recognize that each nation is different, that there is no single pattern to the struggle for effective democracy. Other nations cannot duplicate our own experience or institutions. Yet our preference must be clear. ~~We do not hide our preference for democratic regimes or our abhorrence of~~

While
tyranny of any kind, we do not attempt to dictate the type of social system or the structure of government which a nation may decide to follow,

There is a sense of special friendship between the United States and these Latin American leaders and nations who are dedicated to opening the doors of political, social and economic privilege and opportunity to all their people. I suggest a new and frank admission of this sense of special friendship which will make clear once again our deep conviction that, as former President Betancourt has said:

"... development programs are impossible unless they are conducted by democratic, freely-elected governments which are subject to free analysis and criticism by public opinion."

Latin America is a part of the western world. Yet the vast majority of Latin Americans still live in poverty, are not integrated into modern society, do not participate in the political process.



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