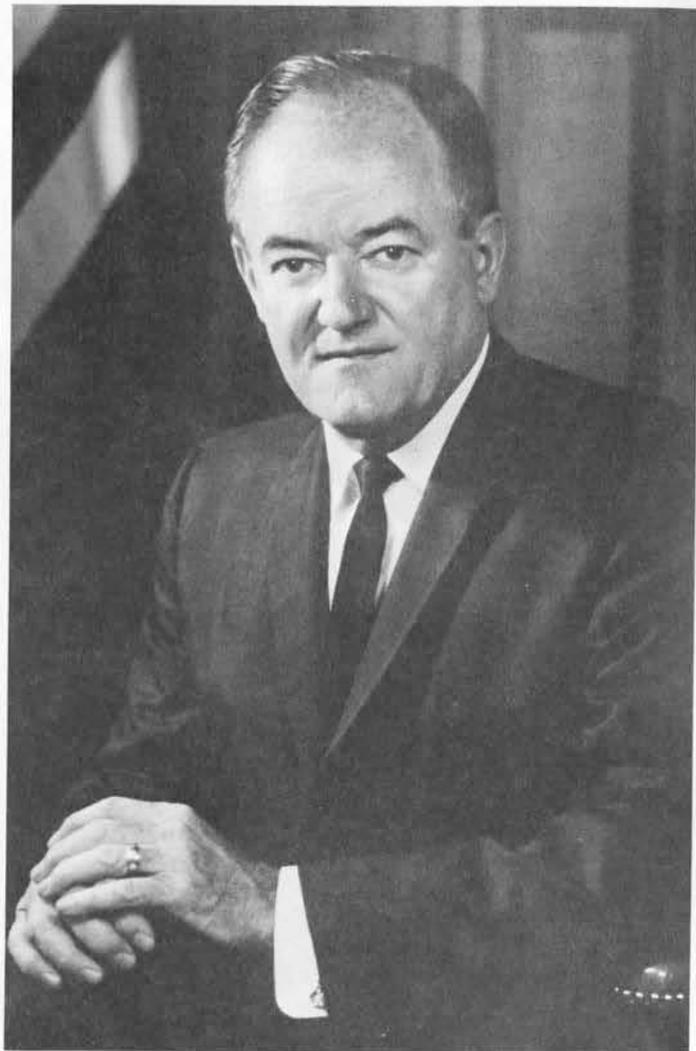


**My Hope
for
The Future**

Hubert H. Humphrey

An address to the
Democratic National Committee
Washington, D. C.
January 14, 1969



My Hope for the Future

By HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Thank you, Chairman O'Brien, members of the National Committee, National Committeemen and Committeewomen, our friends who have gathered here for this very important meeting.

Somebody asked me the other day, "What are you going to do now?"

Well, I was told this little story the other night. There was a little boy who was very good about attending Sunday school. He was right at the head of his class. So the local preacher was going to show him off to the congregation and he said to this little boy, "Now, you have been attending Sunday school regularly, and have you learned the answer to this question: Who made you?"

The little boy, after hesitating a moment, said, "I don't know. I ain't done yet."

So while I may be going out to pasture for a little while, I just want you good friends to know I am not done yet, not by a long shot.

As a matter of fact, I think a little rest—and it won't be much of one—will not only refresh the mind and the spirit, but reinvigorate the body. I have been reading these new longevity statistics of the National Institutes of Health and you can expect me to be around at least until 1985.

This past year has been a year of unpredictability. At 12:01 on January 1, 1969, I said to my wife, "Well, thank goodness 1968 is gone. That was a year that I could have gotten along without very, very well."

I want to wish every one of you a very good and successful and challenging new year. I am talking to people here who have work to do and know how to do it.

I don't come here to bury this Party. I come here to praise it.

I don't come here to preach a funeral oration. I come here to challenge a political party that has every reason to want to tions without a murmur. What a proof of the resiliency and the strength of the American system, of its vitality and stability.

live and to grow and to continue as a dynamic force in the life of this Nation.

We have gone through this incredibly difficult year, a year that was soured and made painful by the tragic, senseless assassinations of two distinguished Americans, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Senator Robert Kennedy.

I know you must feel as I do, and did after those tragic events. I lost some of the love of politics. I can only put it one way—it soured it all. I sensed this through the whole electorate, and particularly in the ranks of our Party.

We literally mourned and will continue to mourn.

We went on to lose the race for the Presidency, and no one is more conscious of it than I am. But we lost it by a very, very narrow margin, and no one is more conscious of that, either, than I am.

But we Democrats, as Americans, accept the verdict of our electorate, just as the Republicans had to accept the close verdict of that same electorate in 1960.

I want us to accept it in good grace.

The other evening I received what they call the "Mr. Sam" award from the Touchdown Club. It apparently was because in every contest there has to be not only a winner, but a loser, and it is as important to know how to be a good loser as it is to be a good winner.

We have something, even in defeat, to add to the life of this Nation, and as one of your leaders I have tried, and I shall continue to try, to contribute to a sense of dignity, decency and responsibility in public life. That is what this Party ought to stand for, and if it does we are going to reap a harvest of victory and of commendation from the American electorate.

It is an historical fact of some importance that in a span of eight years there has twice been the transfer of the immense power of the Presidency by a margin of less than one percent of the electorate.

President Kennedy and President-elect Nixon both received less than a majority and yet the majority accepted their elec-

But I think those figures also tell us that there is a great need for electoral reforms, and our party should press hard to effect them.

Looking ahead, we have no easy time of it. We haven't had an easy time and we aren't going to have any.

I don't think it does us a bit of good to bemoan the fact that we live in dangerous times. Of course we live in the most dangerous of times, and it is not going to get less dangerous.

This is Atomic Year 24. For 24 years, we have avoided nuclear disaster. We have lived under the constant threat of total annihilation.

This is also, in a very real sense, the beginning of Year 5 of the emancipation. It was in 1964 that this country, through its constituted government, at long last declared an end to the double standard of citizenship. We moved to give every American all the rights and privileges to which that American, by birth and citizenship, is entitled.

Yet that emancipation has not been achieved without pain and sorrow. We are a society filled with tensions. Any analysis of the voting patterns of the last election will reveal how deeply our people remain affected by racial strife and violence, by misunderstanding and fear, how they can be appealed to by demagoguery, and how the forces of bitterness and hatred can work destruction.

So I say that the highest duty of this Party is to continue to work, with passion and zeal, to heal the wounds in this country, to restore and build a climate of interracial trust, mutual confidence, and friendship.

That is the central issue of our time . . . the human condition, the human being and his relationship to his fellow human beings, the acceptance of all Americans as people, with equal rights and privileges and responsibilities.

This Party can do no greater service than to take the lead, fearlessly, in the struggle for human dignity.

We have to recognize in all sobriety that the Democratic Party did not carry a single State in the old South, save Texas.

That is not good news for the old South, nor for the new

South, nor any part of the South, nor for America. But we have to recognize the fact.

We must recognize, too, the great source of strength that is to be found in thousands of Southern men and women of both races who stood up and fought—and fought hard—for the Democratic ticket and the Democratic programs, when all the prophets were predicting (and accurately) that there would be at least a two-thirds vote against the national ticket in the South in 1968.

I read a report about the State of Mississippi, where we got more votes than any Democratic ticket in the history of the State in this last election. Yet we lost the State.

We have much work to do in the South. This Party cannot be either a black party or a white party. This Party must be a Party of the people, all people, welcomed without any barriers.

We are a National Party. We have always been. Let us never fall into the weakness of becoming a regional party.

I hope that this National Committee and its officers will be able to help all our State Party organizations fulfill their responsibilities.

Let's talk frank politics. The Democratic Party is really a confederation of all of the parties of the States, the District of Columbia, the Territories and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

It does little good to talk about a Democratic National Committee unless your State Committees are ready and able to work. That is where we build the Party—not in Washington.

We build it where the people are. You win your elections in the states, or you lose them there.

The standard that needs to be set is the standard of the National Committee. The National leadership can give you help and inspiration. But in the final analysis every one of you in your own way (in your own state) must build your Party, must broaden it, must energize it.

I have been a Party-builder. I know what it means to build a political party. I am no political theoretician. I have lived through the realities.

I have seen a party born, the pangs of its birth, the trials of its growth, the heartache of its defeat, the joys of its vic-

tories, I have seen it.

I have helped finance a party, elect its officers, battle at the precinct level and at the ward and county and district and finally state levels. And the success of the Democratic Party is going to be the success of the combination of the 50 States of this Union, and the District of Columbia, the Territories and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. That is what will count.

You are the leaders. Leadership imposes responsibilities. You have to go back to your areas and find out what happened there, and face up to it.

My father used to say to me, "Take a look at what you have done and what you haven't done, and then do something about what you ought to do."

That is what we have to do. Ask yourself how many of your candidates really campaigned all the way down the line for the ticket.

Ask yourself how late in the game your party really became enthusiastic about the fight we had to put on in 1968.

When did you feel you really gave, and really believed that you could win?

No man ever won anything if he didn't believe he could win. You have to start with the belief.

If you don't believe it, talk to Joe Namath of the New York Jets.

I have sat the long nights, as any defeated candidate has, and I have asked myself a hundred questions, "Did I work hard enough?"

"Did I really give it all I had?"

"Did I let down my friends?"

Now, I need not tell you that the Republicans did not defeat us.

We defeated ourselves.

The election raised some serious questions of public policy.

What, for example, is the impact on elections of national polls? They indicated that a Democratic victory was literally impossible.

What is the impact of that on political contributions?
What is the impact of articles based on those polls one week before the election that say that the Democratic ticket will suffer the most disastrous defeat of any Democratic ticket since the beginning of the Party?

What of the insurmountable advantage that any candidate gains whose financial resources permit him to dominate the television early, continuously, and to the very end.

"Equal time"—I read about it all the time. It is as Anatole France said: "The rich and the poor have equal rights. They can both sleep under the bridge."

Equal time access to television is an empty concept, if the time must be bought. There must be a better way, a better system to guarantee equal access of candidates and parties to the television viewers of America.

Elections ought not to be decided on the basis of who has the most money.

There is no surer way to corrupt American life and American politics than to have the great decision of this Nation as to who will be its leader determined by the size of a checkbook, or a bank account. It is wrong.

I want you to take a look at these things. Not in the spirit of heartache or resentment, but in the interests of this Nation.

Larry O'Brien talked about campaign finances. We have had some proposals in Congress about financing. Don't let them die. Maybe they are not the right ones, but I can tell you what is wrong.

It is wrong, wrong, wrong, to have to go around seeking large contributions from a few rich in order to conduct a campaign that you say is for the many. You can't do it. It is wrong.

Some of you in this room—I hope all of you—fought. Oh, how you fought. You worked so hard.

I know how hard it was for you to stand up and fight when everybody said it was a hopeless case, impossible.

I said at a low point in the campaign, "If nobody else feels we can win except myself and my wife, and if there isn't any

money, if I just have to go out and get an old bus, which I have done before, I am going to go across this country and bring the people our message."

There were days when we couldn't meet the payroll at all, and days when a dear friend could come to you and say he believed it couldn't be done.

Too many people believed that.

But many fought on despite discouragement. It took courage to persevere in the face of that predicted disaster. Some of you risked your political lives, and many of you left your families and professions months at a time to back the ticket.

I want to thank you. I shall never forget you. I sometimes forget my enemies, but I remember my friends.

Then, something else: What a running mate! What a running mate the Democratic National Convention chose for us last August.

I have always had a great admiration for Ed Muskie, but I have even more now.

He was tremendous, tireless, humorous, wise, and the epitome of integrity.

He was good for the Nation, and I think the campaign was good for him.

He proved that he was a man of superb quality and character, just as you thought he would be, and as I thought he would be when you selected him.

And I want to thank Geri Joseph, our Vice Chairman and my close friend through many years of struggle. And through her all the women who worked so hard for this campaign.

I want to thank one woman above all. That is my wife, Muriel.

She was terrific. I know many a person said, "Well, I guess if they come as a pair, I can vote for the ticket." There was another who stood right alongside her, Jane Muskie.

Might I add that one of the other rewards of the campaign was what it did for our family. I know that is a fringe benefit. But when you lose, you think of all the fringe benefits.

Our young Humphreys travelled across this country. My oldest son and his wife, and two little babies, who had to be left at home much of the time, travelled by car, with a camper,

from one end of this Nation to another.

My second son and his beautiful little wife, also travelled by automobile and plane from one end of the Nation to the other.

My son-in-law and daughter did the same. They enjoyed it. They grew in maturity. It was a wonderful experience for them.

I want to thank many of you here for your willingness to be of help to them.

The young people, the women, were wonderful. I want particularly to emphasize that our womenfolk must be in on the decisions of this Party.

I do not believe in any kind of segregation. I don't believe that we ought to segregate youth or the women. We just ought to build a Party.

When we built our Democratic Labor Party in Minnesota, we didn't have any older people.

I remember Don Fraser—now heading up the Democratic Study group in the House, when he was 19 years old and up to his neck in politics. I remember he was less than 25 when he was a District Chairman.

There isn't any reason at all why a person, 18, 21, 25, can't be District Chairman, or State Chairman, or anything else.

I am for giving youth its extra emphasis. Let's bring them in. When youth is left with youth, they don't do nearly so much good as when they are with us.

It gives us a new lift, a new sense of vitality and decency. I want them included. And I want our womenfolk included.

I also want to pay a public tribute to Louis Martin, a master politician, a fine gentleman. He has worked as Deputy Chairman with great dedication and ability, and has helped us so much.

He is going to leave us, but he has told me he is going to be available, as Larry is, to give us his wise counsel and advice.

When I mention Louis, I remember the wonderful support that we received in the Negro community, the black community.

If it had been any better, somebody would have investigated it.

It was amazing, just marvelous. I want to thank the leadership—the black leadership of the trade union movement, religious groups and others, for mobilizing and getting out the votes.

They committed the Negroes of America to political action, to the orderly processes of Government rather than to tearing them down in hatred and rage.

And I want to praise our friends in the labor movement. There wouldn't have been any campaign without them.

We could not have won back the millions of Americans who had been led down the paths of fear and hatred, had it not been for the labor movement.

The movement went out and attacked that doctrine among its membership.

Do not forget this: the labor movement must be a working, planning, fully accepted, co-equal partner in any election victory for progressive government. Start with them now. Don't wait around until two months before the next election.

For Larry O'Brien, I don't need to tell you more than I put in my letter to you. You have been a marvelous chairman and a friend to all of us.

You are wise, able, talented, and you gave it all to us, and we are very grateful to you.

I want to thank my friend, John Bailey. John, we gave you the title of Chairman Emeritus. You did such a good job for us, and look what Connecticut did!

Bob Short, our Treasurer, and his co-partner, our Finance Chairman, Dwayne Andreas, I want to thank you for all you have done. May you be spared any pain that may come from it. You were great.

Yes, it does not hurt to take a moment to look back.

During these troubled years, I think that many of us have lost our sense of perspective.

More great things have been happening these last eight years, and particularly in these last four or five years,

than any of us, even at this moment, can grasp.

We are the victims of the headline. We are the victims of the news of violence, of the unusual, of the unpredictable, of the dramatic.

But history and civilization grow from the day-to-day hard work of millions of people who never get their names in the paper.

This Administration, your Administration represented those people—I have been proud to be a part of it. I have been here—a battling Democrat—for 20 years in this city. I spent a lot of those years fighting for programs that never seemed to have a chance.

But today, they are the law of the land.

I saw the other day on one of the TV shows, a big story that somebody was thinking about a department of science and technology.

Ladies and gentlemen, we held hearings in Congress on that for four years. That is not new. It is going to happen, that is all. Somebody had to plant the seed. And we did.

What is important about these Kennedy-Johnson years?

It is not so much what we finished, but what we started . . . the breakthroughs, the pioneering.

What is important about Apollo 8 is not that the moon has been circled, but that the space venture was begun—the first probing, the pioneering.

You will look back on this, and say, "My gosh, why were we so excited about that?" Do you realize that it was less than eight years ago that Alan Sheppard took his first flight?

He was in space for 15 minutes, eight years ago. That was the beginning of our manned space program.

Yes, in these past eight years we made great beginnings. And we have righted some old wrongs.

We have set a program for the future. That is what this Democratic Party is all about, the future.

Our Republican friends try to catch up with the past.

Our quality is that we chart the tomorrows.

Look what has been done about the environment in which we live. For the first time the Federal Government has done something, has charted a course to make the human en-

vironment livable, to attack the pollution of water and air.

For the first time, we have come to grips with the most severe problems of health and disease. Within the next few days, another program, which we advocated in our campaign, called "Kiddiecare" hopefully will be presented to Congress. Just as we have Medicare for the elderly, we are going to see to it that every child, before and after birth, prenatal and post-natal up to age six, will have full medical care. Every handicapped child will have full care to age 21.

These are things that we can do and intend to do.

Look what we have done in the field of conservation. We have passed more conservation legislation in the last five years than in the preceding 150. We have added millions of acres to the public parks.

Look what has been done in the field of education—incredible—almost too much to be grasped.

But in terms of the needs, we have just made the beginnings.

The Democratic Party, not the party of the late show, but the party of the beginnings and the breakthroughs. I am so proud that I have had the chance to participate.

I told you in the campaign, and I tell you again: the country is moving. It is not moving backward or sideways, but forward. There is a restlessness in this country, even a degree of violence. It has been this way before.

Hopeful people are restless. It is when you see the light at the end of the tunnel that you become restless. When you have been suffocating so long in the apathy and indifferences of a society that did not care you want to get into the fresh air. Many of our fellow Americans are rushing pell-mell to get their first chance to be in the sun.

Is that bad? I don't think so. I think it is good.

What an experience, what a time to be alive!

I have little or no time for those people who say, "Well, it is too bad. I don't know what we are going to do."

If you don't know what you are going to do, get out of the way and let somebody who does know do it!

Look what happened to our economy. I remember that a few years ago they said, "They can tinker with it a little bit, but recessions and depressions will come."

We haven't had a depression or recession since John Kennedy and President Johnson became Presidents of the United States, and we are heading for a trillion dollar economy.

We are going to have a balanced budget. You haven't heard that in a long time.

In the meantime, what have we done? We have done more for education, health, the consumer, environment, conservation, housing, for our cities, than anybody ever dreamed humanly possible.

But we haven't done enough. I am restless, too.

We have done just enough to know that it could be done. We have made the flight of Alan Sheppard. We haven't gotten to Apollo 8 in our social programs. We are a long way from any kind of a landing. But we have made the breakthroughs.

Now, my fellow Democrats, that is what you ought to be talking about.

We talked ourselves into defeat. We didn't stand up to say what this country stood for and what our Party and our Administration stood for.

You can't convince people in the last two or three weeks of a campaign that deathbed religion doesn't erase all our sins. With the forgiving Lord, it may get you in, but it doesn't win many elections.

Well, we lost the Presidency, but we had a lot of people in this country that voted constructively for issues.

Tens of millions of Americans, when the chips were down, voted for the kind of progressive leadership which has characterized every Democratic Administration.

And we kept our Democratic Congress, and a good one, with good leadership. We could have had a disaster.

The next great test is the elections of 1970. Let's put our time on that. Then you can decide who is going to be President in 1972. But if we don't win the elections of 1970, I will tell you who will be President in 1972. He will be the man who renews the present lease over in the White House.

So let's buckle down to the task. The task is to see to it that the 25 Democratic Senators from the classes of 1958 and 1964 are re-elected, and that you add a few more.

The task is to win those big governorships that are up—New York, California, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Massachusetts, Connecticut—just to mention a few. Even Minnesota.

If we lose all of those governorships, my dear friends, this election of 1968 will look like a great victory when it comes to 1972.

If we win in 1970, we will have the momentum of victory with us.

If we lose in 1970, you can rest assured that the incoming President knows enough about political organization to follow up on his victory.

So the challenge is here. And I start the campaign for 1970 from this platform, this minute, right now.

Now, how do we proceed?

Well, Dr. O'Brien has given you a good prescription, and it wasn't too bad medicine, if you will take it.

Yes, "Open the doors of this Party."

If there is a mayor or a governor or anybody else who decides to try to stay in office by not registering voters and he doesn't open up the doors of this Party, then he is sabotaging this Democratic Party. We ought to tell him we have to open the doors, open the Party, make it open to people, to ideas, to programs.

Registration is our best tool. We never lose on registration—not National elections.

Our party took some important strides at Chicago. Some day, there will be a proper perspective on Chicago. Three were two Chicagos, one outside the Convention Hall and on TV and the one inside.

The one I liked was the one inside.

And I hope that we will remember what happened inside. It didn't get very much attention, but it was historic.

Our National Convention implemented the criteria for

the selection of delegates adopted in 1964 at Atlantic City. Where delegates had been chosen in a discriminatory manner, their credentials were denied, and rightly so. We eliminated the unit rule, so that all segments of a State Delegation could participate effectively.

This is an historic step.

The Convention directed the Democratic National Committee to establish a special committee of this Party, to revitalize it, to broaden public participation in delegate selection, to assist State parties in achieving necessary change in State laws and Party rules, to assist States in achieving full participation in Party affairs by all Democrats.

I want that committee to be broadly representative of every element in this Party. I also want those who serve on that committee to remember that they will not have a monopoly on virtue and wisdom.

There may be others with good ideas. We have to learn how to adjust to each other.

Another commission was mandated to codify the rules.

Now, the name of politics today is participation. The young, the women, the labor movement, the minorities—bring them in. Open it to all the people. Never fear innovation.

We should consider the new mechanisms for carrying our message to the people. We have been pretty poor at it in the past. Television is here to stay, fellow Democrats, and it works just as well in the off-years as it does in the National election years. We ought to use it.

We ought to have money for it. We ought to be able to continuously present the Democratic Party program, not just for the two weeks before election day.

We need regional conferences all across this country, with argument, study panels, seminars, programs—even a party-wide conference prior to the 1970 elections. I think it might do us some good. We need one for the South; we cannot write off any section of the country politically.

Electoral reform—we have to have it. It is time, I think, for a constitutional amendment to assure that the process of choosing our President and Vice President will function as well as the rest of our constitutional structure.

The Democratic Party should get the best possible advice on procedures to assure direct popular election of the President and take the lead in urging an appropriate constitutional amendment. Then give the people in the field something to do to see that that amendment is adopted in the several States of this Republic.

We ought to get on this younger people's vote, 18 years of age, or 19. I have been for lowering voting age to 18 for years.

Take the lead. There's no use in talking about bringing young people in the Party if we are not going to take the lead.

I remind you that over 10 million Americans did not vote in the last election because they were not registered. And there were about 40 percent of our people who were registered but didn't vote. You had 5 million who were denied the right to register because of State residency requirements. We need to take steps to assure that every American citizen of voting age will automatically be entitled to vote in National elections. It is essential.

My friends, if your State Government can get you on the tax rolls without your coming down to the city hall to register, they can get you on the voting rolls.

It is just that simple.

Remember that we must stand for something. Remember that thirty-one million people rallied to our support. We have the duty to provide a loyal and effective opposition—one which will keep these issues that we have talked about in the forefront of public debate.

To ensure those victories for 1970 and 1972, our Party must have sensitive leadership, leadership in tune with the times.

We need a chairman in the spirit of the one who has resigned, who is able, who is a fighter, who is aggressive, who wants to lead—and I underscore "wants to lead"—who knows how to lead, and who is willing to join all forces of our Party in a bold and effective program for the 1970's.

I want a Chairman for this Party who is thinking about the

years ahead, and also concentrating his time and attention on the immediate election before us.

He must be sensitive to the new as well as experienced in the traditions of this great and flexible organization.

And he must be able to speak for and weld together all regions and factions. He must seek the common ground and common purpose, our national identity and our mutual objectives.

When Larry told me he was going to resign, it became my duty to look around and see what we could do about a new Chairman.

It was not an easy task. I consulted with many of you. I consulted with people in the labor movement.

I consulted with people who were our contributors, I consulted with people on our task forces. I consulted with leaders in Congress.

I believe that I have found someone to recommend to you who has many of the qualities—and I hope all of the qualities—which we need.

From those who informed me that they would serve if they were elected, I have decided to recommend to you a man who is not a factionalist, a man who has friends across the board, a respected Member of the Congress—Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma.

I want you to know that I have consulted with all of the leaders on Capitol Hill, with a number of the Governors, and others, about him.

I don't say everyone said, "Go ahead, he is my man." But none of them objected to him.

Finally, I would like to make another recommendation.

We are out of power in terms of the Executive Branch. And as a consequence, a number of recommendations have been made to me from all over the country that we establish some kind of National Democratic Policy Council, representative of the elected officials of our Party as well as the National Committee, and of Democrats who are not in the National Committee, to help us win elections.

We have states like New York and Pennsylvania, that have no National or State-wide voice, no Democratic Governor, no Democratic Senator. Yet Democratic votes carried these states by large margins last November.

They ought to have representation not only in the National Committee, but on such a policy council. I urge this Democratic National Committee to support the establishment of such a council.

My interest in my Party and the objectives of my Party remain firm and abiding and strong. I intend during the coming years to fulfill my responsibilities, to be extremely active on behalf of this great Party, to come to your States, to see your people, to talk at your dinners, to help raise the money that is needed—the sinews of politics—to encourage the young, and if I can, to be helpful in settling disputes that may arise.

Last August, I accepted your call to leadership. I have never been more honored. It was a great opportunity, a heavy responsibility, a great trust.

I tried to do the best that I could, and we did pretty well. We did much better than most of our critics thought.

I want you to go from this meeting back to your States with one message: We just got started. This was just the beginning.

Elections are never over. The voting boxes close up on designated dates, but the elections are never over. There is another election underway. Another campaign started here today. There is a job to do, men to be elected, people to be selected, a Party to be reorganized, a structure to be strengthened, money to be raised, issues to be discussed, people to be brought in, new ideas to be advanced. If you are not up to it, you owe it to your people back home to say, "This is too fast and too much for me," and step aside.

But I know that you are up to it, and I want to work with you.

I have loved every minute of my participation in Democratic politics, and now that I have had my elementary and secondary school training, I am ready for higher education.

Thank you very much.

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Draft

Statement by Vice President Humphrey

Before the Democratic National Committee

January 14, 1969

Mr. Chairman, Madam Vice-Chairman, members of the Democratic National Committee, ladies and gentlemen . . .

This year ¹⁹⁶⁹ just has to be a better year than last year! And I wish for all of you a good and happy 1969!

We have, indeed, come through a very hard and difficult year -- a year ~~not~~ filled with frustration and disappointment, and deep tragedy ~~in the loss of the distinguished~~

King
Kennedy

Nothing cast a greater pall across the public life of our nation than the senseless assassinations of Martin Luther King and Senator Robert Kennedy -- two men who gave much to their country -- and whose deaths deeply affected our people.

and, we lost the presidency of the United States, and by a frustratingly narrow margin of a few hundred thousand votes. But we Democrats accept the verdict of the electorate, just as the Republicans and Mr. Nixon

accepted the narrow Republican loss in 1960.

That is one of the great American traditions -- and one of the most remarkable evidences of the strength, resilience and vitality of

the American Republic -- that within a span of eight years there has been

the transfer ^{immense} twice of the power of the presidency by electoral decisions

of less than 1% margin, ^{and} in by electoral decisions ^{of} less than a majority of

the votes cast. ~~In the long history of American institutions, there is~~

~~no more precious and more difficult to maintain than the acceptance~~

~~by the defeated party of the results of the election.~~

Not that our society is free of tremendous tensions, It is surely

not. And any analysis of the voting patterns in the last election will

reveal how deeply affected our people remain by racial strife

misunderstanding and fear. Surely it is one of the highest duties of

our party to continue to work without rest to heal and restore, to

build a climate of inter-racial trust and mutual confidence and friendship.

South

We must recognize, in all sobriety and sadness, that the Democratic

Party did not carry a single state of the Old South, and ~~we~~

~~will the~~ And we must recognize, too, the great courage

of thousands of Southern men and women of both races who stood up for the Democratic national ticket when all the signs were correctly predicting a two-thirds vote against the national ticket in the South.

I believe that the South is going through a time of tremendous emotional turmoil, largely due to the fundamental social changes required by the passage of national legislation effecting equality of opportunity for black and white. These changes are taking place, not without great difficulty and problems. And during this period, the great advantages to the people of the South which have been derived from Democratic policies and administration will undoubtedly be obscured and even forgotten.

↳ We must continue to look to progressive and en/lightened leadership in the South, to work with those men and women, to help them carry a message from the national Democratic Party that we welcome them to our councils, that we want in every way to help them build State Democratic Parties throughout ~~the~~ which can participate in a national Democratic victory in the coming elections.

#

last year and

↳ It is a great temptation to review the last year and
the campaign months of 1968 -- to point out if only this or that had been
done -- if only this or that had not been done, we would have won the
election. 6

↳ In the long night watches, a candidate who has lost can torture
 himself with questions: did I work hard enough? Did I really give it all
 I had? Did I let down my friends and those who believed in me?

↳ And there are serious questions of public policy that are raised
 when one reviews the impact of public national polls which indicated
 that a Democratic victory was literally impossible -- and particularly
 the impact on political contributions. ↳ For without financing, the
 stupendous impact of television cannot be brought to bear in the campaign.

↳ Which in itself raises another serious question of public policy --
 the almost insurmountable advantage of a candidate whose financial
resources permit him to dominate television. ↳ Equal-time access to television
 is an empty concept if the time must be bought. ↳ And without question, there
 must be a better system to guarantee equal access of candidates and parties to
the television viewers of America.

L
Heartaches
 But surely it is time now to shut the door on the ~~past~~ and
 resentments of the past . . . time to turn our minds and hearts to
the tasks ahead.

L
 But before I do this, I want to take a moment to thank those in our
party throughout the country, to thank Democrats and Independents and
Republicans as well, to thank those who fought on when it seemed hopeless --
who struggled on when the press of the world had concluded that there was in
the making a great Democratic debacle.

L
 I know the courage it took to persevere in the face of predictable
 disaster. L I know that men and women risked their political lives, risked
^{their} damaging professional careers, courted economic bankruptcy, and gave up
months of family life to help the Democratic ticket. I want to thank them.

I shall never forget those who fought by my side in 1968!

L
Muskie
 And what a running-mate the Democratic National Convention chose
last August! Senator Ed Muskie was tremendous -- tireless, imaginative,
humorous, and wise. L He proved that he was the man of superb quality and
qualifications we thought him to be when we nominated him for the Vice-Presidency.

L We did not have a Democratic debacle. We won great victories throughout the country outside the south. We have a Democratic Congress. Many Democratic governors won re-election. And we have revitalized our party by bringing into our ranks many young men and women who give great promise for the future.

This inflow of young people into our party must be stimulated and encouraged. We must make room for them. They must participate. They must have a voice in the decisions of our party. They have earned that right in the hard-fought precinct battles of the fall of 1968.

L And we must recognize the magnificent contribution of the women of our party. Their confidence and courage never flagged. They never wavered. They never gave up. We shall never know how much they accounted for that tremendous Democratic surge of the last weeks of the campaign that nearly carried us to victory. But I do know how much ^{some} Democratic women gave to this campaign.

L One was Muriel Humphrey. I think she proved to be the best campaigner in the whole Humphrey family! I am so proud of her.

And we were all so proud of that fine ~~_____~~ campaigner from
Maine, James Muskie!

h And I want to say a special word of thanks to my close friend of
many years, who led the women of our party in the election, and who
exemplified the quiet, undemanding and deeply committed effort that
typified the hundreds of thousands of women volunteers. Geri Joseph
gave them ^{great} leadership, and by her example persuaded many, many wonderfully
qualified women to commit themselves full-time to the campaign, I wish that
I could thank them all personally. I salute them. I am honored
that they believed in me.

h Surely we must have learned in this campaign that the women of our
party must take a greater role, must come into the decision-making at
every level of the party -- not merely servicing ceremoniously, but
participating in fact.

h Another friend of many years has officially left the Democratic
National Committee, much to the regret of all who know him. And he, too,
typifies a group who made a singular, perhaps unmatched, contribution to the
Democratic campaign of 1968. That is, our dear friend, Louis Martin.

Louis, after many years of service to his party and his country,
 is returning to Chicago and to private industry. We shall miss him
 not only as a warm and generous friend, but as an example of the very best
 and most effective of the "hardcore brothers" as Louis calls the black
 community.

I was so proud of the overwhelming vote of the negro community, and
 of the job that Louis and the black leadership in the trade union movement
 and others (African leaders) did in mobilizing and getting out the vote. They represent the responsible
 mass of the negro community in America -- committed to political action, not
 to violence -- to building through the processes of orderly government rather
 than to tearing down in hatred and blind rage.

I have asked Louis to continue to give of his wise counsel in the
 years to come -- and I am sure he will.

Labor

L If there is one ~~the~~ constructive lesson to be learned from this past campaign, it is one that we should have learned long ago -- that the trade union movement must be ~~and~~ a working, planning, fully accepted and co-equal partner in any election victory for progressive government.

Organized labor was the strong right arm of our campaign. And the men and women of the labor movement had to fight their way through a wave of racial hysteria that for some weeks threatened to engulf the blue-collar wards of our cities. We could not have won back the millions of Americans who had been led down the paths of fear and hatred had it not been for organized labor.

I salute the men and women of labor. And I welcome them to the councils of our party, as they have always been welcome.

For we have need for everyone.

L We have need for new ideas. We have need for new people. And we have need to look into our ranks and find the talent and the quality that is ^{already} there.

We are rich in talent: the task of leadership is to discover and inspire it.

We have need of all the talent that we can muster. For we find ourselves out of power, in debt and heavily in debt, and with a party that has gone through a year troubled and divided on the questions of race and foreign policy.

Yet I have the confidence that the hundreds of thousands of Americans who gave us the financial resources to run the campaign of 1968 will provide the means to prepare the campaign of 1970. And I would not want to pass by this opportunity to thank Dwayne Andreas, the national finance chairman of our campaign and Robert Short, the Treasurer of the DNC, and their associates who performed a near-miracle of financing and enabled the Democratic ticket finally to fight on even terms in the last ² weeks of the campaign.

Opinion Not the least contribution by far made by our national Chairman, Larry O'Brien, was his bringing in the team of Kapenstein and Napolitan, who supervised the production of the most brilliant (if under-financed) television campaign I have ever seen.

I have already publicly expressed my regret that Larry has decided to resign as chairman. And I have extracted from him a promise that he will

continue ^{to give} to me and to his party the benefit of his notable energy and ^{intellect.}

I shall hold him to that promise. (John Bailey)

intellect.

And I shall hold him to that promise.

*and John Backley
Christen*

But we now have a vacancy to be filled. And we need a new chairman who is also able and aggressive, who knows how to lead, who will concentrate on bringing together the talent we have everywhere available, and who will be able to manage a Democratic National Committee operation that is lean, ^{and} economical and yet bold and effective.

He should be sensitive to the new in our party and in our nation, as well as experienced in the traditions and mechanisms of this great and flexible organization. He must be able to recognize the autonomy of the state parties, and yet be able to create a sense of common ground and common purpose, of national identity and objectives.

I have consulted widely on this matter since Chairman O'Brien informed me that he planned to resign. Many fine men were suggested -- all of quality and substance. Some were available for the chairmanship and some were not.

Last week I came to my own personal conclusion that the best man who was available for the task, given the condition of our party and the special needs to work in closest harmony with the Congress, was Senator Fred Harris.

I know of Fred Harris' qualities of leadership from long personal contact. As you know, he was one of my campaign co-chairmen before the national convention, and he worked tremendously hard throughout the general campaign. He was always effective, pleasant, unruffled under pressure, and a fine spokesman for our ticket. He is a worker, and he is committed to working the extra hours in the week that will permit him to fulfill his duties as a Senator and as National Chairman. I know that is no empty statement.

I am confident that Senator Harris ^{would} ~~will~~/be an essentially full-time Chairman, a very successful leader for our party, and I strongly recommend ~~xxxxx~~ that you elect him as the new National Chairman of the Democratic Party.

Finally, I have had numerous recommendations made to me, from all over the country, that there should be once again established by the National Committee a body which would be representative of the elected officials of our party, as well as of the national committee, and which would serve as a voice for disenfranchised Democrats in many states as well as a coordinating group for the determination of basic party policy.

I am thinking, for example, of the huge Democratic populations of states like New York and Pennsylvania who have ^{no} statewide voice -- no Democratic Governor, no Democratic Senator -- and yet their votes carried their states by large margins last November.

The concept of such a body was valid in the fifties, and surely a council somewhat similar in scope and intent would be a healthy and constructive and valuable development. I would urge the Committee to support the establishment of such a council, and to seek the guidance and counsel of the Democratic leadership in the Congress and in the States in establishing its goals, objectives and operating procedures.

-13-

I want you to know that my interest in my party, and the objectives of my party, remains firm and strong. I have been a party man all my life, and I intend during the next years to be extremely active in behalf of this great party.

I am going to be doing some teaching out in Minnesota. I shall be doing some writing, some travelling, and undertaking other tasks to pay the Humphrey family bills. But I am also reserving time and energy for the Democratic Party.

Last August I accepted your call to leadership. I have tried since that time to fulfill the trust and confidence of the Democratic Convantion, and of the tens of millions of American who placed their trust in me by voting Democratic last November.

With your help, I shall continue to serve my party and my country and to lead a loyal opposition.

With your help, I shall turn my thoughts ahead to 1970, as well, and to that task which is not too early to begin -- of mounting a great, coordinated, ~~and~~ well-planned and well-financed campaign next year.

Time now to forget defeat. Time now to play for victory.

- Education Environment Record } Govt - Business - Labor
 - Health Urban Economy } Fiscal 1969 Balanced Budget
 - Conservation Housing
 - Civil Rights

In the 20th century, the Democratic Party
Process of Peace } arms control
 has been the greatest political instrument for social

000052

progress designed by man. To continue in that tradition

we must now rally the forces that marched with us in

November, broaden their ranks, and create an effective

"loyal opposition," and mold our strength and energy

for party victory in 1970 and again in 1972.

/ We lost the Presidency. And yet the goals and

objectives of the Democratic Party were not repudiated.

Far from it. The dramatic surge of support that developed

for Senator Muskie and me during the last two weeks of

the campaign is solid evidence that millions of Americans,

when the chips were down, supported the kind of progressive

leadership which has characterized every Democratic administration since the days of Franklin Roosevelt.

More than this, only four Democratic seats were lost in the House and five in the Senate -- a remarkable performance in the context of a Republican Presidential victory.

The next great test for the Democratic Party -- the decisive test -- will come in 1970, Twenty-five Democratic Senators from the classes of 1958 and 1964 will be up for re-election, along with the entire House of Representatives. Many of our large states -- New York, California, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Massachusetts, Connecticut, to name only a few -- will be choosing a new governor. These elections are a great challenge and a great opportunity for Democrats. We must start

building and working now for victory. We must be ready to offer meaningful support to all Democratic candidates, at all levels. The Democratic label -- from the national level to the precinct level -- must be seen by the people as standing for responsible leadership on the issues that count.

And we must stand together!

The stakes in 1970 are high. If we do not win, if we do not produce a strong Democratic upswing, our chance to regain the White House in 1972 will be slim indeed.

How then shall we proceed?

First, by opening the Party to the fullest public participation, because the people are the ultimate source

of political strength in our democracy.

We took some important strides in this direction in 1968. Our national convention implemented the criteria for the selection of delegates adopted in 1964 at Atlantic City. Where delegates had been chosen in a discriminatory manner, their credentials were denied. We eliminated the unit rule so that all elements in a state delegation could participate effectively in the selection of candidates and the adoption of the platform. This is truly a historic step forward in broadening the base of popular participation in party affairs.

Finally, the convention directed the Democratic National Committee to establish a special committee of

the party to:

- broaden public participation in delegate selection;
- assist state parties in achieving the necessary changes in State laws and party rules;
- assist states in achieving full participation in party affairs by all Democrats, regardless of race.

Another committee was established to codify and publish the rules and precedents of party procedures for future conventions.

The name of politics today is participation -- participation by young people, urban housewives, black ~~Americans~~ Americans, Spanish-Americans. They are deeply concerned about the future of this country. They proved their political effectiveness in 1968.

It is by opening its doors wide to all segments of our society that the Democratic Party will find strength to win in 1970 and 1972 and earn a renewal of its historic mandate to lead this nation.

*open to all
open to People*

We must build a united party. But unity does not demand conformity. It requires, above all, a process which gives to every citizen an equal chance to be heard and to be taken seriously in the hammering out of issues. ~~This~~ is the essence of true democracy and that must be the Democratic Party's standard for the conduct of its own affairs in the coming years.

We must not fear innovation and experimentation in making our Party truly relevant to the demands of our times. ~~we~~ *must welcome it.* open to Ideas

We should consider various mechanisms for carrying our message to the American people: regional conferences, study panels, seminars, perhaps even a Party-wide conference prior to the 1970 elections. We must think TV, Radio, Press. and act creatively -- and we must face the future confidently.

We cannot indulge in the luxury of writing-off any group or geographical region of the country. The Democratic Party achieved its position as the country's majority party when it became the country's only national party. And we will retain our majority only as we maintain a broadly based constituency -- North, East, South, and West -- and encompassing persons of all income levels and occupations.

Second, the Democratic Party must take the lead in pressing for electoral reform.

Because of our archaic Electoral College system, there was a serious danger in 1968 that the will of the people would be thwarted in the election of the President, either in the Electoral College or in the House of Representatives. It is now time for a constitutional amendment to assure that one of our most fundamental democratic duties -- the process of choosing our President -- will function as well as the rest of our constitutional structure. I believe the Democratic party should get the best possible advice on procedures to assure direct popular election of the President, and then take the lead

in urging an appropriate Constitutional amendment.

Other electoral reforms are urgently needed. I have advocated the 18 year old vote for many years -- now is the time for action on this front. Moreover, ten million Americans did not vote in the last election because they were not registered, and another 5 million were denied the right to register because of state residence requirements. I believe we must take steps to assure that every American citizen of voting age will automatically be entitled to vote in national elections. We must develop a system among the states for a permanent franchise which qualifies a voter anywhere in the nation or overseas for every national election.

Universal franchise is a moral and practical requirement in a modern democracy. But it is also good politics for Democrats, the party of the people.

Third, the Democratic National Committee must be adequately financed and staffed to serve as a center of Democratic leadership.

We have considerable debts as a result of the 1968 campaign and we shall pay those debts. We shall also allocate a substantial budget to support expanded research and candidate support operations.

(Federal Financing)

One more word on finances: A party of the people must count on the people for its financial support. Although we are deeply grateful to a number of persons for generous contributions, we must also develop imaginative new approaches

to broaden our base of financial support. Every Democrat
should contribute every year, regardless of the size of
the contribution.

Let me say ^{a few more} words about the 1968 election. From

the moment of my nomination, I knew we were the underdogs
in a tough , uphill battle. Some persons thought I should
steer clear of the controversial issues, especially in
light of the campaign being waged by ^{our} ~~my~~ opponents. I

*Time it was needed
but not
the time to be
rewarded.*

rejected this approach. I know my candidacy came at a time

when one of the national parties had to take a stand on

some fundamental issues -- when America had to face up

to the problems of the arms race, urban blight, ~~and~~ lingering

poverty in our society *and Race relations*

There had to be a public voice that said: "These are

the issues, like it or not, win or lose." That is what Senator Muskie and I tried to do.

On November 5th, over 31 million people rallied to our support. To those millions we have pledged our unceasing dedication to social justice, the perfection of human rights and the healing of divisions in this society. Yes, we lost the election, but those pledges must be fulfilled. We have a responsibility to those millions of people. We have the duty to provide a loyal and effective opposition -- one which will keep these issues in the forefront of public debate and action, and one which will also guarantee our Democratic candidates in 1970 and 1972 the kind of support needed to win a resounding victory.

To insure those victories we must build our party's strength. An effective Democratic National Committee must be our first priority. We need a chairman who is able and aggressive, who knows how to lead, to join all forces of our Party in bold and effective programs for the Seventies. He must be sensitive to the new, as well as experienced in the traditions of this great and flexible organization. He must weld for all regions and ~~recognize the autonomy of the~~ factions, the common ground and common purpose, of national identity and objectives.

Since Chairman O'Brien informed me that he planned to resign, I have consulted widely throughout the party structure, and found many fine men suggested for the chairmanship -- all of quality and substance. In the

course of these discussions, it became clear that in addition to the qualities I have outlined, the dominant need was for a man who could maintain close liaison with the Democratic Congress, who can serve as an eloquent and forceful public advocate for party policy. Several distinguished men were suggested who seemed to combine these qualities. From those who informed me that they would serve if elected, I have determined to recommend to you

—————

Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma

—————

I know of Fred Harris' qualities of leadership from long personal contact. He was one of my campaign co-chairmen before the national convention. He worked tremendously hard throughout the general campaign. He is a worker, and he is committed to working the extra

hours in the week that will permit him to fulfill his duties as a Senator and as National Chairman.

Finally, I have had numerous recommendations made to me, from all over the country, that we must establish a National Democratic Policy Council, representative of the elected officials of our party, as well as of the national committee, serving as a voice for disenfranchised Democrats and as a coordinating group for the determination of basic party policy.

States like New York and Pennsylvania who have no national or statewide voice -- no Democratic Governor, no Democratic Senator -- and yet ^{Democratic} their votes carried these states by large margins last November.

I urge the Committee to support the establishment of such a Policy Council.

My interest in my party and the objectives of my party remains firm and strong. I intend during the next years to be extremely active in behalf of this great party.

I am going to be doing some teaching out in Minnesota. I shall be doing some writing, some traveling, and undertaking other tasks to pay the Humphrey family bills. But I am also reserving time and energy for the Democratic Party.

Last August I accepted your call to leadership. I have tried since that time to fulfill the trust and confidence of the Democratic Convention, and of the millions

of Americans who placed their trust in us last November.

There is work to be done -- for our country and
for our party. I intend to get on with the job. I will
be there working by your side all the way.



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