

Peace Corps

President of DS
Mike Weidenman
Robert Buckley

Wigwam "U"

January 14, 1970

Bill Cosby
"Basketball Games"

MEMORANDUM

U of Utah

Dr. Sumner
President Fletcher
Gov Rampton

TO: HHH
FROM: CC

Just an overtime
from Utah State

Sen Moss
"U" mens chorus

The University of Utah lecture is the Stephen L. Brockbank Memorial Lecture and you may wish, in your opening remarks, to note this.

He was a very promising young man, and died a few years after graduating.

His family endowed this lectureship. A brochure is attached.

Steve

Nation
managers

President David O. McKay -
Spiritual leader -
Church of Latter Day Saints

as a non Smoker, I endorse Sen Moss
as a Believer in Clean Air, I support Sen Moss

(Peace Corps) Recruitment

Reform Neo-Bernard Shaw attitude
 "whenever he felt the urge
 to take some, he lay down until
 he got over it"

"Reformer or Perish"

The 1960's - Decade of Dissent, Disillusionment,
 Disorder and Discovery.

100 years after the civil war -

are we ^{take} 2 nations, "separate and unequal"
 or are we ^{take} one nation, under God, indivisible
 with liberty & justice for all -

Times characterized by Disillusionment -

✓ Prosperity - not good enough

✓ Power - not good enough

Dissent - every institution under

Attack - Pol. Party, Religion, Govt, Universities,
Business, Fabr, Family

Impatience with processes of change -
 leads to Disorder

Discovery: - Racism;

- Poverty

- Urban Crisis

- Pollution

Self-Examination

Inquiry

Self-Analysis

Reform or Perish

1970's Decade of Decision and Development

Again Reform or Perish

Political Parties - open, Broad Participation.

Religion (1) Open Society - non Discriminatory

His Dream Mr King -> Judged by content of their character mobility, acceptance,

(2) Development of Human Resources

Disabled Dreadnought (A) Educ - Pre School - to Higher

Reform or Perish (B) Health - Care Available to all

(C) Training - motivation

(D) Income maintenance - welfare

(3) Protection of Physical Environment

(A) ~~urban culture~~ -

noise, Traffic, slums -

(B) open spaces, forests, land

(C) Air Pollution

Water Pollution

(4) Rebuilding our cities - + new cities

noise, congestion, slums -

neighborhood - communities

(5) conditions conducive to Peace

Reform or Perish
Family - Reform or Perish

(5) Conditions Conducive to Peace

001280

- (A) Re-examine our Role in the world
- (B) Strengthen Peace Keeping of U.N.
- (C) Arms Control
- (D) International Development
national independence
national development
national security

within a framework of
International Cooperation
and International Responsibility

Reform or Perish

REMARKS

BY

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

JANUARY 20, 1970

↳ All of our established institutions, all of our traditional ways of doing things, are undergoing the sternest questioning nowadays.

For most of them, the message is clear: Reform or perish!

↳ However painful this may be for the guardians of the status quo, this ordeal by questioning is both inevitable and healthy.

↳ Americans -- particularly young Americans -- are better educated and more articulate than ever before.

↳ They want to participate, they want to have their say, they want their piece of the action. And heaven help any bureaucracy, however entrenched, that stands in the way.

Our political institutions -- perhaps especially our political institutions -- have not escaped this zeal for reform. Far from it.

↳ Political parties are essential elements in the American political structure. As my friend Clinton Rossiter said: No America without democracy, no democracy without politics, no politics without party."

↳ Political parties are a historic fact in American life. They emerged within a decade of the birth of our nation. With the exception of the mid 19th century, when their failure to find a political solution to slavery led directly to the Civil War, political parties have consistently strengthened our democratic institutions.

↳ They are the funnel through which platforms become national policy. They are the selection agents for major local, state and federal candidates, without which we would have political chaos. And, by no means least important, they raise

the funds that allow the voters to become acquainted with these candidates -- a responsibility of increasing importance in today's expensive electronic world.

↳ It is therefore particularly distressing that, in a recent attitude poll of students on representative college campuses, political parties came out last -- far below such frequent targets of criticism as the police, Congress, the family and the business community.

↳ Only 2 percent of the students rated political parties "excellent" and only 16 percent were even willing to concede that they were "good".

↳ As a professional politician -- and one who is proud of his profession -- I find this a matter of deep concern. I have always urged young people to work within our democratic system. But if we expect you to follow this advice, it is clearly up to us, as your political elders, to be sure that the system works.

works

Not only for you -- the bright young college students -- but for the struggling minorities everywhere -- the Appalachia miner and his family, the migrant fruit picker in California, the tenant farmer in the rural South, and the urban poor who daily contend with filth and vermin, hunger and despair.

As a Democrat, I feel this challenge with special keenness. Democrats have always prided themselves on being the party of the people. If we are to live up to this tradition, we must be especially sure that our party is open to all Americans who want to participate -- whatever their race, age, sex or economic status.

So I shall speak today about my own party, and what we are doing to reform and up-date ourselves -- what we are doing to make ourselves -- if you will excuse one more use of that over-worked word -- relevant.

I am going to restrict my remarks to the Democratic Party in part because I prefer to speak of what I know first hand. But

also, to be candid, because the impulse to reform -- never strong in the Republican Party -- is particularly quiescent at the moment.

The Republican approach to reform reminds me of George Bernard Shaw's attitude toward exercise -- ⁴ whenever he felt the urge to take some, he lay down until he got over it."

↳ The Democrats are in the midst of a thorough review of all our past way of doing things -- all the way from the precinct level to the national convention, from voter registration to presidential selection.

↳ The process began over five years ago when the 1964 Convention acted to ban racial discrimination in the selection of delegates.

↳ In 1968, our Convention took further steps, ~~forward~~. It seated the Mississippi "challengers", and unseated the "regulars."

↳ It handled the competing Georgia factions by seating both delegations

↙ It did away with the long-established unit rule, allowing each delegate to vote his or her own conscience. And it resolved that all delegates to future Conventions be selected through a process "in which all Democratic voters have had full, meaningful and timely opportunity to participate."

↙ But the Convention took an additional step into the future -- it mandated a re-examination of the Convention process itself, in order to make it a more responsive and responsible instrument of the party's will.

↙ Adopting a platform and nominating national candidates is the crucial business of a political party. ↙ Today, because of electronic communication, we perform the decision making process in the living rooms of millions.

Our excesses or our follies are exposed as never before.

The television audience decides for itself the important questions -- are we rational, are we fair, are all views

considered, are all voices given hearing and due consideration.

↳ In other words, does the Democratic Party conduct its business in a democratic manner?

↳ Party platforms, once little more than political rhetoric, are taken seriously in today's politics.

↳ They are too important to be jerry-built in a hectic few days amid a circus atmosphere.

↳ Do not misunderstand: I am all for conventions. I think they have an important -- indeed, an essential -- role in our political system.

↳ This is a big country, with many kinds of people, all with diverse interests. ~~In the Democratic Party (more than in the Republican) this national diversity is fully reflected.~~

↳ Thus it is essential that we get together from time to time to determine [“] where we agree and where we differ -- and to hammer out these differences in full and free discussion, with concern and respect for the opinions of others -- so that we can move

forward together.

↳ I have spent enough years actively engaged in the work of this Party to know with great certainty that -- regardless of the divergent views that may exist prior to the convention, regardless of differences among the various delegations:

if all views are fully aired,

if all advocates are heard, and all opinions considered,

if our rules assure fair play to each delegate, then,

when the debate has ended, we leave the convention

united in our commitment to the platform and the

candidates.

↳ Democratic party reform begins with a new approach to the Party platform. ↳ I have proposed a special "mid-term" convention -- a convention held mid-way between the Presidential term -- for the purpose of adopting a platform without the distractions of convention hurly-burly.

The Democratic National Committee has already established a Democratic Policy Council -- which I am pleased to serve as chairman.

Some 75 Democrats -- representing all factions within the party -- will work throughout the year to develop programs for the seventies, and a design for the eighties.

The Policy Council will reflect the best, the most creative, thinking in America today.

The Council deliberations will determine, to a great extent, whether the Democrats re-enlist the enthusiasm and strength of alienated youth, whether we continue our salutary alliances with all groups of forward looking Americans, whether we successfully withstand the continued assaults upon our long-range goals and aspirations for the Nation.

The Council is compelling evidence of our Party's determination to continue to be the party of the people, to keep

our sights firmly fixed on substance rather than pomp and pageantry.

Further evidence of the Democratic Party's commitment to an open party and expanded citizen participation is the Freedom to Vote Task Force, headed by the able former Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

For six months, Task Force members examined a long-standing American problem -- the disturbingly low number of eligible voters who participate in Presidential elections.

In 1968, only 60 percent of our voting age citizens cast their ballots. Some 47 million Americans stayed away from the polls.

By way of contrast, over 75 percent regularly vote in British and Canadian elections.

Many of those who did not vote could not, because of restrictive state and local residency -- or other -- requirements.

Many didn't know where -- or how -- to register.

For, despite our long-standing commitment to participatory democracy, we still make it darn difficult for the average citizen to participate.

The Freedom to Vote Task Force proposes a Universal Enrollment Plan, which would make the Federal government responsible for registration.

This is not a new suggestion. It is done and works in many other countries, including Great Britain, and here at home in South Dakota, Idaho, and parts of California and Washington. Ninety percent -- and more -- of the voters are registered in these states.

After all, we don't register to pay our income tax -- a citizen responsibility. Why must we register in order to vote -- a citizen privilege?

Two other Commissions are hard at work on intra-party

reforms. Their work completes the full scale effort to modernize and restructure the Democratic Party.

They are the Rules Commission and the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection.

These are dry sounding names, but I am sure you budding students of Political Science realize how important they are.

The Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, headed by Senator George McGovern, wants to be sure the Convention is open to all interested Democrats on a one-man-one-vote basis.

And it wants to insure that preferences expressed by grass roots party members in the initial stages of the political process are not lost, or watered down, in subsequent ones.

Their proposals are detailed and comprehensive, and I recommend their careful study by all serious students of political science. For the moment, I will just run through them briefly.

1. Because Convention delegates are predominantly white, middle-aged and male -- the Democrats less so than the Republicans, but, still more so than they should be -- the Commission asks that minority groups, women and young people be present in state delegations "in reasonable relationship to their presence in the population of the state."

2. To reduce the "dollar barrier" in delegate selection, the Commission wants to limit costs to \$10, and urges states to consider subsidizing attendance costs for delegates (a figure that runs \$500 or more.)

3. It wants Party rules and meetings adequately publicized so all who wish may attend and participate.

4. It wants delegate apportionment to reflect the distribution of Democratic voters in the state, and,

5. Delegates selected the same year that the convention is held.

The most controversial of the McGovern Commission's proposals is the abolition of the "winner-take-all" practice at all stages of the delegate selection process -- a change that would ensure the presentation of minority views right up to -- and including -- the national convention.

Under these rules, the winner of a close, hard-fought primary would profit little in delegate strength.

All these proposals will be fully aired across the nation before we next meet in convention. Already, the McGovern Commission has heard some 500 witnesses in 17 cities.

In my state, Minnesota, we have already taken action in the spirit of the McGovern Commission. The state party has adopted a new constitution which does away with the unequal rural representation and eliminates the winner-take-all procedures.

From now on, minority views will be fully reflected in our

STATE CONVENTION, AND DISSENT AT THE STATE LEVEL WILL BE REFLECTED IN THE DELEGATION TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

THIS SAME KIND OF GRASS-ROOTS REFORM AND RE-JUVENATION IS GOING ON ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. IN FACT, SOME 33 STATES HAVE ALREADY APPOINTED THEIR OWN "LITTLE" MCGOVERN COMMISSIONS.

THE RULES COMMISSION IS RE-EXAMINING THAT UNIQUE AMERICAN INSTITUTION -- THE AMERICAN POLITICAL CONVENTION.

RECOGNIZING THAT A GOOD PART OF THE TIME CONVENTIONS ARE MEANINGLESS -- AND DEADLY DULL -- THE RULES COMMISSION PROPOSES TO REDUCE THE CHAOS AND CONFUSION AND RESTORE THE DIGNITY APPROPRIATE TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TASK.

THE RULES COMMISSION - THE O'HARA COMMISSION - HAS QUESTIONED WHETHER OUR DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS HAVE BECOME MUCH TOO LARGE. THIS IS A SIMPLE PROBLEM TO IDENTIFY, BUT -- HUMAN NATURE BEING WHAT IT IS -- IT IS A DIFFICULT ONE TO SOLVE.

THE CONVENTION IS LARGE BECAUSE SO MANY PEOPLE WANT

to be delegates and alternates. And, over the years, we have let more and more of them do so.

But that is not the only reason the convention floor is so crowded -- many people with no real credentials manage, one way or another, to get passes. And they are constantly milling around on the floor.

Some have legitimate business there, but most do not.

And the media -- it often seems that the convention is not just covered -- it is overwhelmed.

Both the size of the convention and the criteria for access to the floor are among the questions the Commission on Rules will examine. Another is the site. A University campus, rather than a big city, might provide better facilities -- including low cost dormitory housing for less affluent delegates.

The Rules Commission is also examining convention committees. Should they, for example, conform to the one-man-one-vote principle? As things stand, every state, large and small,

has two members on every committee--each with one vote.

Committees might be made smaller -- or, if membership is not changed, votes might be weighted according to the number of Democrats represented by each member.

The Rules Commission also has a suggestion to increase participation in platform development: hold public hearings in key cities across the nation. Presidential candidates might be asked to express their views on the platform -- or they might be asked to submit a platform of their own.

Many of the proposals are aimed at sprucing up the convention itself. Some would eliminate or reduce those features which TV viewers find particularly tedious.

Rituals, songs and invocations, for example, might be confined to the opening session of the convention. Demonstrations might be eliminated altogether, and nominating and seconding speeches shortened.

Voting might be done electronically.

And one proposal that I heartily endorse would have the Presidential candidates address the convention before the balloting.

So my message is simply this: progress is just around the corner. The Democrats are actively seeking ways to open up their party, and its decision making processes, to all interested Americans. And by the time we next meet in convention, in 1972, we will have completed the task.

We will have a revitalized party fully equipped to contribute to the political life of this nation in the seventies -- and on to the end of the century.

I say this bodes well for the long-term health of the Democratic Party.

I say this bodes well for America.

####

University of Utah
Jan 20

All of our established institutions, ~~are~~ all of our traditional ways of doing things, are undergoing the sternest questioning nowadays. For most of them, the message is clear: Reform or perish!

However painful this may be for the guardians of the status quo, this ordeal by questioning is both inevitable and healthy.

Americans -- particularly young Americans -- are better educated and more articulate than ever before.

They want to participate, they want to have their say, they want their piece of the action. And heaven help any bureaucracy, however entrenched, that stands in the way.

Our political institutions ^(perhaps especially) ~~particularly~~ our political institutions have not escaped this zeal for reform. Far from it.

Political parties are essential elements in the American political structure. As my friend Clinton Rossiter said: "No American without ~~the~~ democracy, no democracy without politics, no politics without party."

Insert A

It is therefore particularly distressing that, in a recent ^{attitude} poll of students on representative college campuses, ^(political parties) ~~it~~ came out last -- far below such frequent targets of criticism as the police, Congress, the family and the business community.

insert A

on page 1

Political parties are a historic fact in American life. They emerged within a decade of the ~~Federal government's~~ birth of our nation. ~~and~~ With the exception of the mid 19th century, when their ~~real~~ failure ~~was~~ ~~expressed~~ ~~in~~ ~~contributing~~ ~~to~~ find a political solution to slavery led directly to the Civil War, ~~they~~ ^{political parties} have consistently ~~contributed~~ strengthened our democratic institutions.

They are the funnel through which platforms become national policy; they ~~They~~ ~~are~~ ~~the~~ ~~only~~ ~~way~~ ~~of~~ ~~ways~~ ~~to~~ ~~bring~~ ~~about~~ ~~change~~ ~~through~~ ~~the~~ ~~convention~~ ~~process~~ ~~are~~ ~~the~~ ~~selection~~ ~~agents~~ ~~for~~ ~~major~~ ~~local~~, candidates, state and federal ~~office~~ - without which we would have political chaos.

And, by no means least important, they raise the funds that allow the voters ^{these} to become acquainted with ~~the~~ candidates - a responsibility of increasing ^{expensive} importance in today's electronic world.

Only 2 percent of the students ~~thought~~ rated political parties "excellent" and only 16 percent were even willing to concede that they were "good".

As a professional politician — and one who is proud of his profession — I find this a matter of deep concern. I have always urged young people to work within our democratic system, ~~rather than outside it~~. But ~~if~~ ^{follow this advice} we expect you to ~~work within the system~~, it is clearly up to us, as your political elders, to be sure that the system ~~does~~ ^{will} work. S.

Not only for you -- the bright young college students -- but for the struggling minorities everywhere -- the ~~miner~~ ^{miners & his family,} Appalachia, the migrant fruit picker in California, the tenant farmer in the rural South, and the urban poor who daily contend with filth and vermin, hunger and despair.

As a Democrat, I feel this challenge with special keenness. ~~As~~ ^{we} Democrats ^{always & then} ~~have~~ ^{we pride ourselves} on being the party of the people? If we are to live up to this tradition, we must be specially sure that our party is open to all Americans who want to participate -- whatever their race, age, sex or economic status.

So I shall speak today about my own party, and what we are doing to reform and up-date ourselves. — What we are doing ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ to make ourselves -- if you will excuse one more use of that overworked word -- relevant.

I am going to ~~talk about~~ ^{to} restrict my remarks to the Democratic Party in part because I prefer to speak of what I know first hand. But also, to be candid, because the impulse to reform -- never strong in the Republican Party -- is particularly quiescent at the moment.

The Republican approach to reform reminds me of George B^Ernard Shaw's attitude toward exercise -- whenever he felt the urge to take some, he lay down until he got over it.

The Democrats are in the midst of a thorough review of all our past ways of doing things -- all the way from the precinct level to the national convention, from voter registration to presidential selection.

The process began over five years ago when the 1964 Convention acted to ban racial discrimination in the selection of delegates.

In 1968, our Convention took further steps forward. It seated the Mississippi "challengers", and unseated the "regulars" It handled the competing Georgia factions by seating both delegations.

It did away with the long-established unit rule, allowing each delegate to vote his or her own conscience. And it resolved that all delegates to future Conventions be selected through a process "in which all Democratic voters have had full, meaningful and timely opportunity to participate."

But ~~we are here today because~~ the Convention took an additional step into the future -- it mandated a re-examination of the Convention process itself, in order to make it a more responsive and responsible instrument of the party's will.

Adopting a platform and nominating national candidates ~~is~~ is the crucial business of a political party. Today, because of electronic communication, we perform the decision making process in the living rooms of millions,

Our excesses or our follies are exposed as never before.

The television audience decides for itself the important questions -- are we rational, are we fair, are all views considered, are all voices given hearing and due consideration.

In other words, does the Democratic Party conduct its business in a democratic manner?

Party ~~platforms~~ platforms, once little more than political rhetoric, are taken seriously in today's politics.

They are too important to be jerry-built in a hectic few days amid a circus atmosphere.

Do not misunderstand: I am all for conventions. I think they have an important -- indeed, an essential, ^{an} role in our political system.

This is a big country, with many kinds of people, all with diverse interests. In the Democratic Party (more than in the Republican) this national diversity is fully reflected.

This it is essential that we get together from time to time to determine where we agree and where we differ -- and to hammer out these differences in full and free discussion, with concern and respect for the opinions of others -- so that we can move forward together.

I have spent enough years actively engaged in the work of this Party to know with great certainty that ~~xxxx~~ -- regardless of the divergent views that may exist prior to the convention, regardless of differences among the various delegations:

~~ifxxxxxxx~~

if all views are fully aired,

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if ~~xxx~~ our rules assure ~~that~~ fair play ~~is~~ to each delegate,

then, ^{when} after the debate has ended, ~~and~~ we ~~will~~ leave the convention ^{committed in our} ~~commitment~~ ^{to} platform and ^{the} candidates.

Democratic party reform begins with a new approach to the Party platform.

I have proposed ~~xxxxxxx~~ a special "mid-term" convention -- a convention held mid-way between the Presidential term - for the purpose of adopting a platform ^{without the distractions of Convention held early.}

A preparation for this, or for the regular four-year platform committee considerations, ^{already} the Democratic National Committee ^{has} ~~has~~ established a Democratic Policy Council -- which I am pleased to serve as chairman.

Some 75 Democrats -- representing all factions within the party -- will work throughout the year to develop programs for the seventies, and a design for the eighties.

The policy Council ~~x~~ will reflect the best, the most creative, thinking in America today.

The Council deliberations will determine, to a great extent, whether ^{The Democrats} ~~we~~ re-enlist the enthusiasm and strnegth of alienated youth, whether we cntinue our salutary alliances with all groups of forward looking Americans, whether we successfully withstand the cntinued assaults upon our long-range goals and aspirations for the Natinn .

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~~Another~~ ~~Task Force~~ ~~appointed~~ ~~the~~
~~The Democratic National Committee has appointed another committee~~

Further evidence of the Democratic Party's ~~commitment~~ commitment to an open party and expanded citizen participation is the Freedom to Vote Task Force, headed by the able former ATTorney G^Eneral Ramsey Clark.

For ~~six~~ months, Task Force members examined a long-standing American problem -- the disturbingly low number of eligible voters who participate in PResidential elections.

In 1968, only 60 percent of our voting age citizens ~~actually entered~~ cast their ballots. Some 47 million Americans stayed away from the polls.

By way of contrast, over 75 pcent regularly vote in British and Canadian elections.

Many of those who did not vote could not, because of restrictive state and local residency - or other - requirements.

Many didn't know where - or how - to register.

For, despite our long-standing commitment to participatory democracy, we still make it darn difficult for the average citizen to participate.

The Freedom to Vote Task Force proposes a Universal Enrollment Plan, which

would ~~shift the registration responsibility~~ ^{make} to the Federal government ^{responsible} ~~for registration~~

~~system like that used in Great Britain and~~

This is not ^{a new suggestion} ~~an untried system~~. It is done in ^{and works} ~~Great Britain~~ ^{many} ~~other~~ ^{countries} ~~nations~~, including Great Britain, and here at home in South Dakota,

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is ^{ninety} ~~used~~ 90 percent - and more - ^{of the} ~~voters~~ are registered ^{in these states}.

After all, ~~we don't have to register to pay our income tax~~ ^{in order} ~~we register~~ ^{to vote - a citizen privilege.} ~~Why should we must~~ ^{a citizen responsibility.}

Two other Commissions are hard at work on intra-party reforms. ~~both~~ ~~mandated by the 1962~~ ~~And~~ ~~by the time the Democrats next gather~~ ~~in convention~~ ~~their work will complete~~ ^{effort so} ~~the full scale modernizing~~ ~~and~~ ~~restructuring~~ ~~of the Democratic Party.~~

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From now on, minority views will be fully reflected in our state convention, and dissent at the state level will be reflected ~~in~~ in the delegation to the national convention.

This same kind of grass-roots reform and rejuvenation is going on all over the country. In fact, some 33 states have appointed their own ~~commissions~~ "little" McGovern Commissions.

The Rules Commission is re-examining that unique American institution - the ~~American~~ political convention.

Recognizing that ~~conventions~~ a good part of the time conventions are meaningless -- and deadly dull, the Rules Commission proposes to reduce the chaos and confusion and restore the dignity appropriate to the importance of the task.

Part of the trouble is that our Democratic conventions have become much too large. This is a simple problem to identify, but ~~xxxxxxx~~ -- human nature being what it is -- it is a difficult one to solve.

The convention is too large because so many people want to be delegates and alternates. And, over the years, we have let more and more of them do so.

But that is not the only reason the convention floor is so crowded -- many people with no real credentials ~~to~~ manage, one way or another, to get passes. And they are constantly milling around on the floor.

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And by the time we next meet in convention, ^{in 1972,} we will have completed the task.

~~To make it the party of the seventies and the eighties~~

We will have a revitalized party fully equipped to contribute to the political life of this nation in the seventies -- and on to the end of the century.

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