

MESSAGE FOR AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION  
MEETING  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
SEPTEMBER 5, 1968

My message this afternoon is directed to a particular -- but substantial -- group within the American Political Science Association: All those who write, edit, revise, re-issue, collect, or publish text books, case studies or other learned tracts on American government.

And my message is simply this: prosperity is just around the corner. By the time the Democrats next gather in National Convention in 1972, we will have completed a full scale modernizing and restructuring of the Democratic Party. Today that process stands at mid-passage; but when it is finished four years hence, all your publications will have to be revised, re-issued and resold. And out of such opportunities are wealthy political scientists made.

These historic developments have been largely obscured by the tragedy and turmoil of the Presidential primaries and the controversies surrounding last week's Democratic National Convention. Yet these changes are so significant and their impact on the American political system likely to be so far-reaching, I felt it appropriate to discuss them this afternoon.

One common theme emerges from the decisions reached by the Credentials and Rules Committees and by the Convention itself: persons previously outside the party structure are demanding and receiving a far greater role in making decisions. The emphasis is clearly on broader popular participation, involvement, and responsibility.

I say that these injections of new blood and vitality into the party structure will be crucial factors in this nation's ability to solve many of the urgent challenges now before us. To borrow from the pen of my friend, Clinton Rossiter: "No America without democracy, no democracy without politics, no politics without parties..."

Important gains were achieved this year and, more significantly, the groundwork was laid for even more basic reforms before 1972. I make this prediction: the face of American politics will be fundamentally different because of the decisions which the Democrats made last week in Chicago.

First, the Credentials Committee, building on the action of the 1964 National Convention which established a Special Equal Rights Committee, recommended to the Convention and the Convention accepted these historic decisions:

-- The seating of an entire challenging delegation from Mississippi because of the racial barriers which had been imposed in selecting the regular delegation.

-- The seating of both the regular and challenging delegations from Georgia with the delegate votes divided between them.

-- Requiring of the Alabama and other challenged delegations to subscribe to a good faith pledge that delegates to the National Convention would not publicly support the nominees of any other national party in the fall election.

As one who participated in working out the 1964 compromise over the Mississippi challenge -- and as one who received some criticism over the terms of that compromise -- I want to emphasize that the decisions of 1964 provided the basis for the successful challenges of 1968. Where discrimination or exclusion existed, the Credentials Committee and the Convention acted with dispatch. This was a major forward step in ridding the Democratic Party of racial discrimination in the selection of Convention delegates. Governor Richard Hughes and his Committee did a remarkable job of deciding these bitterly fought challenges.

And, I might add, the Democrats' record in this regard contrasts sharply with the behavior of our Republican brethren in Miami Beach. For those among you disposed toward model-building, I would offer the Republican gathering as the model of the closed convention.

Other credentials challenges raised issues which were beyond the criteria for seating delegates in the Call of the 1968 Democratic National Convention. Following the pattern of 1964, however, the Credentials Committee-- while it lacked authority to act this year--laid the groundwork for these additional criteria to be relevant next time around.

In particular, upon the recommendation of the Credentials Committee, the Convention directed the Democratic National Committee to establish a special Committee of the Party to:

- broaden participation in delegate selection;
- assist State parties in bringing about appropriate

changes in State laws and party rules;

- review the timeliness of delegate selection;
- assist the States in complying with the continuing requirement in the Call to the next Convention for full participation in party affairs by all members regardless of race.

I will recommend strongly to the Democratic National Committee that this special Committee be established before the end of 1968 -- and that adequate staff resources be provided to begin immediately the job of implementing these objectives in all States.

These are all highly constructive reforms and I intend to do everything in my power to see them implemented fully.

Other significant reforms were achieved in the rules of the National Convention. Under the chairmanship of Governor Sam Shapiro of Illinois, the Rules Committee and the Convention:

- laid the groundwork for the prohibition of the unit rule at all future Conventions;
- prohibited the use of the unit rule in any part of the process of delegate selection for future Conventions;
- and required that the delegate selection process occur within the calendar year of the next nominating Convention and be open to all party membership.

Furthermore, these changes are not merely proposals or recommendations. The Convention adopted mandatory language for the Call of the Convention to be issued in 1972. This language requires the enforcement of provisions on the unit rule, on the timeliness of delegate selection, and on opening the selection process to participation by all Democrats in each State.

The precedents and rules of party conventions are mysterious and confusion rituals -- even when past practices have been compiled in printed manuals or when the Proceedings of past Conventions are available.

This year, the Convention ordered a special Rules Commission to codify the rules governing the Convention and its preliminary Committees -- to be available prior to the 1972 Convention. Recommendations for revision and other rules changes will also come from the new Rules Commission.

The Convention Proceedings themselves are basic documents in American politics -- as basic as the Congressional Record. This year, I am recommending to the Democratic National Committee that the publication of the 1968 Proceedings be expedited to make them available to scholars and others as rapidly as possible. If I am not mistaken, it usually takes about three and one-half years to get this job done -- so there is plenty of room for improvement.

This year we also adopted a rule forbidding prolonged floor demonstrations and limiting the time of nominating and seconding speeches. And I didn't encounter one delegate who missed the balloons.

For historical purposes, I want to note at this point that a number of these proposals were contained in a letter I sent to the Chairman of the Rules Committee before it met in Chicago. Governor Hughes of Iowa, Governor Hughes of New Jersey, and many others, participated in similar recommendations.

The Democratic Party Platform also proposed some highly important reforms of our election processes. It called for:

- public funding of campaign expenses through Federal income tax credits;
- consideration of presidential primaries throughout the nation and reform of the Electoral College and presidential election procedures;
- "removing all remaining barriers to voter registration."

In my language this means the establishment of a publicly financed system of automatic voter registration by the States. This basic reform is long overdue. It is, moreover, the logical next step now that the most serious problems of overt discrimination in voting are being corrected through the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Finally -- and I think it is only appropriate to note this -- the Convention machinery worked effectively to permit an informed, intelligent, and thorough public debate on the Platform Resolution relating to Vietnam. Some have called this the most constructive debate held on this issue in many months. The Convention and the nation were better for the debate having taken place.

PAGE SIX

would be necessary in order to qualify for seating at the 1972 Convention.

I respectfully commend this suggestion to President David Easton and his associates for their consideration.

Last week at the Democratic National Convention -- in a most difficult and tension-ridden situation -- the processes of democratic government and majority rule worked. The Democrats faced up to some of the most difficult and controversial issues ever brought to any National Convention for decision -- issues which split the ranks of all Presidential candidates -- but issues which truly represented the real concerns and convictions of millions of Americans.

I say this is compelling evidence of the Party's determination to remain relevant to the needs and demands of the people.

Despite the disorder and violence which we all deplore, the Democratic Party emerged from this testing with its sights firmly fixed on the goal of modernizing and democratizing its structure and procedures.

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

I say this bodes well for America.

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DRAFT #1  
9/4 - JGS

A.P.S.A. Meeting

Washington, D.C.

September 5, 1968

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These historic developments have been largely obscured by the tragedy and turmoil of the Presidential primaries and the controversies surrounding last week's Democratic National Convention. Yet these changes are so significant and their impact on the American political system likely to be so far-reaching, I felt it appropriate to discuss them this afternoon.

One common theme emerges from the decisions reached by the Credentials and Rules Committees and the Convention: the people are demanding and receiving a far greater role in making decisions. The emphasis is clearly on participation, involvement, and greater

responsibility for persons previously outside the political process.

Important gains were achieved this year at the Democratic National Convention and the groundwork was laid for even more basic reforms before 1972.

First, building on the action of the 1964 National Convention establishing a Special Equal Rights Committee of the National Democratic Party, the Credentials Committee recommended and the Convention supported the following historic actions:

-- The seating of an entire challenging delegation from Mississippi because of the racial barriers in the process of selecting the regular delegation.

-- Disciplining of the Georgia Party whose delegate selection process was so narrowly conceived as to be

a mockery on fair representation. Both the regular and challenging delegations were seated and the delegate votes divided between them

-- Requiring of the Alabama and other challenged delegations a good faith pledge that delegates to this Convention would not publicly support the nominees of any other national party in the fall election.

As one who participated in working out the 1964 compromise over the Mississippi challenge -- and as one who received some criticism over the terms of that compromise -- I want to emphasize that the groundwork we laid in 1964 provided the basis for the successful challenges of 1968. Where discrimination or exclusion existed, the

Credentials Committee and the Convention acted with dispatch. This was a major forward step in ridding the Democratic Party of racial discrimination in the selection of Convention delegates.

And, I might add, the Democrats' behavior in this regard contrasts with the actions of our Republican brethren in Miami Beach.

Other credentials challenges raised issues which were not included as criteria for seating delegates in the Call to the 1968 National Convention. Following the pattern of 1964, the Credentials Committee -- while it lacked authority to act this year -- laid the groundwork for these criteria to be relevant next time around.

In particular, upon the recommendation of the Credentials Committee, the Convention directed the Democratic National Committee

to establish a special Committee of the Party to:

- broaden participation in delegate selection;
- assist State parties in bringing about appropriate changes in State laws and party rules;
- review the timeliness of delegate selection;
- assist the States in complying with the continuing requirement in the Call to the next Convention for full participation in party affairs by all members regardless of race.

I will recommend strongly to the Democratic National Committee that this special Committee be established before the end of 1968 -- and that adequate staff resources be provided to begin immediately the job of implementing these objectives in all States.

Other historic reforms were achieved in the rules of the National Convention. Under the chairmanship of Governor Sam Shapiro of Illinois, the Rules Committee and the Convention:

-- restricted the application of the unit rule at the 1968

Convention, and laid the groundwork for its prohibition

at all future Conventions;

-- prohibited the use of the unit rule in any part of the process

of delegate selection;

-- and required that the delegate selection process occur

within the calendar year of the next nominating Conven-

tion and be open to all party membership.

Furthermore, these changes I have outlined are not merely proposals or recommendations. The Convention adopted mandatory

language for the Call of the Convention to be issued in 1972. This language requires the enforcement of provisions on the unit rule, on the timeliness of delegate selection, and on opening the selection process to participation by all Democrats in each State.

The precedents and rules of party conventions are mysterious and confusing rituals -- even when past practice over the years has been compiled in printed manuals or when the Proceedings are available.

The 1968 Democratic Convention ordered a special Rules Commission to codify the rules governing the Convention and its preliminary Committees -- to be available in time for the 1972 Convention. Recommendations for revision and basic rules changes will also come

from the new Rules Commission.

The Proceedings themselves are basic documents in American politics -- as basic as the Congressional Record. This year I am recommending to the Democratic National Committee that the publication of the 1968 Proceedings be expedited to make them available to scholars and others as rapidly as possible. If I am not mistaken, it usually takes about three and one-half years to get this job done -- so there is plenty of room for improvement.

This year we also adopted a rule forbidding prolonged floor demonstrations and limiting the time of nominating and seconding speeches.

For historical purposes, I want to note at this point that

a number of these proposals were contained in a letter I sent to the Chairman of the Rules Committee before it met in Chicago. Governor Hughes of Iowa, Governor Hughes of New Jersey, and many others, participated in similar recommendations.

This was indeed an open Convention -- a Convention marked by an overwhelming desire of the delegates to continue the modernization of party machinery started in 1964.

The Democratic Party Platform should not go unnoticed in its proposals for reform of our election processes. It calls for:

-- public funding of campaign expenses through Federal

income tax credits;

-- consideration of presidential primaries throughout the

nation and reform of the Electoral College and presidential

election procedures;

-- "removing all remaining barriers to voter registration."

In my language this simply means the establishment of  
a publicly financed system of automatic voter registration  
by the States. This basic reform is long overdue.

It is, moreover, the logical next step now that the most  
serious problems of overt discrimination are being  
corrected through the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Finally -- and I think it is only appropriate to note this --  
the Convention machinery worked effectively to permit an informed,  
intelligent, and thorough public debate on the Platform Resolution  
relating to Vietnam. Some have called this the most constructive

debate held on this issue in many months. The Convention and the nation were better for the debate having taken place.

In regard to the violence which so dominated our TV screens last week -- and which disrupted and made even more difficult the important work of the Convention -- I am pleased to learn the National Commission on Violence will undertake a thorough investigation of these distressing incidents. The American people demand -- and they have every right to receive -- a full and complete report on what actually occurred.

In closing, I would like to offer a suggestion that has been cleared with absolutely no one: Under the sponsorship of the American Political Science Association, or under the auspices of a Commission it might create, there now exists a unique opportunity for political

scientists to assist in the reform and revision of our presidential nominating process and the modernization of party organizations.

It goes without saying that any such effort should be non-partisan. The rules and procedures of the Republican Party are just as much in need of objective, scholarly study as are those of the Democrats -- and so are the State laws that regulate both major parties and all third parties that currently exist or may be created.

I would hope that an A.P.S.A. Commission would be available to assist the State governments in the reconsideration and revision of these State laws. In many States substantial revisions will be needed if delegate selection processes are to occur within the calendar year in which the National Convention takes place -- as well as in the manner which the Democrats agreed would be necessary in order to qualify

for seating at the 1972 Convention.

I respectfully commend this suggestion to President David Easton and his associates for their serious consideration.

Last week at the Democratic National Convention -- in a most difficult and tension-ridden situation -- the processes of democratic government and majority rule worked. The Democrats faced up to some of the most difficult and controversial issues ever brought to any National Convention for decision -- issues which split the ranks of all Presidential candidates -- but issues which truly represented the real concerns and convictions of millions of Americans. I say this is compelling evidence of the Party's determination to remain relevant to the needs and demands of the people.

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DRAFT # 2 - 9/5 - as received

M.S.

DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY TRANSFORMED

A REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

Message for A.P.S.A. Meeting

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey

Washington, D.C.

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I will recommend strongly to the Democratic National Committee that this special Committee be established before the end

-- and required that the delegate selection process occur

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and be open to all party membership.

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*Finally*  
~~conclusion~~, I would like to offer a suggestion that has been cleared with absolutely no one: Under the sponsorship of the American Political Science Association, or under the auspices of a Commission it might create, there now exists a unique opportunity for political scientists to assist in the reform and revision of our presidential

nominating process and the modernization of party organizations.

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I would hope that an A.P.S.A. Commission would be available to assist the State governments in the reconsideration and revision of these State laws and to work with the Democrats' special Committee that will be established. In many States substantial revisions will be needed if delegate selection processes are to occur within the calendar year in which the National Convention takes place -- as well as in the manner which the Democrats agreed would be necessary in order to

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