i Stemmer Treso- (miami) 1EMORANDUM Congressman abner Makera (2d D154) HHH John Stewart Meeting with Democratic Study Group, Ill nois Legislature RE: Bill Connell advised that this would be primarily an informal affair, give-and take, question and answer. I have n Attached is a copy of your article prepared for The Democrat. In my opinion this expresses most clearly concisely your praction descript for remilding within the your meeting with the Illinois DSG. discussing the appointments to the Rules and Credential's Commissions which Harris is supposed to announce. - Jack Toury minority whip Leader Scrate e gloon Democ Study Group. (Don Frau - Join 61 Hora

## by Hubert H. Humphrey

The Democratic Party has been this country's greatest instrument of social progress. In the wake of the November elections, our challenge is to rally the Democratic forces, past and potential, to revitalize that tradition -- as an effective "loyal opposition" now, and as the victorious party in 1970 and 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.

Social Security, Medicare, Model Cities, aid to education, Headstart, job training -- all of these are Democratic programs. There is enthusiastic support for them among the American people. And I don't mean to see them wither away. So I look forward to working with the Democratic leadership in Congress and speaking out in support of the Democratic platform and the programs which we took to the people in 1968.

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 1960 will be up for re-election, along with the entire House of Representatives ... manyoof our large states -- New York, California, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, 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.

After two years of a Republican administration, the choice between the parties should be even more clear than it was this year, especially if we speak out -- constructively, frankly, and with conviction. The Democratic label -- from the national level

to the precinct level -- must be seen by the people as standing for responsive and responsible public leadership on the issues that count.

And let's not forget the stakes in 1970. 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.

It is now or never for the Democratic Party. There is much work to be done. 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 -- despite the turmoil and tragedy which accompanied it -- was one of the most open in history. We 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 breadening 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 procedure for future conventions.

In September I told the American Political Science Association that "the face of American politics will be fundamentally different because of the decisions which the Democrats made last week in Chicago." The name of politics today is participation -- participation by young people, urban housewives, black 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 the strength to win in 1970 and 1972 and earn a renewal of its historic mandate to lead this nation.

We must build a united party. As I said in the speech announcing my candidacy for the Democratic nomination: "... we do not demand, nor should we, an America of one mind. We seek an America of one spirit." And so 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. That is the essence of true democracy and that must be the Democratic Party's standard for the conduct of its 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 should consider various mechanisms for carrying our message totthe American people: regional conferences, study panels, seminars, even a Party-wide conference prior to the 1970 elections. We must think

and act creatively -- and we must face the future confidently.

We cannot indulge in the luxury of writing-off any group of geographical region of the country. The Democratic Party achieved its position as the country's majority party when it became the country's only <u>national</u> 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 amending the Constitution, if possible before 1972.

advocated the 18 year old votes 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 without going through a difficult and time-consuming registration process -- one which often seems designed to make it as difficult as possible for Americans to perform this vital duty of citizenship. We must develop a system among the states for a permanent franchise which qualifies a voter anywhere in the nation, 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. The combination of good morals and good politics is hard to beat.

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

Although we have a considerable debt as a result of the 1968 campaign, I shall advocate that the National Committee allocate a substantial budget to support expanded research and candidate support operations, as well as efforts to fund-raising to help pay off the debt.

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 conclude with a word about the 1968 election.

From the moment of my nomination I know 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 my opponents. I 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.

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.

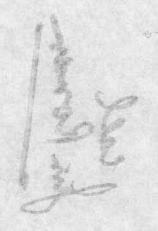
By the last week of the campaign, millions of Americans were responding to this appeal. They wanted an administration with courage -- one that would push resolutely ahead with the urgent tasks of human rights, social justice and the healing of divisions within our society. We now have a responsibility to these 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 party support

needed to win a resounding victory.

Your commitment and your help are vital to these efforts.

You ask: When do we begin? I answer: How about yesterday?

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