

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

June 9, 1972

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Should Senator Humphrey be elected President in 1972, this handwritten statement will remain with other official documents.

However, should he not be elected President in 1972, it is to be given to Lou Bracknell.

Violet Williams
Personal Secretary to
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

Press Statement, June 9, 1972
 RAOIO-TV Gallery, Capitol.

I am pleased to learn that Sen. Muskie will remain in the race for the Democratic nomination. His decision helps to ensure that there will be a free and open Convention. It is in Miami Florida that the decision of the delegates will be recorded - on the nominees for President and Vice President, the rules of the Convention; the platform and the future course of the Democratic Party.

Sen Muskie has noted what he terms to be certain "unacceptable positions" of Sen. McHovern and asks him to "redefine and reexamine his positions with respect to critical issues".

I have, in recent weeks, stated my differences on ~~some matters~~ certain areas of National Policy with Sen. McHovern. These differences can and must be recognized in the Democratic platform and be ratified by the delegates.

The essence of the reforms for the Democratic Party is the full & free participation by the delegates to the Convention. Our Party decisions are not going to be made by Pollsters, Politicians, or the Press.

~~I remain~~

I shall continue as an active candidate. Today I shall fly to ~~the~~ Oklahoma for the State Convention and ~~that~~ after a week-end of rest will resume an intensive schedule designed to meet with as many delegates and potential delegates as possible. In addition, I shall be conferring with elected democrats, Party leaders, representatives of organized labor, agriculture, youth, women, and racial and ethnic groups.

~~Our efforts~~

The Democratic Convention must nominate a ticket and design a platform that will command the allegiance and support of all ~~elements~~

Major elements in the
Party.

*Senator Edmund S.***MUSKIE**

REMARKS OF SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

Maine

June 9, 1972

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FOR RELEASE

First, in behalf of all of us who stayed at home, let me welcome the press back to Washington. I think you will find it a pleasant city in which to work. English is spoken here, typewriters are normally located on desks rather than on moving vehicles, and it is sometimes possible to use the telephone sitting down -- all of which should make your task easier.

The last of the preferential primaries is now behind us and only the primary for the selection of District delegates in New York is still to be held. Since I have been subjected for several months to the interpretation of political events by various members of this distinguished audience, I am sure that you will regard it as only fair play that you now be subjected to mine. I believe that my own interpretation of what has been and is occurring in our political process benefits from my detachment from the most recent battles.

It now appears likely that by the time the delegate selection process is completed in late June, 1200-1300 delegates pledged to Senator McGovern will have been elected in primaries and conventions. It is only realistic to recognize that his nomination is probable.

George McGovern has assembled a remarkably effective campaign organization and has enlisted the active participation of large numbers of younger voters who represent an enormous present and future strength to the Democratic Party.

Senator McGovern's success in the recent primaries and his lead in elected delegates has led some of my supporters and others whom I know wish me well to urge that I now endorse Senator McGovern. They assert, rightly or wrongly, that my endorsement at this time would end the contest and ensure his nomination. They suggest that this, in turn, would avoid a potentially divisive convention, contribute to unity in the party, and increase the prospects of a Democratic victory in the fall.

However, an even larger number of my supporters have been equally insistent that I continue as a candidate and suggest that I

have no right to foreclose any opportunity for the convention to choose a different candidate, if that proves to be the will of the delegates.

In reaching my decision, I have been moved by two considerations which I think I should disclose to you as frankly as I can. Not only do my supporters deserve a full explanation, but the nature of the decision which I would make has been the subject of extensive speculation in the press, and the issues involved bear in a direct way upon the present posture of the Democratic Party and its prospects for success in November.

The 1968 Democratic Convention mandated sweeping reform of the process by which our party would choose its candidate and mold its platform. In the four years that have followed, the party, under the leadership of Senator Harold Hughes and Senator McGovern himself, has worked to open the processes to the people. It has sought by every practical means to ensure full participation in its decisions by every element of the party. It has sought to make the 1972 convention an assembly of free delegates, representative of their states, and able to exercise their personal judgment without restraint or compulsion.

That process is not yet completed. An important primary and a number of important conventions are yet to be held. Several hundred delegates are yet to be selected. Each of those delegates has an equal right to participate in our party's decisions as to its nominee and its platform.

Under the rules of the party, the affirmative votes of 1509 delegates are required to nominate. And there is no provision that the accumulation by a candidate of any lesser number terminates the contest. Whatever the wisdom of one-half the Democratic voters of California, or of 10% of those in Rhode Island, they are not empowered to confer the Democratic Party's nomination. Only its convention can do so. And only by the vote of a majority of its delegates.

The press may feel perfectly free to award the nomination to Senator McGovern on the basis of its analysis of his delegate strength, just as the networks now award elections on the basis of

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their sample precincts. However, I am not free to do so, even if I had the power or influence to now determine the convention's outcome. To attempt to foreclose any alternative to Senator McGovern would make a mockery of the arduous process by which delegates have been elected, and send them to a convention with nothing to decide.

The second consideration is even more basic to our political process. The very justification which is advanced for endorsement of Senator McGovern condemns such a course. What is the origin of the fear that an open convention would be divisive? It is basically that Senator McGovern's positions on many of the most critical issues which face our country are unacceptable to a very large portion of our people. These differences are neither selfish nor frivolous. They are deeply felt. For a substantial number of the delegates who support me or Senator Humphrey or Congresswoman Chisholm, or Senator Jackson, or Governor Wallace, or Governor Sanford -- the choice of a candidate was made on the basis of their essential agreement with the record, the views, the program of that candidate. Perhaps even more significantly, many of the uncommitted delegates are uncommitted because they are not yet fully satisfied as to which candidate holds views closest to their own.

Party unity is not achieved with the magic wand of the kingmaker. No man can hand George McGovern a united party. And I would do him a grave disservice to pretend that I could do so.

It is not within me to take that step which would bypass hard-won Democratic Party reforms and by doing so subvert them. If reform of the Democratic Party means anything, it means that the nominee of the Party must be selected in an open convention. The decision should not be made weeks in advance -- for whatever purpose, for whatever high motivation.

I hope that Senator McGovern will use the time which remains before the convention to draw on the wisdom and experience of those elements of the Party which are not yet prepared to support his candidacy; to seek their advice and counsel; and to re-examine and refine his own position with respect to critical issues. I predict that if he does so, he will find that the areas of agreement can be broadened and the differences can be narrowed. I urge that he recognize that the broadest agreement which is consistent with his own principles and convictions is the only means of victory in November. And a candidacy so broad could have the solid support, not only of myself, but of a united Party.

For my part, I will continue as a candidate for my Party's nomination. I ask the delegates who have supported me to continue that support. Our numbers are far less significant than are the reasons we stand together. I invite uncommitted

delegates to join with us in seeking to commit our Party to responsible change, but on the basis of a platform which promises only that which is both desirable and possible.

I am perfectly aware that this is not an easy course for me or for my delegates. It is a tempting prospect to seize the moment of glory and deliver the decisive stroke. It promises a seat of honor in the councils of the candidate, from which to chart the Party's course. But when all is said and done, the seat is on the bandwagon, and an honorable man, before he mounts it, should be convinced that his Party will enjoy the ride.

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