U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1972 I come here today to tell you In Cart of a Stop movement. to stop a candedate for the Cree who a threat to rung Cardudate for 200, Sen. Congres Logalature condidato who Junde our Courts - not unde Vorty not come '8261 '91 the term expiring June Tariff Commission for X OLK' Glenn W. Sutton. A member of the U.S. weN io ,ibnoldA .H olstI 183 87 aunf 556 8261 NOISSIMMOD U.S. TARIFF Nessage. Calendar No. report Date of senimon lo smaN ощсе Predecessor

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JUNE 29, 1972

THREE WEEKS AGO ED MUSKIE CAME HERE TO SAY

THAT HE WAS NOT WITHDRAWING FROM THE PRESIDENTIAL

RACE.

wallac

TODAY I COME HERE TO SAY THAT I AM -- PLEASED WITH ED MUSKIE'S DECISION. (X) Shop So litme man THAT GEORGE MCGOVERN HAS BEEN VISITING IN THE SOUTH. IN THE MEANTIME I'VE BEEN OUT VISITING WITH GEORGE WALLACE. BUT I HAVE NOT ASKED GEORGE WALLACE TO RUN FOR VICE PRESIDENT NOR HAS HE ASKED ME / AND] LLACE A CABINET POST OFFERED GEORGE BEAT ME TO IT.

AND WHILE GEORGE MCGOVERN HAS BEEN REWRITING AND REVISING HIS PLATFORM, I'VE BEEN BUSY GETTING MY POLICIES

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WRITTEN INTO THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

IN INDIANA WHERE A CANDIDATE WASN'T ON THE BALLOT, HE GOT 5 DELEGATES. AND IN CALIFORNIA WHERE OVER I MILLION, 350 THOUSAND VOTED FOR A CANDIDATE, IT APPEARS HE GETS NO DELEGÂTES. SUCH IS THE REFORM POLITICS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. A RESPECTED NATIONAL SURVEY RECENTLY REPORTED THAT IN THE PAST FEW YEARS THERE HAS BEEN A SHARP RISE IN THE FEELING OF ALIENATION AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND IN THEIR BELIEF THAT THE PEOPLE RUNNING THE COUNTRY DON'T REALLY CARE WHAT HAPPENS TO THEM.

A DECIDED MAJORITY ALSO STATED THAT WE ARE LIVING IN A POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN WHICH, INEVITABLY, "THE RICH GET RICHER AND THE POOR GET POORER." IT IS NOT EXAGGERATION TO SUGGEST THAT DECISIONS BEING MADE IN JUNE AND JULY THIS YEAR MAY WELL DETERMINE

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THE DIRECTION AND COURSE OF AMERICAN POLITICS AND PUBLIC POLICY FOR YEARS TO COME.

THE PATTERN OF REPUBLICAN PERFORMANCE DURING THE PAST THREE AND A HALF YEARS INDICATES THAT THE ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES REMAIN.

For it is a simple fact -- not merely a partisan claim -- that in the realities of our system and its operation, the Democratic Party has been -- and is -the one party whose roots go deeply into the structure of this society.

IN THESE TIMES -- AND WE'RE BEFORE -- THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PARTICIPATION, WE'R POLITICAL MEANING TO ALL THAT VAST AND INTRICATE COMPLEX OF GROUPS AND INTERESTS WHICH FORM THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE. - The guat Coalition How Journal Democ. Mapputy

NOT MERBLY AT THE WHITE HOUSE, BUT AT EVERY LEVEL OF THE SYSTEM - IN CONGRESS, AT THE STATEHOUSES, AT COURT-HOUSES AND CITY HALLS THROUGHOUT THE LAND -- THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY SERVES TO MAKE OUR REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, REPRESENTATIVE BUT THE QUESTION IS: ARE WE MOVING, IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, TO BROADEN OUR OWN COALITION? ARE WE TRULY REACHING OUT -- WITH THE REFORMS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY WHICH WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN -- TO THOSE WHO SHOULD BE WITH US? HAVE THESE PARTY REFORMS BROUGHT INTO OUR INNER COUNCILS THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN UNDER-REPRESENTED? L I SAY THE ANSWER IS "NO." AND THA IS NOT TO CONDEMN WHAT WE HAVE DONE, BUT TO POINT UP WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE TO MAKE OUR PARTY MORE RESPONSIVE AND RESPONSIBLE.

- 4 -

PROVIDING FAIR REPRESENTATION TO WOMEN, BLACKS AND YOUTH WAS AN IMPORTANT AND NEEDED ADVANCE. IT WAS A BADLY NEEDED FIRST STEP, BUT IT IS NOT ENOUGH WE NEGLECTED TO BRING IN OTHER GROUPS NO PROVISIONS WERE MADE BY OUR PARTY REFORMERS TO ASSURE ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION TO BLUE COLLAR WORKING FAMILIES - the Union + nontinun Workers, NEITHER WAS THERE ANY EXPLICIT EFFORT TO ASSURE ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION FOR NO OTHER AGE GROUP IN OUR SOCIETY HAS SUCH A CLEAR COMMONALITY OF NEEDS AND INTERESTS.

- 5 -

As FOR YOUTH, SOME REFORMERS FELL INTO THE TRAP OF BELIEVING THAT COLLEGE YOUTH REPRESENTED ALL AMERICAN YOUNG PEOPLE TO A GREAT EXTENT, THE "INVISIBLE YOUTH" IN OUR FACTORIES, SHOPS AND ON OUR FARMS (OFTEN OVERLOOKED BY THE MEDIA AS WELL) WERE IGNORED.

FRANKLY, I DO NOT BELIEVE IN QUOTA SYSTEMS. BUT SINCE THE PARTY HAS ADOPTED THEM, LET'S NOT STOP WITH A SELECTED FEW GROUPS AND EXCLUDE OTHERS WITH AT LEAST EQUAL RIGHTS TO REPRESENTATION.

- 6 -

BEYOND THE QUESTION OF GUARANTEED REPRESENTATION IN OUR PARTY, THE NEW PROCEDURES AT CAUCUSES AND CONVENTIONS HAVE RAISED MORE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC ACCESS.

Do THESE NEW RULES TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT NOT ALL PEOPLE HAVE THE TIME, THE MONEY, THE ENERGY TO PARTICIPATE EFFECTIVELY IN CAUCUS ACTIVITIES? THE FACT IS THEY DO NOT. THIS YEAR'S EXPERIENCE DEMONSTRATED THAT MANY PERSONS COULD NOT TAKE TIME OFF FROM THEIR JOBS AND ATTEND THE CAUCUSES. MANY YOUNG WORKING FAMILIES COULD NOT AFFORD BABY SITTERS. MANY ELDERLY DEMOCRATS LACKED TRANSPORTATION TO ATTEND MEETINGS. - 7 -

CONSEQUENTLY, PARTICIPATION IN CAUCUSES WAS NOT AS BROAD OR REPRESENTATIVE AS IT MUST BE IN YEARS TO COME.

IN MINNESOTA THE TURNOUT IN OUR CAUCUS WAS ONLY 12,7%, THAN 10%. In Iowa the caucus turnout was less THAN 10%. AND AS THE PRESS REPORTED, THESE CAUCUSES AND CONVENTIONS WERE FREQUENTLY DOMINATED BY AFFLUENT MIDDLE-CLASS AND COLLEGE-EDUCATED PERSONS THE PARTICIPATION WITHIN THE PARTY OF THESE MORE ADVANTAGED GROUPS IS WELCOME BUT WE ARE FOOLING OURSELVES AND SLIGHTING THE CAUSE OF TRUE POPULAR DEMOCRACY IF WE FAIL TO RECOGNIZE THOSE WHO WERE LEFT OUT,

DEVELOP WAYS TO INSURE

PARTICIPATION IN OUR CONVENTIONS AND CAUCUS NOMINATING

- 8 -

PROCEDURE OF ORDINARY WORKING FAMILIES AS WELL AS **Affinity He** POOR AND OTHER DISPOSSESSED GROUPS, **The second se**

SOURCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S GENERAL ELECTION

THEREFORE, WE SHOULD CONSIDER MAKING AVAILABLE FUNDS FOR TRANSPORTATION, FOOD AND LODGING TO DEMOCRATS OF MODEST MEANS CHOSEN AS DELEGATES -- NOT ONLY TO NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTIONS -- BUT ALSO TO NOMINATING AND POLICY CONVENTIONS AT THE STATE LEVEL.

THE CAUCUSES AND CONVENTIONS THIS YEAR ALSO DEMONSTRATED THAT WE NEED TO SIMPLIFY CONVENTION PROCEDURES, SO THAT PERSONS OF LIMITED POLITICAL EXPERIENCE AND EDUCATION ARE NOT HANDICAPPED IN PARTICIPATING FULLY AND EFFECTIVELY.

- 9 -

POLITICAL DOMINANCE BY A HIGHLY EDUCATED ELITE RUNS AS COUNTER TO POPULAR DEMOCRACY AS DOES DOMINANCE BY AN ECONOMIC OR SOCIAL ELITE.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY REFORM PLACED EMPHASIS UPON PRIMARY ELECTIONS AS A WAY OF INSURING THE BROADEST POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN THE DELEGATE SELECTION PROCESS. BUT PRIMARY ELECTION CONTESTS HAVE RAISED SOME SERIOUS QUESTIONS.

FIRST, THE QUESTION OF CAMPAIGN COSTS -- IN OTHER WORDS, JUST PLAIN SIMPLE FINANCING. IT'S NOTHING SHORT OF A MAJOR PROBLEM.

Secondly, the fact that so many primaries are so DIFFERENT AS TO HOW TO SELECT DELEGATES, DIVIDE UP THE DELEGATES, AND HOW LONG THOSE DELEGATES REMAIN COMMITTED TO THE CANDIDATE,

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Fortunately the Congress is now taking a good hard look at the primary process. It is needed. Should we have a national primary? And if so, under what guidelines and standards? Should there be regional primaries, and under what guidelines and standards? Should there be limits on total spending in all primaries?

IT IS QUITE OBVIOUS THAT THE ELECTION AND SELECTION PROCESS FOR THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE NEEDS CAREFUL REVIEW.

FINALLY, EFFORTS TO MAKE THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY MORE RESPONSIVE TO THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE ARE GRAVELY THREATENED WHEN ATTEMPTS ARE MADE TO ELIMINATE THE PARTICIPATION OF ELECTED OFFICIALS FROM OUR PARTY STRUCTURE.

THERE IS A CLEAR AND UNMISTAKABLE MOVEMENT TO DO THIS, AND I OPPOSE IT.

- 11 -

PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND PARTIES HAVE MUCH TO LEARN FROM EACH OTHER. ACTIVISTS NEED NOT BE ANTAGONISTS IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. JUST AS ELECTED OFFICIALS MUST RESPOND TO THEIR PARTY ACTIVISTS, SO DO THE ACTIVISTS HAVE TO UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEMS AND NEEDS -- AND THE INSIGHTS -- OF ELECTED OFFICIALS.

IN EVERY PRIMARY STATE I HAVE BEEN DISMAYED AT THE TACTICS OF ZEALOTS OF THE NEW POLITICS WHO LOUDLY PROCLAIMED THAT ALL POPULARLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WERE "HACKS" TO BE READ OUT OF THE PARTY.

IF THE NEW POLITICS MEANS WE MUST OUT OUT THOSE ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE, THE PEOPLE AND THE PARTY ARE BEING CHEATED.

To THE CONTRARY, I STRONGLY URGE THE INCLUSION OF ELECTED OFFICIALS IN PARTY STRUCTURES AS ONE OF THE ESSENTIAL MEANS TO PREVENT THE PARTY FROM LOSING TOUCH WITH THOSE IT IS SUPPOSED TO SERVE.

- 12 -

IT IS SURELY A PERVERSION OF DEMOCRACY TO ASSERT THAT A SELF-ANNOINTED ELITE BETTER REPRESENTS "THE PEOPLE" THAN DO THE THOUSANDS OF DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED PUBLIC OFFICIALS THROUGHOUT THIS LAND WHO HAVE BEEN CHOSEN FOR OFFICE BY THE VOTES OF HUNDREDS, THOUSANDS, OR IN SOME CASES MILLIONS OF VOTERS.

WE DOWNGRADE THEIR PARTICIPATION ONLY AT SERIOUS RISK TO THE SERIEVY OF OUR PARTY AND THE CAUSE

OF POPULAR DEMOCRACY.

BUT THE ELECTED OFFICIALS ARE PERFECTLY CAPABLE OF MAKING THEMSELVES HEARD LOUD AND CLEAR.

OTHER LESS ARTICULATE GROUPS -- SUCH AS THE WORKING FAMILIES AND THE ELDERLY CANNOT EASILY PRESS THEIR DEMANDS IN A DRAMATIC FASHION SUITABLE FOR THE TV SCREEN. BUT THOSE WHO ARE NOT HEARD SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN. AND I DO NOT INTEND THAT THEY BE.

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THAT, AFTER ALL, IS THE VERY ESSENCE OF OUR PARTY --TO REPRESENT, TO SPEAK FOR, TO WORK FOR THE UNREPRESENTED, THE INARTICULATE, THE UNSKILLED, THE UNDER-EDUCATED.

AND THAT IS WHY WE SPEND SO MUCH TIME AND ENERGY ON THE ADOPTION OF POLICY -- IN THE QUADRENNIAL CREATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

THE PLATFORM DRAFTING PROCESS WHICH WE SAW THIS PAST WEEK FOLLOWED MORE THAN 2 YEARS OF EFFORTS BY THE DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE IN HEARINGS HELD AROUND THE NATION.

THE PLATFORM OF OUR PARTY IS NOT BEING FORMED IN A VACUUM, BUT IN THE FIRES OF POLITICAL COMPETITION, PUBLIC HEARINGS, AND OPEN DEBATE,

THE PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY MUST BE A RESPONSIBLE PLATFORM. IT WOULD BE IRRESPONSIBLE AND POLITICAL FOLLY TO FASHION A PLATFORM THAT CATERS TO THE PREJUDICES OF ONE GROUP OF "TRUE BELIEVERS" OR ANOTHER.

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THE ISSUE IN 1972 IS NOT A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION BETWEEN GEORGE MCGOVERN AND HUBERT HUMPHREY -- ALTHOUGH THERE ARE SURELY DIFFERENCES. THE ISSUE IS THE RECORD OF RICHARD NIXON AND HIS

STEWARDSHIP OF OUR NATION., AND THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM MUST POINT UP THAT RECORD AND THE DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVES.

THE ELECTION WILL BE WON OR LOST ON OUR ABILITY TO DEMONSTRATE THAT MR. NIXON HAS UTTERLY FAILED TO MEET THE NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE HIS VETOES, HIS CUTBACKS, HIS IMPOUNDED FUNDS, HIS NEGLECT OF THE ELDERLY, POOR, AND NEEDY HIS WRETCHED EFFORTS TO WE UNEMPLOYMENT AND Stop INFLATION MUST BE OUR TARGETS.

AND WE ARE -- NO MATTER WHO THE NOMINEE IS -- DUTY BOUND TO PRESENT CLEAR ALTERNATIVES . IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO ATTACK -- THOUGH ATTACK WE MUST AND WILL.

BUT WE MUST BE VIGOROUS IN PRESENTING A DEMOCRATIC

ALTERNATIVE THAT CENTERS ON:

-- JOBS FOR THOSE WHO NEED WORK

-- ADEQUATE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL AMERICANS

-- QUALITY EDUCATION FOR OUR CHILDREN

-- OPPORTUNITY FOR YOUNG WORKERS

-- FULL PARTICIPATION AND RIGHTS FOR WOMEN

-- A SENSE OF DECENCY FOR OLDER AMERICANS

-- EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL MINORITIES IN THIS NATION

-- PROTECTION FROM CONGLOMERATES AND THE MONOPOLIES FOR THE BUSINESSMAN, CONSUMER AND WORKER

-- PROPERTY TAX RELIEF FOR THE HOMEOWNER

Now on this subject of volting rights, I want to express my concern over any effort to weaken the voting rights laws now in existence.

Now I know that in 1964, Senator McGovern voted against the key voting rights provision of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. But subsequent to that he changed his position and Senator McGovern did support the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

I was concerned to read yesterday about Senator McGovern's remarks in Atlanta where he suggested he would support changes in the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Now if Senator McGovern merely wishes to extend the Act to include violations of voting rights in other sections of the country besides the South, that is fine.

But I say from this platform today, that if Senator McGovern backslides into his 1964 anti-voting rights position and suggests any tempering with the 1963 Voting Rights Act which endangers the right to wate of even a single Black American, then I would have to Strubbely pourider withholder and support from his in the even be to the memidies of Mr party.

-- TAX REFORM FOR ALL AMERICANS

-- AND A COMMITMENT OF RESOURCES TO REBUILDING OUR

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METROPOLITAN AREAS AND REVITALIZING RURAL AMERICA.

Gut Above all, we must not forget that we Democrats must

SPEAK FOR AMERICA'S WORKING FAMILIES.

MY POLITICAL LIFE HAS BEEN COMMITTED TO THE FIGHT AGAINST THE FORCES OF REACTION, RACISM, AND PRIVILEGE IN OUR NATION. I HAVE SPOKEN FOR THOSE WHO COULD NOT SPEAK AND FOR MANY WHO COULD NOT VOTE -- FOR THOSE WHO WORKED AND THOSE WHO CRIED

FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO WORK.

AND I REGARD THE PRESENT STRUGGLE FOR TRUE DEMOCRATIC

REPRESENTATION WITHIN OUR PARTY TO BE AS SIGNIFICANT AS THE



BATTLE WHICH I WAGED FOR OVER A DECADE TO INSURE THE RIGHT TO VOTE OF MILLIONS OF BLACK AMERICANS WHO HAD BEEN SYSTEMATICALLY DENIED THEIR DEMOCRATIC FRANCHISE

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WHETHER I SERVE AS THE NEXT PRESIDENT, OR AS A UNITED STATES SENATOR, I AM COMMITTED TO FURTHERING THE GOALS OF TRUE ECONOMIC REFORM IN OUR PARTY AS WELL AS IN OUR NATION. wenne BUT IN OUR CONCENTRATION ON REFORM OF OUR PARTY, NOT FORGET THAT THE TASK BEFORE US IS NOT A SIMPLE, PARTISAN TASK -- BUT A CITIZEN'S TASK. AND AS WE APPROACH THE DELIBERATIONS AT MIAMIN WE MUST ACT NOT MERELY AS PARTISANS, BUT AS AMERICANS. WE MUST NOT PROPOSE NATIONAL POLICIES ISOLATING AMERICA FROM THE MAINSTREAM OF THE WORLD IN WHICH WE LIVE.

THAT IS A CONCEPT OF NATIONAL POLICY AND PURPOSE WITH WHICH I CANNOT LIVE.

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NOT AS A PARTISAN, BUT AS AN AMERICAN, I DO NOT EMBRACE THE FOLLY THAT OUR NECESSARY WORKS AT HOME EITHER REQUIRE OR PERMIT US TO RETREAT FROM THE NECESSARY WORKS OF THE WORLD

NOT AS A PARTISAN, BUT AS AN AMERICAN, I CANNOT ACCEPT THE PROPOSITION THAT THIS COUNTRY CAN OR SHOULD EMBARK UPON A COURSE OF UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT.

Not as a partisan, but as an American, I cannot agree to The notion that we can get from our economic system the PRODUCTIVITY AND CREATIVITY WE MUST HAVE BY TAKING FROM THAT SYSTEM THE INCENTIVES FOR PRIVATE INITIATIVE AND EFFORT.

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Not as a partisan, but as an American, I cannot consent to setting this system against itself by attempting to redistribute its wealth with no regard for the tax burden of the middle-income FAMILIES.

ALWAYS HAVE, I GO TO MIAMI BEACH TO PARTICIPATE IN A DECISION NOT OF CONSEQUENCE ONLY TO A CANDIDATE OR EVEN TO A PARTY, BUT IN A VERY REAL SENSE, OF GREAT CONSEQUENCE TO THIS REPUBLIC ITSELF.

The strength of America's commitment to the political principles which have served us long and well is a strength already being felt within the Democratic Party's Affairs.

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THAT STRENGTH, THAT COMMITMENT, HAS BEEN FELT AS AN INFLUENCE UPON THE DRAFTING OF THE PARTY PLATFORM.

THOSE FORCES WILL BE FELT NO LESS STRONGLY IN THE SELECTION OF THE PARTY TICKET.

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