

⑧ Barbara Campiano -- Feb 80

001653

Jack Wallace

- Dean Crowley

- Don Beshley

- Bob Hinkley

~~Environment is like a pump~~

⑧ "Test of our progress is not whether we add to the abundance of those who have much - it is whether we provide enough for those who have to live"

REMARKS

BY

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

ADDRESS TO STUDENTS OF FORDHAM UNIVERSITY

NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK

MAY 9, 1973

Jim Maher  
"American Age"

"Political Ethics"

"The firm base of government is justice, not power" Wilson

Purpose of Govt - Justice, Tranquility, Common Defense, General Welfare

Ethics - In budget -

- Medicare - 1 Billion extra

- Cities - Race -

- Education - Deprived

Task of our Government is great - so  
 demanding - ~~now~~ Vietnam -  
~~now Watergate~~

AS WATERGATE UNFOLDS, MANY THOUGHTS RUSH FORWARD.

As a man of politics, I feel a deep sense of loss.

A shadow of doubt and distrust has been cast over the  
 entire political process.

As a man of government, I realize that the task  
 of maintaining confidence and public trust in the  
 fragile institutions of our democratic system has been  
 greatly impaired.

As an American, I am appalled. It will be diffi-  
 cult for us to say that our country is a reservoir of  
 hope and faith in the midst of cynicism and despair.

LIKE ALL AMERICANS, I ASK MYSELF TIME AND TIME

AGAIN: HOW DID IT HAPPEN?

BLIND LOYALTY, SELFISHNESS AND DECEIT ARE CER-

TAINLY THE BASIC INGREDIENTS OF THE DRAMA.

BUT THERE IS MORE.

THE ESSENTIAL MORALITY OF LEADERSHIP WHICH DEMANDS

THAT THOSE WHO LEAD BE AWARE OF THE LIMITS OF THEIR OWN

<sup>This</sup> POWER HAS BEEN VIOLATED. ~~The collected with public Authority~~

~~must remember that the~~ <sup>The greatest challenge for those</sup> ~~who have power is to exercise restraint in the~~

~~THE BASIS FOR SUCH VIOLATION ORIGINATES AT THE~~

<sup>use of</sup>  
<sup>Power.</sup>

PHILOSOPHICAL HEART OF AN ADMINISTRATION WHICH HAS BEEN

AGGRESSIVE IN DEMANDING OUR LOYALTY AND TRUST FOR THE

PAST FIVE YEARS.

Politics is a form of power and it tends  
to grow - ~~and to be~~ 001656  
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↳ THERE HAVE BEEN FEW TIMES IN THE HISTORY OF THIS  
NATION WHEN A SMALL GROUP OF MEN WIELDING SUCH TREMEN-  
DOUS POWER WERE SO ALOOF, SO REMOTE FROM THE PEOPLE,  
AND SO OFTEN CONTEMPTUOUS OF INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT  
AND THE RECOGNIZED NORMS OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS,

↳ THOSE IN POWER HAVE INTERPRETED THEIR ELECTORAL  
MANDATES AS RELIEVING THEM OF ANY RESPONSIBILITY TO  
RESPOND TO PEOPLE'S NEEDS,

↳ THE CLIMATE OF "WE KNOW BEST" HAS BEEN SO PERVASIVE  
THAT IT HAS LED SOME TO BELIEVE THAT THEY WERE ABOVE  
AND BEYOND THE LAW.

I HAVE WORKED IN PARTISAN POLITICS MOST OF MY LIFE,

BUT I FIND NO COMFORT OR SATISFACTION IN THE INCREDIBLE

AND DISTURBING EVENTS WHICH CONFRONT US, ( THIS IS CER-

TAINLY NO TIME FOR PARTISAN ADVANTAGE OR GLEE, THE

EVENTS OF THE PAST SIX WEEKS ARE, AT BEST, DEPRESSING

AND, AT WORST, A NATIONAL TRAGEDY.

~~I RECOGNIZE THAT POLITICS AND THE PERSONAL LOYALTY~~

~~THAT IS LINKED WITH IT, MUST ENTER INTO GOVERNMENT--~~

~~NOT AS A NECESSARY EVIL, BUT AS THE MECHANISM OF CON-~~

~~SENSUS AND OF TRUST.~~

*but*

↳ BUT I HAVE NEVER SEEN A NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION  
MORE INSISTENT ON PERSONAL LOYALTY FOR ITS LIFE'S BLOOD,

PERSONAL LOYALTY--RATHER THAN INDIVIDUAL COMPETENCE--  
HAS TOO OFTEN BEEN THE DETERMINANT IN FILLING POSI-  
TIONS OF HIGH AUTHORITY IN THIS ADMINISTRATION.

~~IT IS NO WONDER THAT~~ LOYALTY TO ADMINISTRATION  
AND TO FRIENDS SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN PLACED BEFORE LOYALTY  
TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT BY  
THOSE INVOLVED IN THIS TRAGIC CRISIS.

*out*

↳ IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED THAT WATERGATE WAS NO DIF-  
FERENT FROM THE WAY THINGS ARE USUALLY DONE IN POLITICS.

↳ WE CONTINUALLY HEAR THE WORD "POLITICIAN" LINKED TO  
THIS EVENT.

*Yet. How many P.R.  
Technicians. etc -*

L HOWEVER, WATERGATE WAS NOT POLITICS AS USUAL.

L IT WAS A FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE LAW. WIRE-

TAPPING, BURGLARY, BREAKING AND ENTERING, CONSPIRACY

AND OBSTRUCTION OF JUSTICE HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO PLACE

IN EVEN THE MOST VIGOROUS PARTISAN CONTEST.

L EVEN BEFORE THE RECENT WATERGATE DEVELOPMENTS  
CAME TO LIGHT, THE PRESIDENT'S ABILITY TO GOVERN WAS

BEING SERIOUSLY IMPAIRED BY HIS OPEN AND DETERMINED

POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CONFRONTATION WITH THE

CONGRESS.

THIS SITUATION WAS MOST OBVIOUS IN HIS STRUGGLE  
 WITH CONGRESS OVER THE IMPOUNDMENT ISSUE, WHERE THE  
 PRESIDENT, CHOOSING TO IGNORE LEGISLATIVE MANDATE,  
~~RECKLESSLY~~ CUT BACK OR ELIMINATED ENTIRE PROGRAMS  
 ESTABLISHED BY LAW.

(8)

I URGE THE PRESIDENT TO EMBARK NOW ON A COURSE  
 OF POLITICAL RESTRAINT AND COOPERATION WITH THE CON-  
 GRESS. The country needs a  
~~THE KIND OF~~ CONSTRUCTIVE PARTNERSHIP THAT ~~ALONE~~  
 CAN ~~ENABLE THE NATION~~ RESOLVE OR SEEK SOLUTIONS TO  
 SUCH URGENT AND PRESSING PROBLEMS AS INFLATION, UNEM-  
LOYMENT, POVERTY, RACISM, THE ENERGY CRISIS, TRANS-  
PORTATION, FOREIGN TRADE POLICY, REBUILDING OUR CITIES,  
PROVIDING GOOD SCHOOLS, ASSURING ADEQUATE HEALTH CARE  
AND CLEANING OUR ENVIRONMENT.

Things to do



↳ PARTISANSHIP AND BLIND PERSONAL LOYALTY MUST GIVE  
WAY TO RESTORING TRUST AND CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT  
AND IN THOSE WHO HOLD AUTHORITY AND RESPONSIBILITY.

↳ THE INDICTMENTS, DISMISSALS, RESIGNATIONS AND  
PRISON SENTENCES LIKELY TO RESULT FROM THE WATERGATE

AFFAIR ADD TO THE GROWING PUBLIC DISTRUST OF THE

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. ↳ BEFORE THERE CAN BE ANY MEANING-  
FUL CONDUCT OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN PUBLIC BUSINESS,  
THERE MUST BE A CLEANSING OF THE HOUSE OF GOVERNMENT.

↳ IT IS THE PEOPLE'S TRUST AND FAITH IN THEIR POLITICAL  
LEADERS AND INSTITUTIONS THAT GIVE MEANING TO THE  
SOCIAL CONTRACT OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

↳ THE LOSS OF PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN ANY PUBLIC

OFFICIAL OR IN THOSE WHO SURROUND HIM CAN BE RECTIFIED

BY AN ELECTION. ↳ BUT THE RESTORATION OF PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

IN THE INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT IS A SLOW

PROCESS THAT REQUIRES CONSTANT BUILDING AND REBUILDING.

*and* THIS PROCESS WILL REQUIRE MORE THAN PUNISHING OR CEN-

SURING THOSE WHO ARE FOUND GUILTY OF CRIMINAL ACTS.

WE MUST TAKE POSITIVE STEPS:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

*Steps*  
\_\_\_\_\_

--THE SENATE HAS CALLED FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF AN  
INDEPENDENT PUBLIC PROSECUTOR, A MAN OF UNQUESTIONED  
INTEGRITY, THE HIGHEST PROFESSIONAL ABILITY AND THE  
TENACITY TO GET THE JOB DONE. HE MUST HAVE THE POWER,  
THE AUTHORITY AND THE RESOURCES TO ACT INDEPENDENTLY  
TO FULFILL EVERY REQUIREMENT OF THOROUGH AND IMPARTIAL  
INVESTIGATION AND--WHERE THE FACTS WARRANT--PROSECUTION.

--THE SECRECY THAT PERVADES BOTH THE EXECUTIVE  
AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES MUST BE ENDED. DOORS MUST BE  
OPENED, SO THAT THE PUBLIC'S RIGHT TO KNOW IS EFFEC-  
TIVELY UPHELD.

--THE REMOTENESS OF OUR PRESIDENT AND HIS STAFF  
FROM THE PEOPLE AND EVERYDAY LIFE AND PROBLEMS OF  
AMERICA SHOULD BE DISCOURAGED.

--THE RELENTLESS DRIVE FOR CENTRALIZATION OF POWER  
IN THE WHITE HOUSE HAS OCCURRED AT THE EXPENSE OF PUB-  
LIC ACCOUNTABILITY AND SCRUTINY OF THIS POWERFUL OFFICE.  
THIS ENTIRE PROCESS SHOULD BE RE-EVALUATED AND CHECKED.  
WE MUST ESTABLISH A STRICT CODE OF CONDUCT AND ETHICS  
FOR ALL PUBLIC EMPLOYEES AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT.

--WE MUST PRESS ANEW FOR URGENT REFORM OF OUR  
SYSTEM OF CAMPAIGN FINANCING.

IT IS A CANCER IN THE BODY POLITIC.

*Financing*

*Shameful*

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IT LENDS ITSELF TO CYNICISM AND DISTRUST OF  
PUBLIC OFFICIALS.

IT MAKES PUBLIC OFFICE SOMETHING TO BE BOUGHT AND  
SOLD IN THE MARKETPLACE. *Therefore*

WE MUST CLOSE THE LOOPHOLES IN CAMPAIGN FINANCING  
LAWS AND REQUIRE FULL DISCLOSURE OF RECEIPTS AND EX-  
PENDITURES. STRICT LIMITS MUST BE PLACED ON AMOUNTS  
TO BE CONTRIBUTED AND EXPENDED. FORMS OF PUBLIC  
FINANCING--INCLUDING TAX CREDITS, THE DOLLAR CHECK-OFF  
FROM INCOME TAX, FREE TELEVISION AND RADIO TIME--*Should*  
BE PROVIDED. *+ Public financing.*

--<sup>ALL</sup>ABOVE ALL, WE MUST RENEW OUR COMMITMENT TO THE  
FIRST AMENDMENT FREEDOMS SO NECESSARY TO SAFEGUARD THE  
DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.

THERE IS A FAMILIAR MAXIM--THAT POWER CORRUPTS AND  
ABSOLUTE POWER CORRUPTS ABSOLUTELY. THIS ADMONITION  
APPLIES TO BOTH NATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS.

*h* WITH WATERGATE, WE HAVE SEEN OFFICIALS OF OUR  
GOVERNMENT COMMIT CRIMINAL ACTS THAT STRONGLY RESEMBLE  
THE PRACTICES AND METHODS DIRECTED AGAINST FOREIGN  
GOVERNMENTS AND OTHER PEOPLES. COUNTERESPIONAGE,  
COVERUPS, INFILTRATION, WIRETAPPING, POLITICAL SURVEIL-  
LANCE, ALL DONE IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL SECURITY IN  
FARAWAY PLACES, HAVE COME TO HAUNT US.

THE SPIRIT AND THE PURPOSE OF DOMESTIC POLICY IS SAID TO CONDITION OUR FOREIGN POLICY. THE REVERSE IS ALSO TRUE. WHAT WE DO ABROAD INFLUENCES WHAT HAPPENS AT HOME.

FINALLY, WE CANNOT ESCAPE THE ULTIMATE IMPLICATION OF WATERGATE: THAT IT MAY REFLECT THE REALITY OF TODAY WHICH PERMITS SOME WITH MONEY AND POWER TO LIVE

BEYOND THE LAW.

*Government is like a pump. what it pumps up is just what we are: - a fair sample of the intellect the ethics, the morals of the people -*

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO SEPARATE WATERGATE FROM

*no better*

*no worse*

THE VAST FINANCIAL SWINDLES, CONSUMER FRAUDS, GROWING

WHITE-COLLAR AND STREET CRIME THAT ALL AMERICANS MUST

DEAL WITH ON A DAILY BASIS.

MORALITY IS MORE THAN A POLITICAL ISSUE:

IT IS A PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ISSUE DEMANDING THE

ATTENTION OF ALL AMERICANS.

ADLAI STEVENSON, A MAN WHOSE EXEMPLARY ETHICS

GAINED OUR RESPECT, ONCE SAID:

DEMOCRACY IS NOT SELF-EXECUTING. WE HAVE TO MAKE IT WORK. . . . FOR DEMOCRACY'S NEED FOR WISDOM WILL REMAIN AS PERENNIAL AS ITS NEEDS FOR LIBERTY. NOT ONLY EXTERNAL VIGILANCE BUT UNENDING SELF-EXAMINATION MUST BE THE PERENNIAL PRICE OF LIBERTY, BECAUSE THE WORK OF SELF-GOVERNMENT NEVER CEASES.

IT WOULD BE WELL FOR US TO REMEMBER THESE WORDS

AS WE CONTEMPLATE THE MEANING OF WATERGATE.



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