

WATERGATE — —



United States
of America

A CRISIS IN GOVERNMENT

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ADDRESS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY TO THE CONVENTION OF THE AFL-CIO

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, it was my privilege to address the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organization—AFL-CIO at its 10th constitutional convention, Americana Hotel, Bal Harbour, Fla., on Tuesday, October 23.

My appearance before this great convention came at a time following the resignation of the Attorney General, Mr. Elliot Richardson, and the Deputy Attorney General, Mr. William Ruckelshaus, and the President's dismissal of the special prosecutor, Mr. Archibald Cox. This rapid succession of dramatic events caused deep concern and anxiety throughout the Nation and was reflected in the deliberations and actions of the AFL-CIO convention. That convention on Monday, October 22, prior to my appearance the following day, had already adopted a resolution calling upon the President to resign and urging the beginning of hearings on the charges relating to impeachment. It was within this intense atmosphere that I was called upon to address this convention.

In my address I attempted to lay out what has been transpiring in our country in the so-called Watergate affair. I also outlined the events that were contributing to the confrontation between the executive and legislative departments of Government. I called upon the assembled delegates at the convention to proceed carefully and prudently and not to recommend any shortcuts or hasty actions that would violate constitutional procedure or law either in spirit or substance. I also outlined in my remarks my recommendations as of that time designed to deal with the governmental crisis that we faced at that time.

Finally, I called upon the convention to direct its political activities in the forthcoming weeks and months to assure a veto-proof Congress in the election of 1974.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of my address to the AFL-CIO 10th constitutional convention be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

I come to you today at a troubled moment in the history of our nation. These are times that test the strength of our political system and the fabric of our society.

I come to counsel with you, to speak of the law, of the Constitution, of our political traditions, of our country—now and in the future. It is from this perspective that I address you.

Every school child is taught that we have a Constitutional democracy; that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land; that there are three separate and co-equal branches of government.

Every school child is taught that each officer of government solemnly takes an oath to uphold and defend the Constitution and that the President himself, above all others, is required by the Constitution to execute faithfully the law of the land.

Every school child is taught that every branch of government has its powers carefully defined in the Constitution.

We have been taught that our Constitutional heritage of limited powers was borne from bitter experience with kings who believed that they were above the law.

All of this has been capsuled in our Constitution which outlines the structure of our government, defines its powers and duties, and defines the purpose of government. Listen to the Preamble:

"We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

There is not one word in the Constitution to protect the government from the people. Every word in the Constitution is intended to protect the people from the abuses of government.

Throughout the years you and I, and many others in the Democratic progressive tradition, have called for a strong Presidency. As Adlai Stevenson once said, "It is the only office that represents all of the people."

We need a strong President, one who will stand up for the weak, fight for the oppressed and care for the needy and the elderly.

We need a strong President—one who can and will stand up against the powers of corporate wealth and unite the people in the pursuit of common goals. We need strong and inspiring leadership from our President.

We need a strong President in the compassionate and progressive traditions of Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson.

But a strong President does not mean an

arrogant President. It does not mean a President who violates the Constitution instead of breathing life into it. It does not mean a President who ignores the will of the elected representatives. It does not mean a President who will tolerate those who corrupt the election process.

But strong Presidents are only truly strong when they have the respect and support of the people.

That respect and support have been seriously undermined by what is known as Watergate and the events of the past week. Yet it is the faith and confidence of the people in their government that gives meaning to popular government. Without that faith and confidence, the government cannot govern.

President Nixon's actions have brought us to the brink of Constitutional and governmental crisis.

This is not merely an issue for Constitutional lawyers and academics. It affects every American. Our existence as a democracy and our Constitutional traditions of balanced and limited power are in danger.

Our present dilemma has been precipitated by the effort of the Executive Branch of government to relegate to itself powers belonging to others. While the President makes much of the separation of powers in defense of his position of Executive privilege, he has in fact by his actions made a mockery of separation of powers. He takes power unto himself.

These past months we have witnessed the spectacle of corruption, wrongdoing, criminal acts and irresponsibility in high places of government unfold before us like a nightmare. When the principle of limited power is ignored, and the concept of laws, not of men, is cast aside, then government by the consent of the governed is endangered.

The President's recent actions have shown us what happens when power is exercised without restraint and a President places his personal political welfare above his Constitutional mandate and the requirements of the nation.

James Madison once warned America about the risk of unchecked power, when he said, "The accumulation of all powers . . . in the same hands, legislative, executive and judicial . . . may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny."

These words written almost 200 years ago take on special meaning as we consider the events of this past weekend.

At midnight Friday the President chose not to appeal the Court of Appeals' decision ordering him to turn over tapes and documents to Judge Sirica. At that moment the Court's order became law. It is this law that the President has refused to obey.

Instead, the President tried in vain to get the Special Prosecutor to agree to a plan differing from the Court's order. The Special

Prosecutor could not accept the plan, citing its legal inadequacies and its conflict with the mandate given him by the Congress, the Attorney General, and the President himself.

The Special Prosecutor insisted that he would appear before Judge Sirica in opposition to the Nixon plan.

Then the President took the step that authoritarian executives have traditionally resorted to—namely, he liquidated the office of Special Prosecutor and he ordered Mr. Cox to be fired.

He asked the Attorney General to carry out his directive; refusing to do so, the Attorney General resigned.

The order was again issued to the Deputy Attorney General. He, too, refused the President's order and he was fired.

A new Acting Attorney General then removed the Special Prosecutor.

A President who assured the nation that the Executive office would give "total cooperation to the Special Prosecutor" and a President who told us that "Watergate belongs in the courts" this past weekend decreed by Presidential order that the courts would not be permitted to decide between him and the Prosecutor. He, the President, would do the deciding.

So, I ask: Who will the peoples' representative before Judge Sirica today or tomorrow when the White House lawyers argue that the Court should modify its order to accept the Nixon plan?

The nation is left with a President facing the possibility of a contempt of court order, a Justice Department shattered, and an impartial investigation of his Administration halted.

All of these measures reflect the actions not of a Constitutional President, but of a man "obsessed" with power.

The pattern of exercising unrestrained power is dangerous; it is dictatorial; and it is unacceptable for a free people.

We have seen it in Watergate. We have seen it as he illegally impounds funds. We have seen it as his spokesmen falsify and misrepresent actions taken by his Administration.

We have seen it in the secretive and illegal acts performed in the name of national security.

It is inconceivable that a President of all the people would choose to rule by edict rather than by consent, that he would make himself both judge and jury, and that he would so callously replace moral leadership with a political maneuver designed to assure his survival. But this is exactly what the President has done.

The Congress and the judiciary have the responsibility to curb these improper uses of power. The American people must be reassured that justice cannot be dismantled by an elected official who views himself as

above the law. What America needs is a white paper of truth, not a whitewash of an Administration.

Throughout the Watergate crisis, the Congress, the courts, the Special Prosecutor have sought to avoid the Constitutional confrontation we face today. We have repeatedly asked the President to accept and abide by the decision of the Court. He can and should do this. He can spare the nation this Constitutional crisis, if he will respect the decision of the Court or at least follow the judicial process. But, so far, he has failed to do this.

So, now, failing Presidential compliance, it is up to the Congress and the judiciary to act responsibly to resolve this crisis.

First, it is essential that a new Special Prosecutor be named and his work continued. This could be done immediately either by Judge Sirica or by special act of Congress. There is precedent for both.

The new Special Prosecutor should have full access to all of the evidence that has been accumulated in this case, and all the powers and resources of a truly independent prosecutor.

Until these investigations are completed, a cloud of suspicion will hang over the President, his entire Administration, and the Presidency itself. It is essential that this new inquiry be beyond the political reach of the President.

Second, instead of my rendering judgment on impeachment itself, I urge the appropriate committees of Congress to act promptly and judiciously in considering the best possible procedures for looking into these tragic facts and events—to hold full and complete hearings on the impeachment motions filed by members of the House.

The Constitution places the responsibility for impeachment proceedings upon the House of Representatives. The Senate sits as judge and jury. As Senator, I believe it is my duty not to prejudge this case. But as a public official, it is my duty to see that Congress and the public has the facts.

Third, I would strongly urge Senator Stennis to reconsider accepting the Presidential request to hear the tapes until the Select Committee has decided to accept the President's proposal and until the Federal District Court has ruled on its acceptability. My position in no way reflects on the integrity and competence of Senator Stennis, a man held in high esteem by the entire Congress. But his participation implies that the President's proposal is, indeed, an "acceptable compromise" and that the Senate has acquiesced. As yet, neither the full Committee nor the Senate has agreed.

I would hope that the District Court would promptly rule on the acceptability of the so-called compromise and whether or not the President is in contempt of a court order.

I believe what I have outlined is a reasoned course of action. Despite the gravity of these recent events, we must not let passion and prejudice interfere with the Constitutional remedy at hand. "Due process of law"—procedures and procedural safeguards are basic to a fair and just and free society. Procedure often determines substance.

I caution every American not to fall prey to the abuse of rhetoric, just as the President has fallen prey to the abuse of power. We must act responsibly, with full adherence to legal procedures.

Despite our outrage and anxiety, we must pursue a course consistent with the law, the courts, and the Constitution. We cannot and must not resort to a "political lynching party" or just be out to "get the President." That is wrong and indefensible.

The safeguards of our system are all there if we do not ignore them or abuse them.

Democrats, Republicans, citizens from all walks of life have an equal stake in the resolution of this sordid and tragic affair.

Our problems at home and abroad demand decisive action so that the business of government can be pursued. There is work to be done—great and necessary things to do.

Our economy is in trouble. We have an inflation that eats into the income of every working family, denying them the full benefit of their hard earned dollars. The economic policies of the Administration have rewarded the powerful corporations and financial institutions. The elderly and the poor have been victimized by cruel inflation.

Yes, there is an unfinished agenda including health care legislation, tax reform, budget reform, campaign finance reform, voter registration, education for our young, care for our elderly, employment for our jobless.

These problems confront us no matter who is President, who is Vice President, who is Attorney General, or who is Special Prosecutor.

To accomplish these objectives I call upon this assembly of American workers to help us build a veto-proof Congress. Today we have government by minority—one third plus one—government by one man—government by edict. We must put an end to minority rule. We must put an end to one man rule. We must put an end to government by edict. And we can—we must.

Only 54 weeks from today the American people will once again go to the ballot box to decide the course our country is to follow. A new Congress is to be elected, along with governors, legislators, and local officials. We must not permit cynicism, bitterness, frustration, and division to weaken our resolve.

We have learned what it means to lose elections. We have paid a heavy price for defeat. When we lose an election, someone else makes economic policy; someone else makes

up the Federal budget. And those who already have too much, get more. And those struggling to have enough, get left out.

When we lose elections, someone else appoints the judges; and courts make law too.

Yes, losing elections is a painful and costly experience. Defeat has meant hardship for the American working family, distorted budget priorities, inequitable economic policies, continual Presidential vetoes of essential programs, illegal impoundments of public funds, and corrupt leadership and election scandals.

But the American people have the right to expect more than criticism and complaints from their political leaders and parties.

They have a right to know what we are for.

They have a right to know in what direction we would have our nation go.

Elections should be fought over the issue of national priorities—not only how much shall be spent but on what it should be spent.

We must present strong policy leadership—policy goals—to put America's house back in order.

Here are some of the things we must have:

A national food policy for the remainder of the decade to assure our consumers an adequate supply of food at reasonable prices with maximum production of food and fiber for export. We need a system of food reserves to protect the American consumers from wild price inflation and provide the poor at home and abroad with a margin of safety for their survival.

A national energy policy to end our dependence on foreign supplies to meet our energy needs. We must never allow ourselves to be in a position where we can be threatened or blackmailed. A nation that could split the atom and put a man on the moon can also develop the capability to produce the fuel needed to assure our prosperity. Whatever is required must be done.

A national trade policy that encourages American exports but will not permit Amer-

ican workers to be the victims of unfair foreign competition. We need to export goods, not jobs.

A national health policy to provide the preventive and curative health care for all Americans. Yes, a program of national health insurance and the expansion of health facilities and medical personnel.

A national urban policy designed to make our cities liveable, safe, and modern. We must not ignore the needs of our cities, this neglect which has become "the new racism."

A national transportation policy which includes a much greater effort to improve the farm to market road system of rural America, to expand urban mass transit, and to complete our great interstate highway system.

A national policy of equal rights and opportunities for all Americans and a firm commitment to make it work.

A national education policy that guarantees every girl and boy the opportunity for quality education from pre-school through graduate school.

A national security policy that keeps America strong but bases that strength not only on a modern and effective military force—but strength from an economy that expands, strength from jobs for all, strength from the health and education of our people. National security is not to be found in White House Plumbers, in wiretaps on loyal Americans, in secrecy and abuse of Executive Privilege. True national security lies in the faith and confidence of the people in their government.

We must work and work and work for a united party and a united America. We cannot afford to pay the price of more election defeats.

We must bury the axe of party disunity and return majority government to our land.

We must have a "veto-safe" Congress in 1974 and a President for all the people in 1976.


U.S.S.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510


U.S.S.

Invocation *
Benediction

President Meany

Sm - Dan Hoyle -

Mr. IBI

⊗ The Murray-Green Award

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

10TH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF AFL-CIO -

BAL HARBOUR, FLORIDA

OCTOBER 23, 1973

my timing

I was at
you first -
you gave me
2 minutes -
I used one.

- ✓ you have heard a just and
call for the Resignation of the
President
- ✓ you have resolved in support
of that call on the process of
impeachment -

I COME TO YOU TODAY AT A TROUBLED MOMENT IN THE HISTORY
OF OUR NATION. THESE ARE TIMES THAT TEST THE STRENGTH OF OUR
POLITICAL SYSTEM AND THE FABRIC OF OUR SOCIETY.

I COME TO COUNSEL WITH YOU, TO SPEAK OF THE LAW, OF THE
CONSTITUTION, OF OUR POLITICAL TRADITIONS, OF OUR COUNTRY, NOW
AND IN THE FUTURE. IT IS FROM THIS PERSPECTIVE THAT I ADDRESS
YOU.

EVERY SCHOOL CHILD IS TAUGHT THAT WE HAVE A CONSTITUTIONAL
DEMOCRACY; THAT THE CONSTITUTION IS THE SUPREME LAW OF THE
LAND; THAT THERE ARE THREE SEPARATE AND CO-EQUAL BRANCHES OF
GOVERNMENT.

EVERY SCHOOL CHILD IS TAUGHT THAT EACH OFFICER OF
GOVERNMENT SOLEMNLY TAKES AN OATH TO UPHOLD AND DEFEND THE
CONSTITUTION AND THAT THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF, ABOVE ALL OTHERS,
IS REQUIRED BY THE CONSTITUTION TO EXECUTE FAITHFULLY THE LAW
OF THE LAND.

ALL SCHOOL CHILDREN ARE TAUGHT THAT EVERY BRANCH OF
GOVERNMENT HAS ITS POWERS CAREFULLY DEFINED IN THE CONSTITUTION.

We have been taught that
OUR CONSTITUTIONAL HERITAGE OF LIMITED POWERS

WAS BORNE FROM BITTER EXPERIENCE WITH KINGS WHO BELIEVED THAT
THEY WERE ABOVE THE LAW. ALL OF THIS HAS BEEN CAPSULED IN ~~THE~~

~~OUR CONSTITUTION. ~~WHAT DOES IT SAY?~~~~ *which*
outlines the structure of our government,
defines its powers and duties, and defines
the purpose of government -
Listen to the Preamble:

"WE THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, IN ORDER TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION, ESTABLISH JUSTICE, INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY, PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENCE, PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE, AND SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY, DO ORDAIN AND ESTABLISH THIS CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

THERE IS

^ NOT ONE WORD IN THE CONSTITUTION TO PROTECT THE

GOVERNMENT FROM THE PEOPLE. / EVERY WORD IN THE CONSTITUTION IS

INTENDED TO PROTECT THE PEOPLE FROM THE ABUSES OF GOVERNMENT.

4
L THROUGHOUT THE YEARS YOU AND I, AND MANY OTHERS IN THE

DEMOCRATIC PROGRESSIVE TRADITION, HAVE CALLED FOR A STRONG

PRESIDENCY. / AS ADLAI STEVENSON ONCE SAID, "IT IS THE ONLY

OFFICE THAT REPRESENTS ALL OF THE PEOPLE."

↳ WE NEED A STRONG PRESIDENT, ONE WHO WILL STAND UP FOR

THE WEAK, FIGHT FOR THE OPPRESSED AND CARE FOR THE NEEDY

AND THE ELDERLY.

one who can + will

↳ WE NEED A STRONG PRESIDENT ~~TO~~ STAND UP AGAINST THE POWER

OF CORPORATE WEALTH AND ~~TO~~ UNITE THE PEOPLE IN THE PURSUIT OF

COMMON GOALS.

We need strong and inspiring leadership from our President. A president who can + will. ~~fight~~ ~~against~~ ~~them~~

↳ WE NEED A STRONG PRESIDENT IN THE COMPASSIONATE AND

PROGRESSIVE TRADITIONS OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, HARRY TRUMAN,

JOHN KENNEDY, AND LYNDON JOHNSON,

BUT A STRONG PRESIDENT DOES NOT MEAN AN ARROGANT PRESIDENT.

IT DOES NOT MEAN A PRESIDENT WHO VIOLATES THE CONSTITUTION INSTEAD
OF BREATHING LIFE INTO IT. IT DOES NOT MEAN A PRESIDENT WHO
IGNORES THE WILL OF THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES. IT DOES NOT MEAN
A PRESIDENT WHO WILL TOLERATE THOSE WHO CORRUPT THE ELECTION
PROCESS.

BUT STRONG PRESIDENTS ARE ONLY TRULY STRONG WHEN THEY
HAVE THE RESPECT AND SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE. !

THAT RESPECT AND SUPPORT HAVE BEEN SERIOUSLY UNDERMINED
BY WHAT IS KNOWN AS WATERGATE AND THE EVENTS OF THE PAST WEEK.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S ACTIONS HAVE BROUGHT US TO THE BRINK OF
CONSTITUTIONAL AND GOVERNMENTAL CRISIS.

yet it is the faith + confidence of the
people in their government that
gives meaning to popular government.
without that faith + confidence, the government
cannot govern.

THIS IS NOT MERELY AN ISSUE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LAWYERS
AND ACADEMICS. IT AFFECTS EVERY AMERICAN OUR EXISTENCE AS A
DEMOCRACY AND OUR CONSTITUTIONAL TRADITIONS OF BALANCED AND
LIMITED POWER ARE IN DANGER.

↳ OUR PRESENT DILEMMA HAS BEEN PRECIPITATED BY THE EFFORT
OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT TO RELEGATE TO ITSELF
POWERS BELONGING TO OTHERS. WHILE THE PRESIDENT MAKES MUCH OF
THE SEPARATION OF POWERS IN DEFENSE OF HIS POSITION OF EXECUTIVE
PRIVILEGE, HE HAS IN FACT BY HIS ACTIONS MADE A MOCKERY
OF SEPARATION OF POWERS. *He takes Power unto himself.*

↳ THESE PAST MONTHS WE HAVE WITNESSED THE SPECTACLE
OF CORRUPTION, WRONGDOING, CRIMINAL ACTS AND IRRESPONSIBILITY
IN HIGH PLACES OF GOVERNMENT UNFOLD BEFORE US LIKE A NIGHTMARE.

WHEN THE PRINCIPAL OF LIMITED POWER IS IGNORED,

AND THE CONCEPT OF A GOVERNMENT OF LAWS, NOT OF MEN, CAST ASIDE,

THEN GOVERNMENT BY THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED IS ENDANGERED.

THE PRESIDENT'S RECENT ACTIONS HAVE SHOWN US

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN POWER IS EXERCISED WITHOUT RESTRAINT AND

A PRESIDENT PLACES HIS PERSONAL POLITICAL WELFARE ABOVE HIS

CONSTITUTIONAL MANDATE AND THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE NATION.

JAMES MADISON ONCE WARNED AMERICA ABOUT THE RISK OF

UNCHECKED POWER, WHEN HE SAID, "THE ACCUMULATION OF ALL POWERS

. . . IN THE SAME HANDS, LEGISLATIVE, EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL,

. . . MAY JUSTLY BE PRONOUNCED THE VERY DEFINITION OF TYRANNY."

THESE WORDS WRITTEN ALMOST 200 YEARS AGO TAKE ON

SPECIAL MEANING AS WE CONSIDER THE EVENTS OF THIS PAST WEEKEND.

↳ AT MIDNIGHT FRIDAY THE PRESIDENT CHOSE NOT TO APPEAL

THE COURT OF APPEALS' DECISION ORDERING HIM TO TURN OVER

TAPES AND DOCUMENTS TO JUDGE SIRICA ^{At that moment} THE COURT'S ORDER BECAME

LAW.

It is this law, that the President has refused to obey.

↳ Instead

THE PRESIDENT ~~AND~~ TRIED IN VAIN TO GET THE SPECIAL

PROSECUTOR TO AGREE TO A PLAN DIFFERING FROM THE COURT'S ORDER

↳ THE SPECIAL PROSECUTOR COULD NOT ACCEPT THE PLAN, CITING ITS

LEGAL INADEQUACIES AND ITS CONFLICT WITH THE MANDATE GIVEN HIM

BY THE CONGRESS ~~AND~~ THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,

and the President himself.

L THE SPECIAL PROSECUTOR INSISTED THAT HE WOULD APPEAR
BEFORE JUDGE SIRICA IN OPPOSITION TO THE NIXON PLAN.

L THEN THE PRESIDENT TOOK THE STEP THAT AUTHORITARIAN
EXECUTIVES HAVE TRADITIONALLY RESORTED TO -- NAMELY, HE ~~ATTORNEY~~

~~LIQUIDATED~~ THE OFFICE OF SPECIAL PROSECUTOR AND ~~HE~~ ^{ordered} ~~LIQUIDATED~~

^{Mr Cox to be fired.}
~~FIRE Mr. Cox.~~ HE ASKED THE ATTORNEY GENERAL TO CARRY OUT ~~THIS~~

DIRECTIVE; REFUSING TO DO SO, THE ATTORNEY GENERAL RESIGNED.

L THE ORDER WAS AGAIN ISSUED TO THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL.
HE, TOO, REFUSED THE PRESIDENT'S ORDER AND ^{he} WAS FIRED.

L A NEW ACTING ATTORNEY GENERAL ^{then} REMOVED THE SPECIAL PROSECUTOR.

A president who assured the nation that
the Executive of fire would give "total
cooperation to the Special Prosecutor" and
a president who told us that ~~the~~ ^{the} Watergate
belongs in the courts - ^{this past weekend} decreed by
Presidential order that the Courts would

not be permitted to decide between him
and the Prosecutor - If the President would
do the deciding. -10- So, I ask

L ~~Ask~~: WHO WILL BE THE PEOPLES' REPRESENTATIVE BEFORE JUDGE

SIRICA TODAY OR TOMORROW WHEN THE WHITE HOUSE LAWYERS ARGUE THAT

THE COURT SHOULD MODIFY ITS ORDER TO ACCEPT THE NIXON PLAN?

L THE NATION IS LEFT WITH A PRESIDENT FACING THE
POSSIBILITY OF A CONTEMPT OF COURT ORDER, A JUSTICE DEPARTMENT
SHATTERED, AND AN IMPARTIAL INVESTIGATION OF HIS ADMINISTRATION
HALTED.

L ALL OF THESE MEASURES REFLECT THE ACTIONS NOT OF A
CONSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENT, BUT OF A MAN "OBSESSED WITH POWER."

L THIS PATTERN ~~OF~~ OF EXERCISING UNRESTRAINED POWER
is dangerous, it is dictatorial, and it is
unacceptable for a free people.

unacceptable for a free people.

↳ WE HAVE SEEN IT IN WATERGATE ↳ WE HAVE SEEN IT AS HE
ILLEGALLY IMPOUNDS FUNDS ↳ WE HAVE SEEN IT AS HIS SPOKESMEN
FALSIFY AND MISREPRESENT ACTIONS TAKEN BY HIS ADMINISTRATION.

↳ WE HAVE SEEN IT IN THE SECRETIVE AND ILLEGAL ACTS
PERFORMED IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL SECURITY,

↳ IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT A PRESIDENT OF ALL THE PEOPLE
WOULD CHOOSE TO RULE BY EDICT RATHER THAN BY CONSENT, THAT HE
WOULD MAKE HIMSELF BOTH JUDGE AND JURY AND THAT HE WOULD SO
CALLOUSLY REPLACE MORAL LEADERSHIP WITH A POLITICAL MANEUVER
DESIGNED TO ASSURE HIS SURVIVAL ↳ BUT THIS IS EXACTLY WHAT THE
PRESIDENT HAS DONE.

HIS ACTIONS CAUSE SUSPICION AND DOUBT AMONG OUR PEOPLE
AND MAKE THEM UNCERTAIN ABOUT THE ABILITY OF THEIR LEADERS TO
GOVERN,

IT IS URGENT THAT THE CONGRESS AND THE JUDICIARY
HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY TO CURB THESE IMPROPER USES OF POWER,

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MUST BE REASSURED THAT JUSTICE CANNOT BE

DISMANTLED BY AN ELECTED OFFICIAL WHO VIEWS HIMSELF AS ABOVE

THE LAW,

*What America needs is a white paper
of truth, not a white wash of an admiral's
reality*

THROUGHOUT THE WATERGATE CRISIS, THE CONGRESS, THE

COURTS, THE SPECIAL PROSECUTOR HAVE SOUGHT TO AVOID THE

CONSTITUTIONAL CONFRONTATION WE FACE TODAY,

*We have repeatedly
asked the President to accept and
abide by the court decision of the Court.
He can & should do this. He can
spare the nation this constitutional*

crisis, if he will respect the decision
of the court or at least follow the judicial
process. But, so far, he has failed to do
this.

~~DESPITE THESE EFFORTS, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS PRESENTED~~

~~A CONFIDENTIAL~~ *So, now, facing Presidential compliance,*
~~Now~~ IT IS UP TO THE CONGRESS AND THE JUDICIARY

TO ACT RESPONSIBLY TO RESOLVE THIS CRISIS,

FIRST, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT A NEW SPECIAL PROSECUTOR BE

NAMED AND HIS WORK CONTINUED. THIS COULD BE DONE IMMEDIATELY

EITHER BY JUDGE SIRICA OR BY ^{special act of} THE CONGRESS. THERE IS PRECEDENT

FOR BOTH.

THE NEW SPECIAL PROSECUTOR SHOULD, OF COURSE, HAVE FULL

ACCESS TO ALL OF THE EVIDENCE THAT HAS BEEN ACCUMULATED IN THIS

CASE, AND ALL THE POWERS AND RESOURCES OF A TRULY INDEPENDENT

PROSECUTOR.

UNTIL THESE INVESTIGATIONS ARE COMPLETED, A CLOUD OF
SUSPICION WILL HANG OVER THE PRESIDENT, HIS ENTIRE ADMINISTRATION,
AND THE PRESIDENCY ITSELF | IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THIS NEW INQUIRY
BE BEYOND THE POLITICAL REACH OF THE PRESIDENT.

SECOND, ~~ACTION MUST BE INITIATED IMMEDIATELY BY AN~~
~~APPROPRIATE COMMITTEE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO HOLD~~
~~FULL AND COMPLETE HEARINGS ON THE IMPEACHMENT MOTIONS FILED BY~~
~~MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE.~~

INSTEAD OF ^{my} RENDERING JUDGMENT ON IMPEACHMENT ITSELF,

I URGE THE APPROPRIATE COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS TO ACT *promptly and*

JUDICIOUSLY IN CONSIDERING THE BEST POSSIBLE PROCEDURES *for*

LOOK *ing* INTO THESE TRAGIC FACTS AND EVENTS. *to hold*

*full + complete hearing on the
impeachment motions filed by members
of the House. ED*

~~determination of the charges made~~

-15-

~~THIS IS A PROCESS PROVIDED FOR IN OUR CONSTITUTION.~~

The Constitution

proceedings

~~THE PROCESS~~ PLACES THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR IMPEACHMENT UPON THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. THE SENATE SITS AS JUDGE AND JURY.

AS SENATOR, I BELIEVE IT IS MY DUTY NOT TO PREJUDGE THIS CASE.

BUT AS A PUBLIC OFFICIAL IT IS MY DUTY TO SEE

that Congress and

the public has the facts.

L THIRD, I WOULD STRONGLY URGE SENATOR STENNIS TO RECONSIDER

ACCEPTING THE PRESIDENTIAL REQUEST TO HEAR THE TAPES UNTIL THE

SELECT COMMITTEE HAS DECIDED TO ACCEPT THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL

AND UNTIL THE FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT HAS RULED ON ITS ACCEPTABILITY.

POSITION NO WAY REFLECT

MY POSITION IN NO WAY REFLECTS ON THE INTEGRITY AND

COMPETENCE OF SENATOR STENNIS, A MAN HELD IN HIGH ESTEEM BY THE

ENTIRE CONGRESS ^{But,} HIS PARTICIPATION IMPLIES THAT THE PRESIDENT'S

PROPOSAL IS, INDEED, AN "ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE" AND THAT THE

Senate CONGRESS HAS ACQUIESCED (AS YET, NEITHER THE FULL COMMITTEE NOR

THE SENATE HAS AGREED.

I WOULD HOPE THAT THE DISTRICT COURT WOULD PROMPTLY

RULE ON THE ACCEPTABILITY OF THE SO-CALLED COMPROMISE AND

WHETHER OR NOT THE PRESIDENT IS IN CONTEMPT OF A COURT ORDER,

I BELIEVE ^{what I have outlined} ~~THIS~~ IS A REASONED COURSE OF ACTION DESPITE

THE GRAVITY OF THESE RECENT EVENTS, WE MUST NOT LET PASSION

AND PREJUDICE INTERFERE WITH THE CONSTITUTIONAL REMEDY AT HAND.

• "Due Process of Law" - Procedures +
Procedural Safeguards are basic to

to a fair ~~and free~~ ~~society~~ and free society, Procedure often determines substance.

I CAUTION EVERY AMERICAN NOT TO FALL PREY TO THE ABUSE OF RHETORIC, JUST AS THE PRESIDENT HAS FALLEN PREY TO THE abuse ~~OF~~ OF POWER. We must act responsibly, with full adherence to legal procedure.

DESPITE OUR OUTRAGE AND ANXIETY, WE MUST PURSUE A COURSE CONSISTENT WITH THE LAW, THE COURTS AND THE CONSTITUTION, *we cannot and must not resort to a "political lynching party" or fight*

THE SAFEGUARDS OF OUR SYSTEM ARE ALL THERE IF WE DO NOT IGNORE THEM OR ABUSE THEM. *we cannot catch the "Soviet President" that is wrong and indefensible.*

DEMOCRATS, ^{yes} REPUBLICANS, CITIZENS FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE

HAVE AN EQUAL STAKE IN THE RESOLUTION OF THIS SORDID AND TRAGIC AFFAIR.

OUR PROBLEMS AT HOME AND ABROAD, DEMAND DECISIVE ACTION, SO THAT THE BUSINESS OF GOVERNMENT CAN BE PURSUED.

There is work to be done -
Great + necessary things to do.
Our Economy is in trouble

~~WE HAVE AN INFLATION THAT EATS INTO THE INCOME OF~~

~~EVERY WORKING FAMILY, DENYING THEM THE FULL BENEFIT OF THEIR~~

~~HARD EARNED DOLLARS. WE HAVE A GOVERNMENT THAT REWARDS THE~~

~~RICH WITH EXCESSIVE PROFITS.~~

Yes, there is an unfinished agenda ~~including~~

HEALTH CARE LEGISLATION, TAX REFORM, BUDGET REFORM, CAMPAIGN

Vote Registration

FINANCE REFORM, EDUCATION FOR OUR YOUNG, CARE FOR OUR ELDERLY,

EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR JOBLESS. THESE PROBLEMS CONFRONT US

Who's Vice President,

NO MATTER WHO IS PRESIDENT, WHO IS ATTORNEY GENERAL OR WHO

IS SPECIAL PROSECUTOR!

~~Who's Prof~~

TO ACCOMPLISH THESE OBJECTIVES I CALL UPON THIS

ASSEMBLY OF AMERICAN WORKERS TO HELP US BUILD A VETO-PROFF CONGRESS.

Today we have government by minority -
It's plus one - Government by ~~one~~ one man -
Government by dictator

Keep

have

the elderly + the poor have been victimized by cruel system.

The economic policies of the administration

~~We must~~

We must Put an end to minority Rule -

~~If, please see -~~ ⁻¹⁹⁻ We must put an end to one
~~man rule.~~ ~~We must put an end~~

~~to government by court.~~ ~~We must put an end to~~
and We Can - We must!

~~VOICE OF THE PEOPLE MUST BE HEARD LOUD AND CLEAR.~~

ONLY 54 WEEKS FROM TODAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ~~will~~ ^{will once again}

~~Go to the ballot box~~

~~TO~~ TO DECIDE THE COURSE ~~AT~~ OUR COUNTRY IS TO FOLLOW

A NEW CONGRESS IS TO BE ELECTED, ALONG WITH GOVERNORS, LEGIS-

LATORS, AND LOCAL OFFICIALS / ~~THESE ELECTIONS BECOME EVEN MORE~~

~~We must not permit cynicism,~~
~~IMPORTANT IN LIGHT OF WHAT IS HAPPENING AT THIS TIME IN OUR~~
~~country.~~ ~~bitterness, frustration, and division~~
~~to weaken our resolve.~~

WE HAVE LEARNED WHAT IT MEANS TO LOSE ELECTIONS, WE

HAVE PAID A HEAVY PRICE FOR DEFEAT.

~~When we lose~~ ~~an election -~~ ~~we to someone else~~
makes Economic Policy -
~~and~~ ~~Someone Else~~ - makes up the ~~Budget~~
Federal Budget - and those who already
have too much - get more - and those
struggling to have enough, get left out!

When we lose elections, someone else appoints
the judges; & courts make law too!

Yes, losing elections is a painful & costly experience
~~defeat has meant~~

~~DEFEAT HAS MEANT:~~ HARDSHIP FOR THE AMERICAN WORKING

~~class~~

FAMILY, DISTORTED BUDGET PRIORITIES, INEQUITABLE ECONOMIC POLICIES,

CONTINUAL PRESIDENTIAL VETOES OF ESSENTIAL PROGRAMS, ILLEGAL

Public funds

IMPOUNDMENTS AND CORRUPT LEADERSHIP and election scandals.

~~THERE IS SIMPLY NO WAY THAT OUR NATION'S PROBLEMS WILL BE
SOLVED, OR THE LIVES OF OUR PEOPLE tethered by the
TRADITIONAL, NEGATIVE, VETO, Nixon DO NOTHING REPUBLICANISM.~~

~~IT IS CLEAR, THE BEST HOPE OF THE AMERICAN WORKER AND HIS
FAMILY FOR A BETTER LIFE AND A FAIR SHARE OF AMERICA'S ABUNDANCE
IS THE RETURN OF PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP IN THIS
COUNTRY.~~

But.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE THE RIGHT TO EXPECT MORE

THAN CRITICISM AND COMPLAINTS FROM THEIR POLITICAL LEADERS

AND PARTIES.

↳ THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW WHAT WE ARE FOR.

↳ THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW IN WHAT DIRECTION WE WOULD

HAVE OUR NATION GO.

↳ ELECTIONS SHOULD BE FOUGHT OVER THE ISSUE OF NATIONAL
PRIORITIES -- NOT ONLY HOW MUCH SHALL BE SPENT BUT ON WHAT

IT SHOULD BE SPENT.

↳ WE MUST PRESENT STRONG POLICY LEADERSHIP -- POLICY

GOALS -- TO PUT AMERICA'S HOUSE BACK IN ORDER.

These would include:
Here are some of the things we must have

-- A NATIONAL FOOD POLICY FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE

DECADE TO ASSURE OUR CONSUMERS AN ADEQUATE SUPPLY OF FOOD

AT REASONABLE PRICES WITH MAXIMUM PRODUCTION OF FOOD AND

FIBER FOR EXPORT. WE NEED A SYSTEM OF FOOD RESERVES TO

PROTECT THE AMERICAN CONSUMERS FROM WILD PRICE INFLATION

AND PROVIDE THE NEEDS OF THE POOR AT HOME AND ABROAD WITH A

MARGIN OF SAFETY FOR THEIR SURVIVAL.

L-- A NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY TO END OUR DEPENDENCE ON

FOREIGN SUPPLIES TO MEET OUR ENERGY NEEDS. WE MUST NEVER

ALLOW OURSELVES TO BE IN A POSITION WHERE WE CAN BE

THREATNED OR BLACKMAILED.

(Hold)

~~a national trade policy that encourages exports but protects assured American workers that~~

a national trade Policy
that encourages American
exports but will not
permit American workers
to be the victims of
unfair foreign competition.

~~and~~
We need to export
goods, not jobs!

~~They will not be sacrificed
or their jobs eliminated by
unfair foreign competition or
loss of production jobs.~~

L A NATION THAT COULD SPLIT THE ATOM AND PUT A MAN ON THE MOON

CAN ALSO DEVELOP THE CAPABILITY TO PRODUCE THE FUEL NEEDED

TO ASSURE OUR PROSPERITY. WHATEVER IS REQUIRED MUST BE DONE.

← (Trade)
L

-- A NATIONAL HEALTH POLICY TO PROVIDE THE PREVENTIVE

AND CURATIVE HEALTH CARE NECESSARY FOR THE SOUND HEALTH OF *for all Americans*

~~ALL AMERICANS WE CAN DO THIS~~ *yes* A PROGRAM OF NATIONAL

HEALTH INSURANCE AND THE EXPANSION OF HEALTH FACILITIES AND

MEDICAL PERSONNEL.

-- A NATIONAL URBAN POLICY DESIGNED TO MAKE OUR CITIES

LIVEABLE, SAFE, AND MODERN. WE MUST NOT IGNORE THE NEEDS OF

OUR CITIES, THIS NEGLECT WHICH HAS BECOME "THE NEW RACISM."

Not. Security is not to be found
in "White House Plumbers" -

(v) In wiretaps ~~and~~ loyal Americans -
in Secrecy + abuse of Executive
Privilege.

(vi) ~~Yes~~, true National Security lies in
the faith + confidence of the people
in their government.

(vii) ~~Starts~~ a National Security Policy that
Keeps America strong - but
basis that strength not rely
on a modern and effective
military force - but
Strength from our economy
that ~~grows~~ expands - ∇
Strength from job for all.
Strength from the Health + Education
of our people

L -- A NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION POLICY WHICH INCLUDES

A MUCH GREATER EFFORT TO IMPROVE THE FARM TO MARKET ROAD SYSTEM

OF RURAL AMERICA, TO EXPAND URBAN MASS TRANSIT, AND TO *complete*

OUR GREAT INTERSTATE HIGHWAY SYSTEM,

L -- A NATIONAL POLICY OF EQUAL RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

FOR ALL AMERICANS AND A FIRM COMMITMENT TO MAKE IT WORK.

L -- A NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY THAT GUARANTEES EVERY

GIRL AND BOY THE OPPORTUNITY FOR ~~FOR~~ QUALITY EDUCATION FROM

PRE-SCHOOL THROUGH GRADUATE SCHOOL

Start ← (Not Security)

L WE MUST WORK AND WORK AND WORK FOR A UNITED PARTY AND

A UNITED AMERICA. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO PAY THE PRICE OF MORE

ELECTION DEFEATS.

WE MUST BURY THE AXE OF PARTY DISUNITY AND RETURN

MAJORITY GOVERNMENT TO OUR LAND.

WE MUST HAVE A "VETO-SAFE" CONGRESS IN 1974 AND A

PRESIDENT FOR ALL THE PEOPLE IN 1976

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