

⑧ Barbara Campiano -- Feb 80

001653

Jack Wallace

- Dean Crowley

- Don Beshley

- Bob Hinkley

~~1. Environment is like a pump~~

⑨

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 little

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 fair 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.

L AS A MAN OF POLITICS, I FEEL A DEEP SENSE OF LOSS.

L A SHADOW OF DOUBT AND DISTRUST HAS BEEN CAST OVER THE
ENTIRE POLITICAL PROCESS.

L 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. L 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

^{This}
POWER HAS BEEN VIOLATED.

The collected work of public Authority must remember that the greatest challenge for those who have power is to exercise restraint in the use of power.

THE BASIS FOR SUCH VIOLATION ORIGINATES AT THE

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 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.

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L 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 *out*
TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT BY
THOSE INVOLVED IN THIS TRAGIC CRISIS.

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

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

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

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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.

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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.

(2) 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 TO~~ 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

LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT.

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

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

AFFAIR ADD TO THE GROWING PUBLIC DISTRUST OF THE

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. L BEFORE THERE CAN BE ANY MEANING-

FUL CONDUCT OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN PUBLIC BUSINESS,

THERE MUST BE A CLEANSING OF THE HOUSE OF GOVERNMENT.

L 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

BY AN ELECTION, BUT THE RESTORATION OF PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

DENCE 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

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--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.

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--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.*

--^{W.F.}ABOVE ALL, WE MUST RENEW OUR COMMITMENT TO THE
FIRST AMENDMENT FREEDOMS SO NECESSARY TO SAFEGUARD THE
~~DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.~~
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.

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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 IMPLICA-
TION OF WATERGATE: THAT IT MAY REFLECT THE REALITY OF
TODAY WHICH PERMITS SOME WITH MONEY AND POWER TO LIVE

BEYOND THE LAW.

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO SEPARATE WATERGATE FROM

THE VAST FINANCIAL SWINDLES, CONSUMER FRAUDS, GROWING

WHITE-COLLAR AND STREET CRIME THAT ALL AMERICANS MUST

DEAL WITH ON A DAILY BASIS.

*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 -
no better
no worse "*

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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