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SPEECH BY: ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT MORGAN
TO: IREDELL COUNTY DEMOCRATS
STATESVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA
DATE: MARCH 18, 1974

INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT

I APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT MY VIEWS ON
THE ISSUES, AS A CANDIDATE FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

ONE OF THE RECURRING DILEMMAS FOR POLITICIANS IN A
DEMOCRACY WAS ADDRESSED BY EDMUND BURKE IN THE LATE 18TH
CENTURY. IN HIS FAMOUS "SPEECH TO THE ELECTORS OF BRISTOLS,"
BURKE DREW A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE STATESMAN WHO CONSULTS
HIS OWN CONSCIENCE WHEN LEGISLATING FOR THE NATION AS A
WHOLE AND THE REPRESENTATIVE WHO FAITHFULLY VOTES THE VIEWS
OF HIS CONSTITUENCY BACK HOME. BURKE SAW HIMSELF AS A
STATESMAN AND INVITED HIS CONSTITUENTS IN BRISTOL TO VOTE
HIM OUT OF OFFICE IF THEY DID NOT LIKE HIS POSITIONS --
WHICH IS EXACTLY WHAT THEY DID THE FIRST CHANCE THEY HAD!

ANOTHER PROBLEM FOR A CANDIDATE FOR THE SENATE IS HOW
BEST TO REPRESENT IN WASHINGTON THE VIEWS OF OVER 5 MILLION
NORTH CAROLINIANS WHO LIVE IN A STATE AS BIG AND DIVERSE AS
OURS. IT WOULD BE SIMPLE IF EVERYBODY THOUGHT ALIKE, OR IF
EACH INDIVIDUAL VOTER HAD ONE PREFERENCE ON ONE ISSUE. BUT,
OF COURSE, PEOPLE HAVE MANY DIFFERENT VIEWS ON MANY DIFFERENT
MATTERS. AND, FRANKLY, IT AMAZES ME HOW MANY PEOPLE EXPECT
A CANDIDATE TO AGREE WITH THEM ABOUT EVERYTHING.

IT IS ENOUGH TO TEMPT ME TO GIVE AS A STANDARD RESPONSE
THE LINE USED BY SENATOR TOM CONNALLY OF TEXAS (ONCE THE
CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE) MANY YEARS
AGO. WHENEVER HE WAS ASKED HIS POSITION ON A CONTROVERSIAL
QUESTION BACK HOME -- "SENATOR, WHERE DO YOU STAND ON COTTON
PRICE SUPPORTS?" -- HE WOULD REPLY: "I'M O. K. ON THAT ONE,
NEXT QUESTION."

IN THIS CAMPAIGN, I WILL NOT PRETEND TO BE AN EXPERT ON
EVERY ISSUE BEFORE THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES. BUT I
WILL PRESENT MY VIEWS ON THE MAJOR ISSUES. AND I ASSURE YOU
THAT I WILL ALWAYS BE EAGER TO LISTEN TO YOURS.

I WILL EXERCISE MY CONSCIENCE, AS I KNOW YOU EXPECT ME TO.
ONE THING I HAVE TRIED TO MAKE CLEAR FROM THE BEGINNING IS
THAT I WILL NOT GO TO WASHINGTON AS THE PRISONER OF ANY SPECIAL
INTERESTS. OUR APPROACH IN RAISING CAMPAIGN EXPENSES IS
DESIGNED TO INSURE THIS.

IT IS MY FIRM CONVICTION THAT I AM CLOSER TO THE PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA AND WHAT THEY ARE THINKING THAN MY OPPONENTS. AS A MATTER OF FACT, I HAVE BEEN IN NORTH CAROLINA THROUGHOUT MY PUBLIC CAREER. I BELIEVE THAT I CAN BRING TO WASHINGTON A "BREATH OF FRESH AIR" THAT COMES FROM BEING CLOSE TO THE PEOPLE. AND I MAKE NO APOLOGIES FOR IT.

LET ME SHARE WITH YOU NOW SOME THOUGHTS ON OUR NATIONAL PROBLEMS.

RECENTLY, A CHARLOTTE NEWSPAPER REPORTED THAT HERE IN THE CAROLINAS, AS WELL AS ELSEWHERE, THE VIEW IS WIDESPREAD THAT PUBLIC OFFICIALS ARE SO INEPT AND CORRUPT THAT THEY CANNOT BE DEPENDED UPON TO LEAD THIS NATION TO BETTER TIMES. WATERGATE, THE ILLTIMED AND COSTLY WHEAT SALE TO THE SOVIET UNION, CONTINUING INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT, THE ENERGY CRISIS, THE AGNEW RESIGNATION, AND -- EVEN CLOSER TO HOME -- BUREAUCRATS TOYING WITH TOBACCO ALLOTMENTS, ALL OF THESE HAVE ONLY SERVED TO CONFIRM THIS BELIEF IN INEPTNESS AND CORRUPTION.

PEOPLE FEEL HELPLESS; IT SEEMS THERE IS NOTHING THEY CAN DO. THEY ARE WEARY OF SURPRISE, EVASION, DECEPTION AND CRISIS. THEY ACHIEVE FOR TRUST, OPENNESS, TRUTH AND STABILITY. THEY YEARN FOR A RESTORED SENSE OF THE FITNESS OF THINGS AND, CONSEQUENTLY, THE LACK OF INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT IS CONSIDERED BY 43 PER CENT OF THE PEOPLE TO BE OUR BIGGEST PROBLEM. THE EXPLOSION OF THE WATERGATE INVESTIGATION, THE

INFLATION THAT PUSHED FOOD PRICES UP, THE SUDDEN STREAM OF SHORTAGES FROM FUEL OIL TO FERTILIZER, THE RESIGNATION OF VICE-PRESIDENT AGNEW, CONSTANT TALK OF IMPEACHMENT; ANY ONE OF THESE ISSUES COULD SHAKE THE CONFIDENCE OF A NATION, YET MOST PEOPLE STILL HAVE FAITH IN AMERICA.

THEY KNOW THAT THEY CANNOT BLAME ALL FOR THE MISTAKES AND CRIMINAL ACTS OF A FEW, AND THEY KNOW THAT THE CURRENT CRISIS OF GOVERNMENT REFLECTS MORE UPON MEN THAN UPON OUR INSTITUTIONS. AMERICANS STILL HAVE FAITH IN AMERICA AND BELIEVE IN HER DESTINY.

OUR GOVERNMENT, AFTER ALL, CONSISTS OF THREE CO-EQUAL BRANCHES; THE PRESIDENCY, THE CONGRESS AND THE COURTS. IT IS NOT A GOVERNMENT IN WHICH ALL POWER IS HELD IN THE HANDS OF ONE PERSON. POWER INSTEAD IS DISTRIBUTED, HELD BY MANY PERSONS THROUGHOUT ALL THREE BRANCHES OF OUR GOVERNMENT AND AT DIFFERENT LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT. SO WHEN CORRUPTION INVADES ONE BRANCH OR LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT, THE OTHER BRANCHES MAY CONTINUE TO FUNCTION. LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN THE PRESIDENCY SHOULD NOT PARALYZE CONGRESS OR THE COURTS. IN SPITE OF SUCH A CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE, THE PEOPLE CAN STILL HAVE FAITH IN THE ABILITY OF THE OTHER BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT TO PULL US THROUGH. WHEN THE PRESIDENCY DOESN'T FUNCTION, THE CONGRESS MUST; AND WHEN THE CONGRESS DOESN'T FUNCTION, THE PRESIDENCY MUST.

WE'VE HAD DO-NOTHING CONGRESSES AND DO-NOTHING PRESIDENTS IN THIS COUNTRY, BUT WE HAVE NEVER HAD A DO-NOTHING GOVERNMENT. AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE GENIUS OF OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT IS THAT IT FUNCTIONS IN THE FACE OF ALL KINDS OF ADVERSITY. THIS IS WHY IT CAN TRULY BE SAID THAT WATERGATE SHOULD NOT LEAD ANYBODY TO CONCLUDE THAT THE SYSTEM IS BANKRUPT, FOR IT WAS THE SYSTEM THAT BROUGHT THE FACTS TO LIGHT. AND IT IS THE SYSTEM THAT WILL BRING THOSE WHO ARE GUILTY TO JUSTICE. IT IS THE SYSTEM THAT WILL OVERCOME ITS OWN DEFICIENCIES.

A DEFICIENCY THAT NEEDS TO BE CORRECTED IS THE INCREASING POWER OF THE PRESIDENCY OVER LEGISLATION. OVER THE PAST HALF CENTURY, THE PRESIDENT HAS NOT ONLY BEEN THE PERSON WHO IMPLEMENTS OUR LAWS, HE HAS ALSO BECOME THE PERSON WHO PROPOSES THEM. THE CONGRESS MORE AND MORE LOOKS TO THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT FOR LEGISLATIVE LEADERSHIP. AND THIS SURRENDER OF LEGISLATIVE LEADERSHIP TO THE PRESIDENCY HAS TENDED TO PARALYZE THE CONGRESS DURING TIMES OF GREAT STRESS. CONSEQUENTLY, MANY PEOPLE FEEL THAT EVEN CONGRESS IS NOT ACTING RESPONSIVELY THESE DAYS. FOR IT SEEMS TO BE UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO EXERT THE LEADERSHIP IT NEEDS IN ORDER TO PLAY ITS ROLE IN GUIDING THIS NATION FROM A STATE OF CRISIS TO A STATE OF STABILITY.