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TO: BLADEN COUNTY YDC
ELIZABETHTOWN, NORTH CAROLINA

DATE: MARCH 21, 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 EDMOUND BURKE IN THE LATE 18TH
CENTURY. IN HIS FAMOUR "SPEECH TO THE ELECTORS OF BRISTOL,"
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 CONVISTION 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 ACHE 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.

TO OVERCOME THIS PARALYSIS, HOWEVER, MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ONLY NEED TO REASSUME THE POWERS OF LEADERSHIP WHICH HAVE ALWAYS BEEN THEIRS. CONGRESSMEN MUST PROPOSE THEIR OWN SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS THAT WE AS A NATION FACE AND NOT LOOK TO THE PRESIDENT FOR SUCH LEADERSHIP.

BECAUSE THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN WASHINGTON TODAY LACKS CREDIBILITY, IT ALSO LACKS THE EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP NEEDED TO KEEP AMERICA MOVING. IF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT CANNOT SUPPLY THAT LEADERSHIP, THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS MUST. CONDITIONS IN WASHINGTON ARE SUCH NOW THAT IT IS VITAL TO THE FUTURE FOR CONGRESS TO BECOME INVOLVED IN POLICY MAKING; NOT ONLY REPRESENTATION, BUT LEADERSHIP IS WHAT OUR NATION NOW NEEDS.

THE MOST URGENT PROBLEM FACING AMERICA TODAY IS HOW TO BRING ABOUT THE BASIC CONDITIONS OF STABILITY AND SECURITY WHICH ARE NEEDED FOR THE GROWTH AND FLOWERING OF THE FREEDOM WE ALL CHERISH. IF WE ARE TO PROVIDE THESE CONDITIONS, THE NEXT DECADE OF AMERICAN POLITICAL LIFE MUST BE A DECADE OF REFORM.

WE MUST MAKE AVAILABLE TO EVERY CAPABLE PERSON A USEFUL JOB WHICH ENABLE HIM TO EARN ENOUGH TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE FOOD, CLOTHING AND RECREATION FOR HIS FAMILY. WE MUST MAKE AVAILABLE TO EVERY YOUNG PERSON A GOOD EDUCATION. WE MUST MAKE AVAILABLE TO EVERY FARMER THE ABILITY TO RAISE AND SELL HIS COMMODITIES AT A RETURN THAT WILL GIVE HIM AND HIS FAMILY A DECENT LIVING.

WE MUST MAKE AVAILABLE TO EVERY BUSINESSMAN THE ABILITY TO TRADE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF FREEDOM, FREEDOM FROM INTERFERENCE FROM GOVERNMENT AND FROM UNFAIR COMPETITION, BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD. WE MUST MAKE AVAILABLE TO EVERY FAMILY ADEQUATE MEDICAL CARE. WE MUST MAKE AVAILABLE TO EVERY CITIZEN ADEQUATE PROTECTION FROM THE ECONOMIC FEARS OF OLD AGE, SICKNESS, ACCIDENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

WE MUST MAINTAIN A STRONG MILITARY POSTURE WHICH IS CONTROLLED BY CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP. AND WE MUST REFORM THE CONGRESS ITSELF. WE CANNOT GROW STRONG ON WEAKNESS; WE CANNOT PROGRESS ON WELFARE; WE CANNOT BUILD A NATION WITH DROPOUTS; AND WE CANNOT FLOURISH ON SHORTAGES AND RISING PRICES.

SO, MY FRIENDS, INTEGRITY AND LEADERSHIP GO HAND IN HAND. TRUTH, WHEN OFFERED BY OFFICE HOLDERS, BRINGS TRUST FROM THE PEOPLE; HONESTY BRINGS HONOR; AND FAIRNESS BRINGS FAITH. ONLY WHEN THE PEOPLE TRUST AND HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THEIR REPRESENTATIVES CAN THERE BE FORCEFUL LEADERSHIP IN GOVERNMENT.

IF WE HAVE THIS TRUST, WE CAN MAKE THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE FELT IN HIGH PLACES ONCE AGAIN. WE CAN BRING GOVERNMENT CLOSE TO THE PEOPLE, AND WE CAN MAKE OUR DEMOCRACY LIVE.