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To: OPTIMIST CLUB  
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"WHY I WANT TO BE A UNITED STATES SENATOR"

AT THE OUTSET LET ME EXPRESS TO YOU MY APPRECIATION  
FOR BEING ASKED TO SPEAK ON "WHY I WANT TO BE A SENATOR."

IT IS NOT EASY IN THESE TIMES FOR POLITICAL PARTIES AND  
CANDIDATES TO FUNCTION. AT TIMES, WHEN I AM OUT ON THE CAMPAIGN  
TRAIL, I FEEL THAT THERE IS A PLAN AFOOT TO ISOLATE CANDIDATES  
AND PREVENT THEM FROM GETTING THEIR MESSAGE ACROSS ON THE  
ISSUES -- UNLESS, OF COURSE, THEY SPEND LARGE AMOUNTS OF  
MONEY ON MEDIA ADVERTISING.

FOR EXAMPLE, SOME TELEVISION STATIONS HAVE A POLICY OF  
NOT FILMING CANDIDATES AND OTHERS WILL NOT SELL YOU AIR TIME.

SOME STATIONS WILL NOT COME TO A PRESS CONFERENCE UNLESS YOU GUARANTEE THEM SOME SENSATIONAL -- USUALLY NEGATIVE -- REMARKS. THEY ARE NOT NEARLY AS INTERESTED IN POSITIVE PROPOSALS ON THE ISSUES.

SOME SHOPPING CENTERS WILL NOT ALLOW CANDIDATES TO SHAKE HANDS WITH THE PEOPLE, OR TO DISTRIBUTE LITERATURE. CIVIC CLUBS INSIST THAT SPEECHES BE "NON-PARTISAN," WHICH OFTEN MEANS A CANDIDATE CANNOT SPEAK OUT ON MATTERS OF CONCERN AND OFFER A CHOICE.

NO WONDER, THEN, THAT SPECIAL INTERESTS PUSH THEIR WAY INTO POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT. IT COSTS A LOT OF MONEY TO BE ABLE TO REACH THE PEOPLE DIRECTLY WITH ONE'S VIEWS ON THE ISSUES AND HIS PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT.

GIVEN THESE EXPERIENCES, YOU CAN UNDERSTAND WHY I ESPECIALLY APPRECIATE YOUR INVITATION. I HOPE MY REMARKS GIVE YOU A GRASP OF THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND VIEWS I WILL CARRY TO WASHINGTON -- IF ELECTED TO 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.

ANOTHER PROBLEM FOR A CANDIDATE FOR THE SENATE IS HOW BEST TO REPRESENT IN WASHINGTON THE VIEWS OF OVER FIVE 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.

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.

I BELIEVE IN A STRONG NATIONAL GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND TO PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE AT HOME. GENERALLY, I BELIEVE THAT GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO FOR PEOPLE WHAT THEY CANNOT DO FOR THEMSELVES, AND IT SHOULD RELEASE THEM TO DO WHAT THEY CAN DO FOR THEMSELVES.

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS SHOULD BE GIVEN THE CHANCE TO SHOW WHAT THEY CAN DO IN MANY SIGNIFICANT AREAS OF DOMESTIC CONCERN. BUT FOR MANY YEARS NOW I HAVE INSISTED THAT "STATES' RIGHTS ARE FOR RESPONSIBLE STATES." THROUGHOUT MY TENURE AS ATTORNEY GENERAL, WE HAVE TRIED TO PROVE THAT EFFECTIVE ACTION CAN BE TAKEN AT THE STATE LEVEL, IN SUCH AREAS AS LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CONSUMER PROTECTION. VERY OFTEN, OF COURSE, WE HAVE FOUND THAT HELP IS NEEDED FROM THE NATIONAL LEVEL.

THE CONSTITUTION PLACED A GREAT DEAL OF POWER IN THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT THAT WILL REMAIN THERE. THE GOOD NEWS COMING OUT OF THE CURRENT CALAMITIES AND SCANDALS IS THAT THE SYSTEM IS RESPONDING IN HEALTHY FASHION.

TWO KEY IDEAS ARE CENTRAL IN THE REBIRTH OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT. THEY ARE ACCOUNTABILITY AND INTEGRITY. THEY IDENTIFY THE TWIN SOURCES OF THE RESTRAINT ON AUTHORITY ON WHICH FREEDOM AND JUSTICE DEPEND IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. ONE SET OF RESTRAINTS ARE THOSE WHICH MEN IN POWER APPLY TO THEMSELVES -- THEIR SENSE OF INTEGRITY. THE OTHER IS THAT WHICH THE PUBLIC, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, APPLIES TO THEM -- THEIR SENSE OF ACCOUNTABILITY.

A MOVEMENT IS UNDER WAY TO STRENGTHEN THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF GOVERNMENT. THERE ARE PROPOSALS TO REFORM THE PRESIDENTIAL OFFICE; TO INCREASE THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT; FOR CONGRESS TO RECLAIM SOME OF ITS PREROGATIVES; TO MAKE THE BUREAUCRACY MORE SUBJECT TO CONTROL BY THE PEOPLE'S ELECTED LEADERS; AND TO CHANGE OUR CAMPAIGN FINANCE LAWS. I HAVE SPOKEN OUT ON SEVERAL OF THESE STRUCTURAL REFORMS IN MY CAMPAIGN.

THE PROBLEM IS NOT POWER AS SUCH, AS JOHN GARDNER HAS REMINDED US. "THE PROBLEM IS POWER THAT CANNOT BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE."

BUT, FOR ALL THE IMPORTANCE THAT INSTITUTIONAL REFORM MAY HAVE, THERE IS NO "FAIL-SAFE" MECHANISM WHEREBY RESTRAINT IS EXERCISED AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST IS PROTECTED. ULTIMATELY, THE ASSURANCE OF HIGH STANDARDS DEPENDS UPON THE PEOPLE WHO ASPIRE TO AND GAIN PUBLIC OFFICE.

I BELIEVE THAT THE PEOPLE DO NOT CORRUPT THEMSELVES. THE HEALTH OF OUR DEMOCRATIC ORDER DEPENDS UPON THE STANDARDS, BELIEFS AND COMPETENCE OF THOSE CHOSEN TO LEAD. IT IS UP TO THOSE OF US WHO ASPIRE TO HIGH OFFICE TO PRACTICE THAT SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF LEADERS IN A DEMOCRACY -- TO LEVEL WITH THE PEOPLE. POLITICS FOR US MUST NEVER BE HALF CONSTRUCTING AND IMAGE AND HALF GETTING THE PEOPLE TO BELIEVE IT. THE STANDARD OF BOTH PARTIES SHOULD BE THE WORDS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON 200 YEARS AGO: "THE WHOLE ART OF GOVERNMENT CONSISTS IN THE ART OF BEING HONEST."

POLITICAL LEADERS HAVE AN ENORMOUS TASK AHEAD OF THEM. OUR POLLS SHOW, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT 87% OF THE PEOPLE IN NORTH CAROLINA BELIEVE THAT AMERICA IS HEADED IN THE WRONG DIRECTION.

WE MUST OFFER A VISION OF THE FUTURE, YES. BUT, WE HAVE TO BE IN TUNE WITH THE VISION OF THE GREAT MAJORITY.

WE HAVE TO ADOPT, IN OTHER WORDS, AT EVERY LEVEL A MODERATE APPROACH TO SOLVING OUR PROBLEMS THAT DRAWS ON THE COMMON SENSE OF THE PEOPLE AND INVITES THEIR TRUST. YES, WE MUST RAISE EXPECTATIONS -- BUT WE HAVE TO GET EXCITED ABOUT THE ART OF THE POSSIBLE. ABOVE ALL, WE MUST BE RESPONSIBLE.

ONCE WE HAVE INTRODUCED A RESPONSIBLE TONE INTO OUR POLITICAL DIALOGUE, WE HAVE TO TALK ABOUT HOW TO GET THIS COUNTRY MOVING AGAIN. FOR WE HAVE BEEN STANDING STILL WHILE OUR PROBLEMS GROW IN INTENSITY.

HERE ARE SOME OF MY VIEWS ON WHAT WE HAVE TO DO IN SOME AREAS TO PUT US BACK ON THE RIGHT TRACK.

CONGRESS NEEDS TO REASSERT ITS PROPER ROLE AS A CO-EQUAL BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. THIS IS NOT TO SUGGEST THAT WE NEED A WEAKER PRESIDENCY, BUT THAT WE NEED A STRONGER, MORE RESPONSIBLE CONGRESS. I HAVE SUPPORTED A NUMBER OF REFORMS, ESPECIALLY BUDGETARY REFORM, DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL. A STRONGER LEGISLATIVE BRANCH, LET ME ADD, WOULD HELP TO CHECK THE EXCESSES OF A BUREAUCRACY THAT MAKES RULES -- APPEARING IN THE FEDERAL REGISTER -- WHICH HAVE THE FORCE OF LAW.

WE NEED TO REFORM OUR TAX STRUCTURE TO ELIMINATE GROSS INEQUITIES THAT ALLOW SOME CITIZENS TO ESCAPE PAYING ANY

TAXES AND ENCOURAGE SOME CORPORATIONS NOT TO INVEST IN THEIR COUNTRY. I HAVE PROPOSED THAT CONGRESS REGULARLY REVIEW OUR TAX STRUCTURE -- SOMETHING THAT IS NOT DONE AT PRESENT -- TO DETERMINE ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE CHANGING NEEDS OF THE COUNTRY. WE MUST RESTORE THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE IN OUR SYSTEM OF TAXATION.

FURTHER, I HAVE ADVOCATED ELIMINATING THE FOREIGN INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT THAT ALLOWS OIL COMPANIES TO DEDUCT ROYALTIES PAID TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES FROM THE INCOME THEY DECLARE FOR TAX PURPOSES IN THE UNITED STATES. IF WE PROVIDE TAX INCENTIVES FOR EXPLORATION, THEY OUGHT TO BE STRUCTURED TO ENCOURAGE OIL EXPLORATION HERE AT HOME.

IN MY VIEW, NEITHER CONGRESS NOR THE ADMINISTRATION ACTED WITH SUFFICIENT FORESIGHT ON THE ENERGY PROBLEM. IN THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, WE HAVE BEEN ALERT TO THE ENERGY SHORTAGE FOR SOME TIME. FOR EXAMPLE, LAST JUNE, I TESTIFIED BEFORE THE UNITED STATES SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ANTITRUST AND MONOPOLY. AT THAT TIME, I PRESENTED FACTS ON THE IMPACT OF THE ENERGY SHORTAGE ON THE PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA -- FACTS THAT HAD BEEN DEVELOPED OVER A PERIOD OF FOUR YEARS OF LITIGATION IN RATE HEARINGS INVOLVING THE INCREASING COSTS OF ENERGY.



IF WE DO NOT SOLVE THIS ENERGY PROBLEM SOON, SOME RAW MATERIALS WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE TO INDUSTRY AND OUR FACTORIES WILL STOP.

INFLATION IS THE OVERWHELMING PROBLEM FACED BY THE AVERAGE CITIZEN. AND THE PRIMARY LONG-TERM CAUSE OF INFLATION IS LARGE-SCALE DEFICIT SPENDING AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL. THAT \$300 BILLION BUDGET WITH A \$10-20 BILLION DEFICIT WILL DO A LOT TO DRIVE PRICES UP IN AMERICA NEXT FISCAL YEAR. WE MUST HAVE FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. THE BUDGET REFORM ACT NOW BEFORE CONGRESS WILL TURN THE BUDGETARY PROCESS AROUND SO THAT WE COUNT THE COSTS BEFORE ENACTING PROGRAMS.

I HAVE TOUCHED ON A FEW MATTERS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE IN THIS COUNTRY TODAY. I WILL BE GLAD TO ANSWER YOUR QUESTIONS ON THESE AND OTHER ISSUES.

RECENT EVENTS HAVE ROBBED THE PEOPLE OF MUCH OF THEIR TRUST AND CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS. WE MUST REAFFIRM OUR COMMITMENT IN AMERICA'S EXPERIMENT IN SELF-GOVERNMENT AND PLEDGE OURSELVES TO THE RETURN OF THE GOVERNMENT TO THE PEOPLE.

WITH A FIRM RESOLVE TO GET THIS COUNTRY MOVING AGAIN  
AND AN ABIDING FAITH IN DEMOCRACY, THE SHIP OF STATE CAN BE  
RIGHTED AND THIS NATION CAN ONCE AGAIN HOLD UP ITS HEAD.