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T0:

P. A. D. FRATERNITY

WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

DATE:

APRIL 23, 1974

INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT

I WANT TO EXPRESS TO YOU MY SINCERE APPRECIATION TO ALL OF YOU FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO BE HERE WITH YOU THIS EVENING AT YOUR ANNUAL AWARDS BANQUET AND I AM PARTICULARLY HONORED TO ACCEPT THIS AWARD. I HAVE BEEN A MEMBER OF YOUR FRATERNITY FOR MANY YEARS AND IN TRYING TO THINK OF THE MAIN DIFFERENCE BETWEEN P. A. D. TODAY AND AS IT WAS WHEN I WAS IN SCHOOL, I AM PERSUADED THAT WE COULD NOT HAVE HELD OUR AWARDS BANQUET IN THE HOSPITALITY ROOM OF THE SCHLITZ BREWERY COMPANY AS YOU ARE TONIGHT. INDEED, YOU HAVE COME A VERY LONG WAY.

BUT P. A. D. CHAPTERS IN PAST YEARS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN OUTSTANDING FOR WHAT THEY HAVE DONE AT WAKE FOREST. THEY HAVE SERVED AS THE LAW SCHOOL HOME FOR MANY OF NORTH CAROLINA'S PRESENT DAY LEADERS. FORMER P. A. D. MEMBERS SERVE THEIR COMMUNITIES NOT ONLY AS PRACTICING MEMBERS OF THE BAR, BUT ALSO

IN THE STATE GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATURE, THE COURTS OF OUR STATE, THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND HOPEFULLY, IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE ONE WILL REPRESENT YOU IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

During my more than five years as Attorney General, and before that, as a private attorney in my home county of Harnett, I have had the privilege of knowing and coming in daily contact with a large number of North Carolina's attorneys. These individuals who shortly will become your colleagues as well as your adversaries have a high responsibility to the public as will you.

YOU WILL BE ASKED TO SERVE NOT ONLY YOUR CLIENTS BUT ALSO YOUR COMMUNITIES IN POSITIONS OF GOVERNMENT AND TRUST.
YOU WILL, BY THE VERY NATURE OF YOUR PROFESSION, BE LOOKED UPON AS A POTENTIAL LEADER. ONE NEED ONLY TO LOOK AT THE NUMBER OF ATTORNEYS PRESENTLY SERVING AS MEMBERS OF THE STATE LEGISLATURE AND IN THE NATIONAL CONGRESS AS PROOF OF THAT FACT.

I SUPPOSE THIS IS ONE REASON WHY I HAVE BEEN SO DISTURBED BY THE LACK OF CONFIDENCE AND THE LOSS OF TRUST IN OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. MANY OF THOSE WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS LOSS OF CONFIDENCE AND TRUST ARE ATTORNEYS. THEIR ACTIONS, HOWEVER PERSONAL THEY WERE, HAVE REFLECTED NOT ONLY UPON THEMSELVES BUT ALSO UNFORTUNATELY UPON THEIR PROFESSION AS WELL.

BUT THE RESULT OF THEIR CONDUCT SHOULD ALSO NOT BE ALLOWED TO OBSCURE THE FACT THAT IT IS PRIMARILY ATTORNEYS WHO HAVE BEEN CARRYING THE INVESTIGATIONS IN WASHINGTON FORWARD. IN SHORT, IT IS LARGELY ATTORNEYS WHO ARE TRYING TO PUT THE HOUSES OF GOVERNMENT BACK TOGETHER AGAIN SO THAT THEY CAN FUNCTION AS THEY WERE ORIGINALLY INTENDED:

DURING MY RECENT TRAVELS THROUGHOUT THIS STATE, I HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY AWARE THAT MANY NORTH CAROLINIANS ARE NOT SATISFIED WITH THE DIRECTION IN WHICH OUR COUNTRY IS HEADED. I HAVE FOUND PEOPLE DISCOURAGED AND DISILLUSIONED. A PRIMARY SOURCE OF THEIR FRUSTRATION IS, I BELIEVE, AN INABILITY TO TRUST OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND BELIEVE IN THE THINGS WHICH IT SAYS. IF THERE IS ANY BREAKDOWN IN ITS FUNCTIONING, IT IS IN THE AREA OF HONEST COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THOSE WHO ARE THE REPRESENTATIVES AND THE REPRESENTED. FOR TOO LONG, NEITHER HAS TRUSTED THE OTHER.

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 SOFIET 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 percent 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, the constant talk of impeachment.

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.

WE LAWYERS HAVE A UNIQUE ROLE TO PLAY IN THE SOLVING OF THIS PROBLEM FOR IN THE 92ND CONGRESS, 301 OF THE 535 MEMBERS OR 56 PERCENT, LISTED LAW AS THEIR PRIMARY OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND.

Thus, when people express a lack of belief and confidence in the Congress, they are talking about a group, the majority of which are lawyers. When people express dismay or disbelief in the national administration they are talking largely about people who are lawyers.

Thus, we lawyers, you and I, have a special responsibility to help restore people's trust in the integrity of government. We have been in the forefront of this nation's leadership since it was founded. Our profession, more than most, has been responsible for making this democracy work.

WE ARE NOW FACED WITH WHAT IS PERHAPS OUR MOST SERIOUS CRISIS - THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE.

DURING MY CAMPAIGN FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE, AS WELL AS PAST YEARS AS ATTORNEY GENERAL, I HAVE TRIED TO BE HONEST WITH THE PEOPLE AND TO SPEAK OUT CLEARLY AND OPENLY ON THE ISSUES IN WHICH I WAS INVOLVED. I HAVE DONE THIS NOT ONLY BECAUSE THE PEOPLE DESERVED IT, BUT BECAUSE IT WAS RIGHT.

If we are to get this country moving again, as I believe we all desire, we must set our government in order. Before we can solve the problems of inflation or energy or anything else you might want to mention, we must be able to trust and believe in each other. We must recognize that of all our priorities, truthfulness must be number one.

IT IS UP TO ALL OUR CITIZENS, BUT PARTICULARLY UP TO YOU AS PROSPECTIVE ATTORNEYS, TO BE HIGHLY RESPONSIBLE IN THAT REGARD. WHILE SOME OF YOU MAY NEVER RUN FOR PUBLIC OFFICE OR SERVE IN GOVERNMENT, OTHERS WILL BECOME ACTIVELY INVOLVED ON THE DAY YOU PASS THE BAR. IN ANY EVENT ALL OF YOU WILL BE OPINION MAKERS OR PERSONS OF CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE.

WHEN YOU WIN FOR OFFICE OR VOTE FOR SOMEONE WHO DOES, BE CONCERNED NOT ONLY WITH THE ISSUES OF THE DAY, WHICH WILL CHANGE, BUT ALSO WITH THE SEEMINGLY SIMPLE QUESTION OF WHETHER YOU OR HE CAN BE TRUSTED FOR THE ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION LIKELY WILL NOT CHANGE.

In short, 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, honor, and are confident in their appraisal of an office holder can he be a true and forceful leader in government. I hope to be able to offer that truth, honesty, and fairness. I hope that you will too. If so, then together 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.