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About the Institute

The Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation, a research division of Carnegie Mellon University, specializes in the history of botany and all aspects of plant science and serves the international scientific community through research and documentation. To this end, the Institute acquires and maintains authoritative collections of books, plant images, manuscripts, portraits and data files, and provides publications and other modes of information service. The Institute meets the reference needs of botanists, biologists, historians, conservationists, librarians, bibliographers and the public at large, especially those concerned with any aspect of the North American flora.

Hunt Institute was dedicated in 1961 as the Rachel McMasters Miller Hunt Botanical Library, an international center for bibliographical research and service in the interests of botany and horticulture, as well as a center for the study of all aspects of the history of the plant sciences. By 1971 the Library's activities had so diversified that the name was changed to Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation. Growth in collections and research projects led to the establishment of four programmatic departments: Archives, Art, Bibliography and the Library.

11/4/73

Common Cause

Not sent

National responsibility

Dear Mr. Gardner

of Congressmen vs

State interests

I have been pleased to see the
advance made by Common Cause in
its efforts to secure greater accountability
and response
of Congressmen to the electorate, and I
congratulate you on such success as
your organization has had.

There is one facet of accountability
of Congressmen which I regret has not
yet been, so far as I know, the subject of
serious endeavor to reform, namely
the responsibility which every Congressman
of both Houses has to consider
all issues as of national importance. I
see nothing in the Constitution
which instructs any member of either
house to pay special attention
to issues which relate to decisions

✓
which will find their immediate
effect within the district or state
from which he was elected. Congressmen
are national officers, chosen, to be
sure, by special electorates, for the
obvious reason that few electors
can be acquainted with the merits
of more than a dozen or so candidates
at a time, but chosen, none the less (theoretically)
to deal with
national concerns.

It would, of course, be naive to expect
all Congressmen to rise above the
local concerns of their own constituencies,
which is so many
now exhibit. But to me it is
shocking to find so many prominent
legislators abandoning clear reason
for the single purpose of ^{trying to} maintaining
office. Specifically I cite such

example as Senator Jackson's espousal
 of the SST, Senator Hatfield
 (in just literally meaning free)
 indignantly naive statements about
 French Peet Valley on the western
 slope of the Cascades, and the support
 accorded by the
 solid block of western Republican
 Senators (not including Senator
 Packwood) to approval of the
 Alaska Pipeline.

In all of these instances even the
 most rational men, ^{I believe,} looking must
 more intently at their own reelection
 than at the realities of the national
 issues involved.

I regret I have no suggestions for
 reform except to insist more
 clearly to all of us that we must
 expect nothing all national issues

and to express our disapproval to
our representatives whenever we believe
~~that they~~ ^{have} not done so.

MKM
WANTS this back

The speech Gardner didn't give

Former Cabinet member warns: 'All of us have failed in our duty as Americans . . . and the nation disintegrates'

By John Gardner

The extraordinary reaction to the administration's Cambodia decision was more than a difference of opinion on the war. The suddenness of the decision, the lack of consultation with key leaders, the evidence of internal differences within the administration — all brought to a climax the growing crisis of confidence in our leadership.

I say that with regret, because I speak as a Republican.

The seeming abrupt reversal of implied commitments deepened the question in the minds of millions of Americans as to whether they can believe the promises of their leaders.

A great many informed Americans believe, justly or not, that the President is isolated, that he is not adequately exposed to reasonable opposing views. They believe, justly or not, that he has not offered the level of moral leadership which we so need. They believe, justly or not, that he has given undue sanction to members of his administration who

Insight

John W. Gardner's scheduled appearance before the Illinois constitutional convention in Springfield was suddenly canceled Wednesday by con-con officials who objected to the nature of his planned speech. Gardner is a former secretary of health, education and welfare. Here is the speech that was not delivered.

seem committed to divisive courses of action, and undue attention to advisers who give him a distorted view of reality.

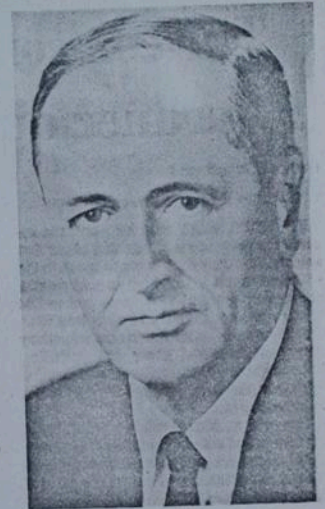
THE PRESIDENT HAS 2¾ years remaining before the end of his term. It is essential that in those years the nation be governed by

a man who is in touch with all segments of American opinion, a man who does not feel trapped and beleaguered, a man who easily hears and listens to conflicting views, a man who understands that people in power usually have deep complicity in their own isolation.

But I am not interested in indicting the President, because I believe that virtually all of us have failed in our duty as Americans. The failure goes to every level and phase of American life: drug addiction in the slums and corruption in high places; crime in the streets and corporate fraud; personal immorality and betrayals of public trust.

And while each of us pursues his selfish interest and comforts himself by blaming others, the nation disintegrates. I use the phrase soberly: the nation disintegrates.

This is a time for the highest order of patriotism. This is a time to ask what it is we stand for as a people. It is a time to re-examine our founding documents and to reflect on what we tell each other are the American



John W. Gardner:
"The nation disintegrates . . ."

Turn to Page 4, Column 1

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

Thursday, May 14, 1970

Third Page

Senate hostile

CTA facino



Gardner didn't give



Continued from Page 3

virtues. It is a time to search our hearts.

IT IS VERY, VERY easy for leaders to appeal to the prejudice and fear and anger that are in us. It is easy for leaders to speak to the selfishness that is in us, to tell us that nothing in this country need be changed, and to find villains who may be blamed for our troubles.

But there is in us as Americans something better than fear and anger and prejudice, something better than selfishness, something better than the lazy, comfortable inclination to blame others.

There is in us, if our leaders will ask for it, the courage and stamina to face our problems honestly, to admit that we ourselves are partly to blame for them, and to identify paths of constructive action.

We face two overriding tasks. We must move vigorously to solve our most crucial problems. And we must heal the spirit of the nation. The two tasks are inseparable. If either is neglected, the other becomes impossible.

THE CRISIS in confidence is deepened by the divisiveness that afflicts the nation. And as I utter those words I am keenly aware that I am speaking on the same historic site where Abraham Lincoln delivered his "House Divided" speech.

Today's divisiveness is not confined to one issue or one set of antagonists.

There are multiple points of conflict — the war, race, the economy, political ideology.

There are multiple rifts — between old and young, between regions, between social classes. Around these rifts we have seen hatred and rage, violence and coercion at both ends of the political spectrum. And matching the violent deeds we have had provocative and ill-considered statements from those in high places.

Official statements and policies which feed the fires of regional suspicion or racial antagonism or the tensions between young and old may be as destructive as a bomb tossed through an open window.

If one considers the whole range of conflict — ghetto riots and shoot-outs, campus violence, widespread bombing and arson, school buses overturned by raging adults, and the chilling recent clash between construction workers and radical youth — if one reflects on that full range, one must conclude that we are dealing with disintegrative forces that threaten our survival as a society.

One might suppose that as extremists become increasingly inflammatory, moderates would close ranks and oppose them. But just the opposite is occurring. The moderates begin to take sides against one another. We all become a little reader to grow angry, a little reader to identify villains, a little reader to resort to violence ourselves.

Let this give the impression that moderates are victimized, it must be said at once that most of them have a secret complicity in the activities of the extremist. The moderate conservative does not explicitly approve of police brutality, but something in him is not displeased when the billy club comes down on the head of a long-haired student. The liberal

with disorder is usually frustration and a sense of impotence. It stems, at least in part, from people who want to have their say and feel that they have not been listened to, who feel that they have suffered injustice and have been denied redress, and who feel that in matters of self-government they have been lulled with rhetoric and denied effective power.

The solution lies in giving them outlets within the system; that is, in providing them constructive paths of action.

SUCH PATHS ARE available. I want to talk chiefly about one such path — the political process. Many dissidents who resort to disruptive tactics say "we tried working within the system," but most have not in fact tried very hard, certainly not within the political system. And in this they reflect a failing of the American people generally, we have typically scorned politics and neglected the political process. And by that neglect we have not only denied ourselves the most significant path for effective action, we have allowed the public process to decay.

It is precisely in the political forum that free citizens can have their say, trade out their differences and identify their shared goals. Where else, how else can a free people orchestrate their inevitable conflicting purposes?

It is essential that we bring about a renaissance of politics in this country. We must open up clogged channels. We must bring a vitality to political life that will attract good men and women. We must repair rusty and out-worn machinery. We must renew the system.

In our present crisis of confidence, both college students and faculty members are beginning to look to politics.

But it is not just our young people who must recognize the value of the political process. Citizens generally — from every part of the political spectrum — should give far more attention to every phase of that process. Some should run for office. Others should become involved in the machinery of their party (and try to change it for the better). Some should engage directly in lobbying. Some should give money and time. Others should undertake to influence public opinion in behalf of the causes that interest them.

IT IS PRECISELY to the political process that we must turn in order to end the war in Southeast Asia. At this moment, the war is the most divisive element in our national life. Nothing we are doing to help or harm our friends or foes in Southeast Asia can compare to what we are doing to ourselves as a nation. The erosion of spirit that we have experienced is beyond calculation. Weighed against that erosion, any possible geopolitical advantages in the war must be seen as pitifully small.

I hasten to add my own view that judged in the strictest national security terms our involvement in Southeast Asia is hopelessly counter to our best interests. We cannot be — as the President so mistakenly believes — "the peacekeeper in the Asian world."

I have spoken of the political process as an

By L. F. Palmer Jr.

U.S. Atty. Thomas N. Todd, head of the civil rights unit of the local U.S. attorney's office, has resigned because he is "deeply disturbed by the selection of priorities within the Justice Department."

Todd, who will become assistant director of the center for urban affairs at Northwestern University and an assistant professor in the law school, said:

"Working in this office has demonstrated to me that a substantial amount of power to attack problems of injustices to black people rests in the U.S. attorney's office.

"My quarrel has been with the way that power has been exercised and with the choosing of priorities.

"Law and order" as it is conceived and administered by this administration is inconsistent with the manner in which power must be exercised to alleviate these injustices."

TODD DECLARED that there must be "strike forces" for civil rights similar to those now in existence to fight organized crime across the country.

"To be honest," he said, "the present U.S. attorney (Thomas A. Foran) has done more than his predecessors, but in the relative scheme of things, not enough has been done, nor does it seem that

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left: but he may take secret pleasure in such action when it discomfits those in authority.

In short, extremists often enjoy tacit support from the moderates nearest to them. Thus does a society tear itself apart.

MOST AMERICANS want to hold the nation together. But I do not meet many who are willing to do the hard things that are essential to that end.

How does one hold the nation together? Not by rhetoric. Not by fleeing from controversial issues. Not simply by wishing for unity. We must first of all come to terms with the great issues that divide us, facing them honestly — and estimating honestly the terrible cost to our national integrity of continued failure to move toward solutions.

That means that we must support leaders prepared to bring about constructive change. We must reject leaders who will not seek change, and reject leaders who use the rhetoric of change but refuse to make the hard decisions that will move us on to new solutions. We must examine every one of our institutions to see where reform or structural redesign will help it adapt to contemporary needs. Not least among such targets of change I would list the Congress of the United States.

Second, we must put an end to the deliberately provocative words and acts that feed the flames of conflict. We must isolate the small segment of our population who are practitioners of violence and coercion. We must discipline policemen and members of the National Guard who exceed the bounds of disciplined law enforcement. And we must reject leaders who exploit our anger and fear and hatred.

FINALLY, EVERY citizen must support the established process of the society — legal and judicial processes, the ballot, civil liberties. We must strengthen those processes and make them worthy of our confidence. We must act firmly against those who would destroy them.

But it is not enough to call people back to a respect for process. It is necessary to examine the frustrations which may have produced the loss of faith. Institutional failures invite alternatives that may ultimately destroy the institutions.

We find, for example, that due process of law does not always exist for some of our minorities. If we want them to respect the process, we must make it worthy of respect.

Similarly, doubts as to the integrity of the legal and governmental process arise when federal officials are deliberately lax in their enforcement of civil rights laws or make public statements that create an atmosphere of ambiguity around those laws.

But the process available to a free people that is seriously neglected today is the political process.

The notable fact about civil tumult today is not that a few fanatics start it, but that larger numbers of peaceable people tolerate it and lend themselves to it. Behind that sympathy

can't must now use that instrument to end the war. The objectives should be:

- To withdraw all U.S. forces from Cambodia now.
- To avoid further escalation in any form.
- To achieve an orderly termination of our presence in Vietnam within one year.

There are measures now before Congress that embody these objectives. Citizens should communicate with their senators and congressmen to express their views. There should be a concerted effort to support candidates in the 1970 election who will oppose the war and will work and vote to end it as soon as possible.

BUT IT IS NOT just a question of bringing our boys back from Vietnam. It is a question of what kind of country we are bringing them back to. The end of the war will be only the beginning of the healing of this nation.

The list of our domestic problems is depressingly long — and some items on the list are frightening. But it cannot be said too often that most of the problems are solvable. They are not essentially more puzzling or demanding than many problems we have faced in our history. The question is whether we have the will to solve them.

Our unwillingness, nationally and locally, to provide adequate resources for such things as education is symptomatic of our attitude toward virtually all of our common purposes except war and the exploration of space.

No other nation in the world has enabled more of its citizens to fulfill their individual purposes — even their whims. But we're not doing at all well with the purposes — the problems — that we all share and must tackle together, the problems of creating excellent public schools, protecting the environment, preserving livable communities, enforcing the law, administering justice.

I said earlier that we must move vigorously to solve our most crucial problems and to heal the spirit of the nation. Let me suggest some simple ground rules:

- We must face our problems honestly.
- We must be willing to commit resources to solve them.
- We must reject those who commit acts of violence or coercion.
- We must reject leaders who appeal to our fears and anger and prejudice.
- And we must recognize that each of us must give up something to save the nation.

I may have to pay more taxes. The corporate president may have to spend more on pollution control. The suburban resident may have to temper his racial prejudices. The wage earner may have to loosen up access to his union. The military leader may have to give up some of his power. The political leader may have to explain himself more fully. But such sacrifices are worth the effort.

We want the best for this nation. We want to be a better people. We have it in us to be a better people.

It is a matter now of summoning the will to act.

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There are times
Lee Light Coffee
They're just a
lighter. A little fluff
We'd like you
and new Almond.

7¢ Off
Sara Lee Light

This coupon go

TO GROCER: As our agent
plus 3¢ for handling for us
taxed. Customer must pay
Iowa 52732. Offer expires 1
purchase of sufficient stock