

Some Sens here feel bad state, some don't -  
Morgan said

- man who couldn't punch  
himself - the team player at  
home - a bad style - be a  
- never learned to be a  
senator, I think -  
spill  
PR - in public  
make attacks  
work  
- he was seen  
play in  
league, too  
old age  
appt. conf  
had to go

ROBERT MORGAN

October 24-27, 1980

Scott Brewer, Kaye Gaddis, Carull Leggett, Jean Joyner, Syd Eagles,  
Don Vaughn, Nick Weaver, Robert Wells, Mike Mann, Billy Yeargin

The circumstances of the Morgan visit will make those notes pretty jumbled. I got into Charlotte (from Birmingham) about 5:00 and took a cab to the Park Center, the coliseum where the \_\_\_\_\_ District Democratic rally was to take place. I was introduced to him, then didn't see him again till we left for Asheville. We drove from 10:30 to 1:30 to Asheville through the rain and fog (when we got to the mountains). He was tired, but he was much more talkative than I thought he would be (he said several times during the visit "I'm like Hubert Humphrey. When I get a chance to talk I want to get it all in at once. It's hard for me to be succinct). I was tired, too, and couldn't recall much. I also was so tired (got to bed at 2:00) that I had no time to write a note that night. Our wake-up calls were for 5:45, so I knew I wouldn't get much sleep. Then when I got up I was so tired, and then, it was so dark on the bus anyway (we got on the caravan bus at 6:45) that I never even jotted down a comment till the middle of my second day here.

Thus, I have a lot less and it is even less coherent than my accounts of most other trips! I'll start with a few of the more interesting things he said.

After he had given his speech in the Brevard headquarters and ended it with a strong endorsement of Congressman Lamar Gudger, Lamar thanked him

and was about to call an end to the speaking part of the program, when Robert stepped back in front of Lamar and said "Let me say a word for me". Everybody laughed and clapped. He had given a speech praising the entire staff ticket, the President and the Congressman without mentioning himself. Which he then proceeded to do.

Later, I recalled this incident and he said, "My mother didn't raise me to be a politician. She taught us never to ask anyone to do anything for you if you could do it for yourself. She wouldn't even let us go to the neighbors to borrow sugar when we ran out. And she would whip us if we bragged. If you can't ask your friends to help you and if you can't brag on yourself, you aren't going to be very successful as a politician. My staff got tired of hearing me talk about the party all the time, so they wrote a speech for me about all the things I have done. I gave it twice and then stopped. People know what you've done. It just didn't feel natural. Besides, you can't do things by yourself. You've got to run with the party. People asked me 'are you supporting Jimmy Carter?' Of course I'm supporting Jimmy Carter. I can't do it without him anymore than he can do it without me."

This story ends with an emphasis on party (his speech in Brevard--which I'll note later--was mostly a pro Carter, pro party speech) which was the major observation I have about the day and a half so far. They call it "the unity theme" of the Democratic campaign in N.C. The statewide candidates travel with the local candidates as they go from district to district, topped off by a rally--one per congressional district. I attended two of the rallies--the last two of the campaign season--one in Charlotte and one in Asheville. The wives of the statewide candidates have a bus and they've been travelling around the state, too. At every rally and at every stop the group makes,

there is a strong pitch for party unity from all speakers. They all pitch for Jimmy Carter and for each other. They pitch especially strong for "Bob Morgan" or "Robert Morgan" and for the local congressional candidates--Randy Kincaid in Charlotte, Lamar Gudger all the next day. Kincaid is the Democrat's "best chance" to unseat a Republican, says Dave Price. And Lamar's seat is the most tenuous one for the Democrats. The major reason why the unity campaign seems to be so solid and so effective is that NC has an exceptionally popular and able governor <sup>Jim</sup> John Hunt. He is a Democrat and has thrown his prestige, his leadership, his time, his prestige, his staff, his m into this campaign. He runs so strongly and so far ahead of everybody else and he is so strong in his leadership that the rest seem happy to fall in behind him. The first thing David Erdman (the MC at Charlotte and Morgan's coordinator in Mecklenburg County) said to me was that "We have a man in N.C. who is going to become an important national figure--Governor <sup>Jim</sup> John Hunt." Robert said to me "I expect to cast a vote for <sup>Jim</sup> John Hunt as President of the United States." They believe this. Morgan is not given to hyperbole and he is a student of N.C. politics too.

In the context of talking about his staff and the trouble he had making the transition from Attorney General to Senator, as far as staffing was concerned, he talked about Sam Ervin.

"The job of picking a staff and getting organized nearly killed me. Senator Ervin did not help me at all. His staff left with him. They didn't help. When we got to Washington we found an empty room with desks and chairs and nothing else. Senator Ervin even took all his casework with him. I don't know what he did with it. He resented the fact that I was getting ready to run against him and had forced him to retire. The polls

showed that someone was going to beat him. He was, you might say, a prophet without honor in his own country. Everything he had ever gotten in public life had been given to him. He had been appointed a judge as a Senator. He was a member of the old aristocracy. But he was not the darling of the Democratic party. All he ever did for the party was attend two party dinners a year--one in Raleigh and one in Asheville. Sometimes he wouldn't come to the one in Asheville. Since his retirement, we can't get him to come to a Jefferson Jackson Day dinner. In the six years I have been in the Senate, my office has had one call from Senator Ervin. He called to thank me for nominating his son for the bench. I disliked doing it, because everything his son had ever gotten was given to him, too. But he was the best and the logical choice. And in the years since his son became a judge, I have received one \$50 campaign contribution from the family. I didn't expect anything in return for the nomination. But they could have shown some appreciation if they had wanted to."

"Problems with my staff almost caused me not to run again. There was so much dissension among the staff that their morale was low and it made it difficult for me to do my job. When I was Attorney General, I had 75 of the best, most hard working, most dedicated employees I ever knew in my life. The State Bureau of Investigation was the finest investigatory group in the United States--much better than the FBI. I told them that if they took some positive action and something went wrong I would back them up to the hilt, but if they sat around and did nothing and something went wrong, they would get no help from me. They liked being <sup>on their own</sup> ~~there~~ and it created tremendously high morale. To go from that to the back biting, the pettiness, the arguments and the meanness in my congressional office drove me crazy. The staff budget is \$750,000. That's a big responsibility.



The original staff came from North Carolina. My top legislative man, a former assistant attorney general couldn't handle the Armed Services Committee. That didn't work. I'm still trying to find a balance between the legislative experts I need and the North Carolina people to keep my fences mended. We are making some progress, but it's not perfect yet."

"I don't know what will become of the younger generation. It's not that I think things are going to go to pot. But I was born on a dirt road. The governor was born on a farm, though he's younger than I am and hasn't seen some of the things I've seen. Our former governor and I were having a coke one day and we commented that both of us had been born on a dirt road. We feel and we understand certain things that younger people don't. The next generation, I'm afraid will take all we have for granted. In the Senate, I see members proposing legislation that is compassionate, but they don't feel it or understand what they are doing the way I do. I don't say they are doing it for political reasons, I'm just saying they can't feel what I feel. John Heinz--how can he know what I know. And he's a pretty good senator." He has a strong sense for his humble beginnings and for the influence those beginnings have on his life.

As we drove through Gastonia on the way to Asheville, he said "We visited a mill here yesterday. There were 18 year old girls working there. I'd like to dress my two teenage daughters in jeans so they wouldn't be conspicuous, and take them into that mill and see those girls working there. I don't say they shouldn't be working there. Someone has to do it. But I want my daughters to see that there are other things besides the better things in life." Wants his daughter to "feel" what he feels, somehow.

"North Carolina has a long tradition--like the Jews in New York do.

It's a tradition of rugged individualism. North Carolina refused to send delegates to the Annapolis convention to revise the Articles of Confederation. At first, they refused to send delegates to the Constitutional convention because they didn't want to give up their rights. Then they refused to ratify the constitution until the Bill of Rights was included. And they sent no members to the 1st Congress until the Bill of Rights was passed by Congress. During the civil war, the governor of North Carolina refused to suspend that right. And so on, right up to Sam Ervin and the Watergate investigation. You can lead the people of North Carolina but you can't push them into anything. You have to be very careful how you handle us. We have a rebelliousness against authority. I hadn't been in the Senate six months before I was in a fight with the intelligence agencies of the government--the CIA and the FBI."

Later, in the plane, he said to Moore and Edmonston "I've been one of the most severe critics of the FBI. They aren't an investigative body. All they do now are backgrounds. They can't work up a criminal investigation; they just watch politicians. I'll go to my grave believing they tried to set me up." (at the time of Abscam). He said some Japanese came to him with same proposition about Saudi Arabian investments. He told them that since their idea involved foreign governments, he wouldn't do anything without consulting the state department first.

"I never heard from them again."

I just returned from the reception for Judge Erwin and I want to put in a few notes here.

Syd Eagles his campaign manager said to me after leaving my room where he'd been making arrangements for tomorrow. "I hope he's going to be campaigning a lot more regularly than he did this last term. He hasn't campaigned enough back here and that's why he's in the shape he is. The

trouble is he's got an office staff back in Washington who think they were born to the purple. Maybe they were, but the people back here don't know that. You can't turn your back on your constituency unless you don't want another term. Then you can say fuck it and tell anybody to go to hell. Otherwise you've got to come back and campaign. It's part of the job. I had to laugh, tonight, listening to Don say how they all went down to Washington and learned together. That was their problem. It was an all North Carolina staff. He took the whole campaign staff down, anyone who wanted to go. 'Let's all go down and divide up the money.' It sounds very egalitarian. Unfortunately it ain't the way it works.' He's got problems with the staff. He's going to have to make some very basic decisions about his office staff when he's reelected. It's going to involve getting rid of some of his good friends. He doesn't like to do that. I don't know whether he will or not. Thankfully, I won't be there. I'm going back to practice law."

Don Vaughn had told me that he waited ~~two~~ weeks every day for Morgan to show up in Washington (he was studying PAd. at American) he introduced himself as a Wake Forest grad and North Carolinian and was hired 2 days later. He mentioned Carroll Legget and someone named Poole.

Jean Joyner talked about how she and Betsey \_\_\_\_\_ were 1st women on staff. And she called herself "a newcomer"--I've only been with him 6 years". She does military and veteran cases. Husband killed in Viet Nam. Fact that she should think of herself as "a newcomer" highlights the veteran nature of the staff. Don Vaughn said key to Morgan was staff relations. They are his social friends, says Don, in Washington.

Don says "Robert is a very different person in Washington from what he

is at home. He's not a Washingtonian. He's a North Carolinian."

About his race, this year, he is running against a well financed right wing Republican who is supported heavily by Morgan's colleague, Jesse Helms. He is outraged at the attacks made on him by his opponent and has attacked his opponent for the first time he's ever attacked an opponent.

When I told him I had been with Folsom he said he hoped he won. "I admire what the admiral did for his country, but these right wing people are very dangerous. They don't believe in compromise. They take one position--which they believe was ordained...If I lose, I'll never run again. But I'll devote the rest of my life to driving those people out of the system. They are a menace to society." He talked in his speeches about the opponent's million dollar negative campaign and I'll have more of that.

Nick Weaver, head of the 14 member Raleigh office, said at the party, "If we win it'll be a new ball game. For 6 years we've tried to be decent to Jesse Helms, but no longer." Syd said that Morgan had "laid off" Helms when Helms ran in 1978. They have tried to be civil to Helms and have now awakened because Helms is obviously trying hard to defeat him. Helms held up the Erwin judgeship nomination till he knew it was going forward without him. RM has not mentioned Helms at all.

On Saturday "You heard me do something last night I've never done before--criticize my opponent. I've always run a positive campaign. But I've criticized more in the last few days than in all the rest of my career. I felt I had to say something. My opponent has been attacking me for 9 months and my supporters have heard all this. They need some answers."

They are sure that as RM says "They'll bring out something in the last

week." Syd said "We don't know what those bastards will do in the last week. They'll do anything. They have no scruples and they have plenty of money. It will be some charge we can't refute; and we'll probably look bad if we try."

Robert says East started with a few spots 9 months ago, bought 155,000 worth in August and 650,000 in September and October. "Channel \_\_\_\_ in Charlotte has monitors from all the state TV stations and he told me that every 30 minutes my opponent was on television. They have bought as much as you can buy." All this TV, so far, has been hitting RM for 3 votes-- Panama Canal, B-1, aid to Nicaragua.

Re Stewart - "I called him after his loss, but he had gone away somewhere. If I lost, I think I would like to be with my friends."

He took out a map and showed me the trip around the state of the recent days. He would say things like "I get Panama trouble there" (Kingston) or "I get Birch letters from there" (Hendersonville). Eastern N.C. is generally Democratic, the middle mixed, but more Democrats and the mountains a little more Republican.

I asked him if his strength in the state was normal Democratic pattern or different. "My strength is the same as the others. I'm drifting back into the pattern. When I first became Attorney General, business was opposed to me. They thought I was some kind of socialist. My first act was to step into a rate case against the public service commission. I was just interested in consumer protection and they finally realized I was protecting them as well as the consumer. But I got a lot of visibility as Attorney General. We got good coverage for the fine work of the State Bureau of Investigation. In Washington, you don't get coverage unless you hold press conferences and make one-liner charges like Helms does. I'm strongest in the Charlotte area because they have full time Washington coverage by both television and radio.

There is no Washington coverage of any kind east of Raleigh. Generally, the more Washington coverage there is in area the more extra strength I have."

During the time I was there, Morgan worried the question of how strongly he ought to attack his opponent. The decision to attack him at all was made reluctantly. Then he kept worrying how far he should go in the attack. The Charlotte rally speech, he said later was the hardest hitting he had ever made--used Terry Dolan quotes for first time. On the ride to Asheville (as noted) he was pretty vehement.

He warmed up on the trail in Asheville. "On Monday morning one of the first things he said when we got into the car was "I'd like to come out swinging, fly around the state and let 'em have it. But I don't know that you do yourself any good. Maybe I'll do just that next Monday. The Governor and I will fly around the state holding the traditional airport press conferences." Then, after Billy Yeargin had handed him some HC Galloway material and he'd gotten more before the Greenville luncheon, he said to me "I'm really going to let them have it. You just listen. These are the most bold faced lies I ever read." And he did use the word "lie" for the first time. There was a steady escalation, along with a concern that he didn't want to get out of character. He's a very moderate man. (I should ask him about this - did he get out of character or stay in character during the campaign.)

On Monday - "The last week we save to make ourselves available to the media in different parts of the state. We end our rallies one week before the election so that the workers can concentrate on preparing for election day--telephoning, getting out the vote, putting up signs at the polls. We don't want to bother them with rallies."



I asked him if this campaign was different from 1974. "We were better organized in 1974 and we learned better how to pace ourselves. That's because we had a primary. In 1974 the Congressional Club was not a factor. We ran against a good, solid Republican. He was an associate of Jim Broyhill's in the furniture business."

"When Jesse wants to fly to Washington, he charters a plane. That costs about 800 bucks. During his 1975 campaign he kept a charter plane on hold all the time. When he wanted to go anyplace, he flew--usually out and back. Jesse would no more drive across the state the way we are today than he could fly. It must be nice to have all that money."

"Would you campaign differently if you had the money?" "No, unless you run a completely negative TV campaign like they are doing, I don't see how you can <sup>buy</sup> win an election in this state. As I said about the plant gates, people want to know you are willing to come. Jesse only won by 4 points. And we had the worst candidate you could imagine. Between us, John Ingram is the biggest demagogue I've ever known. Luther Hodges ran against him in <sup>the</sup> primary and lost. Hodges was a snob--or, he looked like one. He could have beaten Jesse in the general election, because a lot of conservatives in the Piedmont area would have voted for Hodges. But they would never vote for a populist like Ingram. "

Re Birchers, he showed me the 8 page anti Morgan pamphlet handed out at the state fair. They say he has a "portside record" - that he "voted to appease the liberal establishment" and voted with "the environmentalist fanatics". He said "I don't suppose there are more than 100 Birchers in the state. Most of them are doctors--a lot in Kingston. They are the nuttiest people I've ever known... To all intents and purposes they are dead."

Driving me home Monday night after the Wake Forest fish fry, Syd Eagles

said that Robert's attitude toward Jesse Helms was like the story of Black Bart. During the Civil war, an outlaw named Black Bart went to a soldier's farm, drove off his cattle, burned his crops, burned his farmhouse, killed his children, raped his wife and left her for dead. When the soldier came back from the war, he went looking for Black Bart and finally found him: Are you Black Bart?" Yes. Are you the man who drove off my cattle? Yes. Are you the man who burned my crops? Yes. Are you the man who burned my farmhouse? Yes. Are you the man who killed my children? Yes. Are you the man who raped my wife and left her for dead? Yes. Then the soldier said to him "Black Bart, you have ruined yourself with me." That's the way Robert feels about Jesse. "Jesse, you have ruined yourself with me. Robert has tried to behave decently toward Jesse. And Jesse is spending millions of dollars to defeat him, to remove the <sup>P. H.</sup>Threat to his territory. As soon as the elction is over, a lot of people will start looking for Governor Hunt to take that man out of public life."

Our first Monday stop was in Farmville, at the Radio Station. The man there asks Billy to write out the questions to be asked Robert and then Billy asks the questions. They are Panama, Nicaragua and tobacco. They will be played later over the radio. "The president ordered an immediate study to determine whether quality tobacco is being brought in as scrap. We are resolving the problem."

"I have defended our tobacco support program since 1977. There have been attempts every year to kill it. Working with people like the two Senators from New York and Michigan, we have been able to repel all the attacks. Because of my work and that of Governor Hunt, we got rid of Califano.

Riding away from Farmville to Greenville - "I think we're going to win, gentlemen, but I wouldn't be surprised at anything. These people defeated Tom McIntyre in New Hampshire. Dick Stone was defeated in Florida, but that was due to other factors. He had the Cuban refugee problem; and there was an arrogance about him that didn't go over too well down there."

A lot of people I saw in Eastern Carolina wore tobacco leaf lapel pins.  
RM wears one for a tie tac.

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asks Robert for "a favor". "When the election is over, can I have a picture taken with you?" It's going to be a sweetheart interview! And it is. They go in to tape the interview/and Robert says how important the 1981 farm bill will be. Jesse~~e~~ has voted against the agricultural appropriation bill every year but one. (He's flipping through Jesse's voting record.) I ought not to mention his name. I'll say that 'I'm the only N.C. Senator to support agricultural appropriations.' Some day, the truth will come out about Jesse. But I hate to get into a name calling contest." He's really rolling over in his own mind, again, how hard to hit. He was thinking out loud in the presence of Fred Moore and started reading Fred some Reagan quotes in favor of free market in farm policy.

Then John shows Robert something that Fred Clark, the Libertarian candidate, said they agree that, as John put it "what scares me is that these people don't know, as you say, Robert, the ins and outs of it." Robert says "How do you expect to have a steady milk supply without price supports?"

John says, "I didn't write anything down because I wanted to know what you wanted to talk about. I'm glad you mentioned the farm bill problem (that it must be renewed next year). We'll ask you about that. Can I ask you about the China grain deal?... Let's see what would the farmers be most interested in? Oh, yes, the utilization of our ports... There's one other thing I had in the back of my mind, I can't think of what it is." Then RM says "Don't hesitate to ask anything. If I don't know, I'll just say I don't know."

John feeds RM the question about the reauthorization of the farm bill of 1977. "We are going to have to decide whether we want to continue a farm program or not." We need a support program "because farmers deal with so many unpredictables". (He likes to talk about "unpredictables") such as weather and foreign markets and interest rates.

"President Carter is a farmer himself. He is a strong supporter of farm programs and particularly tobacco. Governor Reagan, for 15 years, has been advocating that this government get out of farm programs and leave the fate of the farmer up to the market place. I haven't heard my opponent mention anything about his farm program, so I have to assume he agrees with Governor Reagan, whom he has embraced."

John, in asking about tobacco says "We are in the heart of the largest producer in the world of flue cured tobacco."

RM - "The president was as emphatic as he can be. If it is found that quality tobacco is being brought in under the guise of scrap tobacco, he'll take action to correct it. If he can do it himself, as I think he can, he will. If not, it will be done by legislation... We have the assurance of the President that it will be corrected."

John feeds him the question about the relationship between the tobacco support program and smoking. "If we ended the tobacco program, it wouldn't do away with smoking. I've been trying to explain that to my colleagues in the Senate. What you'd do is drive out the family farm. You'd have the big industries growing tobacco and the farmer would do what they do in the poultry business, grow tobacco on a lease or contract basis. We'd be importing tobacco, then, from Brazil and Rhodesia, from Taiwan and South Korea. You won't stop smoking any more than prohibition stopped drinking. The tobacco program and smoking have nothing to do with one another. They are two completely separate matters."

Need agricultural exports to buy oil.

Re China grain - "I'm glad I voted for the trade agreement which allows us to sell our products to China. My opponent has criticized me for voting for it. But only 8 Republicans voted against it." Says trade with China will help tobacco industry, too.

Port utilization - "We have two of the finest ports on the east coast, Wilmington and Moorhead. But they haven't been developed as much as they should have... We're becoming a big exporting state and I agree that we should enlarge the capability of our ports."

Re grain transportation, John raises problem of rail car shortage. "That's a problem we in the north east hardly ever thought of, if we ever knew about it. It's a big problem in the mid-west. There just aren't enough railroad cars to move the grain in harvest season. We ought to be mindful of the problem before it becomes critical for us too."

The program ends. John says "That last question was the one I had in the back of my mind and couldn't think of. A lot more wheat is being grown here. In \_\_\_\_\_ County last year, they grew 10,000 acres of wheat. Next year they plan to grow 20,000 acres. RM says "That's a problem--the railroad car shortage--that I'd never even heard of until I went to Congress."

End of interview.

RM - "We wondered whether we should debate my opponent. But since he has no program--he hasn't said one positive thing so far as I can tell--we decided there wouldn't be any issues to debate."

In Greenville, at the Holiday Inn, about 50 tobacco farmers came in for a dutch lunch at the Holiday Inn. As we pulled in Robert said "As Walter Mondale said, you've seen one..."

But it was a nice meeting, because the people there, for the most part, had come right off the farm, or at least they sure looked like it. Mostly dressed in work clothes.

Dr. Leo Jenkins, Chancellor Emeritus of East Carolina U., who's an old friend of Roberts--ever since they fought for the East Carolina Medical School



together when RM was in the State Senate) introduced him and he said, in part "The tobacco industry is the whipping boy. Whenever you want to whip someone, you whip the tobacco farmer. But when I see the tobacco farmer, I see the man who seels automobiles, insurance, shoes, groceries. They all suffer. When you whip us, you whip the whole community, not just the tobacco farmer."

Scott has taped Robert's talk, so I'm going to leave that for the moment-- but at one point, he does escalate the rhetoric. At the point where he tells them about the new charge, that he "voted to raise gasoline taxes 350%" he says, "In all my 36 years in politics, I never saw such fabrication. Then lo and behold, this morning I got another one handed to me.... I've been calling them distortion, misrepresentation, fabrication. Let me get down to the hard facts. It's an outright lie; and they know it's a lie."

He identifies himself with the farmer, talks about self as a defender of tobacco program, discusses how he bargains with other Senators, that Reagan is against farm support and that election is crucial to them. He answers questions.

On way back to Raleigh he said some interesting things about his constituent-campaign operation--in line with what Syd said the night before.

"I'll bet I haven't missed 25 weekends at home in the six years I've been in the Senate. But I haven't made the best use of that record. I haven't gotten any press coverage out of it. My Press Secretary (Gib Prather) doesn't think the age of television and radio has come. He believes in newspaper editorials and newsletters. But he doesn't believe in press conferences."

"I'll bet we've done more constituent service than any other Senator. But we haven't capitalized on it. Some people write down the names of people they help on index cards and then go back to them when they need them. We don't hardly know the people that we've helped. It may cost us the election. I hope not."

"We've not been good at answering the mail. The brightest people in my Washington office haven't ridden around like we are and been cussed out three times for not answering a letter. No matter what you do, that can kill you. If I'm reelected, I'm going to insist that every letter be acknowledged the day it comes in--no matter how long it takes to get action on it."

"We're going to carry Pitt County by 75%! I've spent more time in this county than any county in the state except my home county. I went to school here. I fought for the medical school here. If I don't carry Greenville, I'd better quit."

This mood of self-examination and criticism was sparked, I think, by the fact that he was tired and irritable and had been ticked off by all the tugging and hauling at the the 30 minuted TV spot taping.

As we left the TV station and was getting into the car, he said to Billy "Billy, you got me into a lot of trouble today. I'm not criticizing you but I want you to know what happened. You arranged today's luncheon without consulting BJ Herbert, my campaign manager in this area. He's mad as hell about it. I think I've stroked him enough so that he's OK. He's always a little fractious. But you never should bypass the county manager." "Billy said "You're absolutely right; I can't argue with you there."

As we rolled out of the parking lot, he waved to the people standing there. "You spend most of your time stroking your friends. When you go someplace like this, you'll lose all the benefit of it if you don't stay around and visit a little. They'll say, 'that little bastard didn't even stay and talk with us.' But I also believe you've got to say your goodbyes and leave. They'll say goodbye to you 14 times if you'll let them."

"Leo kept telling me what to say at the luncheon. No wonder I got a little addled."

Re the TV taping - "There were too many people trying to get into the act. Blake turned up and wanted to help direct it. I haven't seen him campaigning for me. But he's an old friend and I can't say anything. Then there was old BJ sulking around. It's the old saying Protect me from my friends, I can watch my enemies. Billy and I could have done the thing perfectly if we had been alone."

"I'm not myself today. I'm irritable and fractious and mean. I even got a little addled during my speech. I should stay home tomorrow all day and rest and try to get rid of this cold." He had had a cold for some time and kept losing his voice along about the end of the day. Had trouble with his voice all the time I was there. Scott said he never saw him so tired and was determined to tell Mike Mann that they should let him rest. But, he said later that neither Mike nor Syd was very sympathetic to his plea. And Robert was going out on the road again Tuesday!

"I love to listen to Thad Eure. But someone asked me one day to tell exactly what he said in a speech. I couldn't. I like to say something substantive, something people will remember, when I make a speech. But maybe I'm wrong."

When we drove into Raleigh, he pointed out the Capitol, old and new, the legislative office buildings. "Right up there was where I had my office when I was Attorney General. I should be back there. They were the most enjoyable years I ever spent. If I could arrange it so that it would work out all right I would exchange with the present occupant. He's holding my office. But you can't go back." Said with the fatigue and wistfulness of the mood he was in. But he and Rufus Edmiston had kidded him about changing places in the plane.

Re his Senate term - "When I think of the things we've done, I feel good. When I think of the things we haven't done, it scares me half to death. But when I think of how far we've come and consider where we started, I'm pleased with our accomplishments."

After we had talked about his constituent relations, he asked me "Do you think there is a legitimate place for constituency service." I said yes and made a strong pitch. He said "But we're supposed to be legislators." Then he quoted Roosevelt about defending the right to go to government for redress of grievances or something like that (it's a quote he used a couple of times and I've forgotten it) and said "If citizens wouldn't go to their legislators, state or federal, we would have a tyranny...." "Sam Ervin did very little casework; he never got involved in any of it himself. Jordan did get involved. I think you have to be."

On Monday morning, Scott picked me up and we drove down to Buies Creek, where RM lives, beside the Cape Fear river. The river runs wide and fast through the woods in back of their house, a great spot. I talked with his wife Katie a bit. She is very natural. She loves to campaign and is taking off on a statewide swing. She talked about how she had prepared answers to all the questions that she could be asked, and that she is careful never to expand on her answers. "When you answer the questions and then stop, what can they say? I have found the reporters to be very courteous and fair. I have never been misquoted." But she made it clear that she took no risks. She also, mentioned quite spontaneously how hard it was for Robert to have to face this kind of attack on him and how he hates to say anything negative. I think he is just a ver moderate man, and intemperance bothers him. She was very nice.

He talked about his finances. "Katie and I are not materialistic."

Money doesn't matter that much to us. We wanted to build this house till our children were grown and we had money for their education. Education is more important than a house. And we still haven't furnished it. You can see we live pretty simply. I made more money the last year of my law practice, and even then I spent half the year running for office. I made more money then, 20 years ago, than I do now. The only thing that gets me mad is when people say 'He's in it for the money.' If I were to lose, we would get by. We would not live stylishly. We would not live in luxury. But we would get by. I own some land, and that would help a great deal. I'm not complaining at all. I just hate it when people say, 'he's in it for the money.'"

He and Billy, on way home from Greenville talked about the farmers complaining while they had lots of land, expensive tractors, "That fellow who was doing the complaining at lunch probably has a 40,000 tractor with air conditioning and a tape deck" says Billy. And RM said "Farmers complain because they don't have a lot of cash. But <sup>They</sup> have land and equipment. Most businesses don't have a lot of cash on hand."

Wake Forest fish fry. I went with Scott after we spent a little time in RM's Senate Office. "I don't want to go to the campaign office the way I feel right now." He was going to try to get Carter to stop in N.C. RM rode to a fish fry with Sheriff Baker and I decided to pass up a couple of the fish fries so I could go poke around headquarters. I did, and got an explanation of the letter mailing operation. We got to the fish fry early and hung around till Robert arrived.

He gave a talk that emphasized defense, the farm program and (less so) the elderly. Then he got into the politics. "My opponent has said nothing positive." "President Ford was in N.D. yesterday and said he still thought we should have passed the Panama Canal treaty."

"Watch the last week. The Congressional Club is loaded for the last week. Sure enough, it's already popped out. I have been handed a whole sheaf of material. One of 'em said that 'RM is the best Senator NY ever had. (Tells how he talks to NY Senators). You haven't found a Senator or a Congressman who has voted vs. the tobacco program since then."

Then he went through the charge that he raised gasoline taxes 350%.

"We can't take anything for granted."

"Who is John East? He has never done anything but teach school in East Carolina. That's not to belittle him, but it seems to me if you're going to take a man and send him to the Senate, you ought to have a person with experience in city or county government. What's the difference? The difference is that they lack confidence in county and city officials and pretty soon they think all wisdom comes from Washington." He didn't develop this and wandered off into something else.

After the fish fry he said to me "After stopping by my Senate Office, I felt better. I knew I couldn't go back to my campaign office the way I felt. I knew I just couldn't take it. I like Billy, but he makes me nervous anyway. He's the kind who can always tell you what's wrong. There were just too many people trying to help down in Greenville. I don't know whether you've heard the saying 'Protect me from my friends. I can watch my enemies.' That's the way it was today." (He had said it to me already once that day.)

"Of the fish fries he said - "We had three medium sized meetings like this one. You get a lot more attention and you get more done in 3 small meetings than you do in one big meeting."

When he got into the car to drive to headquarters, he called back to me "If we lose, you can write a book about how they bought an election." I said 'I won't set the type on that one yet.' He said 'I hope you never have to.' And that was our last conversation, even though I saw him back at headquarters and said goodbye and thank you, again.



One trick he has is that he writes things in the palm of his hand. "One day I had to introduce 20 legislators. I wrote the names of the ones I didn't know in the palm of my hand. When I came to them I looked down and read their names. When I came to the name of my ow legislator, I could not remember his name for the life of me. He had to speak up and say his own name."

We passed a billboard where a candidate called himself Dr. such and such. "Anbody who calls himself "Doctor" in an election campaign ought not to be elected. It's all right to be Doctor in the hospital, but outside the hospital he shouldn't use it. It says to people 'I'm a little better than you are.'"

Campaign staff - 12 or so paid - Syd Eagles is top, Mike Mann next - press secretary (Gib Prather).

Before the TV taping in Greenville, as we watched the monitors, he said "I admire those actors. I can't project myself on TV."

One theme he struck on the taping, which he struck all the time, was "You can't go to Washington and vote against every program every other Senator wants and then expect them to vote for our tobacco program. It's a process of give and take."

It was an amateurish taping--30 minutes on WENT with Dr. Leo Jenkins - "Most beloved man in East Carolina." I've already noted how upset Robert got with all the "directors" there were. But I ended up suggesting one question that Dick Blake relayed to Dr. Jenkins to ask Robert (re rural housing). Jenkins kept asking us to feed him questions every time the camera went off him and he panicked because he ran out of questions. He also couldn't see the people who were trying to signal him on how much time there was, etc. He did discuss balanced budget ("I put together a bipartisan coalition") Panama Canal, Defense, agriculture, social security, regulation, exports, NATO, rural housing.

When he got there, he said to someone, "I'm sorry about that mixup in Raleigh. For a campaign that has only been organized for 60 days, it's a wonder we haven't had more mixups than we have."

When he comes on set with makeup on, people kid him- "My momma always said a little paint does wonders for a board."

On the ride to Asheville he talked about going to plant gates in Gastonia. "I dreaded going to the mills yesterady. People don't want to be bothered on their way home. I think it's counter productive. But they didn't seem to mind. The reception was very good."

Talked about how Bob Byrd came to his fund raiser. "I never thought he played the fiddle very well. I was a little apprehensive about his playing. But he played with a blue grass band and he sounded wonderful. He stayed and played for 2 hours; and he told me afterwards that he had never had such a good time at a fund raiser." You hear blue grass played a lot and people talk about it too.

He talked about going to see the elderly lady's home to see what FHA could do to make it liveable. "I have dealt with that program in the abstract. Seeing her home was a revelation to me."

He talked about the polls. Peter Hart is doing 5 - Charlotte Observer doing one (I have the latter). He had just gotten wind of newest Charlotte poll. "We are ahead 52-26. If you allocate the undecideds according to their formula, it comes out 61-32. It's too good to be true." He was feeling buoyed by that the entire trip. (How's it going?)

He talked about his interest in the Federalist papers and how he read them with his interns every year. "There's a difference in the schools they come from. The North Carolina students know everything that's going on currently. The Wake Forest students know the philosophy behind the constitution, John Locke and the rest."

"I'm a student of government but not a scholar."

He's interested in federalism both intellectually and in terms of specific matters before Congress. Very wary of federal laws that preempt state laws and says he argued with David Pryor over usury laws of this sort. Says he found his way to Dan Elazar. And I think he's been to Temple to talk with him.

Another thing that interests him is the concentration of newspapers and he has figures on that problem. Is trying to use tax-inheritance system to keep papers from falling out of the family when someone dies.

On the bus tour we started early, and someone who got on the bus (at the gave him a copy) of the editorial endorsing him--from the Asheville paper. "That's just what you need early in the morning. It's a pretty Republican paper."

Our first stop was at the Transylvania County Democratic Headquarters where the candidates spoke and the Carolina Cloggers danced and we had breakfast.

RM was introduced as "a big man in everything he does...a big Senator" (he's a short man).

"I've been campaigning for 30 years. We have a President running this time who has a clear record to present to the people. The best kept secret in Washington is the record of President Jimmy Carter. He has turned around the downward spiral of our investment in defense. We have the strongest defense we have had in my lifetime. He has turned around the energy situation. Today we are importing 1 1/2 million barrels of oil less a day than we were when he took office... He has put the social security system on a sound basis..."

He goes on like this, stops; Gudger starts to talk and he jumps back and decides to "say something for me." he gets into Panama and says "President

Ford is coming to this district to campaign tomorrow. Ask Ford when he comes why he supported the Panama Canal Treat."

We had started the bus trip in miserable fog, rain, dark, but the sun came out as we drove from Brevard to Hendersonville.

On the way, he said "This district has more dealings with the federal government than almost any other in the House. Sixty percent of the land is owned by the federal government--the park service, the forest service. These mountain people are always at odds with them. My office spends a lot of its time smoothing relations between the two groups. I have 3 people in my Asheville office just to do that."

Re Hendersonville - "It is full of retired service people. All those colonels who didn't make their stars are unhappy. They think they know more than anyone else. They are the hardest people to represent." Lamar Gudger tells RM on the bus to "hit hard on national defense" in Hendersonville. (Small turnout. Mostly candidates and cloggers.)

At Hendersonville, he gives another talk. He says of all their opponents "I don't think they are the candidates of the Republican party. They are being run by the Congressional Club out of Raleigh. They have very little regard for the Republican party. They were joined by the John Birch Society at the State Fair. That tells you what we're fighting."

Also, "My opponent has never been involved in politics, never been involved in the public life of the state. Eighty-five percent of all his appearances are private. He won't let newspapermen travel with him."

He clearly sees East's campaign tactics as a big aberration from "normal politics" in N.C. All TV, no public appearances. He thinks you have to go out and see people in a campaign and that you will have to do that for a long time to come.

In Rutherfordton, he talks in the H.S. gym and my tape recorder doesn't get it because the <sup>h</sup>attery has run down. He says that "The Democrats have been talking about programs" and that "while we have been talking programs, our opponents have followed with nothing but negativism."

"For 9 months, I've heard nothing from my opponent but a million dollars worth of television, criticizing me for three things... He hasn't said one thing constructive." Defends self on Panama, B-1 and Nicaragua. He focuses most of his defense, always, on the Panama Canal. He says "They said I gave away the Panama Canal. In the first place I didn't give it away (laughter). Then he talks about Republicans who supported his position--especially Nixon-Ford.

One thing he does is to paint East as an extremist and hardly a Republican--his story about how John Heinz was going to come to campaign for East, but "flew right over N.C. on his way from Florida to P.A." This follows explanation of how he and Heinz voted together on 11 of 13 issues where they both voted and on which East has criticized him--including Panama, B-1 and Nicaragua. He's taunt re. Ford and Panama, i.e., "ask him why..." is made to the same end--that East is, in several senses, an aberration.

When he talked of Governor Hunt<sup>t</sup> and his prospects for President, he said "He is always dressed immaculately. Every hair is in place. I should do more of it, but it's too much bother." Doesn't see himself as "President." Very self critical re his image, i.e., dress, television projection, PR techniques, etc.

He has a list of 60,000 people "selected list" to whom he sends newsletters. When I asked woman in the headquarters whether they used this list for political purposes she said she did not (but her machine was for small jobs) and didn't know whether any one else had or not.

When the staff said they were going to substitute Billy Yeargin for Scott Brewer on Monday, RM protested. "Every candidate needs one travelling companion, someone who knows what you want to do and when you want to do it. If you change drivers, it affects the candidates."

"All the campaign consultants will tell the campaign managers one thing. Don't overwork the candidate. Mine have overworked me. I haven't had more than 5 hours sleep for 4 weeks now. I've got a cold and I'm losing my voice and I can't shake it. I don't blame my staff. People call in from all parts of the state and say, 'we've got to have him for 20 minutes' or 'just one more visit.' If I run again, I'm going to do it differently. No, I know that in 6 years I will have forgotten everything that happened. I can do anything for 2 more weeks."

At one point he said "We should write down everything that went wrong this time so that when we have to do it all over gain, we won't make the same mistakes. Who will remember what happened this time if someone doesn't write it down." I added that the problem was especially acute since it was 6 years away. But it's clear, no one was writing it down.

He admires Gov. Kerr Scott for developing education and the research triangle.

He thinks McGovern is a useful prod in the Senate, though he is way too liberal for him. He likes Javits.

Re his perspective, from history I guess. "If you want a lesson in just how important you are as a member of the Senate, think of what happened to your predecessors. Senator Overman was Woodrow Wilson's floor leader on several major bills--they didn't have a majority leader then. When he died, they had a ceremony in the Capitol. The President, the Vice President and the Cabinet all came. Now, not one person in 100 in North Carolina has any idea who he was."



We left the bus tour just before noon to go back to Raleigh to meet with the NAACP. He talked to the youth group first and the older group second.

"When I was a young man, in my county only one half the children went to school--and most of them only went three months a year. My mother grew up a functional illiterate. She taught herself to read the newspaper."

In the 1890's, Governor Charles Aycock built one school for every day he was in office. praise for Aycock

"My mother worked in a mill at 12 years of age. There was a child labor law defeated then that would have prohibited children under 12 from working more than 66 hours a week. At Bessemer Mills two days ago, I asked them to show me what work my mother might have done at the time and they did--taking cotton off the spindles.

Speaks of work with FHA and rural housing and tells story of the section 504 housing and how it helped the woman make her home liveable again.

"You have a real choice in this election... We believe in free enterprise, but we think it thrives most when prosperity has a broad base." When people who buy have money, etc.

"If it mattered who you were or where you came from, I'd still be plowing cotton along the back roads of Harnett County."

Questions he gets are on housing, prison system and student loans.

To older group--where he kept kidding about being non-partisan--and they laughed along with him.

Re his 504 story. "You know we sit up there in Washington and people talk about Section 5E and Title 8 and Section 504, and pretty soon they all run together. So I like to get out where I can see what they mean."

His pitch in the 2 talks is that "The Democratic party is people oriented."

His praise for federal judge Erwin, whom he appointed, gets loudest applause. Later, he says that their reception on Sunday will likely draw mostly blacks (it did) but that at the swearing in there will be a better balanced group, black and white.

Before the bus stop at Marion (in the old service station), we went to a ground breaking for a senior citizens housing project. He had a part in it, because his letter broke a bureaucratic log jam and saved them a lot of time. He uses the occasion to talk about the importance of constituency service as part of his job, his interest in rural housing and in senior citizens.

He was impressed with the prayer given by the preacher at this ceremony. Twice, he mentioned it afterward. But I can't remember a word he said!

I asked him if it wasn't hard for people to make a connection between what he does in rural housing and voters.

"The people who are helped by you don't know it. You like to get credit, because it helps you get reelected. But you do it because someone has to do it and people need help. I have tried to make people understand what I'm doing, but it doesn't work. Maybe, using an example, like I did with Section 504 housing, will help."

We rode from Marion to the Asheville outdoor rally--which was, as Dave Price said, "a disaster." It was so bitter cold that the speeches were shortened, no one listened, the food line was too long, Robert stayed in the bus till he had to speak and most people ate their meals in their cars with the motor running. The guy (Bo Thomas) who organized it was said Dave "a horses ass." The governor was there, but we left before he spoke. I flew

back to Raleigh, and to the Morgan reception, with Frank Moore, Rufus Edmisten and Robert in a plane without heat and in bumpy weather. No fun.

The reception went well, and I got RM and Hunt's speeches on tape.

He patterned staff organization after Lawton Chiles. All case work done in state.