This an interview with Graham Jones conducted in Raleigh, North Carolina by Jack Bass and Walter De Vries on December 12, 1973.

Graham Jones: . . .yours will work better than the ones at the White House, I trust. Did you read Art Buchwald's column last night? He said the secret of that eighteen minute hum is that Nixon was humming for eighteem minutes.

Walter De Vries: And that he had two hums. One was for when he was reading The Washington Post and one was for when he was reading his tax returns. (laughter) No, but in terms of governor and senator, the leadership of the party kept race out of it by keeping candidates out who would clearly symbolize the race issue.

Jones: Of course, that was the big issue between Sanford and Beverly Lake in the 1960 primary. I think there's some credence in what you say.

Jack Bass: Part of the question is this: Key said that the state of North Carolina was progressive, different from the rest of the south in race relations, that it was different and better, all along more progressive. One of the questions that we're asking people is was Key right or was he wrong? That was the first question and then on the basis of your answer, was Key wrong or did North Carolina change.

Jones: Can you not say that he was right at the time that he wrote his book. That times changed and things changed including, of course, the Supreme Court decisions and not only the south, including North Carolina, but the whole nation had a backswing. Goldwater was running with the hopes of capturing that in the backlash of '64 and it hadn't developed. But there was a hell of a lot of it around in '68. And it was evidenced again in '72. So, I would suggest that perhaps Key was right to the point that he was writing then. Well, you know, Willie Smith beat Frank Graham in a racist campaign and what happened between the first primary when Frank Graham lacked just 5,000 votes from a clear majority over Willis Smith and Bob Reynolds was the Supreme Court handing down its decision on public universities, at the graduate level. That was their first decision on integration and on repudiating the separate but equal doctrine. So, Key published in what year?

W.D.V. and J.B.: '48.

Jones: Yeah. To the best of my knowledge, Sanford was the first person elected in a state wide race in a southern state after the Little Rock conflict, when Eisenhower sent troops out and Orville Faubus began to make his name with the rednecks. Given a candidate staunchly for segregation, at any cost, and one who was soft on segregation, he was the first one I believe to be elected in a southern state after those Supreme Court decisions began to come. You check me on that.

J.B.: But he still ran sort of paying lip-service to segregation.

Jones: Yeah. Some of the supporters of Dr. Lake said, after he became governor. . .he'd said in the campaign, and I think about the meanest thing he made that would be calculated to entice the segregationists was "Well, I know how to handle the NAACP." And Dr. Lake's supporters, after he was in office, said, "Yeah. He's appointing them to all the state policy boards." But I don't think that in the general public's mind there was any question that Dr. Lake was the segregationist. Sanford was't running around saying, "We want your daughter to marry a black man," or that sort of thing. But he was saying such things, you remember Jack, as "What we need to do is improve the schools, not close them." Dr. Lake was saying, you know, "If we have to, let's do what Prince Edward County, Virginia did. Let's close the schools before we let them mix those pickaninnies., . . .well, of course, Dr. Lake wasn't using language like that, but that's how it was understood. . ."before they mix blacks with your children."

J.B.: Were you involved in Kerr Scott's campaign?

Jones: Just as a voter and active in the Young Democrats at Chapel Hill, when he ran for the senate and when Sanford was managing his campaign. Of course, he had run in '48 and upset the remnants of the O. Max Gardner machine when he won the Governor's race. So, not directly, no.

J.B.: Would Sanford, because he did manage that campaign, then, he went to the state senate, right?

Jones: No. His career was roughly president of the YDC in 1949, then to the state senate from Cumberland County and then Kerr Scott a sked him to manage his campaign for the senate against in '54. By the way Lennon tried to use some race against Kerr Scott. He had this phony ad in the Winston-Salem Journal that Sanford exposed, I think the day it was published. . .signed extensibly by black leaders in Winston-Salem. Saying, this is our candidate, Kerr Scott for the black people, so let's all go out and elect him. The Lennon people put that in, so race was at least partially a factor in the '54 race. So, Sanford managed Scott's campaign in '54. He and Henry Jordan and some others put up a balloon to run against Luther Hodges in '56 and very wisely pulled it down and then ran in '60 for governor.

J.B.: What we're trying to do in part, particularly in the North Carolina chapter. . .it would appear that Sanford's administration was a major force, almost, in North Carolina politics in the last quarter century and that the effect is still felt. In trying to evaluate both the strengths and weaknesses of his administration and what distinguished it from others. Something is different but if you talk to different people, you get a wide variety of views. You were inside. How do you assess both his administration and the

impact its had on North Carolina politics?

Jones: It was progressive on two specific issues. Liberal on the race question and on the educational issue, which aren't necessarily distinguishable are they? He was a free spender, by North Carolina standards, certainly, and he was highly innovative in education, as he kept saying, from the first grade through the graduate program. Efforts like the School of the Arts and the Advancement School and the Learning Institute of North Carolina, as you know, all were established under his aegis.

J.B.: When he went into office, did he have in mind to establish these sort of things or did these develop after he got it.

Jones: The innovations, no. The big thrust was on public education. Pure and simple, more money. And of course, that led to this thing that he called the Quality Education Program, which got down to the basics of giving the teachers a living salary. And that's still going by the way. That sales tax on food was enacted to get the money to do that. And that he committed himself to and that he did, in spite of the hell of a lot of them. Those who always attacked what he said he was going to do. The innovations on things like the School of the Arts and the Advancement School, the Governor's School in Winston-Salem and the Learning Institute, they all came after, well into his administration. So the big thrust was, "o.k., we need more money for the number one joboof state government which was education." Then, of course, he had the Higher Education Act of 1963, which in

effect established this very comprehensive community college system across the state.

W.D.V.: Wasn't there a defeat of a major bond issue on higher edcuation?

Jones: It was not only on higher education. It included a building for Archives and History, it included some buildings for the Department of Agriculture. Yeah, there was. I think Hugh Cannon would tell you the same thing. It was a 60 some millon dollar thing in 1961 that came in the fall after this unpopular tax on food and other things had been levied in the spring to pay for the quality education program. The decision was made that this should be soft-sold, it shouldn't go out and rake up a lot of snakes and so it was soft-sold and the snakes came out and voted and the good guys didn't show at the polls. So, it was defeated. By the same token, there was another two referendums during the four year administration. One was on the court reform in '62 that was passed overwhelmingly. That was hard-sold and then there was a 200 million dollar school bond issue which was hard-sold in '64 and that passed in, I think, 99 out of 100 counties. So, yes, there was a bond issue defeat and I think it was correctly assesed as a slap at Sanford.

W.D.V.: Wasn't his administration in this twenty-five year period from 1948 to 1974 a kind of unique thing. Do you recall any other administrations that were like it?

Jones: I don't know how truly unique it was, Walter. You know the story on Aycock preaching education at the turn of the century, turning the redshirt, segregationist campaign that he was running in into a crusade for education. Kerr Scott was in that progressive, Populist, if you will, bill. Certainly Sanford picked up the morale and the public reputation of education tremendously during the four years he was in. He continued, as you know, what Luther Hodges had put so much emphasis on, new industry. You get a bigger a tax base and you have more money to spend for education and you also have somewhere for people coming off the farm in great number to go to work and still stay in North Carolina. Scott was a Jacksonian type Democrat and made tremendous advances. Of course, his emphasis was on highways. You're getting the farmer out of the mud, so you've got at least two, by North Carolina standards, liberal Democrats and that doesn't mean the others are reactionary, between '48 and '74.

W.D.V.: Since then, how would you compare Moore's administration?

Jones: I may not be the best judge of it, but it seemed to me that it was a standstill, good safe, solid and not rattle anything.

W.D.V.: How about Scott?

Jones: Bob Scott you could stick in there. I can't see that we've made that much advance under Bob Scott. Maybe I'm comparing him with the wrong man. I'm comparing him with his father. You know, his father was a hell-raising "let's get on with it." Again, I may not be fair to Bob, because I am comparing him to his father. But sitting

right here, I can't think of great advance the state made. Well, maybe this has been because of the different times that they were governors, his daddy and himself.

W.D.V.: Well, are you saying that in the last thirteen years, the only period when there was a real change, real progressivism and movement in state government was in the Sanford administration? Was the period after that a sort of standstill, a leveling off?

Jones: It seems that way to one person, yeah.

W.D.V.: Why? Did Sanford make that many changes that the state was ready for a kind of a slowdown?

Jones: Yeah, the state ready, obviously. And yes, I think he did.

J.B.: Was the reaction against Sanford, you know, you read about the Sanford wing of the party and his people haven't done that well since. You know, the people who were associated with his governmental philosophy prior to the governor's race, Galifinakis last year, Bowles last year, they haven't. . .

Jones: I couldn't buy that premise completely because Rich Preyer's in the U.S. Congress and Charlie Rose is in the U.S. Congress. Certainly to some extent it's true. Walter, I don't know. They keep telling me that basically North Carolina is a conservative state, I've never seen it that way, but it sure as hell votes that way when you get racisim tied into it frequently. And the power of the state, as you well know, resides in some banks and utilities

companies, the continuing power. You can get a Kerr Scott or a Terry Sanford combine and win and make these big changes. Of course, I don't mean to imply that Terry Sanford was any radical liberal. He was not. Some of his best friends gave him a lot of hell about his appointments to the utilities commission, for example. They weren't not pro-utility company to say the least. But he was progressive in the race picture and the education picture.

W.D.V.: You said the appointments were pro-utility company.

Jones: Yeah. He reappointed a gentlemen named Worthington who I don't think ever voted against a utility lawyer the whole time he was on that commission. He caught a lot from his liberal constituentcy, Sanford did, when he made those appointments.

W.D.V.: Well, one of the ways you can judge an administration is not just by what it did when it was in office, but what happened after it left office. Comparisons are invariably made between that and the three administrations that followed, including that of Holshouser. The second thing is, the people that were associated with Sanford, did they end up in important policy positions in and outside the government?

Jones: Yeah. There are at least a dozen or so members of the General Assembly now who were Sanford people in the 1960 campaign. I mentioned of course Richardson Preyer is in the Congress, Charlie Rose is representing the Seventh District in the Congress. They have done

very well. Some of them have been beaten, of course. Well, Rich Preyer was beaten of course, when he ran for governor, just as Skipper was. Others have been defeated who have run. The Commissioner of Insurance, Johnny Ingram was a Sanford man in 1960.

W.D.V.: Well, why is it that when you come into the state from outside North Carolina that you hear about the Sanford machine and that "he's a Sanford man." You don't hear about "Scott people" or "Moore people." What was there about that administration that produced this, maybe it's not a kinship, but some kind of relationship among everybody who was involved in that campaign and administration.

Jones: Well, I think number one, that there was a kind of indentifiable Kerr Scott group, the Branchhead Boys that included a hell of a lot of boys from the cities as well as from the rural precincts. . .

W.D.V.: I was thinking about Bob Scott.

Jones: Oh, I'm sorry. He put together what amounted to a mini-Roosevelt coalition. Sanford had people like Millard Barbee, the state president of the AFL-CIO, we had Charlie Cannon, who was maybe the most anti-union textile leader in an industry that's notably anti-union.

W.D.V.: Why was he supporting Sanford?

Jones: Well, I say, Sanford wasn't a radical-lib, as Charlie Cannon knew and I doubt that it bothered Mr. Cannon's conservatism a bit that Sanford wanted to raise money for public education and of course, to Mr. Cannon's economic interests, the race question probably didn't

amount to a hill of beans, except where he might use it.

J.B.: Where people say, "he's a Sanford man," what does that mean to you? What is a Sanford man?

Jones: Well, of course, someone who had participated in those campaigns in the gubnatorial primaries in 1960 and for Jack Kennedy in the summer and fall of 1960. Of course, a lot of Sanford men in 1960, or some Sanford men , including people he had appointed to various boards and agencies, were Dan Moore people in '64, so I don't know if that coalition has ever been put back together. The Sanford people included a lot of people that supported Bob Scott early when he began to run in '68 and it included some people who didn't think a damn about Bob Scott. The Sanford coalition included this old Branch Head group from Kerr Scott days that Sanford had gotten to know, of course, during the 1954 senatorial campaign when he managed Kerr Scott's campaign. So, a Sanford man was, if you want my definition, was somebody who was for Terry Sanford in 1960. I'm not sure how much it's been put back together since that time. It sure as hell worked in 1960, in three very different campaigns.

W.D.V.: Well, you see, the thing that strikes us is that that is 1960, that's almost 14 years ago. I would guess that in a few years unless Bowles runs again, you won't hear about the "Bowles Wing", but you'll still be hearing about the Sanford wing of the party. So, this is some kind of almost indestructible thing. It's been

around now for so long that it means something in terms of philosophy, not just in terms of party machinery. I don't know if I'm making myself clear.

Jones: Yeah, but I'm trying to see how you're going to get the Charlie Cannons, to use one example, and the Millard Barbees in another, in the same philosophical wing. Now, obviously, they never were. So, Sanford was broad enough in his appeal that he could attract those people. And he attracted, as you know, the black vote in 1960, and he attracted, as you've already suggested, a hell of a lot of segregationist votes. From his activities at Carolina when he was a student in that post-Depression era, or with the American Legion, or from the Bar, among lawyers, or in the Methodist Church.

J.B.: What kind of people did he surround himself with when he was governor?

Jones: Gibson Fraker, you know him? He was the managing editor, or editor, I guess, for years of the Fayetteville Observer. He printed something, that he was going to send a supply of milk to the governor's office every morning after Sanford went into the capitol, because everybody on his staff was so damn young. Well, of course, Kennedy and others have changed that since. . .but I was the oldest man, I guess, working for him. I was thirty-one when he went into office. Hugh Cannon was less than thirty and Tom Lambeth was less than thirty and Joel Fleishmann was less than thirty, so he had a lot of young people around him.

W.D.V.: Did he seek creative kind of people?

Jones: Yeah, he thrived on people bashing heads with one another in his presence, arguing over things. He liked the conflict of ideas, and I think, that he deliberately sought them out.

W.D.V.: Would you care to say that since that time, you haven't had that in the executive office, including today.

Jones: I couldn't tell you. I haven't been down there, I honestly could not tell you.

W.D.V.: Have you seen anything that would suggest that there has been or hasn't been?

Jones: Well, I would say. . .you know, you don't even see in the Dome and in the N and O, this kind of thing takes place behind closed doors.

W.D.V.: Was this one of the distinguishing features about the Stanford administration?

Jones: I think you're right, yes. Which would jibe with this broad coalition that he had developed for his election in the first place.

W.D.V.: But did he have anybody on his staff representing the conservative interests?

Jones: There was no conservative, to my knowledge, on his staff. Now, how would you label Skipper Bowles? Skipper was one of his closest, if not the closest single advisor, throughout those four years as governor. Did you know that Skipper was director of C & D

and then, took this dollar a year chairmanship of C & D.

J.B.: I didn't know that.

Jones: Yeah, he had been a classmate of Sanford, or was over at Chapel Hill at the same time Sanford was and was a very effective money raiser, to put it very bluntly, for Sanford in '60. So, is he conservative or liberal or somewhere in between? I don't know how you would label him.

J.B.: I would say that he would be to the left of Charlie Cannon.

Jones: Yeah.

W.D.V.: Maybe Jack is asking, did he have an identifiable in house conservative that he could say, "there he is, he represents our. . ."

Jones: He got a lot of conservative advice, because that's the way the power structure of North Carolina is set up, you know. Well, Wachovia Bank, to put it very bluntly, from Reynolds Tobacco Company, from the textile interests.

J.B.: Duke Power and C P & L be in that same group?

Jones: Yeah.

J.B.: Is that group still the dominant force in the state?

Jones: On a continuing basis. You know, you can go out and raise money for one hefty campaign, I guess the McGovern people raised some that way, but on a continuing basis, those companies that have their interests, you know they are going to spend their money to protect year in and year out. They've been around a hell of a long time.

J.B.: Are they more or less the controlling force in the legislature? I mean, are you not going to get a legislature through that they really opposed?

Jones: It can be done, but it's a difficult thing.

J.B.: Would that be why you'd go for putting a sales tax on food to get the kind of money you need for those kind of programs. Because you're going to have to have some sort of tax structure that is acceptable to the power structure.

Jones: I think that's fair. There was a lobbyist from one of the utility companies, you don't need his name, but he came in very earnestly and told me one morning that his company had told him to spend the rest of the legislature with nothing else to do but pass that quality education program. Which of course, was tied to the sales tax. Yeah, yeah, your answer is yes. Of course, let me back off for just a minute. You couldn't have passed a corporation income tax increase, you couldn't have passed a tobacco tax in 1961 with a lawyer-city governor like Sanford. Now, Bob Scott being a farmer and past master of State Grange could and did pass a tobacco tax eight years later, excuse me, five years later.

J.B.: Wouldn't that be one of the outstanding aspects of Bob Scott's administration?

Jones: Yeah. That is.

W.D.V.: That must be a big breakthrough for North Carolina.

Jones: That is a big plus that he achieved and took it on the chin about as much as Sanford did on the food tax.

J.B.: Let me ask you just one more question in talking about Scott's administration. How significant from your perspective, was the reorganization of higher education in North Carolina?

Jones: I think its worked out well. How well, we'll know after this 1974 General Assembly. If the legislature starts building medical schools, then it's not worth the paper it was printed on, if they leave it to the Board of Governors to determine such things. If not, it will be a very great step forward.

J.B.: Am I correct that in essence, what he did, and I base my question more on my familiarity with the South Carolina situation and the similarities, did he not creat a structure that leads to a design and if succesful, will bring order out of chaos?

Jones: Yeah. And as I said, of course, the proof to the pudding will come in this '74 General Assembly, when they decide whether they will or will not build a medical school at East Carolina. That's the crux of it. You know, that Higher Education Act of '63 that Sanford passed was designed to do the same sort of thing. Well, of course, hell, it lasted until everybody wanted to name the teacher's colleges and every other school in the state, universities. In effect, it was negated by the subsequent legislation.

J.B.: Weren't there some allegations along about that time that Sanford was playing a back-room role in getting those universities

Jones: Yeah. Yeah. He was charged with that, and of course, as you know, he had a to run against Sam Ervin and he was making peace with the Beverly Lake people. He included, of course, Bob Morgan, who happened to be chairman of the board of trustees at East Carolina. So, yes. You should ask Governor Sanford that question. You knew what the answer was anyhow.

W.D.V.: We didn't ask him did we?

J.B.: No, I forgot about it.

W.D.V.: Could we get back to the Sanford machine? The assumption was that somehow you push a button, and this machine goes into operation and can elect the people it wants to. Well, along comes 1972 when in essence, a favorite son, ex-governor, is not only defeated in a primary, but clobbered. And given what usually happens in the course of time, that the further you get from a man's administration, the better he looks. Is there such a thing as a machine that could be mobilized and secondly, what happened in '72 with the machine?

Jones: Now, you're saying what happened to the machine in '72. Which candidate do you. . .Skipper or?

W.D.V.: No, no. I'm talking about the presidential primary.

Jones: Oh. Well, I think the results you've cited may indicate the answer. It was not a deliverable vote. He got what, 750,000 votes in the fall election of 1960, but nobody in North Carolina or even Jersey City any more can push a button and deliver votes like that. The machines what, a hundred county managers and maybe fifteen

or twenty people, along with ~~Burke~~ Bert Bennett and people like Skipper. So, I said, those people started splitting in 1964. Some of them went with Dan Moore, for example. They got miffed about something. So, I think maybe there was an exaggerated thought about what could be delivered anytime after 1960. It was a loose coalition, right in the office there were these people, well, Ben Roney and Roy. . .I'll think of his last name in a minute. . .well, anyhow, there were some Kerr Scott Branch Head types who had been working for Sanford from the time Kerr Scott died in Washington. On the other hand, you had this young, Jaycee type progressive businessman type, like ~~Burke~~ Bert Bennett and Skipper Bowles and there were some clashes of personalities even during the campaigns in '60. Inside the campaign headquarters. I'm sure this has never happened inside any other campaign headquarters ever (laughter). But you had different, certainly personality conflicts if not of ideology. I think it was more personality than anything else. So, to get back to it. I don't think there ever was a Sanford machine in the sense that Boss Haig or Boss Crump could deliver votes. You just couldn't do it. It wasn't even done, well, there were some votes delivered for Richardson Preyer. Perhaps Judge Preyer wouldn't have had half as many as he did, which wasn't nearly enough to beat Dan Moore, but there wasn't enough votes among those 750,000 that elected Sanford that could be delivered. Some small fraction of those votes maybe could be delivered by that group

of a hundred county managers.

W.D.V.: And if you can't deliver votes, can the so called Sanford machine deliver party leaders? In other words, . . .

Jones: Yeah. I think it already has. I keep falling back on Rich Preyer and people like Johnny Ingram, Commissioner of Insurance, people like Charlie Rose, the congressman from the Seventh District. A lot of leaders have been produced out of that bunch.

J.B.: How much did Sanford hurt himself getting into the presidential primary?

Jones: Quite a bit. On top of the primaries that revolved around the race question, then you added this religious question, you know. That's a double whammy. We had some friends at the Baptist State Convention who have. . .

W.D.V.: Excuse me, what is the religious question?

Jones: He endorsed Jack Kennedy.

W.D.V.: Oh, I'm sorry.

J.B.: I'm talking more about the '72 primary.

Jones: And where does religion come. . .

J.B.: No, my question is, how much did he hurt himself getting into the presidential primary in '72? I keep hearing that a lot of his advisors told him not to do it.

Jones: Well, a lot of his friends thought. . .he started floating a balloon about when Muskie was still viable and a lot of his friends thought that this was just wouldn't go. I'm glad in retrospect that

he ran in North Carolina even though Wallace beat him. You know, there were this many delegates that did not vote for George Wallace in North Carolina. I guess, Jack, that's my prejudice against bigots. Even though Sanford had to take it on the chin, I am glad that he ultimately ended up being in that race, so that Wallace wouldn't have the whole thing. But how bad did he hurt himself? I have no idea.

J.B.: Or did he hurt himself might have been a better question.

Jones: I don't think that anybody in the Democratic Party, nationally or in the state, can look back on '72 and say "you did something wrong." '72 was a disaster.

J.B.: Well, I was thinking more in the context of the North Carolina Democratic Party, which of course, had primaries going on, and so forth. Was Sanford's entering the primary a wise thing to do from the party's standpoint. Particularly now that the Democrats don't have a governor office and no really recognized party leader as such. They have party leaders, but no one leader. In some way, I guess, did Sanford's entering the primary have some effect on voter's perception, giving particularly in eastern North Carolina, a feeling that the Democratic Party in North Carolina was opposed to George Wallace that maybe carried on into the fall and worked against the Democratic Party candidates who were looking for a broader base.

Jones: That could be. To tell you the truth, it had not occurred to me. Of course, again, in this business that you gentlemen are talking about, it's hard to measure it like these physicists measure things,

you know, on computers or on a slide rule or statistics. But Sanford and Kennedy carried the eastern forty counties of North Carolina overwhelmingly in '60. The Wallace counties and the Beverly Lake counties, the counties that disliked our. . .

J.B.: These are traditional Democratic counties.

Jones: Yeah. Of course, we had a saying then that what the eastern North Carolina farmers decided was that they feared Ezra Taft Benson a lot more than they did the Pope. And as you know, Hoover carried this state, he was the only Republican between the end of Reconstruction and Nixon.

W.D.V.: I'd like to look back on that '64 election. Did Goldwater run particularly strong in the eastern counties?

Jones: Johnson carried this state heavily. Very heavily.

W.D.V.: He campaigned in North Carolina, too, didn't he?

Jones: Yeah. Well, Johnson, hell, he carried my precinct, which is about two-thirds Republican. Then, he carried some of the high Piedmont counties. As I recall, he carried some Mecklenburg types, if not Mecklenburg itself. In '60 Kennedy and Sanford lost these counties like Forsythe and Guilford and so on. In fact, Guilford voted 60% for Nixon and Gavin in 1960.

W.D.V.: If Sanford is going to be a power in the Democratic National Party and/or a serious candidate for president in '76, do you think what happened in '72 in the primary may have hurt him in this state in terms of people, the leaders and so on who used to identify with

him. I'm trying to get at this, do you think that primary decision to run and then to be defeated and then to go on to the convention and the role that he played, may have hurt him in this state among people that used to identify with him?

Jones: You're asking if he's getting like Harold Stassen. Some people have suggested this. And again, I can't give you any categorical yes or no, but I would suspect you're right. Yes.

J.B.: Can you tell us what is and was Bert Bennett's role in North Carolina. We're going to talk with him next week and I was. . .all I know is that everytime we ask somebody who we should talk to about North Carolina politics in order to understand what's going on, the first, or one of the first three names that comes up is his. And yet, I don't know a whole heck of a lot about his role.

Jones: Bert's a, as you do know already, he's a real highly intelligent hard working, dealer. His daddy was a politican, primarily in Forsythe county prior to Bert and helped run the political side of Forsythe County for some years. I'm sure that ~~Burke~~ Bert got some of that from him. If he has any shortcomings, it might be that he was born with a silver spoon, which has a lot of assets to it at times and which also has some deficits, in politics, as you would know. I guess this is a legitimate criticism and this was said, somewhat as you know Walter, of Skipper. That they ought to forget those Republicans in the country clubs and go on out among their people. Skipper probably did, as a matter of fact. But when Bert got beat

when he ran for state senator in 1966, they said, well, if you'd get out of the Forsythe Country Club and get out among the people who are his natural constitutency. . .

W.D.V.: Now, was he in the senate before then?

Jones: No, that was his first and so far as I know, the only time that he's ever run for public office. He wasn't opposed in the primary in Forsythe, but the Republicans beat him in the fall. Of course, '66 again was a bad year for the Democrats.

W.D.V.: Well, what was his source of power, if he doesn't hold elective office?

Jones: Well, his having managed Sanford's campaign for governor, certainly. . .

W.D.V.: Solely that?

Jones: And I have to say, this is a nebulous thing, of personality. He's one hell of a nice guy. People like him. Even when they don't agree with him, they usually like him.

J.B.: What was his role in the Sanford administration?

Jones: He was chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee.

J.B.: Was he a close adviser?

Jones: Oh yes. He and Skipper again and a few others. Ben Roney included helped deal the patronage out, you know, when the patronage was dealt out. I don't think Bert ever, in fact I know damn well that he never thought that he told Sanford what to do. In fact, he said at several meetings, when they get the old crew back together,

during those years and afterwards, that God knows, Sanford had told him off enough. But certainly Bert was influential.

W.D.V.: How about since then?

Jones: I can't assess this. Certainly they are great friends.

J.B.: Has he been active in campaigns since then?

Jones: Oh I'm sure, yes. But to what extent, you ask Bert. Believe it or not, he'll give you a straight answer, or he'll tell you he's not going to answer your question.

J.B.: I didn't realize that he had run for the senate.

W.D.V.: It's quite interesting that having been in politcs for all these years, and when he tries it himself, he goes down the tube.

Jones: '66 was a bad year. Forsythe County elected a whole solid slate of Republicans.

J.B.: Did Ham Horton beat him?

Jones: I don't think so.

W.D.V.: No, I don't think so.

Jones: I don't think so, but I honestly can't tell you. As I recall, there were maybe two senate seats up and the Republicans won both of them, from Forsythe.

J.B.: '66 was a sort of big Republican year, south wide, nation wide.

Jones: This is a remarkable thing about Rich Preyer. He beat a guy that I know Sanford and a lot of us thought was the smartest Republican in North Carolina, Bill Olstein. No, this was '68, excuse me. Carnegie had held that congressional seat

and retired and Rich got the nomination without any real opposition. And in the Sixth District of North Carolina, which is Alamance and Guilford and a couple of other counties that tend to be Republican , Rich Preyer won, that's an amazing feat.

J.B.: What happened, probably, I know that it happened big in South Carolina was that the Wallace people were voting Democratic in local and state races. Republicans lost 2/3 of the legislature in South Carolina in '68 and Nixon carried the state.

W.D.V.: What did they have, three and they lost two?

J.B.: They had something like twenty-five and lost fourteen.

W.D.V.: Any other major changes that have occurred in the state from 1948 through '74 that strike you? Not just political, but social and other changes.

Jones: Well, I was about to say that the main thing, of course, it's become highly respectable to vote Republican. I know a guy down in one of the eastern counties, Walter during the fall election of '60, "Goddamn", he said, "they've got a Republican billboard out here on the highway." That's the first time that guy had ever seen a Republican billboard in eastern North Carolina. It shook him up. This is the sort of thing that wasn't done, you know. Oh Gosh, you're asking me. . .the state has continued, of course, to industrialize, the state has continued to loose its family farm, which Governor Sanford and Skipper Bowles and I suppose everybody else. . .

(interruption of tape)

. . .on state business, he did a good job.As you know, I'm sure Bill was a strong Skipper supporter, too.

J.B.: What is the role of organized labor?

Jones: Ineffectual. I'm sure you found this last time, too.

W.D.V.: Well, we found that not only was it that, but most candidates ran away from their support.

Jones: That's right.

W.D.V.: And their money. That's the first I've ever seen of that anywhere.

J.B.: Is it still a millstone?

Jones: Yeah, that's true. Well, Wilbur Hobby's vote was indicative. I want to say that I've never been paid, but if somebody had bet me a fifth of liquor that Wilbur Hobby would pull many votes, I would have said, "Hell, he won't pull as many votes as Reginald Hawkins." And, Reg did outpoll him. But, it's never been effective. Except maybe in one campaign in one year. In the Frank Graham race, the first primary in 1950, organized labor, such as it was, it was very small then, as it is still. It was even smaller then, but in Durham, Salisbury, Spencer and Raleigh, you had some organized labor and it did turn out heavily for Dr. Graham. But in that race, in the second primary, when Willis Smith started hitting this race thing a lot more heavily and toned down his Communist thing, and was attacking Dr. Graham not only as a Red, but a "nigger-lover", then

he went ahead more heavily on the race thing in the second primary and then the union vote went to Willis Smith in the second primary. Well, organized labor was for Sanford in '60 and he was delighted to have it. The urban mills precincts in Durham, which is historically the best organized town in the state, they went to Dr. Lake on the race question. That was more important than the pocketbook was.

W.D.V. Who else did we talk to that was either in the Sanford administration or associated with it?

(interruption on the tape)

Jones: . . .you can see this in other southern states and in other states outside the south, on this education thing. We went to Cincinnati on an industry hunting trip and we had a few hours, so we went out to a technical high school and walked in and introduced ourselves and the guy said, "Well, I've been reading about what you all have been doing in education in North Carolina. " You had people running for governor and congressman and for the legislature in the southern states, that noticed clippings that looked like some some of the brochures from the Sanford printshop, you know, on quality education. Lyndon Johnson was nice enough to ask Sanford to send his literature down to John Connally when Connally first ran for governor of Texas. I think he used some of the things on that education kit.

W.D.V.: You were at the National Governors Conferences in '63 and '64. So was I, I was George Romney's executive assistant. The

thing that struck me when you looked at the southern governors, as I recall, Ross Barnett was governor, George Wallace, that crowd. Sanford in a sense, looking at all the southern governors, really stood out, maybe in relief, more than anything. Do you think that his administration, his candidacy, that changed southern politics, in that some progressive, liberal people thought that they had a chance? Did not have to run on the race issue, could modify their stands? Did it have any impact outside the state itself?

Jones: Walter, the only thing I can answer, as I said, we saw some of these almost verbatim quotes that we had used in flyers for Sanford, because he was going to do something for the children. . .

W.D.V.: Was I right then, that he really was the only moderate that you could see in that group of governors at that point in time.

Jones: Yeah. Jimmy Carter came on a couple of years later, as governor of Georgia, yeah, that's true. Not all of them were ranting and raving like Ross Barnett or George Wallace.

J.B.: You also had the North Carolina Fund, which many contend was the prototype of the War on Poverty. Then you also had Henry Hall Wilson who was very active, he was part of that Sanford campaign, very active in the White House in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

Jones: That's right.

J.B.: So, he's the man to really ask this question to, this is an interesting question, but did what Sanford did in North Carolina

have an impact nationally?

Jones: Oh it had to, yes.

J.B.: Was that in any way carried into the whole New Frontier-Great Society programs, on education, on the War on Poverty, this sort of thing?

Jones: It had to. Again, I think it would be presumptious for anybody who worked for Sanford to say, "O.K., Johnson had a poverty program because of Sanford." Johnson would have had a poverty program if we hadn't done a damn thing in North Carolina of course. But yeah, it had to have an some effect.

J.B.: Well, weren't you sort pointing there, that this is what they've done.

Jones: Well, North Carolina had, as you said, a prototype that was set up before the Johnson poverty program.

W.D.V.: Who would be the person to really talk to about this. . . Henry Hall Wilson?

Jones: Henry Hall Wilson.

W.D.V.: He would be the guy to answer this. That's kind of an interesting question to explore, I think. I don't know whether he did or not, I'm curious. I think the question is worth asking.

Jones: Of course, the fact that you had, again using a North Carolina label or spectrum not by national spectrum, when you had this liberal Sanford of North Carolina, as Henry Hall would probably be able to tell you real quick, that didn't change any votes in the North Carolina

delegation in Congress.. In fact, they usually ended up voting against Kennedy before his assassination. Of course, like a lot of other southerners, they ended up voting for the Great Society programs. Maybe that was partly because Lyndon Johnson had a southern background or maybe because of a sympathy the whole nation felt. . .

W.D.V.: The North Carolina delegation was supporting those programs?

Jones: The North Carolina delegation was real conservative.

W.D.V.: But they were supporting Great Society programs?

Jones: Yeah, yeah. But later on, when Johnson went into the White House. They were voting against the Kennedy programs on the civil rights and on the economic side, the social legislation.

J.B.: It might be simply because he had a North Carolinan as his liason.

Jones: Should be. As you know, he was working with Larry O'Brien, Henry Hall Wilson was working with Larry O'Brien. And specifically had the southern states, I believe.

(interruption on tape)

Jones: . . .people had been putting out the handouts that they had Kennedy stopped, while Sanford was all scheduled by Bob Kennedy to have his press conference on Saturday, the day he got to Los Angeles. And here was a southerner endorsing John Kennedy, a Catholic, a liberal Catholic as opposed to Lyndon Johnson. Johnson of course,

was supposed to have started with a solid south for his presidential candidacy. Well, of course, there was also a guy named Docking, the governor of Kansas at that time, I believe, and a man named Loveless from Iowa, who also were scheduled, but this didn't mean nearly as much apparently as a southerner just nominated for governor over a segregationist, coming on at a press conference, saying he was for Jack Kennedy. Well, you know what the result was inside the North Carolina delegation. There were just a dirty dozen, twelve delegates including Sanford and a total of, I think, six votes that went to Kennedy, but hell, that was not the object. The object was psychological effect that that announcement, that press conference on Saturday at Los Angeles had in stopping this alleged halt that Johnson had. . .

J.B.: Did you go to Los Angeles?

Jones: I did not, I stayed home in North Carolina and we took the nasty phone calls for about a week and tried to get some telegrams started and did get some started saying "We still love you even if you are for a Catholic."

J.B.: I was wondering, Hollings was supporting Kennedy at the convention that year.

Jones: He had said earlier in the year, as I remember Jack, that it looked like Kennedy was going to be the nominee, but did he actually do anything? I know South Carolina voted solidly for Johnson on roll call, if I remember correctly.

J.B.: I'm not sure, that would be worth checking.

Jones: I think Hollings first at a governor's conference, this was before Sanford took over and he was out on the West Coast and he said that it looked like John Kennedy was going to win and then something flippant like Hollings was given to saying,about if somebody offered him a federal judgeship, he could be had. He didn't have any press conference endorsing Kennedy.

J.B.: I thought he actually voted for him, but I'm not sure. Thurmond was leading the group for Lyndon Johnson.

W.D.V.: What was Sanford's standing among his fellow governors in the south as well as around the country.

Jones: I think good, again, I'm not the best person to assess it. You know, they elected him twice as chairman of the Southern Regional Education Board, which was the most important function at that time of a southern governor's conference, was whom they elected chairman of the Southern Regional Education Board. They elected him there, I think when he was. . .yeah, during the first year as governor and re-elected him to it. He got along well with them.

W.D.V.: Was he ever chairman of the southern governor's conference?

Jones: Yeah, and that rotated. . .no, he was not chairman. In fact, I think the last year he was governor, or the next to the last year, it was in '63, Kennedy was trying to get a tax bill through and the idea was that they would elect Orville Faubus and Faubus would get Wilbur Mills to be for Kennedy's tax bill and so, Sanford was kind of

helping to manage Faubus's campaign, if I recall. You asked a long time ago and I never did finish answering the question about the religious thing. You will be suprised to hear that some of the people who had criticized Dr. Lake are real good Baptists. Some of the leaders of the Baptist State Convention and who had endorsed Sanford in the primaries came over and as said, "prayed and cried and cut the cards" after he went out to Los Angeles and endorsed this Catholic for president. That was carrying tolerance too far, you know. Being for blacks is one thing, but being for a Catholic is something else again. So, that religion thing on top of the race thing in the first and second primaries. . .

W.D.V.: Does some of that seem a little absurd now? Looking back after 13 years?

Jones: Well, the religious thing does. The race thing is maybe hotter. We thought that we had put it to rest for once and all. Some of us had worked as volunteers in the Frank Graham campaign in 1950 and then we were back at work two or three hours of sleep after the first primary, because we knew what was coming. What Willis Smith had done in the second primary was obviously what Dr. Lake was going to do in the second primary. Print all the black precincts from Durham and Winston-Salem and Greensboro and how they voted 99.9% for Sanford. But the race thing is still around, isn't it, with a vengance or was through '68 and '72. What did you run into on Skipper's campaign on that? I know that

Holshouser's no Ross Barnett, but did you run into some of that in '72?

J.B.: Not really, no.

Jones" Sanford always had the theory that North Carolina and other southern states would solve this problem of human relations between the races before the rest of the nation and could set the pattern. And he worked to that end.

W.D.V.: Perhaps you could make the argument that indeed, it has.

Jones: It's possible.

W.D.V.: When you compare this state with Michigan, where I'm from.

J.B.: Talk to the southern governors, they'll all tell you that.

(end of tape)