

This is an interview with Robert Morgan, North Carolina Attorney General, conducted on December 13, 1973 by Jack Bass and Walter De Vries.

J.B.: Now, when V. O. Key wrote his book, Southern Politics, back in 1948, he said that if you understood, really understood the politics of race you would understand the politics of the South. That it was the central issue, the underlying issue of almost everything. The first question we'd like to ask, one, is that still true, and if not, why?

Morgan: In the first place, I don't think it was ever true. From '47 back to the early '30's or the middle '20's, as far as I know. It may very have been that the blacks just didn't exercise their right to vote, and it was an accepted... or they weren't permitted to, and it was an accepted fact. But I never heard of race being involved in a political campaign in this state until after the Brown decision. And not much then, until the '60 campaign. So I don't know what he bases his analysis on, but it... I would... I would disagree with that premise.

J.B.: How about the Frank Porter Graham - Willis Smith race?

Morgan: That was a communism thing, so far as I recall. Now, I was rather young at the time. But the... there was one question raised, I remember, that Dr. Graham had appointed a black to West Point Academy. But other than that, I think the Graham campaign was a campaign based primarily on the so-called Communist front organizations, that Dr. Graham had supposedly belonged to and that... and many of his progressive ideas, which were considered at that time to be... have Communistic leanings, and all. But that's what I remember about Frank Porter Graham's campaign, and I was for Dr. Graham, so... I don't think race was the dominant issue, as far as I was concerned. Now, the second part of your question is what

do I think it... what role do I think it plays now? Well, it plays a role. It's a... It... Race is exploited by both the liberals and the conservatives. As a black man said here in this office this week, and told me that he had always supported (Buzzer)... I don't understand the thing myself... (Playback) "Race is exploited by both the liberals and the conservatives..." What I was saying is that they use it for their convenience. This John Winters who ran for Senate last time, and he was saying that he wants to run again. But he and Al Adams - and Al's a great liberal, and had always prided himself on being able to manage the black vote - but John was always telling me... telling me the other morning how shocked and surprised he was to learn that I was always saying I got the nigger vote in my back pocket. And... give you one other illustration. 1965 -6 -7, I introduced a bill to make East Carolina a university. Governor Moore and the university crowd fought it, and they... their strategy was to make all of the former teacher colleges regional universities. That would have been Appalachian... Well, we... I came back and said make Appalachian Western Carolina and Eastern Carolina, a regional university. And during the debate of that in the Senate I got a call from Dr. Helen Edmonds, and we both were recognized as being one of the outstanding black professors at NC CU. And she at that time was one of the three rulers ruling... whatever you call them... of NCCU. They didn't have a president. She called me from the White House, six o'clock in the morning. She said, "Mr. Morgan, I can't... I couldn't sleep a wink. I want to tell you what they're trying to do to you." She said, "They had a meeting in the governor's office yesterday with Dr. Friday and Dr. West - who's chairman of the Board of Higher Education - Mr. Watts Hill, Jr., some of the legislators. And their strategy to defeat your proposal is that they're going... they

already sent out word from the Higher Board to ask all state colleges to come in and ask to be made a part of the Regional University. And the words that they used were that if you opposed it, they would label you as a racist and that would finish your political career. Even if you defeated them and kept them from coming in. And if you... if they, if they were able to get the amendment through, that you would then defeat the bill, or table the bill yourself." And she said, "I want you to know that the Board of Trustees at NCCU would^{not}/go along with it, and we adopted a resolution." And she says, "I want to bring it over there with me tonight, because I don't think Senator Claude Curry will file it with the committee." And, by the way, he did not until I filed it. But the resolution said something like this, that this is not the first time we have ever been asked to set sail with the political winds. It said that back in the thirties when a black wanted to get into the School of Education for the Ph.D. degree at the University, they instantaneously created a Ph.D. program at Durham, at Central. Later, when somebody wanted to get into law school, they immediately gave us a law school, without any qualms about our qualifications. And it said, "Now, they want us to set sail with the political winds again, not for the purpose of properly designating us as a university, but for the purpose of defeating East Carolina's bid." Well, to make a long story short, they offered it. And I made that argument. I quoted it on the floor of the Senate. And the Senate defeated it. Then Jim Ecksum from Greensboro - who was known as a rather extreme liberal, leader of the liberal group - led the fight to put A and T University, A and T College, into the bill. And he was successful. And when he... after he had gotten his amendment adopted, and they adjourned for the afternoon, I went over to speak to him and I said, "Now, Jim, we'd better get busy and count heads to make sure we got enough to pass our

bill tomorrow. He said, "Oh, I'm going to vote against the bill." I said, "I thought you were arguing for A and T to be a university." And I said, "Isn't that what you were doing?" He says, "Oh, I was arguing for that trying to get it in so we could kill the bill." And I told... I said, "You are a racist son of a bitch." I said, "You... you're for the damn people that sit around and call everybody else rednecks and racists. But you don't fail to use it when you want to." And so... and he's running now for Supreme Court justice, and I suspect that will be remembered. But you see, race is an issue now. Not like it was ten years ago, when it was an issue all over the country. But I don't see it... I don't see it as a... I really don't see it as a major issue in this state.

W.D.V: Was it a major issue in the Helms race or the Wallace presidential primary?

Morgan: I think you'd probably have to say that it was a major issue in the Helms race, because not so much of the... of his campaign at the time, but because of his long record of editorializing against integration and bussing and et cetera. Now, I'm not so sure that Wallace's - while I think everybody would have to concede that Wallace... the race issue was in the back of Wallace's original campaign. But I think Wallace's campaign finally ended up as being anti-establishment, as much as a racist campaign. People just were tired of the in's. And so while it was... and, you know, it maybe had its origins in it, and it still had some overtones from it, I don't think it was as much a racist campaign as it had been in - what - '64 or whenever it was he ran before.

W.D.V.: Do you see it as an issue of the future?

Morgan: No - well, if I'd just say no, I don't think I'd be telling the truth. But I... to see it as a major issue, I don't think so.

W.D.V.: Can you see anyone pulling together, in North Carolina, the Wallace vote and the black vote?

Morgan: Not really. I don't... there were some unusual alliances last time. For instance, there was an alliance between the Wallace people and Galifianakis' people. Which, you know, normally you would not think Nick was generally thought of as a liberal, although his voting record sort of looked... seemed to run the gamut of all sides. But I don't really see that prospect.

W.D.V.: A lot of people we interviewed described the Democratic party in North Carolina as a whole lot of wings, with no head and no body. But they thought something might emerge in the next few years to pull them together, whatever that would be. But how do you see the party today?

Morgan: Well, we got a whole lot of wings, to be frank about it, but I think any political party that's been in power for a long time has. You already seeing the different factions emerge from the Republican party, no longer than they've been in power. We do need... we have got to pull the party together, under some kind of leadership. Because if we don't, we're going to find ourselves going down to defeat again.

I was just saying before you came in here - I spoke to a group last week of people that, well, their questions were along the line of talking about political prisoners in North Carolina. And I asked them... one of their questions was, "Don't you think the government is generally held in low esteem or bad repute, and don't you think that one of the contributing reasons or causes is the political prisoners?" Well, I told them I agreed with their first premise, that generally right now government is held in

low repute. But I said, "What political prisoners are you referring to?" They said, they gave two cases. The Chavis trial and the case in Charlotte. I said, "Have either one of you read the testimony or the state in either one of those cases?" No. I said, "Well, what you... what are you basing it on, your charge, your statement?" Well, they were both... these people were political activists. And I said, "Well, are you now saying that political activeness... activists ought not to be held responsible for their criminal acts?" And I invited them to come down and take the records out of the Supreme Court, and read the transcripts of the testimony. And there were other questions, you know. Will you legalize marijuana? I'm not sure that those groups... some of the groups, I'm afraid, are so far out that I'm not sure that they're going to come under anybody's umbrella. And I think that may lead to defeat... I mean to the downfall of our party again, as it... we got too many factions who just aren't willing to recognize that there are others who share many similar views, but don't share all of their views, and they're not willing to accommodate. I don't know where... I think we will pull it back together, but I think it's not going to be easy.

W.D.V.: Is there any one man emerging at this point that could do it?

Morgan: Walter, I haven't... I never have really followed party leadership, to the point of saying, you know,... or willing to be a leader in it, or saying that we needed a strong leader. And I guess that's because in the past our governor has usually been our leader, for better or for worse. I don't see any strong man emerging right now. I basically think that Jim Suggs is doing a pretty good job. He's surely trying. And I think one of the criticisms of him is, perhaps, is the fact that he is not controlling his executive committee every time he turns around. And

I think probably Jim realizes that the practical... the realities of life are that if he calls the executive committee together, we may be more disoriented than we are now, for the present time. I assume we're not talking for publication until '76 or some other time.

J.B.: Right.

Morgan: You know, the executive committee that was selected last time was selected under your quota system, and some of them... He's got a pretty unwieldy group. And I assume that that's... that that's why Jim is not calling them together, and yet it's causing a lot of dissention. I think if I was Jim, I probably would call them together and take my chances on being able to persuade a majority of us that we were following the right course. But at the same time, Jim's trying to do a good job.

W.D.V.: Do you think the 1972 election was an aberration, an accident? Some of the people we've talking to say it was. The Holshouser thing was so unusual, so was Helms, because of Nixon, that this would not occur again in 1974, we'll go back and pick up Republican seats in the General Assembly. And in '76 they'll win back the governor.

Morgan: Well, let me say I'm not so sure that the Helms matter was a political accident. You got to remember, or at least I think I understand, that from here west has always been - I say always - for many many years, has been predominantly Republican. And there're about 44 to 45% of the people in this state who are going to vote Republican, regardless of who the candidate is. Now I arrived at those figures because if you'll get the election returns and compare the votes that the unknown candidates - Republican candidates - for the Council of State positions received against well-known, and men who are highly respected, such as Edwin Gill and others, Democratic candidates. You will find that consistently they got somewhere around 44 to 44.6% of the vote. I conclude from that, as a neophyte, that

those people are going to vote Republican, period. Now, in the past, the solid Democratic east has held the party together. It held the Democratic party in power. And most from here west has generally been Republican. Jesse Helms has had a tremendous following, within the range of Channel 5. Which has been primarily eastern North Carolina. He's had a tremendous following for a number of reasons. One, he talked about the racial question in the schools. He's been against bussing. He's been a conservative, which appeals to a lot of businessmen. He's been an anti-, in opposition to the Raleigh News and Observer, you know, which a lot of people... so there're many, many factors. And I'm not so sure but what ^{not} Jesse Helms would/have taken Senator Jordan or Nick Galifianakis, regardless of who - if it had even been an off-year election. There's no question in my mind but what Holshouser benefitted from two or three things. He benefitted from the tremendous amount of influence and prestige that Nixon held in this state at that time. He also benefitted, in my opinion, from the... some of the so-called dirty tricks, which I can't help - and nobody else seems to agree - but I can't help but believe were connected with the Committee for the Re-election of the President. For instance, some few months before the election, the word began to get to the press that Reve... the Internal Revenue was investigating Governor Scott, and if I remember right, about 13 other members of his close friends who helped raise his money. And I made the statement publically, at that time, that it smelled to me. Because had they been going... if it was a legitimate investigation, they would not have waited four years, and especially until just before the election. But you remember, the closer the election came, the hotter the leaks got. And as late as September, word was leaked that they were going to be presented... indictments were going to be presented to the Grand Jury in September. Then, the latest and hottest thing was, about

October, and that's when the governor called on an investigation... called for an investigation on the leaks, you know... and lo and behold, they sacrificed the U.S. attorney Warren Harding Coolidge. But as soon as the election was over, suddenly they found they didn't have enough evidence to go to the Grand Jury. And I don't think there's any question but what Holshouser benefitted from that. Now, even though that was not directed at Skipper, we all as Democrats had to bear part of the brunt for it. So I... I think Governor Holshouser's election was partially responsible to that, and to some, just, circumstances that I hope won't happen very often.

J.B.: What sort of circumstances?

Morgan: Well, Jim Gardiner and Holshouser were upset at each other. I think the way that we Democrats decided to conduct our campaign - and I don't put all the blame on Skipper, because I said right here, and said to Skipper, that I didn't think that we gained anything by riding around on a bus together. I think maybe Skipper may have taken it a little further than I intended it. We used to campaign in this state,... in November we'd get a bus, and you'd get the Council of State on the bus. And we'd ride down to a district rally, and the people'd be anywhere from a hundred to maybe a thousand people, depending on how much work they'd done. And I just felt like that that was not the way to campaign. That I thought it was wasting talent. That I thought while Skipper was appearing in the east, I could be appearing in the west, and vice versa. But I think maybe we carried it to a point that we left the impression that we were not campaigning as a team, but we were campaigning as an individual. And I don't think that will happen again. Here again, I say I take as much responsibility for that as anyone else. There're a lot of things, you know, you can point to a million things and say this is what cost us the

election.

W.D.V.: So you think the party's going to snap back in '74 and '76?

Morgan: No question in my mind about it. Provided we come up with reasonably good candidates.

J.B.: You were taught by Dr. Lake in college, I understand, in law school, and managed his campaign and are sort of associated with him because of that. What is your relationship with him and how does your philosophy agree or is different from his?

Morgan: Well, it just... in a nut, we share a good many common things in our political philosophy. Now you got to go back and remember this, that all of the candidates in 1960 were segregationists, except Malcolm Seawell, who was... had been the attorney general. Malcolm was the only one who had the courage to stand up and way we're going to live by the Supreme Court decision. Terry didn't come out for integration. In fact, he came out for preserving the status quo in the schools. Dr. Lake was a... was rather rabid on segregation... not on...don't let me say rabid... that doesn't... He's very firm in his views, and I think that came from the fact that Dr. Lake was the assistant attorney general who prepared and argued North Carolina's position in the Brown case in 1954. You know, when you do that, when you prepare and work on cases, you become more firmly convinced in your views. But as far as being a liberal, Beverly Lake was generally thought of as a liberal. The only other person, to my knowledge, in the history of this state, who has served as a public advocate for the people was Beverly Lake when he appeared, quite by... accidentally, quite accidentally, and much to the dismay of the attorney general, back in the early '50's, against Southern Bell's rate increase. It was right ironical that his son is now opposing them. And the same man, one of the witnesses, testified... Dr. Lake cross-

examined him, and then he came on back down here for another one, and Beverly Lake, Jr. cross-examined him. Dr. Lake was very much of a populist, and still is. His views, I think, were distorted quite a bit because of his views on segregation. And we share a good many views. As I said, I might tell you by way of passing, attorney general called him in one afternoon and said, "Beverly, they're going to have a... they're having a rate hearing over there tomorrow on Southern Bell, and we're supposed to have somebody over there and Harry can't go. If you feel a mind, go over there and sit in on it." Well, of course, they didn't know what they were doing, and when they sent him over there and he began to see what was happening, he turned it into a full-fledged rate case. And you go back and read the News and Observer and they hailed him as a great liberal... great friend of the public. So we share a good many views together.

J.B.: Do you consider yourself a populist?

Morgan: I don't know what populist is, but I guess I would if that's being for the people, and being for things that benefit the people. I consider myself... I considered the role of government, in addition to that of maintaining domestic tranquility, without which, of course, no government can survive,... I consider the main role of government beyond that is to do for the people those things that they cannot very well do for themselves. Public education is a first responsibility for the government. Caring for the mentally ill and the mentally retarded, the handicapped, is a major role, and it's one we have not carried. We had not carried, at all, in my way of thinking, until we began under Terry Sanford about '63. That Terry Sanford made the first major step forward, especially in the mentally retarded centers. And today, it's

a shame and it's a disgrace that these people, who are committed to our care and custody, most of them against their will, are not being provided adequate medical treatment. 1951 I was clerk of the court and judge of probate court, which meant I had to sign the orders committing mentally ill patients to the mental hospital. First person I ever saw mentally ill was a lady brought into my office. And she was severely... I signed the orders committing her to the state hospital, and I called the superintendant and said we have her, and he said, "I have no room, and I can tell you... can't tell you when we'll have room." And I said, "What in the world am I going to do?" And I locked her in the common jail of Harnett County. And the first controversy I have got in in the legislature in '55 was over... what... our failure to provide for these people. There hasn't been a single time since 1951, that day, when we've had a full complement of doctors in our mental hospitals and mentally retarded centers. And even to this day, a good many of them are foreign trained. Now, this is not to say that all foreign trained doctors are incompetent, but I'm saying it's a hell of a note when we say we'll let you into this state and we'll find you are qualified to practice on our patients who are committed by law, but we're not going to let you go out and practice - and they have these different types of licenses, you know - among the general public. And to say that a person who's mentally ill has got to be treated by a doctor that he can't understand, and he certainly can't relate to... And you can go back out... The first time I was down at Chapel Hill, Dr. Brauer was teaching me calculus. And he hadn't been out of Germany very long, and I couldn't understand him. And he came up to me on the front row one day and said, "What's your name?" And I couldn't think of my name to save my life.

Well, what I had been doing, I was sitting... I couldn't understand him, therefore I was sitting there daydreaming, you see. Well, for us, in a state like this, to provide that kind of care is a crime. Now, if you'll check my voting record in the legislature, you'll find that I was always not only for those programs, but I was generally in the fight for them. I've introduced prison reform in this state. Before '67, when Governor Moore backed down. Lee Bounds came out with his prison reform bill, Governor Moore said "all right, go ahead." Tom White, who was chairman of the Advisory Budget Commission, jumped up and said he'd resign and go home before he'd vote for that bill that would turn the rapists loose, and so forth. Governor Moore called Lee and said, "You'd better take it back." He said, "I can't afford to run the risk of having my budget destroyed." So I took it and went forward with it. And I started a jail inspection - I didn't think I'm boasting, but that's a politician's prerogative is to do it. You know, if he doesn't, nobody else is. But what I'm trying to say is, I'm about as liberal as you come, when it comes to people issues. And when it comes to living by the letter of the law and being a strict constructionist of the laws and the Constitution, I'm about as conservative as you come. And I don't know how else to classify myself.

J.B.: How do you consider yourself on race?

Morgan: I think that I'm as... I am not... I wouldn't consider myself a liberal or a conservative on it. I'm not one of these that believe that we ought to lower our standards in our exceptional education program in Charlotte, where we're being sued about, in order to bring them in. I don't believe you ought to make a fanfare about it. I mean, I think you ought to do it without regard to race. We have a number of black attorneys

on this staff. We have... we brought in black S.B.I. agents right after we came here, but I doubt if you ever read anything in the paper about it. I even called a press conference to announce it, so-and-so'd been put on my staff. So I... my position is that I've tried to consider people without regard for race.

W.D.V.: As you think back over the administrations that you've been working with, those as attorney general and in the legislature, which ones stand out in your mind, in terms of education, roads, amount of help and so on, over the last 25 years, what's ?

Morgan: Well, you'd have to classify - I was an observer in Kerr Scott's administration. You would have to classify Kerr Scott as a roads man. As well as mental health. Now he made a \$50 million bond issue, at least he was concerned and interested. Governor Umstead was conservative and he really wasn't governor long enough to make any impact. I think had he... Governor Umstead been governor, you would labeled him and known him as representing integrity in government. But I don't think you would have seen very much progress. But Luther Hodges considered himself a businessman in government, and that's a high-sounding term and it sounds pretty. But, you know, government is not business. Government's not a... it's good to put into practice the economies and the efficiencies that can be derived from government. But I think you must always remember that the purpose of government is to... is to meet the needs of the people, and not necessarily to accomplish efficiency and economy. So, while I would not... his businessmen in the capital doesn't impress me, I would say that he deserves to be labelled as a great governor of North Carolina, if for no other reason - and I'm not saying it's the only reason, because I can't recall everything like that - but if for no other reason, for his creation of the industrial and technical institutes. Which began to make

training and educational opportunities available to many people who had not had them. He paved the way for, really, the industrial development of this state. Then you come on down to Terry Sanford, I think you... he deserves a great... you have to name him the educational governor. But it goes broader than that. First place, he took Hodges technical institutes and then developed them on in to the community colleges, which I think are one of the greatest systems we have. About, what, 90% or 95% of all our people are within 30... well, within commuting distance of a community college today. He's... his accomplishments in public education were great, but I don't think you could enumerate them in a one, two, three fashion, as much as you could say... I would say his greatest accomplishment in public education was in focussing public attention on the need to do something about public education. I think his concern for the mentally retarded is an area in which he has not been recognized sufficiently. And, remember, I was not a Sanford supporter in the... you know, in the primaries. History will be very kind to Terry Sanford. Unfortunately, our system of government in this state, our system of giving to the governor a great deal of power, but only through appointments, also serves to destroy him in years to come. Sanford's greatest weakness in this state today doesn't come from the people who were his opponents back in the primaries. In my opinion, it comes from those who supported him and who were disappointed in many ways because they did not get one of the three or four or five thousand appointments that came out, or they didn't get the right ones. I know when I went to New Jersey to file for him last year, that it was not the people who had supported Lake who gave me hell. It was the people who had been on the... been his ring leaders. One of them was a man in -

I won't call names - but in a w... mid-w... piedmont county that he was his county manager. And he almost disavowed him... any friendship with him. Because I sat over at the mansion the night before last with a... two men from New Hanover County who said to me that Terry Sanford came down and sat down with them and said, "I'm in trouble. If I can't split the vote... Lake vote in New Hanover County, I can't win the second primary." And, I don't recall the exact words, but the deal was that they would support him if he'd promise them three things. One was to build a bridge - that new bridge that they got. One was the development of the ports. And the third one. And I said, "Well, did he perform?" And they said, "Yes, he performed on all of them." And then, within the same conversation, they were saying they were so glad that he came out for president last year because it gave them an opportunity to show the son of a bitch where he really stood in North Carolina. So, you see, it's sort of a... And I asked them why, and they can't tell you why they don't like Terry Sanford. Some of them will say the food tax, and then they turn right around and say, well, really, would you take it off if you had the chance, and they'll say no. Terry's lack of support among the public is sort of an... what do you call it?... an enigma?

W.D.V.: Well, why is that? Generally the longer you're out of office as a politician, the more an aura of statesmanlike qualities you get around about you. People tend to forget the mistakes, you know, they tend to remember what it was you accomplished. I'd infer from what you're saying in his case, a reversal...

Morgan: Except with Terry, I do not understand... I cannot understand it, because...

J.B.: How much did he hurt himself running for president last year?

Morgan: I don't think he really hurt himself. I think if he had been

able to carry North Carolina, that there was a real slim possibility that he could have gotten the nomination, if, for any reason, they could have blocked McGovern on the first vote. It probably did hurt him in the eyes of some people in North Carolina, but to go back down to your question, I cannot understand it. And I posed that same question to many, many people.

W.D.V.: When you come from outside the state, you always hear about the Sanford machine, the Sanford organization, the Sanford wing, those people who worked in his campaign or his organization. And yet when you really try to pin it down in terms of strength, it's spread rather loosely.

Morgan: Well, I tell you this...

W.D.V.:

Morgan: Yeah, I know what you mean. And that brings me back to another point. I think maybe one of the things that has been... had a lasting negative effect on Sanford was that he did bring in a lot of bright, young people with ideas, which this state needed. We needed some thinkers, we needed some people who hadn't been steeped in the old traditions. But at the same time, they were rather vicious. For instance, to give you a good illustration, in 1963 Sanford did not re-appoint the chairman of the Board of East Carolina University. Now, you know, a position on the Board of a university, you don't... at least, I never did think you sought. Here lately they do over at Chapel Hill, but I never saw it. And I never dreamed of even being chairman of the Board at East Carolina. But it just so happened that Sanford did not re-appoint the chairman. The next senior man was Mr. Henry Belk, who had turned it down before because of his blindness and age. Now, and then I was in line. And the next... I hadn't even thought of being chairman... but the next thing I

knew was this bright, young crowd around Sanford was saying, "Look, Morgan's not a Sanford man. We can't have him." So they lined it up and put the screws on to make sure that this old man, that had declined it one time before, was made chairman. Well, when it came to his attention and to Sanford's attention what had happened, they corrected it the next year. But they did a lot of that to people that way, and they did a lot of their own folks that way. So while I think the idea men were a great help to Sanford, I think they were also a hindrance to him. Well, now, to go further to your question, I think there are two people in North Carolina that can today direct a substantial group of voters in one direction or the other. One of them is Beverly Lake and one of them is Terry Sanford. And probably for two different reasons. Beverly Lake can do it because of his... he had this great loyal following that sort of stayed with him, and he's never been known as an arch-conservative. Even those who... you don't consider the race issue. And the second one is Terry Sanford because Terry Sanford has more people that he can get on the telephone tonight and say, "How about getting out yonder tomorrow and helping Bob Morgan" than any other man. Moore can't do it, Bob Scott can't do it, I doubt that Skipper can do it. I can't do it. Now I don't mean to say that I can, Skipper can, and Bob can call people and get them to get out and work for us. But I'm durned if I believe I can transfer my support to anybody else, like those two candidates can, those two people.

W.D.V.: Could you go on with your assessment? We kind of stopped at the Sanford administration. Could you give us an evaluation of Moore and Scott?

Morgan: Well, I think Dan Moore was without question a man of integrity. He wanted to be known as a man of... a study and a planning governor.

But I've tried several times to get my hands on all the plans, you know, that were made, and nobody has them. I guess I've got more of them than anybody else, but mainly because I looked around the state government and tried to find them, you know. I guess, I guess... I guess Dan Moore was sort of a slowing down governor, you know, in terms of sort of slow down and take stock. I think Bob Scott was a good governor. Extremely good governor. But unfortunately, Bob had some people around him who did not reflect well, you know, on his administration. And there were some incidents, you know, which didn't reflect well. Such as the Farber parole incident, some of the highways. But when you look what Bob Scott did for education, mental hospitals, criminal justice... he helped me get, you know, this bureau. The bureau was nothing when I got here. And look at the crime lab. We had two men in it, I think. Bob Scott backed me to the hilt on everything I tried to do in criminal justice. Had it not been for him, we would not have had our criminal justice network today, which is, I think, ahead of every other state in the union. We may not be doing as many things as some, but what we've got is more solid than most of them. So I think... I think Bob Scott was a good governor. And I think... I wouldn't at all be surprised to see Bob Scott come back some day.

W.D.V.: We've had a year of Holshouser. How would you assess his administration?

Morgan: Well, it's too early, Walter. Unfortunately, he - for him, and maybe fortunately for we Democrats - he's got a few of the same kind of people around him that Bob had around himself. He didn't submit but about one bill to the legislature last time, so you really can't say he had a program. He hasn't done a whole lot different from any of the rest of the governors except, as I say, he didn't have a program to go forward

with, and mainly, one of the reasons was, they were so sceptical of all the rest of us, you see. I think it's really too early to assess.

J.B.: There's a story we've heard about you, that I'm sure you've heard, that I'd like you to comment on it. And that was that you were thinking of running for governor last year. And the story as I heard it, someone tell me, that's the story that you went to Washington and Senator Ervin in effect advised you against it and said he was going to step down, and said you ought to wait and run for the Senate.

Morgan: Well, to use Agnew's words, I hate to - as I shouldn't - that is a damn lie. In the first place, I had never had a political conversation with Senator Ervin in my life. And I doubt that very many other people have ever had a political conversation with Senator Ervin, you know.

The one time that I ever remember sitting down in Senator Ervin's office was, I called for an appointment to go see him on a matter of state, for the state. It was a legal matter, and that's why I went to Senator Ervin rather than to Senator Jordan's office. Well, I went in, Senator Ervin's desk was full of law books. And as I sat on the other side of the desk and tried to present my problem, it was a state problem, I looked in and Senator Ervin was reading one of his law books. So I very graciously brought my - or tried to be gracious. I'm not sure where I didn't show it - anyway, I brought my conversation to a conclusion. I went over to Senator Jordan's office, he called Bill... his administrative assistant... Cochrane, in, and I got my work done. So that, as much as I think of Senator Ervin, I just don't believe that Senator Ervin is the kind that very many can go in and sit down and talk politics. And, of course, the reason that I didn't run for governor is, first, the main reason is I never wanted to run for governor. I have never wanted to be governor in this state. And if that sounds untruthful, but... aside from the fact

that everybody would like to sit at the head of the table just for sitting at the head of the table, but I've seen governors... I know what it did, I know what it did to Sanford. I know how hell-hacked Dan Moore was. I saw Bob Scott cut up to pieces by his own people. And the people that you put in the positions like highway commissioner, C and D and so forth. They are not grateful to you because they feel like, well, hell, he didn't do me any favors. I'm the man that put him in office to begin with. They become running... they start running the office for themselves, and the governor ends up catching all the flak from the people that're dissatisfied across the state, and cutting ribbons. He's an administrator, which I wasn't cut out to be, and I've gotten too much that way here. Now, my first two years in office, I argued cases in the court. But now, I can't keep up with the phone calls, let alone....