

FINAL PORTION OF SPEECH TO ASSOCIATED GENERAL CONTRACTORS OF NORTH
AND SOUTH CAROLINA AND EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS CONCERNING COMMON
SITUS PICKETING AND POLITICS - MARCH 19, 1977

...the whole program so that billion and a half dollars has been deleted and I'm not sorry because I feel like its a billion and half dollars that would have been wasted. We're going to see some more programs designed for youth unemployment. I hope you will help watch with me and let's strive to make the best of them that we can even though I don't basically believe in public service jobs if we're going to have them, then it behooves us to do what we can to make them right. Now see that is skimming over what I had planned to say, but I want to talk about the non-controversial subject of common situs picketing and give you some political advice. You know you invited me down here to tell you what I thought and if I came down here and told you just what I thought you wanted to hear and then went on back to Washington, I dont think I would be worthy of the honor and the responsibility that you bestowed upon me and so I think I want to present my thoughts to you and I'll be glad to try and answer any questions I can. Of course, you know common situs picketing is a very very controversial subject. It was up before the last Congress and it passed the last Congress. How much credit can be given to Secretary of Labor Dunlop and the arm-twisting from him or through him by the White House I don't know. President Ford got backed into a corner by saying he would sign the bill provided they wrote into the bill some reforms with regard to collective bargaining. I rather suspect that President Ford never thought that the reforms would be written into it. But nevertheless, they did

and as a result, Dunlop who was very much pro-labor came down and put a lot of heat on members of congress to pass it.

I voted against common situs picketing in the last session. I am opposed to it now. I have always been opposed to it. Now what Dr. Marshall will do this time, I don't know. Carter has said he would sign it, but I understood him to say during the campaign, he would not use the clout of the White House to secure its passage.

And when Dr. Marshall was confirmed as Secretary of Labor, I had read in the committee report where he favored common situs picketing and repeal of 14-B, but when pressured as to whether or not he would exert influence to secure the passage of acts to accomplish these facts, I wasn't quite clear.

So Senator Thurmond made some inquiries in writing and I wasn't quite satisfied with his answers. So I went over onto the floor of the Senate when he was confirmed and carried on a colloquy, which is a new term that I had never heard until I got up there, with Senator Williams from New Jersey, the Chairman of the Committee, to try to build what we call legislative history.

And I stated essentially on the floor of the Senate what I have said to you - that it was my understanding that Marshall or that the President would not use the clout of his office to twist arms. And Senator Williams assured me on the

floor of the Senate that that was true. Now so far, I have not seen where Dr. Marshall has done that. He has testified, one day this week, before a House committee, that he favored it, but in all fairness to Dr. Marshall at this point, he was asked directly a question while testifying before the Committee and of course, he had no alternative but to answer it.

But we've had no communications from the White House with regard to it. Now what happened last year - of course there's a prolonged debate and there are literally hundreds of amendments and procedural moves. Some trying to defeat the legislation - others trying to pass it. And there is no way I can stand here today and anticipate and tell you what procedural moves will come before the Senate when this matter comes up.

I have a - its a matter of principle with me - and has been for twelve years/^{ten}in the State Senate and two in Washington that I normally will not vote to table a motion. Now I can't always abide by that in Washington because sometimes a tableing motion is interpreted as a substantive motion. So you can't make an iron-clad rule.

So during the last session, you go back and you'll find basically I voted with the floor leaders of those opposing common situs picketing. I voted for cloture, but I didn't always vote with the opponents. Now let me give you a good

example.

I ran back and thumbed through this yesterday after I got a telephone call. There was an amendment offered by Senator Javits of New York and Williams of New Jersey which exempted from common situs picketing as I recall it, homes three stories or less where there was no elevator and public buildings where the law required that the contracts be let severately. Well it just seemed to me that if you were going to have to have common situs picketing, that any little bit of relief that you could get would be better than none.

I voted for that amendment along with a good many other opponents of common situs picketing. Now there were a few of the opponents of common situs picketing who didn't vote for it. Their philosophy was if they are going to get it, let's ram the whole thing down their throats. Well you know, sometimes - and who was right I don't know. I don't know whether I was right or whether they were right. In my opinion that's sort of cutting off your nose to spite your face. We might spite them up there a little bit, but it also might hurt us down here a little bit.

So I cite you that to illustrate to you that you can't make a committment in advance that you are going to vote on all procedural motions or moves any given way. The other day when I was not in my office, a man named Reed Larson

whom I have become very distrustful of, who heads the Right to Work Committee, called my office. And let me go back and tell you one of the reasons that I have become distrustful of him. Its because of his tactics - not of his ultimate goals. About a month or two ago, I read in the Charlotte paper - a number of papers - where Senator Morgan had been asked to head in North Carolina the drive to oppose repeal of Section 14-B. Well, it was sort of news to me because I had never heard of it, and I have not to this day heard from Mr. Larson.

It was a press release that he just issued for the purpose of bringing pressure of attempting to coerce me into doing something. I might have done it if he had come and sat down in my office and talked to me. But that's the same kind of tactics that he complains of in the labor unions. So when he called the other day, he said to Mr. Leggett, he said what about the Senator's position on common situs picketing. Carroll Leggett is my administrative assistant and I said - Carroll said to him, well you know his position is clear - said he campaigned in opposition to it and he voted against it last time and what else do you need. He said well, will he commit to vote with the opponents of the bill on all procedural votes and Carroll said well you know I don't think the Senator would be willing to make that kind of commitment because you don't know what the procedural votes will be. So he sort of blew off and said well in that case, we'll just have to assume he's against it and so immediately we began to get all kinds of nasty mail and then last week they ran a paid advertisement in the Charlotte paper

and I think maybe the Asheville paper in which he said Senator Morgan will not commit to do so and so. Well, any fool with one eye and half sense could go back and read the record and know what my position is and in response to his actions, I have, as I said, gotten literally thousands of letters and the kind of mail you get is not persuasive.

The other morning I opened - I read the mail myself and there was a letter from the President of a company, a letter from the vice-president of ^{the} company, both of them saying exactly the same thing. There was a letter from a Mr. Jones, Sr., we'll call him, it wasn't Jones - from Charlotte, another letter from Mr. Jones, Jr., saying the same thing.

Well, you know, this is - we don't mind the mail. We're set up to answer it. But yesterday afternoon, I had a phone call or my assistant in Raleigh had a phone call from a man associated with your organization saying that all the contractors in the State said they weren't ever going to contribute to Morgan's campaign anymore.

Well, I said I was sorry to hear that, that those who did contribute to my campaign I appreciated it and I was sure most of them did it in good faith, feeling that I would represent the State as best I knew how. And I said that I doubted that many of them that contributed to my campaign felt that they bought me when they contributed to me. And if they did, I'm just not for sale.

If I subcumb to that kind of ~~pressure~~ intimidation, then you couldn't have a bit of confidence in me because it would just be a question of price. Who would be willing to pay the biggest price and I can't - I'll take one more minute - I can't help but tell you a story - a true story - the first time I ever ran for public office.

I was still a third year law student and didn't know much about politics, but there was a man in my home named Veneable Baggett. He was a real estate man - never held a public office - never wanted a public office - but he was always - just couldn't stay out of political campaigns. And as I traveled around the county - everybody would say you better watch out for that Baggett fellow, you know how that crooked courthouse crowd will contaminate you.

Well they just about had me convinced they would and lo and behold, I hadn't hardly put the bible down from taking the oath of office and the ceremony was over and Veneable said I want to see you just a minute. I thought good god, it's coming now.

And he started off by saying this. He said, Robert I think I'm your friend and I don't ever intend to ask you to do anything that in my opinion would be wrong, but he said sometime I might - there might come a time when I'll be trying to sell a farm or a piece of land or a building and it might develop that some child or infant or incompetent has an interest

in it and as Clerk of Superior Court all you would have to do is enter an order authorizing the sale of the infant's or incompetent's land and I could close the transaction and make a nice profit and you know, I don't think I'll ever ask you to do that, but all of us in the heat of trying to put across the deal, I might rationalize it in my own mind that its all right, but he said I want you to promise me now that if I ever ask you to do anything that you will sleep on it 24 hours and then if its not right, don't do it because if you do, I'll probably close the deal and I'll probably make a good fee out of it and I'll spend it and those of you knew Veneable knew he would spend it, too - yours and his and mine, too - but he was the greatest friend I ever had. But he said after the money is gone, some night I'll be lying in bed and I won't be able to sleep and things will be rolling through my mind and you know, that's liable to roll through my mind and I'll say to myself, well that crooked son of a gun - if he'll be crooked for me - he'll be crooked against me and you always remember and I cite you that to say to you that if I allowed people like Mr. Larson or the man who called yesterday to intimidate me into making a commitment that I don't even know what the commitment is, then I wouldn't be worthy of being your Senator and you couldn't rest assured that I wouldn't be intimidated by George Meany and the other crowd when I got back to Washington.

So with regard to common situs picketing, repeal of 14-B, I have always been opposed to both of them - long before

I ever undertook to run for public office. I even as a matter of fact voted against minimum wage in the State Senate in 1955 because I thought it would deprive people of jobs.

But as to how is best for me to accomplish what I believe in, I think it is something you simply have to leave to my good judgment as the developments arise on the floor of the Senate. In other words, I don't think that the people - you here or me - can sit here today and say how I should vote on matters and issues that are going to come before the Senate a month from now, two months from now or three months from now when we have no earthly idea what amendments are going to be offered by whom.

I said the same thing to the veterans and the civil service workers. This is just simply one case C.D. (?) that I feel like that your constituents have to trust you. And if you can't trust your constituents, then there is no other alternative of course but to try to remove them when the time comes. I hope you won't do that, but if the people in the State ever do decide to remove me in their good judgment, I hope that you will replace me by someone who also will speak his convictions and stand up for them whether you agree with him or not. Review my record last time, look at it and then form your own conclusion as to what I do under the circumstances.