

Asheboro - October 16, 1978

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I can't tell you how good it is to be with you tonight and to be home. I said to Wayne and Joyce during dinner how pleasant it was to be back with home folks and I mentioned that probably I wouldn't know to many of you by your name but you feel at home when you're with North Carolinians.

If I could just be your U. S. Senator and still live in North Carolina I think I would be the happiest man in the world but its good to be home.

I did have a plane connection that was late tonight so I apologize for being late.

There are so many things I would like to talk with you about and tell you about that I doubt that I'll have time but I do want to take this opportunity of trying to pass on to you some of the information about things that are going on in Washington.

I think that one of the great roles that civic clubs play in America and that is the involvement that you have in public affairs and the opportunities that you give to public officials to inform the public about things that are going on. It's a difficult process and you serve a real purpose in this.

I want to say first of all that allowing me to go to Washington and represent you as your Senator has afforded me

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some wonderful opportunities to know some of the really great people in America the people that have made our country great and that continue to make it great.

To be sure we have problems there will always be problems but from my four years in Washington serving there with these people, in my travels in various parts of the world trying to acquaint myself with the problems of the world that we have to confront everyday I become prouder and prouder of the country that we live in I remember very well if you will allow me to reminisce a little bit about the first visit that I had with our President after I went to Washington of course I was very new and a little bit nervous Wayne with all that was going on and one afternoon I got a call from the Whitehouse and said that President Ford had about a thirty-minute break and would I come down and have a cup of coffee with him. Well of course I immediately became excited and you know I went but as luck would have it I had on a red suit that day and so I went into the Whitehouse and President Ford who was one of the most gracious men that I have ever known met me at his office door and I apologized to him I said Mr. President if you had told me that you were going to invite me down here I would have dressed a little more appropriately. Well you know he reached under his collar and he pulled out a lavender shirt and said have you seen my lavender shirt well from that time on we were very much at ease and we became great friends and I would say that Gerald Ford provided this country a great kind of leadership

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at a time when we needed his leadership it restored confidence in the people of America it restored confidence in the system of government that we have.

Then later on of course I've gotten to know President Carter. I was down one night to what he calls a working dinner and a very small group and there were some foreign leaders there when - president of a foreign country and it's hard to carry on conversations with these people I was saying to Wayne and Joyce that the thing that I noticed about being in Washington the more you are there the more shy you become now that's hard to believe that politicians are shy but I was talking to Muriel Humphrey Sunday afternoon on the floor of the Senate you know we stayed in session about 35 hours and she was saying to me that you just wouldn't believe that Hubert Humphrey was shy but the truth of the matter is you are always cast and thrown with people that you don't know and many times its people that are hard and difficult to talk to - well that's what was happening this particular night and the President was trying to carry on a conversation and he just couldn't get the conversation going - so then he and I begin to talk about farming and then we got into a little debate as to which one of us had picked the most cotton and I thought you know when you can sit down and talk to the President of the United States about picking cotton it really tells you something about the greatness of this country and I really believe that.

The people in the Congress there are 535 men and women

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in that congress they come from every walk of life all over the country and they are subjected to every conceivable pressure that you can think of and when you consider that and consider the fact that they live in the public light all the time with the media looking over their shoulder they have to make every facet of their life public every penny of their income when you consider that I think you can justly and rightly be proud of the American people that serve you.

Sunday afternoon as we were adjourning John Sparksman was preciding in the chair, a great ----- I remember as just a little boy campaigning for as I believe he was running for Vice President and of course knowing Senator Humphrey and there was Carl Curtis a great convervative leader from Nebraska most articulate man retired after about thirty or forty years in the service.

All these things have impressed me with really how great this country is and so as we discuss the problems that we confront I think we ought never to forget the blessings that we really have and you know I could talk to you a lot about things that are going on but let me tell you that I think it has been a very successful congress it has been a lot more encouraging to me this year than it has been in the past three years.

The first year I went to the Congress in 1975 I heard the President present his budget we carried a fifty billion dollar deficit fifty billion dollars. I remember being astonished when he presented the budget saying that we would

spend fifty billion dollars more in the coming fiscal year than we would take in - unless it is hard for you to imagine how much fifty billion dollars is - just let me tell you that if you had started on the day that Christ was born and had spent sixty thousand dollars on that day and had spent sixty thousand dollars every day since then you still would not have spent as much money as we went in the hole in the fiscal year of 1976 then I saw that deficit grow in the next year to about sixty billion dollars well this year this past year when the President submitted his budget he submitted a budget that carried a deficit of sixty billion dollars again and he told us that it was lean and trim well when we finally ended up Sunday afternoon at 7:20 we had a budget that only was thirty-eight billion dollars in the hole now that is still more than it ought to be but you and I know that you can't bring things to balance all at once and if you did we really would have a recession.

So I think by having cut the budget that much this year that the Congress has done a good job and that's not easy because for every program that the Federal Government is involved with there is an interest group that is lobbying for that program and all too often there is no one speaking up on the other side let me give you just an example when the new education - elementary secondary education act came through this year there was a new title in that program called basic skills. This program somebody has said and well I think that youngsters are not able to read and write so somebody on the

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education commission decided that we could throw some more money on this problem and we could resolve it so in title to carried an appropriation an outlay over the next four years of seven hundred and eighty three million dollars almost a billion dollars but tied with that program was a requirement that in order for the states to get the money that you had to submit program you had to adhere to teaching standards of the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic that HEW set up well now first of all I felt that teaching the basic skills is the responsibility of our school system our state school system.

Secondly, this seemed to be the one area that was left to state control so I moved to strike that from the budget with the blessings of such people as Senator Muskie who chaired the Budget Committee and Senator Magnuson in the Appropriations Committee well I lost but what happen every person in education who really wanted that program knows that I tried to defeat it but I dare say that aren't a dozen of you in this room who know that I tried to strike nearly a billion dollars out of the budget.

So you see its hard to cut the budget but nevertheless we have made a substantial progress we've cut the budget from twenty-two and one-half percent to the gross national product down to twenty-two percent not much half percent means about ten billion dollars but the important part is for once we have broken the spiral of going up up up to at least we have started coming down a little bit so the result of what we

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inacted.

The tax cut bill this weekend and its the first tax cut bill that I've voted for and that's not necessarily politically popular but I never could understand how you could start cutting taxes when you were already spending more money than you make but because we have made progress in trying to bring the budget in balance and because there were some areas of special concern I voted for this one we voted about a eighteen to nineteen billion dollar tax cut we raised the exemption from 750 dollars to 1000 which will give about ten or eleven billion dollars of income cut to a rank and file of people but we also made permanent and some of you businessmen here will know what I'm talking about the investment tax credit ten percent which will say to those of you in business now this is permanent you can go ahead and do some long range planning about investing in new machinery and new equipment because this in itself ought to provide jobs. And we reduced the capital gains tax now the President was opposed to this but I think the President was wrong because a lot of people have homes, farms and stocks that they need to sell and would stimulate industry but under the old capital gain system they could not afford to sell it because nearly - a big portion of it was taken in taxes - so I think you are going to see a substantial part a substantial tax cut that I think will be stimulate the economy.

Inflation is the most serious problem that we have and

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no one in the world has ever devised a system as to how you bring inflation under control and stimulate jobs at the same time in the last two years we have created six million new jobs but we still have the problem of inflation. I believe very strongly that we will never never bring inflation under control until we bring spending under control and that's where of course we need your help and your public support.

No there are a number of other things I would like to talk with you about I would like to talk with you about defense but I want to save just a few minutes for questions - but I want to bring to you tonight something that I feel very strongly about and I think the American people ought to feel very strongly about the thing that has made this country great of course is our freedom but our system of government where there is a two party system that has existed in this country throughout the years the democratic and republican party of course from time to time we have had third parties spring up you know a progressive party or a decratic party but through the years its been these two main parties that have been strong and that have helped to make our government stable. Look at Germany before World War II what brought about the downfall of the German Government and put Hitler into power a proliferation of political parties is one of the contributing factors look at France after World War II they never found a stable government until the parties begin to stabilize well what's this got to do with us.



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I fear that our political party system is being demised and why? Because of single issue interest groups. Now let me make myself clear what am I talking about organized groups in this country who are interested in a particular issue and now days with the modern computer where they can turn out two hundred thousand letters over night they can flood North Carolina with two hundred thousand letters over night.

And all of them have learned from all facets of the political spectrum well just let me name a few there is a terrific pressure group in Washington for abortions supporting the abortion law but there is just as strong opposing group on the anti-abortion laws and many of these people in fact most of the activist in both of these groups could care less whether I have voted for fiscal responsibility whether I have voted for strong defense whether I have voted for agriculture programs. Their issue is did you vote for or against abortions and if you did then they are out with you. Well just let me name several of them the labor reform bill, we have over fifty thousand letters from North Carolina pro and con on this matter and with many people throughout this State their one issue that they were looking to see how Robert Morgan voted was labor reform now I voted against labor reform because I thought it was a bad bill. I'm not anti-labor I am for any kind of meaningful labor reform if it is needed but that literally was a bad bill. Well you can rest assured that the thousands who wrote to me because they had

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got a computerized letter from Washington saying write Senator Morgan and usually they were post cards or either computerized letters write Senator Morgan and urge him to vote against or for the labor reform.

You can rest assured that those people were looking at the particular issue they are not looking how I voted on those other issues because that's the one that had been called to their attention you take your ERA extension there were your pro-era people and your anti-era people and you got the same situation there. I had to make a decision on what I honestly thought was right I believe that the ERA amendment itself is good my wife was on the committee that was for it but I couldn't vote to extend the time for adopting it because physiology based upon our legal training I don't see how you change the rules in the middle of a game so to speak for one side and hold the other side to the previous rules in other words we had said if three-fourths of the state ratify it within seven years then it will become apart of the constitution so what we did was we said those of you that ratified it on the basis that three-fourths do it in seven years now you are bound by the original agreement but those who haven't we are going to give you three more years. Well I tried to get them to allow those states who had ratified it to resend it and if they wanted to and I don't think they would have lost any but the Senate would not do it so I voted against the whole thing.

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Well I'm not so sure that the people who differ with my vote will ever bother to look at my physiology or reasoning or logic back of it and then I could name gun control and so on but what am I trying to say I'm trying to say that rather than two political parties we reconcile our differences within the party and then support candidates based on those who which ever party more nearly coincide with our own beliefs we're becoming a country of many many parties and because of that unless we begin to take a look at it I'm afraid that we are going to find that our system of government is going to disintegrate to the point that our representatives in Washington are going to be those who can put together the most special interest groups and that's why it is so important for people like those of you here to not only to follow the news and read the paper but to study them and find out what's going on and look what's behind these issues.

One final thing well we talk about physiology of government I am what I would call a federalist if you go back and look at our system of government North Carolina was the last state save Rhode Island to enter the union we didn't vote for George Washington we didn't have any Senators in the first congress and we didn't have any representatives.

WHY? Because in 1788 when we had the constitutional convention over yonder in a little church in Hillsboro we looked at the constitution and we said look there are no

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guarantees of individual liberties there is no assurance that our state is going to remain sovereign except in those areas in which we delegate the power to the Federal Government so we refused to we refused to ratify the constitution and one of my - the people who wanted us to ratify said oh you don't have to write these things into the constitution because we are not going to have a king any more. We're going to rule ourselves and you know we wouldn't deprive ourselves of this power these rights and one of my predecessors a man who held the seat that I now hold earlier on said this he said there lies within the breast of every human being a secret lust for power and these sacred rights cannot be intrusted even to our own and one of those and we didn't come in until the - until Washington had been elected and the country had been in existence for about a year we were a sovereign State. And they adopted the bill of rights congress did and it had been ratified and then we said we'll come in well I just believe that system that's the system that Jefferson talked about how you could best lure yourself closer to home.

Well we had a bill up in Washington this year that slipped through the house I've never heard of it - came to the Senate that gave the U. S. Attorney General the right to use any state anytime that he felt - that the civil rights of any person in prison, jail, mental hospitals or even nursing homes if they were put there by the state were being violated. And the only safeguard was he had to

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confer with the Governor at least thirty days before he brought the lawsuit to see if the governor would operate against institutions according to his standards well that's fine to everything that our founded fathers dreamed of now surely there were abuses but I don't know what makes it what there is in Washington that makes us sometime think that we know better what's good for the people than the people know for themselves than the people know and I don't know what it is about the people in Washington that make them think they are more concerned about the people in our institutions than we are so I opposed that bill and I held it up because it just doesn't jive with the fundamental principals on which this government was founded.

And sometimes you have to make those decisions the Attorney General called me talked with me urged me to take the hold off of it and I told him I said Judge you ought to be ashamed of yourself I said you're coming from Georgia and you talk of states rights and you're asking me to give you the power to just run the institutions and you know he sort of backed off even Mrs. Carter called me but its not and urged me somebody had got to her on the grounds of the mental hospitals well I'm just as concerned about them as anybody but three years ago we adopted a bill of rights for mental hospital for mentally handicapped we set up a special advocate council in every state separtted from them to represent these people we've done everything but its grasping for power trying to build a national government in Washington

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where the power comes down from Washington rather than a federalist government where the power comes up from the states so that's my physiology and I hope that even though you may not agree with me on a particular vote or other legislators or other representatives that in fairness to the kind of government that - we have that you take a look at it.

And Jack one final thing you mentioned your news letter and I congratulate you on winning an award for the newsletter and it reminded me that you know that I have a newsletter and I hope that I sent it out once a week and we try to discuss one issue and if you are interested in government and would like it let me know but it was fascinating that a lot of people think that this is a new gimmick well the University of North Carolina came out with three books the other day and it was compiled of newsletters of the early members of the Congress everybody they called them circulars and I was amused that the same problems exist then that exist now. I might tell you how important they were John Adams three times before he died wrote to Thomas Jefferson and the others and said if you really want to compile an early history of America then get together all of the newsletters of the members of Congress well the first one in that book was dated January 10, 1791 - 1791 right after we came into the union and it was from a congressman named John Steele and he described what had been going on and they went to the printers and they found out that he had printed 400 of them but he was talking about he was quoted as talking about the problem of overlooking his constituency you know

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you make somebody mad if you overlook them and he said well how he handled that when he went back home into the district if he spoke to one of his friends and if the friend sort of looked at him coolly and distantly he knew immediately that he had overlooked his name so he said he would always get on the offensive and he would say Bill did you get my newsletter my circular letter and he said the response would usually be no I certainly did not and he said I would always reply that Dam Post Office so things haven't changed in 190 years that actually is a true story.

Thank you very much for allowing me to make these remarks and I'm just full of I started to say information but it might be stuff but if any of you have questions I would be glad to fill them for a few minutes.

Senator Morgan - Would you make a comment as to whether or not you feel the Congress will institute legislation concerning putting the draft back in the mandatory draft?

Answer - Glad you ask that I hope so because we need it badly. I had a man on my staff last year under a congressional fellowship who is under a program where top people work for Congress he worked with a congressman six months and six months for me and he heads one of the missile laboratories with a lady out in California and he travels the world over inspecting the army and he came back with a terrible report a terrible report not only about the readiness of fighting for instance a young lieutenant he

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brought back to testify before us he has thirty-five men in the platoon on the east-west border in between East Germany and West Germany right where the communist would move if they were going to out of that young man's thirty-five people twenty-three of them were married nineteen of them had their families right there on the border and with children three of them their wife's were pregnant at that time.

Now if you think that the communist would start moving across those borders would those youngsters be more concerned about fighting to repeal them or would they be concerned about getting back and getting their wife's away from the invasion.

Well why are they over there because you just about have to let them do anything they want to do now to try to entice them into serving. Under the total force concept of our military that is now you know with the new voluntary we say alright this time if we have another mobilization we are not going to wait to call the reserves and guards several months later they come the day of mobilization and they are fitted into the pattern in other words half of the combat units in the army today come from the reserve and guard and yet we are 180 thousand men short in the reserves and guards now we don't even know where our 18 year olds are so I introduced a bill on the floor of the senate that would have just provided 11 million more dollars to take the selective service out of deep freeze just to



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allow the 18 year olds to register - just so we know where they are because now it would take us 6 months to even get them registered before we could let alone call them in.

I got thirteeen votes and yet I would venture to say that over half of the members of the Senate came by and told me privately I was right but they said it was just to near after Vietnam the timing is not right etc. It frightens me I just want let me read you two or three figures if you've got a pencil you might want to write these down under the Warsaw Pack Nations that is Soviet Union Poland and so forth they have twelve and one-half million persons in active reserve and related civilian personnel we have four and one quarter million. The Soviet Union has two thousand eight hundred and seventy nine combact ships we have four hundred and sixty six and our airpower the Soviets have two hundred and fifty one strategic and intermediate bombers now we have then we have one thousand and twenty the Soviets though have seven thousand five hundred and fifty fighter planes we have two thousand six hundred and seventy four and so on now I'm not telling you that we are behind but I'm saying the only reason we aren't behind is because of the will of the American people that we have a will to preserve ourselves that I think the Soviets don't have I think we have got to go back to the draft.

I don't think the volunteer you can't buy the kind of loyalty that we need to maintain the freedom of this country.

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I'm not an alarmist but look at your record and you without doubt see a single time when the Soviet Union has retreated from its ultimate goal of world domination.

Anyone else have question?

Senator what about that sixteen million for amature athletics how is that going to be spent sir?

Answer - I can't tell you to save my life you know we had a budget of five hundred and fifty billion dollars and it is humanly impossible for any person to know each field to my job primarily is to know as much as I can about what goes on in armed services, banking housing and urban affairs and those are my specialties and the other areas we have to take recommendations of our colleagues. I'm a member of appropriations but I can't tell you how it's going to be spent.

If there are no further questions again let me thank you very much-----

Senator Morgan I'm not going to let you off that easy I want to ask you about where you think wage and price control might fit into the picture of inflation?

Answer - Russell its interesting that you would ask because the last telephone call I took this afternoon was from the banking committee and they were taking a poll as to where we would stand on wage and price control and I can only assume that somebody in the administration must be feeling us out. I'm opposed to them I'm opposed to

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to even talking about them because of the catastrophe in 1971 when they were last imposed and when you even begin to talk about putting wage and price control on business immediate pops their prices further up because they are afraid they are going to get locked in and can't won't be able to raise them and our past experience is been that the controls are applied mostly to prices and not to wages you know the labor union were able to continue to raise their prices and I think that I really thing that it would be a mistake for us to try to put them on but apparently they are considering it and therefore I'm willing to listen but that's my view.

If somebody could persuade me I've learned in Washington when you are dealing with the economy that one view is as good as another because you can find economist on every side and I have never been more meaningful or never appreciated more what Truman said when he said that if you put all of the economist in Washington end to end they would still point in every direction.

Thank you very much.